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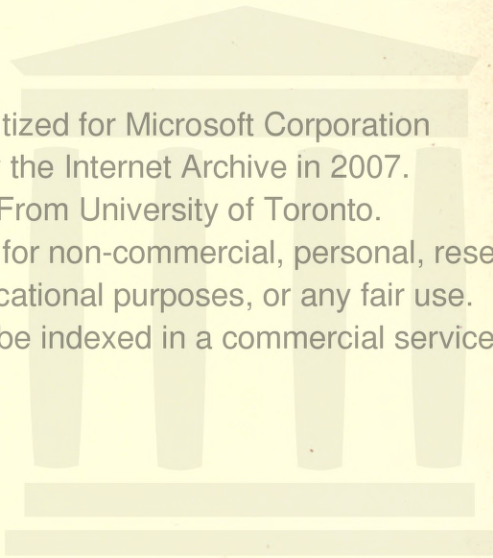
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# TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Published under the Authority of

The Tennessee Historical Society



VOLUME V.

Nashville

1919



# THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1849  
INCORPORATED 1875

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## FORM OF LEGACY

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"I give and bequeath to The Tennessee Historical Society  
the sum of.....dollars."



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Neither the Society nor the Editor assumes responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.



# TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5

APRIL, 1919

No. 1

## FOREWORD

In presenting the first number of this magazine to the public March, 1915, the able editor, Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, announced in a foreword the ideals of the Tennessee Historical Society in its venture of publishing a quarterly magazine. After making mention of the excellent publication formerly issued by Messrs. Garrett and Goodpasture—the *American Historical Magazine*—the aspiration and plan of its successor was set forth as follows:

The purpose of the magazine will be that common to its predecessor in Tennessee and to the many similar journals of other states. It is designed, first, to transfer to permanent form as much as possible of that manuscript material, so liable to destruction, upon which the historian must ever place his first dependence; secondly, to afford a means of publication of papers and articles of an historic nature, and, thirdly, to be a medium for the publication of news as to all the historical activities of individuals or associations in the state.

How successfully the discerning judgment of the editor carried out these ideals is abundantly shown in the three volumes of the magazine that were issued in 1915, 1916 and 1917. At that date it is known that the society lost, as a local member, the talented editor by his removal to the chair of American History in Brown University, and in addition the absorbing problem of the world war was upon us, adding to everyone additional and immediate responsibilities. Under the circumstances, in keeping with the policy adopted by many other similar journals, the magazine was issued occasionally as the local committee had opportunity to give attention to its publication. Thus as to date of issue we have been some months behind in the calendar, the December number for 1918 having been issued at the beginning of the summer of 1919.

As to the future of the magazine, the action of the society at its May meeting, 1919, will explain:

"The following were elected as a publishing committee of the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: Dr. W. A. Provine, Editor; Hon. J. H. DeWitt, Manager; J. Tyree Fain, Assistant."

It is unnecessary to say that the newly appointed editor is in thorough sympathy with the original ideals for the magazine along which lines it has been issued during these four years, and it will be his endeavor to so continue it, with such added features as may be deemed appropriate. It is very much desired that the cordial co-operation vouchsafed in the past will be continued and that the cause of State, and Southern history in general, will be promoted by succeeding volumes. We announced with satisfaction that many valuable contributions are either on hand, or promised, for future numbers, and it is hoped that promptness shall characterize their issuance. In this connection it may be said that it has been decided to change the dates of issuance to correspond with those commonly observed by similar quarterly journals, viz: To January, April, July and October, this number being denominated *Vol. V, No. 1, April, 1919.* EDITOR.



## HENDERSON AND COMPANY'S PURCHASE WITH- IN THE LIMITS OF TENNESSEE

The significance of the treaty of purchase negotiated at Sycamore Shoals of Watauga River, about six miles from Johnson City, Tennessee, on March 17, 1775, by Richard Henderson and his associates with the Cherokee Indians has been treated of in a fairly adequate manner by the historians of Kentucky. The acquisition by means of this treaty of the title of the Cherokees to lands south of the Kentucky River and the formation and fate of Henderson's Transylvania colony in the Kentucky country have been given weight as factors in the opening of Kentucky to the westward expansion of civilization. For some reason, not easy of explanation, those who have written the history of Tennessee have overlooked or ignored the significance of the purchases of Cherokee lands that lie within the present limits of Tennessee, and of Richard Henderson's part in the efforts to open up and develop them.

For many years prior to the Revolutionary War there were many and repeated efforts on the part of leading and enterprising men of the Atlantic seaboard to acquire lands and effect colonizations west of the Alleghanies. As early as 1747 a number of the most prominent men of Virginia formed the Ohio Company to which two years later was granted a domain of 500,000 acres to which Christopher Gist was sent as locating agent from his home on Yadkin River in North Carolina. About the same time the Loyal Land Company of Virginia was organized and it received a royal grant of 800,000 acres of land. Dr. Thomas Walker, who later came in contact with Richardson Henderson in the survey of the Virginia-North Carolina state line west of the mountains, was sent to explore the lands of the company.

Encouraged by the apparent ease with which these two companies secured such extensive grants, many other schemes were set on foot for westward expansion and colonization. One of these was the plan projected by Samuel Hazard, a merchant of Philadelphia, in 1754-5 to procure "a Grant of so much land as shall be necessary for the Settlement of an ample colony . . . to be divided from Virginia and Carolina by the Great Chain of Mountains that run along the Continent from the North Eastern to the South Western Parts of America."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Alden's Governments West of the Alleghanies, p. 2.



Following the termination of the war between the British and French in favor of the former, to the British Ministry fell the task of formulating policies respecting the trans-Alleghany territory. As the result of the cabinet's consideration, on October 7, 1763, King George III issued a proclamation declaring that the lands west of the mountains were reserved "for the present" for the hunting grounds and homes of the Indian tribes. This proclamation for awhile was a deterring influence, although it fell short of being an absolute prohibition of white settlements in that settlements were only forbidden when made "without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained." One of the chief purposes of the proclamation was the quieting of the fears of the several tribes that the advance of the whites would displace them.<sup>2</sup>

The hopes of promoters revived when in 1768 Sir William Johnson in the treaty of Ft. Stanwix purchased of the Six Nation of Indians a large domain claimed by the Cherokees. This purchase was made under authority of the British government and the act was susceptible to the construction that the door was open for the westward advance of settlers provided the Indians could be satisfied in respect of their claims to the soil.

It seems quite certain that Richard Henderson from Gist, directly or through Boone, a neighbor of Gist on the Yadkin, had learned of the Ohio Company and of Hazard's scheme; and in regard to the influence the treaty of Ft. Stanwix had on him Archibald Henderson says:

"In the *Virginia Gazette* of December 1, 1768, a newspaper in which he advertised, Henderson must have read with astonishment, not unmixed with dismay, that the 'Six Nations and all their tributaries have granted a vast extent of country to his majesty, and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and settled an advantageous boundary line between their hunting country and this, and the other colonies to the southward as far as the Cherokee river, for which they received the most valuable present in goods and dollars that was ever given at any conference since the settlement of America. It was now generally bruited about the colony of North Carolina that the Cherokees were deeply resentful because the Northern Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix had been handsomely remunerated for territory which they, the Cherokees, claimed from time immemorial. Henderson, who had consulted often with Boone and reflected deeply over the subject, fore-

<sup>2</sup>*Ib.*, p. 14.



saw that the western lands, though ostensibly thrown open for settlement under the aegis of Virginia, could only be legally obtained by extinguishing the Cherokee title."<sup>3</sup>

The House of Burgesses of Virginia, seeing the advantages offered by the situation, addressed a memorial to Governor Botetourt praying that the southern line of the colony be extended due west to the river Ohio, which it was then thought would be reached instead of either the Tennessee (Cherokee) or Mississippi rivers.

John Stuart, the Southern Superintendent of Indian affairs, wrote a letter of protest to Governor Botetourt<sup>4</sup> and also filed with the House of Burgesses (December, 1769) a formal protest, in which he urged:

"It is not necessary for me to observe on the claim derived from Sir William Johnson's purchase of the Cherokee lands from the Northern Tribes, but I humbly conceive it to be his Majesty's intentions by ordering the line from Holston's River to the mouth of Great Kanhaway to be run and marked to prevent the settlement of Lands to the westward of it; which although a very fine country is absolutely necessary for the Cherokees and Chickesaws as Hunters. Individuals would reap great advantages by the establishment of the Line proposed by the House of Burgesses but the Cherokees and Chickesaws would be distress, and all the Indian Nations on the continent would be alarmed by such an Extension of Territory. I humbly submit it as my opinion that the commerce of the mother country would not be encreased by the settlement of the Cherokee Hunting Grounds for those Indians would lose their Deer with their Land. . . .

"I humbly confess that I can not see how the Incursions of the Western or Northern Tribes can be prevented by settling the Lands on the lower Parts of the Ohio and Cherokee Rivers, their Road to the interior parts of Virginia and other settlements on the upper part of the Ohio can not be through that Country. . . . There is nothing more certain than that the Cherokees have and still do claim the Lands between the Kanhaway and the Cherokee river, and I am convinced they never will relinquish their claims to the extent of the wishes of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and I humbly conceive it does not follow as a certain consequence that his Majesty's true Interests are to suffer by the total loss of this

<sup>3</sup>Forces in American Expansion, 20 Am. Hist. Review, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup>Jackson's John Stuart, 3 Tenn. Hist. Magazine, p. 183, summarizes their letter from Journal of House of Burgesses 1770-72 (January 13, 1770).

country because Adventurers from Virginia are not immediately put in possession of it.

"I can with some degree of certainty affirm that none of his Majesty's subjects were settled to the Westward of the Point where the division line of Virginia and North Carolina intersects Holston's River in 1763 when his Majesty's Proclamation was published. Whatever Warrants have been obtained since that Period to settle those Lands must be irregular and expressly contrary to said Proclamation. I will further venture to affirm that all the settlements to the Westward of Samuel Harnacres which is 50 miles to the east of said point have been made since Sir William Johnson's purchase of Fort Stanwix. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

Stuart was in position to know the claims of the southern Indian tribes, and his memorial may be taken to be strong corroboration of the insistence of the Cherokees and Chickasaws from the standpoint of a British official.

Another attempt at the colonization of the western country which evidently influenced Henderson directly was that of the promoters of the Vandalia Colony, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent and Samuel Wharton, of Pennsylvania being the leaders. The activities of these men began in 1769, following the treaty at Ft. Stanwix, and were on the point of succeeding in 1773. The American newspapers printed much about this colony in 1773-4.<sup>6</sup> That the scheme and the boundaries of Benjamin Franklin's Vandalia were known to Henderson and associates is made clear by the fact that the northeastern boundary of Henderson's Path Deed was made the southwestern boundary of Vandalia, the purpose manifestly being to have the two adjoin.<sup>7</sup>

The treaty of Sycamore Shoals effected the execution of two deeds on the part of the Cherokee chiefs, led by Oconostata and Attacullaculla to Richard Henderson and his eight associates. One of these deeds, commonly known thereafter as the "Path Deed," conveyed the following boundary: "Beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain strikes the same; thence up the river to the crossing of the Virginia line; thence westerly (easterly?) along the line run by Donelson to a point six (6) English miles east of Long Island of Holston river; thence a direct course toward the mouth of the Great Kanawha until it reaches the top of the

<sup>5</sup>Mss. Division N. Y. Public Library.

<sup>6</sup>Alden's Governments West of the Alleghanies, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup>*Ib.*, p. 54.



ridge on Powell's mountain; thence westerly along said ridge to the beginning."

Two errors on the part of the draftsman of this deed appear. Powell's mountain lies between Powell's and Clinch rivers, and does not touch the Holston. The first reference to "Powell's mountain" should be Clinch mountain, which does strike or nearly close in on Holston river about the mouth of Cloud's creek near Rogersville. Another error was in assuming that the Virginia line was farther south than after-surveys showed it to be. The northernmost point in this deed is about ten (10) miles easterly from Wise C. H., Virginia.

The second deed from the Cherokees to Henderson and his associates covered a far vaster territory and was well called the "Great Grant." Its calls were: "Beginning at the Ohio river at the mouth of Kentucky, Cherokee, or what, by the English, is called Louisa river; thence up said river and the most northerly fork of the same to the head spring thereof; thence a southeast course to the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of said mountain to a point from which a northwest course will strike the headspring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river; thence down said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river; thence up said river as it meanders to the beginning."<sup>8</sup>

This deed covered that immense area that lies between the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers. The boundaries of the "Path Deed" and the "Great Grant" adjoin, and conjointly they cover a principality as rich in material resources as can be found in America in equal limits. The calls of these two deeds included the rich coal fields of Wise and Lee counties, Virginia; the equally valuable eastern Kentucky coal fields, as well as oil fields—all then undreamed of; timber belts beyond one's power to estimate, not to mention the agricultural possibilities (which Henderson did properly estimate from Daniel Boone's glowing descriptions of the region). Henderson visioned a Transylvania. Were he living today to see the remarkable developments going forward in the purchased territory, he would deem it an El Dorado.

Richard Henderson was born in Hanover county, Va., April 20, 1735, but his father removed to Granville county, N. C., in 1745. Henderson was a lawyer of high rank, and combined business acumen, the result being a rapid rise in his profession and in wealth. Previous to this venture he had been elevated to the bench in the superior court in North Carolina.

In 1774 he learned, through Daniel Boone, of the desire

<sup>8</sup>Mann Butler's Appeal, p. 26.



of the Cherokee Indians to realize on their claim to western lands; and he conceived a design of forming a syndicate to purchase a large boundary and colonize it. He associated with him John Williams and Leonard Hendly Bullock, of Granville; William Johnston, James Hogg, Thomas Hart, John Luttrell, Nathaniel Hart and David Hart, of Orange county, N. C.

Daniel Boone had visited the western wilds and had a clearer conception of the fine bodies of land in the west than any other person; and the imparting of this knowledge to such men of means and influence furthered a project dear to Boone's heart—the planting of a colony in the "Caintuck country"—notwithstanding the fact that the colony of Virginia, which then included what is now Kentucky, and early in the century passed an act forbidding purchasers of land by private persons from the Indians.

Boone writes in his autobiography that he was "solicited by a number of North Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchasing the lands lying on the south of the Kentucky river from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Watauga, in March, 1775, to negotiate with them and mention the boundaries of the purchase. This I accepted, and at the request of the same gentlemen undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlement through the wilderness to Kentucky, with such assistance as I though necessary to employ for such an important undertaking."

Two of the syndicate, Judge Henderson and Col. Nathaniel Hart, in company with Boone, had visited the Cherokee towns and arranged for a council at Watauga for the negotiation of a treaty; and, on March 17, 1775, at Sycamore Shoals, and doubtless at Fort Watauga, about twelve hundred Indians assembled, to treat through their chiefs Oconostota, Attaculaculla, Tennessee Warrior and Willinawaugh. A treaty was concluded, and signed by the Indian chiefs who for their people granted an immense territory, including parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, to the syndicate which took the name of Transylvania colony. The bounds of the grant began at the mouth of Kentucky river, thence with that stream and its northerly branch to its source; thence following the crest of the Appalachian (Cumberland) mountains to the source of the Cumberland river; thence down that river to the Ohio; thence up the Ohio to the beginning. It contained approximately twenty million acres, and cost the syndicate, according to the consideration expressed in the treaty, the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling—a little above \$50,000.00 or about one-fourth



of one cent for each acre granted. The cloud upon the conveyance, incident to the prohibitory act of Virginia, had its effect to depress the consideration sum.

It is said that one of the chiefs told Judge Henderson at Watauga that the lands south of Kentucky river were "bloody ground and would be dark and difficult to settle"; and that another chief, Oconostota, for awhile demurred to the sale, making a pathetic speech.

"He began with the very flourishing state in which his nation once was, and mentioned the encroachment of the white people, from time to time, upon the retiring and expiring nations of Indians. Whole nations had melted away like balls of snow before the sun. . . . The whites had passed the mountains and settled upon Cherokee lands, and wished to have their usurpations sanctioned by the confirmation of a treaty. . . . New cessions would be applied for, and the small remnant of his nation would be compelled to seek a retreat in some far distant wilderness."<sup>9</sup> The other chiefs overruled this venerable prophet of his race and the treaty was signed.

The Henderson associates employed Daniel Boone to blaze the way and make a road into the lands so acquired by the syndicate. Boone started upon the perilous undertaking. He followed the trail of the buffaloes and Indians through Cumberland Gap and opened up a road long known as the "Wilderness road" into Kentucky over which countless thousands of settlers rushed in after years to find homes in the blue grass regions.

Felix Walker, who for a time was clerk of the Watauga court, residing on Sinking creek near Johnson City (afterwards a member of congress from North Carolina) was one of Boone's road-blazing party. Walker afterwards (about 1824) wrote an account of this journey, describing the difficulties encountered by Boone's own party, and their relief and delight on discovering "the pleasing and raptuous appearance of the plains of Kentucky. A new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to our view."<sup>10</sup>

A short time after Boone had started, Judge Henderson formed a party to follow in Boone's trail, setting out from the settlement about March 18th. Henderson kept a diary of the journey, in which under date of "Friday, April 7th" this entry is found: "About brake of day begun to snow. About

<sup>9</sup>Haywood's History of Tenn., p. 58.

<sup>10</sup>DeBow's Review, 1854.



11 o'clock received a letter from Mr. Luttrell's camp that were five persons killed on the road to Cantuckee by Indians. Capt. Hart, upon the receipt of this news retreated back with his company and determined to settle in the valley to make corn for the Cantuckey people. The same day received a letter from Dan. Boone that his company was fired upon by Indians. Killed two of his men—though he kept the ground and saved the baggage, &c."

"Saturday 8th. Started abt. 10 o'clock; Crossed Cumberland Gap about 4 miles. Met about 40 persons returning from the Cantuckey on Acct. of the Late murder by the Indians. Could prevail on one only to return. Memo. Several Virginians who were with us returned.

"Monday 10th. Dispatch'd Capt. Cocke to the Cantuckey to inform Capt. Boone that we were on the road. Continued at Camp that day on acct. of the Badness of the Wether."<sup>11</sup>

On the 30th the party reached Boonesborough or as Henderson noted in his diary, "Fort Boone."

The Capt. Cocke referred to by Henderson was Wm. Cocke, who afterwards became one of the first senators in the congress of the United States from Tennessee on its organization as a state in 1796.

A litigation growing out of the incident noted in the Henderson diary was begun by Wm. Cocke in the superior court of equity of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio, at Jonesborough, in 1796. The writer has before him the original bill filed by Cocke initiating the suit. It is a most interesting document, drafted evidently by and in the handwriting of Cocke, but signed by his brother lawyer, John Rhea, as solicitor. Rhea was the first member of congress from the first district, a resident of Blountville.

This bill in equity filed against Richard Henderson and his associates sets forth: That after purchasing the Transylvania boundary of the Cherokees, Henderson for his company employed Cocke to enlist or hire men to assist in clearing a road to Kentucky and in finding provisions for the workmen; and that while Cocke was so engaged the Henderson party came up, and arranged to shift from wagons to pack-horses near Cumberland Gap; that starting out again a number of wounded men retreating towards the settlements met them, 'among which was two of the name of Inman; and said Henderson seemed much dispirited and seeing that all the men who had gone on before him, being about three hundred, had

<sup>11</sup>Hulbert, Boone and Wilderness Trail, p. 102.



fled except Daniel Boone and a party of about fifteen who stayed to take care of the wounded; and on being informed that William Twitty and a number of others was killed and fearful lest Boone and the men with him should abandon the country, made your orator (Cocke) an offer of twenty thousand acres of land in any part of the companies' purchase that he might choose provided that your orator would go forward from Cumberland river to Kentucky river and prevail on Boone and the men that was with him to make a stand until the said Richard and the men that was with him could join him on Kentucky river. Your orator was induced as well by the tears of said Henderson as the reward which he offered, the said Henderson shedding tears in the presence of your orator and saying that himself and company was ruined if they did not succeed in making a settlement in the Kentucky country, etc." Cocke sets forth that he engaged to do and did the service, but complains that the agreement to convey him the land as his reward was never kept.<sup>12</sup>

A third party under Capt. Hart followed in the wake of

<sup>12</sup>This bill in equity was filed Oct. 1, 1796, and dismissed at the September term, 1799. It has never been printed, and follows:

Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio.  
Washington District,  
Superior Court of Equity, etc.

The Bill of Complaint of William Cocke against Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, Leonard Henley Bullock, William Johnston, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, John Luttrell in company.

Humbly sheweth unto your Honors that in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five the said Richard Henderson and Company purchased a large tract of country of the Cherokee Indians on the waters of Kentucky, Cumberland and Tennessee and employed your orator to enlist or have men to assist in clearing a road and sending provisions for the said workmen while they were employed in cutting a road from a place called the Block house to Martin's station in Powell's Valley and your orator doth expressly charge that he employed a number of men to assist in cutting the said road and worked himself and found two negro fellows who worked on said road untill Richard Henderson, One of the Company and chief director of the Companies consarns overtook your orator & Samuel Henderson who had been employed as aforesaid together with a Number of men in the said Hendersons employ and to whome your orator had furnished provisions for at the Special instance and request of the said Richard Henderson who being informed that the way to Kentucky was so intolerable that it would be with great difficulty that waggons could be taken to Kentuck who then directed the Waggons to be unloaded and the horses packed and the said Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, your orator and a number of men as well as your orator recollects to the number of about forty or fifty men set out for the purpose of Settling



Boone towards the promised land, and William Calk, one of the number, kept a journal. Abraham Hanks, the father of Nancy and maternal grandfather of President Lincoln, was of this party, which joined with Henderson's party at the home of Col. Joseph Martin in Powell's valley in which is Cumberland Gap—the valley skirting the eastern base of Cumberland mountains, in Claiborne county, Tennessee.

Calk's diary is interesting as a sidelight upon the diffi-

the Kentucky Country and was met near Cumberland Gap by a number of wounded men among which was two by the name of Inman. The said Henderson seemed much dispirited and seeing that all the men who had gone on before him—as your orator believes being about three hundred had fled except Daniel Boon and a party of about fifteen who stayed to take care of the wounded and being informed that William Twitty and a number of others was killed and fearfull lest Boon & the men with him should abandon the Country made your orator an offer of Twenty Thousand Acres of Land to be taken by your orator in any part of said Companies purchase that he might choose provided that your orator would go forward from Cumberland river to Kentuckey river and prevail on Boon and the men that was with him to make a stand until the said Richard and the men that was with him Join the men that was with the wounded that was on Kentuck river. Your orator consented to go for Ten Thousand Acres of Choice Land provided he the said Henderson could get any person to go in company with your orator and the said Henderson made offers through out his camp then being at Cumberland river of ten Thousand Acres of Land to any person who would go with your orator to Boons Camp on Kentuck river since called Boons Borough about a hundred miles distance where the wounded men lay but no person would consent to go but your orator who was partly induced as well by the tears of the said Henderson as the reward he offered of ten Thousand Acres of Land which he promised to give unto your orator the said Henderson then sheading tears in the presence of your orator and saying that himself and Company was ruined if they did not Succeed in making a Settlement in the Kentuck Country. And your orator doth expressly charge that he set out from Cumberland river by himself and performed the service which he had undertaken for the said Company and that the said Henderson when he Joined Boons Company expressed himself to be much oblige to your orator for the service he had rendered to himself and Company and said your orator should have the Lands he had promised him and the said Henderson for himself and Company promised to your orator that he should have five Thousand Acres of Land for the services he had rendered the work which himself and hands had done in Clearing the road at twenty Shillings Sterling money or the value thereof for each hundred acres to be paid for in the provisions which your orator furnished the said Company and the Labour of his negroes and the Sale of a servant man Named Joseph Leech which your orator purchased of Andrew Greer and Let the said John Luttrell have. And your orator doth expressly charge that in consequence of the payments made to said Henderson and Company as above set forth for the five Thousand Acres of Land so purchased and paid for that entries for the same was made in a Book kept by said Richard Henderson & Company called Their Book of Entries and titles promised your orator



culties that beset the adventurers: "Tuesday, 4th April. Raney. We start about 10 o'clock and git down to Martins in the valey where we over take Coln. Henderson & his Company Bound for Caintuck & there we camp this Night. there they were Broiling & Eating Beef without Bread.

"Wed. 5th. Breake away fair & we go down the valey & camp on indian Creek. we had this creek to cross maney times & very bad banks. Abram's (Hank's) saddel turned & the load all fell in. we got this out this Eavening & kill two Deer.

for the five Thousand Acres of Land By Richard Henderson for himself and Company. Your orator doth further expressly charge that said Richard Henderson after the State of Virginia had allowed the said Richard Henderson and Company two hundred thousand acres of Land and as the said Richard Henderson was returning from the assembly at the house of John Mitchell in Virginia and in presence of William Johnson the said Richard Henderson Complained that the State of Virginia had taken a way from himself and Company the greater part of the Land claimed by them but said it should not effect his promise to your orator and told William Johnson one of the partners that the Company could never have made their settlement the year they did had it not have been for the assistance of your orator; and the said Richard Henderson and William Johnston then Both assured your orator that he should have the whole fifteen thousand Acres of Land which Had been promised to your orator. And your orator doth expressly charge that the said Richard Henderson at many times after, and shortly before his death repeated the same promises. Shortly after the death of the said Richard your orator made his demand for said Land or compensation for them of James Hogg at Fayetteville who promised to do all in his power that your orator should obtain Justice from the Company & said he was sorry that the Company had so long delayed to do Justice to your orator & said that he James Hogg would lay your orators claim before the Company who he informed your orator was to meet at Hilsborough about twelve months after & desired your orator not to make himself uneasy for that he your orator should obtain full sattisfaction for all the services he had rendered the Company but your orator does not know or has he any reason to beleave that the said Hogg gave him self any trouble to settle amicably with your orator as he the said Hogg had promised. And your orator further expressly charges that about the month of December 1794 your orator see Thomas Hart one of the Company at Lexington at Kentuckey and informed the said Hart that the Company had not fulfilled their promises made to your orator, that they had deceived your orator by repeated promises and delays. The said Hart then informed your orator that he Thomas Hart was indebted to the Company and that if your orator could Obtain an order on him that he should not be treated as your orator had been but that he would punctually pay your orator to his sattisfaction. Your orator shortly after wrote Letters to James Hogg wishing to know what the said Hogg had done or was likely to do in the matter but has received no answer which Induces your orator to beleave that the promises made by James Hogg has not been fulfilled by him or that any conclusion is made by the Company to sattisfy your orator for the great expence danger and trouble to which he has been exposed and subject to. Now may it please your Honors as



"Friday, 7th. this morning a very hard snowy morning we still continue at Camp Being in number about 40 men & some neagrees, this eaven Comes a letter from Capt. Boone at caintuck of the Indians doing mischief and some turns back.

"Satrd April 8th. We all pact up and started cost Cumberland gap. We met a great maney people turned back for

all such actings & doing of the said Richard Henderson and Company and the heirs and representatives of such of the said Company has have desceased is contrary to Equity and good conscience and tend greatly to injure and Oppress your orator who is wholly with Out remedy save only by the aid and assistance of your honorable Court whare fraud of this kind is only conisable and releaveable—to the end therefor that they may true and perfect answer make to all and singular the premises as plainly fully and absolutely as if hearin agin repeted and interogated and that they may answer and say

Did not the said Richord Henderson for himself and Company promise to give unto your orator ten thousand acres of good land on the Cantuckey provided your orator would go and inform Daniel Boon & the party that lay with him at Boonsborough that the said Richard and the men that was with him at Cumberland river at the time of making of such offer was on their way to Join the said Boon for the purpose of settling the Kentucky Country. Did not the said William Cocke under take to go for the land aforesaid and did he not perform the service and not the said Richard often times in his life time inform the Company or some of them of the great service your orator had done them and also inform them of the promises he had made your orator for such service. Did not your orator pay unto the said Richard Henderson fifty pounds Starling money for five thousand acres of Land and enter the same on a book kept by the said Richard or how much did your orator enter and pay for & what has become of the entry books of said Company in whose hands and possession are they what is the value of the money paid by your orator to the said Company and what is the value of the provisions found & labour done and what the value of the Land entered and paid for. Is it not worth thirty thousand dollars if not how much is it worth.

May it please your Honours to grant unto your orator your writ or writs of subpona direct to the said Richard Henderson & Company their heirs and representatives and each and every of them commanding them and every of them under certain pain to be therein limited to appear before your Honours at a certain day to be appointed to answer the premises and then and there that your Honours will decree that that they make unto your orator a good and indefeasible right and title to the above described Land or in lieu thereof that they be decreed to pay unto your orator such damages as shall be agreeable to equity and Good Conscience and your orator as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

JOHN RHEA,  
*Attorney for William Cocke.*

Demurrers were filed by Hugh Lawson White as solicitor for James Hogg, John Umstead and Walter Alves, John Williams, and Richard Bullock as executor of Leonard Henley Bullock. George W. Campbell demurred for James Watson "a claimant under Richard Henderson."



fear of indians but our Company goes on Still with good courage, etc."

Again "Abram's mair ran into the River with Her load & Swam over. he followed her & got on her & made her Swim Back agin." "We met another company going back. they tell such News Abram & Drake is afraid to go aney further and turn back. we go on, etc."<sup>13</sup>

As indicative of the spirit that animated these stalwarts, in a few days after Henderson's arrival at Boonesborough, the Transylvania proprietors called a convention to assemble on May 23, 1775, and by the convention a legislative council was organized with Daniel Boone, Squire Boone and Wm. Cocke as three of the members.

Virginia asserted authority and title over the lands so purchased that lay above the North Carolina line, and the officials of that colony held the deeds inoperative so far as vestiture of title in the grantees was concerned, in that such purchases from the Indians were inhibited by the royal proclamation of King George III, wherein also all colonial governors were forbidden to grant lands or issue land warrants locatable west of the mountains.<sup>14</sup> In the contest over this matter, which was waged personally by Henderson before the Virginia legislature, he came into contest with George Rogers Clarke, who was then becoming an active factor in the Kentucky country. Both of these men were stalwarts, and embodied much of the modern American spirit of aggressiveness, initiative and projective force—colonial prototypes of our present day captains of industry. The result in Virginia was that Henderson and his associates took nothing by virtue of their two deeds, but instead they were granted 200,000 acres of land in what is now Henderson county, Kentucky.

It may be thought that Wm. Cocke delayed for a long time in bringing suit. It appears that but a few years previous others interested in Transylvania lands began to concert plans to protect their interests. In the *Charleston (S. C.) Gazette* of February 18, 1789, the following advertisement appeared under the heading TRANSYLVANIA:

"The proprietors of land in Transylvania, alias Kentucky, particularly those who purchased of Col. Dry, under Henderson's grant, are requested to meet at Williams's Coffee-house, on Friday evening, the 20th instant, at 6 o'clock, in order to determine on such measures as may be deemed necessary for having their lands located and secured; it being apprehended that unless something to this effect is done very speedily, their property there, already become so valuable as to be worth a dollar per acre, will be irretrievably lost."

<sup>13</sup>Hulbert, p. 113.

<sup>14</sup>2 Martin's No. Carolina, p. 339.



As early as the fall of 1776, the inhabitants of the western district filed a petition with the general assembly of Virginia, setting forth that a North Carolina company had made a purchase of the Cherokee title, convened an assembly and opened a land office. The validity of the purchase was attacked; and the petitioners prayed for the extension over them of Virginia's jurisdiction. Accordingly Kentucky county was at that session created and civil and military officers appointed. It was later, at the October session, 1778, of the general assembly of Virginia, that the act was passed granting to Henderson & Co. the above mentioned twelve and one-half square miles of land on both sides of Green river near its mouth by way of compensation for services in the extinguishment of the Indian title, and in helping to settle the country.

This action of Virginia left Henderson freer to devote himself to the husbanding and development of his company's acquisitions in North Carolina (later Tennessee).

Taking on himself the management of the company's business and governmental affairs in the Kentucky country, Henderson, within a few days after the treaty (March 31, 1775) gave a power of attorney to Col. Joseph Martin, empowering him to settle the company's lands in Powell's Valley, in Lee county, Virginia, extending southward into Tennessee. About the same time a proclamation was issued offering favorable terms to settlers in that valley.<sup>15</sup>

Martin, it seems, had already moved into this valley (Lee county), with a small band of settlers.

Henderson, writing from Kentucky to Martin, July 20, 1775, expressed concern that settlers would locate too low in the valley, provoking the Cherokees to incursions: "Keep your men in heart if possible; now is the time; the Indians must not drive us . . . We did not forget you at the time of making laws; your part of the country is too remote from ours to attend our convention. You must have laws made by an assembly of your own. I have prepared a plan which I hope you'll approve, but more of that when we meet which I hope will be soon."<sup>16</sup>

Martin's station in Powell's Valley was too far removed from the Holston and Watauga settlements for safety and the beginning of an Indian war caused an abandonment of the station in the spring of 1776.

<sup>15</sup>Haywood, p. 514.

<sup>16</sup>Week's Martin, p. 419.



In July, 1777, when the North Carolina commissioners appointed to make a treaty with the Cherokees met at Long Island of Holston (Fort Patrick Henry, now Kingsport, Tenn.), Henderson and his associates filed with them a memorial, of date June 18, 1777, setting forth their purchase at Sycamore Shoals, March 17, 1775, the fact that the Virginia assembly would consider the validity thereof at its approaching session, "at which time your memorialists have no doubt but that the assembly will disclaim all pretensions to the lands in dispute, and the title of your memorialists become firmly and indisputably established"; and praying that no line be run within the bounds of their purchase and that no part of the lands be yielded to the Cherokees.

Evidently induced by this interest of himself and his associates in the protection of the treaty-purchase on the Cumberland, Henderson, in 1779, accepted the appointment as one of North Carolina's commissioners appointed to extend the North Carolina-Virginia state line from the western terminals of the Fry and Jefferson line at Steep Rock creek (now Laurel Fork of Holston), west of Stone mountain, westward to the Tennessee river, the legislature of Virginia having, the year previous, appointed a like commission to co-operate with one from North Carolina. Henderson became the master spirit of the North Carolina commission, and Dr. Thomas Walker took the lead in the Virginia commission.

An interesting phase of the history of this survey is the fact that it was more immediately occasioned by an election contest in the Virginia general assembly of 1778 between Anthony Bledsoe and William Cocke, on the one part, and Col. Arthur Campbell and William Edmiston, on the other, respecting seats in the Virginia house of delegates. The principal ground urged by the two latter as contestants was that Bledsoe and Cocke resided south of the Virginia line and were elected by citizens of North Carolina participating in the election. The assembly was loath to adjudge against the commonwealth's claim to the disputed territory, and Bledsoe and Cocke retained their seats, though in fact North Carolinians. James Robertson, while a resident of what is now Carter county, Tennessee, had several years before acted as magistrate under the jurisdiction of Virginia—Botetourt county.<sup>17</sup>

Naturally, Henderson, who had the year before been deprived by the Virginia assembly of the full fruits of his efforts in making the Transylvania settlements in Kentucky,

<sup>17</sup>Summer's S. W. Virginia, pp. 108, 264.



stood ready to see that North Carolina got at least justice in the projection of the state line. By so far as the line could be located to the northward, the lands of the Henderson associates above the Cumberland river and also in Powell's Valley would be increased.

The Walker-Henderson survey was commenced September 6, 1779, running westward. The commissioners proceeded about forty miles, and crossed the north fork of Holston near Long Island (Kingsport). "At this time the pilots and hunters gave it as their opinion that both Cumberland Gap and the settlements on Cumberland river, at the French Lick (Nashville), would both fall into Virginia. A halt was made and several days passed in making observations, debating, and even abusing one another." (Col. Arthur Campbell's report to the governor of Virginia, 1787).

"The Carolina gentlemen conceived that the line was farther south than it ought to be. . . . It was proposed by us, and agreed to by the Carolina gentlemen, that as we differed so much in observation we would each run his own line, and let future observers hereafter to be appointed determine which was right." (Walker's Report of Survey, 1780.)

Henderson and Walker persisted in their respective contentions, and made separate surveys and locations, their lines lying about two miles apart.

By March 31, 1780, Henderson had carried his line to the Cumberland river below Nashville, as appears from the diary left by Col. John Donelson, during his voyage from Fort Patrick Henry (Kingsport) down the Holston and Tennessee rivers, thence up the Cumberland river to French Lick, in "the good boat Adventure."

"Friday 31st—Set out this day, and after running some distance, met with Col. Richard Henderson, who was running the line between Virginia and North Carolina. At this meeting we were much rejoiced. He gave us every information we wished, and further informed us that he had purchased a quantity of corn in Kentucky, to be shipped at the falls of Ohio (Louisville) for the use of the Cumberland settlement. We are now without bread, and are compelled to hunt the buffalo to preserve life."<sup>18</sup>

James Robertson had the year before, the spring of 1779, led a band of Wataugans to French Lick to settle that region. The conclusion is irresistible that Henderson had influenced Robertson to lead this movement, as he had in previous years

<sup>18</sup>Putnam's Middle Tennessee, p. 75.



influenced the intimate friend fellow adventurer of Robertson, Daniel Boone, to take the lead into Kentucky.

James Robertson's connection with the Sycamore Shoals treaty has gone all but unnoted by our historians. Dr. Archibald Henderson, a descendant of Richard Henderson, says that Robertson after feeling out the Cherokees informed Boone, who was then acting as Henderson's confidential agent, that his belief was that the Cherokees would sell if the inducement was made large enough.<sup>19</sup> Thus early was Robertson in contact with the movement.

Robertson was on the ground when the treaty was made at Sycamore Shoals. The treaty ground was but a few miles from his residence. When proof was being taken in 1776-7 by commissioners appointed by the Virginia legislature touching the merits of a petition of Henderson and associates (to the effect that no settlements under the authority of Virginia be allowed within the limits of their treaty purchases) Robertson left his home on the Watauga river and went to Abingdon, Virginia, to give his deposition which was distinctly favorable to the Transylvania promoters.

It is noteworthy that his testimony is clear and pronounced on a point much debated in later years—that the southern boundary of the great grant was not the Cumberland river proper but that there were included the waters flowing into the Cumberland from the south. Robertson, deposing April 16, 1777, said:

" . . . Upon the second day of the Treaty the Indians proposed to sell sd Henderson the land upon the north side of the Kentucky, to which said Henderson replied, he would not have that land, as it was already claimed by the Virginians, and that if he could not get the lands asked for, he would keep his Goods, upon which the Dragging Canoe got angry and withdrew himself from the Conference. And the other Indians immediately followed him and broke up the Conference for that day—Some person in the hearing of Deponent told John Williams one of the co-partners not to pay any attention to Dragging Canoe's going off in a passion as the head men might be still got to sign a deed privately. Col. Williams replied, he would not give anything for every Indian there to sign a Deed unless it was done in open Treaty. When the Indians met sd Henderson the third day of the Treaty,

<sup>19</sup>Henderson's *Forces in Westward Expansion*, 20 Am. Hist. Review, pp. 85, 105.



told them that the lands he had mentioned before were the lands he had brought his goods for.

"The Indians then by their talk seemed inclined to let Henderson have some land but complained that the goods were too few for the number of persons who were there, and if they gave up the land they hoped he would consider them at another time. Henderson answered that they had seen the goods and that if they gave him the lands he would give them the Keys of the House in which they lay, and he could promise no more. The Indians then agreed to sell the lands as far as the Cumberland river, and sd Henderson insisted to have the Cumberland river and the Waters of Cumberland river which the Indians agreed to after telling Henderson them were their hunting grounds and their children then growing up might have reason to complain—also observing it was a bloody country and if he went to it they would not hold him by the hand any longer, and must do it at his own Risque and must not blame them if anything happened to him.

"On the Fourth day of the Treaty a deed was produced and read and interpreted sentence by sentence which was signed by them."<sup>20</sup>

Robertson thus substantiated the claim of Henderson's company to the lands on the south of the Cumberland river, where was later laid out the town of Nashborough.

On completion of the running of the state line, Henderson went to Nashborough (Nashville) to open a land office for the sale of the company's lands. We find him there heading the settlers (whom he had been so solicitous to succor with supplies from the Ohio) in the formation of a government, he becoming the draftsman of the "compact of government" or constitution, which he and his associate in the company, Nathaniel Hart, and a brother, Nathaniel Henderson, signed along with two hundred and forty-three settlers, on May 13, 1780. Henderson's impress, as a lawyer and the only lawyer then on the Cumberland, is stamped on this document (compared by Roosevelt to an ancient "Court Leet"), and the interests of his company were treated of and carefully guard-

<sup>20</sup>Va. Col. State Papers, Vol. I, p. 285. Among those present at Sycamore Shoals when the treaty was executed were: Wm. Farrar, Sam'l Wilson, John Lowry, John Reid, Charles Robertson, Thos. Price, Thos. Houghton, Abraham Hite, Nathaniel Gist, Isaac Shelby and James Robertson. The depositions disclosed that of his associates, John Williams, Nathaniel Hart and Thos. Hart were with Richard Henderson at the treaty place.



ed. Twelve men from the various stations were provided by this compact to be elected, "which said persons, or a majority of them, after being bound by the solemnity of an oath to do equal and impartial justice between all contending parties, according to the best of their skill and judgment, having due regard to the regulations of the land office herein established"—the land office of Henderson & Co., the entry taker in which Henderson reserved the right to appoint by express stipulation in the compact. This constitution for the infant settlement further recited: "That no consideration money for the lands on Cumberland river, within the claim of the said Richard Henderson and company, and which is the subject of this association, is demanded or expected by the said company until satisfactory and indisputable title can be made, so we think it reasonable and just that the twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, current money, per hundred acres, the price proposed by the said Richard Henderson, shall be paid according to the value of the money on the first day of January last, being the time when the price was made public and settlement encouraged thereon by said Henderson, etc."

On these fair terms settlers on the Cumberland took and held under the Henderson and company title until its annulment by North Carolina, and "the purchasers were never urged to make any payments on contracts into which they had entered. Old settlers ever retained for Henderson a very high regard as a gentleman and a patriot."<sup>21</sup>

In May, 1783, the Henderson syndicate memorialized the North Carolina legislature for a recognition of the validity of their Cherokee conveyances. The petition was referred to a committee which reported that the purchases were illegal, but that by means of the conveyances obtained by Henderson from the Cherokees peaceable possession might be obtained from the Indians, and that compensation should be made the company.

Accordingly, by act of N. C., 1783, Ch. 38, entitled, "An act to vest certain lands in fee simple in Richard Henderson and others," it was enacted:

"Whereas, it has appeared to this assembly that Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, William Johnston, James Hogg, David Hart and Leonard Henly Bullock, Nathaniel Hart and John Luttrell, John Carter and Robert Lucas, have been at great expense, trouble and risque, in making a

<sup>21</sup>Putnam's Middle Tennessee, p. 89.

<sup>22</sup>Am. State Papers, Ind. Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 40, 628.



purchase of lands of the Cherokee Indians; and whereas, it is but just that they should have adequate compensation.

"Be it therefore enacted by the general assembly of the state of North Carolina that two hundred thousand acres be, and are hereby granted to said Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, James Hogg, David Hart and Leonard Henley Bullock, the heirs and assigns and devisees of Nathaniel Hart, deceased, and their heirs, devisees and assigns of John Luttrell, deceased, to Landon Carter, heir of John Carter, deceased, his heirs and assigns forever, and the heirs and devisees of Robert Lucas; the said two hundred thousand acres to be laid out in one survey and within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at old Indian town in Powell's Valley, and running down Powell's river not less than four miles in width on one or both sides thereof to a junction of Powell's and Clinch rivers, then down Clinch river on one or both sides not less than twelve miles in width for the aforesaid complement of two hundred thousand acres; provided same is laid out and surveyed on or before last day of next November, otherwise and entered shall obtain title.

"Ten thousand at the lower end to vest in Landon Carter and his heirs, assignee of Robert Lucas; one-eighth each to Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, William Johnston, James Hogg, Nathaniel Hart and John Luttrell, deceased; and one-sixteenth each to David Hart and L. H. Bullock.

"To hold the aforesaid portions in severalty as tenants in common and not as joint tenants."

As this act indicates there had been sales of interests and parts of interests of the copartners intermediate the deeds of 1775 and 1783. There were at the outset eight full shares, Henderson, Williams, Johnston, Hogg, Thomas Hart, Luttrell and Nathaniel Hart taking full shares; and Bullock and David taking half shares. It would appear therefore that Robert Lucas, an early Wataugan and with Henderson a signer of the Cumberland compact, had purchased the shares of Williams and Johnston, and assigned a portion of his holding to John Carter, for whom Carter county, Tennessee, was named—the county of his residence.

The state of North Carolina issued a grant in accord with this act; and the grantees proceeded to have the lands surveyed and platted by Stokeley Donelson, surveyor. The boundary was divided into lots, "A," "B," etc., beginning at the extreme northwest or at Old Town Creek in Claiborne county, Tennessee. The eastern boundary of the granted tract begins



about five miles (direct line) from Cumberland Gap, and the western boundary of that portion that lies on Powell river is just east of Jacksboro. The surveyor in running the southwestern boundary caused it to run off at an acute angle from the northeastern boundary (patently contrary to the spirit of the legislative act and the grant), the evident purpose being to leave out of the grant to Henderson and associates a very fine body of agricultural land between the southwestern boundary and a line that very nearly is represented by the present line of the Knoxville & Ohio branch of the Southern railway at Caryville, Tenn. The tradition is that Donelson, who was affected by land lust, and who was perhaps the largest owner of acreage in the west, so ran the lines that he might acquire, under a later grant to himself, the tempting lands in this angle. This he proceeded to do; and the tradition further runs that Donelson's action in this matter led to a breach between him and Henderson.

A part of the grant to Henderson and associates was located on Clinch river, and on streams south thereof—extending south of Bull Run creek, which is near Heiskell station, in Knox county. The grant covers land in the present counties of Claiborne, Union, Campbell, Anderson and Knox. The northwestern boundary skirts the foothills of the Cumberland mountains, which rise abruptly from Powell's valley. The object of the grantees was to so lay the grant as to include Powell's and Clinch rivers and their fine bottoms, little dreaming that they were thus purposely avoiding and excluding a section in the Cumberland mountains that has since proved to be of immense value because of its coal seams.

The plat of the partition survey shows allotments as follows: Richard Henderson, four parcels; Thomas Hart, three parcels; Nathaniel Hart, four parcels; David Hart, two parcels; L. H. Bullock, two parcels; James Hogg, two parcels; John Williams, four parcels; Walter Alvis, three parcels; Robert Barton, one parcel; John Umstead, three parcels—the parcels being of various sizes. Thus are indicated further transfers of interests between the dates of the act of North Carolina, 1783, and the partition. Partition deeds were executed inter partes, and this title has always been recognized as the superior title and prevailed as such.

At first blush the two consolation grants to Henderson and company, by Virginia and North Carolina, aggregating 400,000 acres, may appear to have been adequate compensation. In this connection, however, it should not escape notice and comment that neither of these commonwealths hesitated to



treat the Path Deed and Great Grant to the Henderson syndicate as having virtue to quiet the Indian title so far as these sovereign states were concerned; but voidable so far as vestiture of title in the vendees was attempted—good against the Indian, invalid as to the Indian's vendee. Later on the United States of America assumed to itself the function of sole treaties with the Cherokees as a nation, and the national government in like manner availed itself of the benefit of the Henderson and company purchases as against the Indians.

Thus, at the treaty of Hopewell (South Carolina), the first negotiated under national authority (Nov. 17, 1785), the Cherokee chiefs made claim to a vast territory, and roughly drafted a map showing the limits of the territory their nation claimed, including the greater portions of Kentucky and Tennessee. Being reminded by the government's commissioners that "this claim covered the country purchased by Colonel Henderson, who was now dead, and whose purchase must not therefore be disputed, the chiefs consented to relinquish that portion of it." The commissioners, as they declared, adopted certain lines of the Henderson purchase as boundary calls of the treaty (Ib., p. 38) it not being deemed necessary to treat in respect of lands, title to which had passed from the Cherokees to the syndicate.

In the light of these after contentions and the benefits derived from the Henderson grants from the Cherokees, it may will be doubted whether the syndicate received fair treatment and compensation at the hands of Virginia and North Carolina.

There can be less doubt that the Tennessee historians have not given adequate credit, or even explicit recognition, to Richard Henderson as the projector of the Cumberland settlement, and as the author of the Cumberland compact. Less than that is less than his desert.

The true greatness of Richard Henderson is in no other way more amply demonstrated than by the selections he made of able lieutenants. A man who could find and put to the service of his company such forceful men as Daniel Boone, James Robertson and Joseph Martin must have possessed discernment, mastery and projective power to an unusual degree. Strange to say, of these three agents Boone, the least endowed with mentality and ability to mould events to his will, has become the greatest national figure. The work of Robertson and Martin was, in large part, in less romantic fields and roles—as Indian agents and community builders,



and much of their most effective service brought but little of glamor to their names.<sup>23</sup>

Henderson's part in the treaty by which Transylvania was acquired does not measure in full the benefits his labors brought to the western country and its first settlers. Availing themselves of Henderson's efforts in bringing the Cherokees to Watauga for negotiation, the Watauga settlers two days after the main treaty was signed followed in the step and negotiated a second treaty with the Cherokees by the terms of which, for a consideration of two thousand pounds, there was ceded to Charles Robertson (as trustee) the land on Watauga and Holston rivers then settled and being settled.

Even a third treaty entered into on March 25, 1775, at the same place, quieted the title of Jacob Brown to a veritable principality, lying west of the Watauga's purchase, and on Nolachucky river comprising much of the best land now in Washington and Greene counties, Tennessee. Richard Henderson signed this last conveyance as a witness, and in all probability he was the draftsman of all the treaties.

It seems quite certain also that the name of Nashville (Nashborough originally) was fixed by Henderson, and in honor of Gen. Francis Nash who had served as the clerk of the Orange County (N. C.) Superior Court over which Henderson presided as judge. Several of the Transylvania associates, Thomas Hart, John Williams and William Johnston, resided in Orange county.<sup>24</sup> A brother of Richard Henderson, Pleasant Henderson, also lived in that county and he was at French Lick with Col. Henderson in 1779.<sup>25</sup> The then recent death of Gen. Nash in action October 4, 1777, in the battle of Germantown, Penn., appealed to his fellow Carolinians for commemoration. The suggestion has been well made that a tablet be erected in the city of Nashville commemorating Richard Henderson's connection with our early history. It seems fitting that this should be taken in hand by the Colonial Dames of Tennessee in conjunction with the Tennessee Historical Society. The memory of no other colonial figure is worthier of preservation.

SAM'L C. WILLIAMS.

<sup>23</sup>It is worthy of notice that Henderson also brought into the service of his company two other forceful men, then young, Wm. Cocke, as has been noted, and Isaac Shelby—the latter as surveyor in the Kentucky country.

<sup>24</sup>Wheeler's North Carolina, p. 334.

<sup>25</sup>Putnam's Middle Tennessee, p. 101.



## SOME CONFUSING STATEMENTS IN RAMSEY'S "ANNALS" AND OTHER HISTORIANS

[The writer of this article is the highly esteemed Recording Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society. At the urgent request of a number of the members of this society he agreed to undertake the difficult task of making an index to Dr. Ramsey's valuable "Annals of Tennessee." The work he has about brought to a successful close, and it is hoped that some means may be devised to put in print at no distant date this much-to-be-desired accessory to study of the history of the Volunteer State. In carrying forward the work of indexing this volume it became necessary to attempt to solve some of the seeming riddles of the book occasioned by certain indefiniteness of statement, and at times confusion of names,—entailing a wide research through the literature of Tennessee State history, as well as that of neighboring states. On request of the society, the author read before its March meeting, 1919, a paper dealing with his experience in making the index, and such was the interest aroused by it an immediate demand was made for the publication of at least some of the data therein contained. The article that follows is an adaptation of the manuscript, but necessarily the matter is very much abbreviated, with details of arguments left out.—Ed.]

### SURNAMES AND INDIAN NAMES.

This noted volume of Dr. Ramsey has a serious fault, or at least presents difficulties in that largely he is accustomed to use surnames only in his narration of interesting events. He writes oftentimes of "Col. Montgomery," "Col. Sevier" and other military heroes and civil personages, but is not careful to identify, for far-away readers, the individuals referred to. Thus we find mention made of *three* Col. Montgomeries and at least *two* Col. Seviers, while there are a number of other characters left us to place as best one can.

Further, in the use of Indian names, he is at times difficult to follow owing to either obscurity or his method of using Indian names interchangeably. Sometimes he makes use of the names originally given by the pioneers or traders in their attempt to represent phonetically the words in the Indian language. These names are varied in accordance to the ability of the Americans to correctly represent the sound; thus it is found that the noted Cherokee chief's name is variously spelled, viz.: "Atta-Culla-Culla," etc. Then again Dr. Ramsey at times prefers to use the English translation of the Indian word; thus for the same character, "Atta-Culla-Culla," we have "The Little Carpenter," etc.

Of course, the distinguished author well differentiated in his own mind these several or identical personages, but he presumed too much on the ability of the average reader to follow



him. Thus it devolves on the indexer of such a volume to clearly understand these matters in order to be of help to the general reader by proper classification.

### MILITARY AND OTHER TITLES.

The history of the Revolution as given in the Annals necessarily embrace many names noted for their military connection, here again, in the miscellaneous use of titles, some of which changed during the period of the war, there is at times confusion demanding research in other histories and contemporary documents in order to clearly mark the distinctions.

Another like confusing period is that of the "State of Franklin." Here again, both in civil and military matters, certain names are difficult to define, likewise demanding the help of other histories to clearly identify.

However, Ramsey is not alone in thus failing to make clear always the individual meant. Other Tennessee historians and occasional writers are guilty along this line of indefiniteness. It is proposed to cite a few of these difficulties which will serve to show some of the obstacles that must be overcome by one attempting to make an intelligent index to such volumes.

### JOHN TIPTON.

One of the oft-noted confusions is occasioned by the confounding of the history of *John* Tipton and *Jonathan* Tipton, or identifying the two characters as one and the same individual.<sup>1</sup>

John S. Mathes, writing in the *Chattanooga Times* a "History of the State of Franklin," says in Chapter XIII:

"Judge O. P. Temple of Knoxville, in his 'East Tennessee and the Civil War,' says: 'It is singular how writers, and even relatives, have been confounded as to the christian name of John Tipton. In Lyman Draper's exhaustive 'History of King's Mountain and Its Heroes'—the only full history of that battle ever written—the major second in command under Sevier in that and other battles was called *Jonathan* Tipton.' Draper says that *Jonathan* Tipton died in Overton County, Tennessee, in 1833, age 83. Haywood and Phelan, both historians of Tennessee, call the officer who was major under Sevier *John* Tipton. Ramsey, another historian, while generally calling him *John*, in two or three places speaks of Major Tipton as *Jonathan* Tipton. Seeing this discrepancy, and knowing the general accuracy and high character of Draper as a historian, I was naturally led to an investigation of the question: Which is the correct name? For this purpose I

"Kings' Mountain and Its Heroes," L. S. Draper, p. 48. See also "History of Tennessee," Garrett and Goodpasture, p. 350. It will be noted in the last instance the confusion is in the index rather than the text; the name of "Jonathan" Tipton does not appear. The Tipton at Boyd's Creek is called "Major," the one who imprisoned Sevier "Colonel."



set on foot an extensive inquiry. This, for a while, resulted in worse confusion. One direct descendant, who had traced out the history of Tipton with great care, said that John and Jonathan were the same person, known by both these names. Another person, who professed to know all about the Tiptons, and who had studied the early history of upper East Tennessee more minutely than anyone within my knowledge, said very positively that the true name was Jonathan Tipton, and that he died while a member of the legislature, in Nashville in 1836, and was buried there, receiving the honor of a public funeral on the part of the State. A number of relatives and intelligent gentlemen, to whom I applied, were unable to give any information. Finally I was indebted to Dr. A. Jobe of Elk Park, North Carolina, a great-grandson of John Tipton, a gentleman of education and intelligence, for a solution of this question. He says the name was *John* and not *Jonathan* Tipton. He does not say in so many words that John Tipton was never called Jonathan until recently, but it is clear from his statement that he was not. Instead of dying in Overton County in 1832 or in Nashville in 1836, and being buried in one of those places, or in both, according to the different accounts, he died and was buried on his farm in Washington County, Tennessee, one and one-half miles south of Johnson City, where he lived at the time of battle with John Sevier. He had nine sons, two of these were Jonathan and John. The first settled in Blount County, Tennessee, and represented that county in the legislature again and again. According to the account I have, he was no doubt mistaken by some persons for his father and confounded with him. It is probable that he was buried at the public expense when he died, as a member of the legislature. John Tipton, the youngest son, remained in Carter County and became somewhat distinguished. He served on the staff of General Jackson at New Orleans, and was complimented by the old hero for his daring and courage. It is a reproach to the State, or the people of the State, or to his numerous friends and relatives, that no rock shows the last resting place of one of the bravest heroes and best patriots of the Revolution."

The above goes quite a way towards clearing up the confusion of *John* and *Jonathan* Tipton, of the *first* generation, but lacks clearness as to the two brothers, Jonathan and John—the sons of the elder Major John Tipton. A citation from a series of articles contributed by Selden Nelson to the *Knoxville Sentinel* on the "Tipton Controversy," will go further in clearing up the confusion, viz.:

"The writer will show by documentary evidence that *Jonathan* and *John* Tipton were two different men; some historians claim they were one man, and some have claimed that the John Tipton buried at Nashville was the Tipton that had the trouble with Sevier. It will also be shown who that Tipton was.

Colonel John Tipton, the first, came to Tennessee in October, 1782. He first came into prominence in Washington County in 1784, when the proposed State of Franklin was organized. . . . After the fall of the State of Franklin, and when Tennessee was a territory, John Tipton was a member of the territorial legislature . . . when the State was organized he was elected from Washington County to attend the Constitutional Convention which met at Knoxville, June 11, 1796.

John Tipton and James Stuart were the members from Washing-



ton County of the committee which drew up the State Constitution. . . . John Tipton was elected as a senator from Washington County and continued to represent that county as long as he would serve.

Letter of Jonathan Tipton, son of Col. John Tipton, to Lyman Draper, dated Eves Mill, Tennessee, November the 24th, 1842:

DEAR SIR: Your letter dated the 25th of May, last, came to hand and would have been answered sooner. Wm. Tipton, from whom I get the greater part of this information, lives some distance from me, and I have not the opportunity of seeing him.

You ask what time of the year father removed from Shenendoah to what is now Tennessee. I think it was in October. I don't recollect any particular occurrence on the journey. Father was always a very industrious and good farmer. He owned three good farms on the Shenendoah River, State of Virginia. I don't recollect any skirmishes he was engaged in after coming to the western country. As soon as eligible, he was elected a member of the legislature of North Carolina from Washington County, and continued so until Tennessee became a State, which was after the Indian wars were over. He was one of the members that formed the first Constitution of Tennessee, and continued a member of its legislature till old age admonished him to retire from public life. I have often heard him say that he had been elected twenty-seven years to the legislature and conventions, and was never left out when he offered. He was a member a great many years in Virginia from Shenendoah County. You ask his birthday. I probably made a mistake before. I heard him say he was born the same year General Washington was, which appears to be 1732. I think he died in 1813, August, and was buried at his residence in Washington County, where he first settled in Tennessee; his step-mother was buried there. In October, 1774, he was at the Battle of 'Big Cannaway,' as captain under General Lewis. Grandfather Butler was killed by the Indians on his farm on Cedar Creek, Shenendoah County. Grandmother, by some means, made her escape from them. Uncle James was exchanged as a prisoner. My father was married at about twenty-one years of age to my mother, Mary Butler, on Cedar Creek, Shenendoah County. She bore him nine sons, to wit: Samuel, Benjamin, Abraham, William, Isaac, Jacob, John, Thomas, Jonathan.

My father married a second wife, Martha Moore, the widow of Dr. James Moore of Shenendoah County, Virginia. By her he had another son whom he called Abraham, who died at about thirty years of age. I don't recollect of ever seeing any of father's brothers except Joseph and Jonathan.

Father was the eldest of them; Joseph next, I think, though I think grandfather was married twice. Uncle Joseph moved to Watauga, Washington County, then to Warren County, Tennessee, and there died.

Jonathan moved to Houston, Washington County, Virginia, before father, and was at the Battle of King's Mountain, under General Campbell. Then moved to Washington County, Tennessee, and was major under Colonel Sevier in the Indian wars. General John Tipton of Indiana I suppose was son of Joshua Tipton, who was killed by the Indians on Little Pigeon, Sevier County, East Tennessee. It is likely he was son of Mordecai. The last account of Uncle Jonathan he was living in Overton or Fentress (County), Tennessee. My mother died in Shenendoah County, the 8th of June, 1776. At that time father was in the legislature. Tipton County, Tennessee, was



called after brother Jacob Tipton, who was killed by the Indians in St. Clair's defeat. Brother Abraham was killed by the Indians near the falls of the Ohio. Both of them had the command of captain, and each of them about 26 years of age. John Tipton, my brother, represented Sullivan County, and Samuel represented Carter County several years each. I think the three sons of Governor Sevier that were taken prisoners were James, John and Richard. I expect, on reflection, Haywood is right about the time of the battle. You inquire about General Rutledge Scott and others. I expect they are dead, from what I can learn. I removed from that section where they lived and where I was raised, and where all these circumstances took place, in 1808, distant 150 miles, which prevents me from giving a correct account as possibly I otherwise could have done.

I am, with highest respect,

Your friend,

JONATHAN TIPTON.

From this last document it is clearly shown that there was, as a matter of fact, a *Jonathan* Tipton at the Battle of King's Mountain. However, he was not, as stated by Dr. Draper, under Col. Sevier,<sup>2</sup> but was under Gen. Campbell, and, further, he was a brother of the Major John Tipton who figured so greatly in the Sevier controversy, but who did not settle in Washington County till sometime after the Battle of King's Mountain, viz., 1782. It is made clear, furthermore, that this Jonathan Tipton, brother of Major John Tipton, was the Tipton that figured at the Battle of Boyd's Creek, and, still further, he was the Tipton who afterwards lived in Overton or Fentress Counties, Tennessee.

Now, with reference to the second generation of Tiptons, these documents are not so clear. The writer of the letter to Mr. Mathes (Dr. A. Jobe) says in reference to the sons of Major John Tipton the elder: "John Tipton, the youngest son, remained in *Carter* County and became somewhat distinguished, etc." The letter to Dr. Draper (from Jonathan Tipton) says: "John Tipton, my brother, represented *Sullivan* County, and Samuel represented *Carter* County several years each." The records of the Nineteenth Assembly show that John Tipton at the time of his death was a representative from Washington County.<sup>3</sup>

#### CHARLES ROBERTSON.

On page 107 of the *Annals* the name of Charles Robertson is first mentioned. He was a pioneer at Wautauga, and according to this reference, came originally from South Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>With reference to Major John Tipton's being at the Battle of King's Mountain, in a letter dated August 19, 1839, by James Sevier, to Dr. Draper, it is pointedly said by Sevier, who was himself in this battle, that "Colonel John Tipton was not there, nor was he a citizen of the western country until several years after the war was over." *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. VI, pages 40 and 45.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix.



In the above reference he is mentioned as one of the trustees of the Wautauga Association, and was the original lessee or purchaser of the Wautauga lands from the Cherokees. As far as known, he seems to have always lived in Washington County, Tennessee.<sup>4</sup> The Charles Robinson of Green County, mentioned in the Annals on page 402, is another individual and served as speaker of the "State of Franklin" in 1787.

#### GEN. JAMES WHITE AND DR. JAMES WHITE.

While the Annals do not confuse these two names, yet they are found confused in some of the other historical writings of the State, as well as general historical publications. Nancy Scott, in her "Memoir of Hugh Lawson White," page three, in speaking of Gen. James White says, "He was elected to the first Territorial Assembly at Knoxville in 1794, and serving in that body, introduced a bill creating a literary institution, which measure was the origin of Greenville College." On this authority the statement is frequently found repeated; thus in Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography under article "James White," the writer citing as his authority the volume, "Memoir of Hugh Lawson White." As a matter of fact Gen. James White was not a member of the Territorial Assembly, and he is here confused with another noted man of the State, Dr. James White, then of Davidson County, the representative of his county in that Assembly. With this exception the sketch in the above cyclopaedia is correct as to Gen. James White. A lucid article clearing up this confusion with especial reference to Dr. James White has lately appeared in this magazine by Hon. A. V. Goodpasture.<sup>5</sup>

J. TYREE FAIN.

#### APPENDIX

The following additional matter is submitted with reference to the Hon. John Tipton, Jr., in which it will be found that further mistakes and errors are set forth.—*Editor*.

#### HON. JOHN TIPTON, JR.

The Nineteenth General Assembly of Tennessee convened in the third story of the old court house, Nashville, September 19, 1831.

The County of Washington was represented by John Tipton and he was present at the opening session. He was appointed a member of the following committees: Committee on Internal Improvements, Committee on Banks. It does not appear that Mr. Tipton attended any other than the first sessions of this body. He was perhaps taken sick shortly after his arrival at Nashville. He died on Saturday, October 8, at the Nashville Inn. The following record appears on the Journal of the House:

"Genealogy of the Charles Robertson Family," *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 282.



OCTOBER 9TH, 1831 (SUNDAY).

At a special meeting of the House of Representatives this day, convened by order of the Speaker:

Mr. Carriger<sup>6</sup> rose and addressed the House as follows:

Mr. Speaker: It becomes my painful duty, as a colleague and friend, to announce to the House the death of Col. John Tipton, the representative from the County of Washington. The services and merits of the deceased are too well known to this House to render it necessary for me to enter into any detail of them here. Suffice it now for me to say that he was a friend of his country and an honest man—the noblest work of God. I will conclude, sir, by offering the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That this House will attend the funeral of the Hon. John Tipton this evening at such time and place as may be directed by the committee on arrangements.

*Resolved*, That the Senate be respectfully invited to join this House in the funeral of the Hon. John Tipton.

*Resolved*, That the Speaker appoint a committee of arrangements and pallbearers for the occasion of said funeral.

*Resolved*, That the members of this House wear crepe on the left arm for thirty days, as a mark of respect for the memory of the deceased.

And the question being taken on agreeing to the said resolutions, it was unanimously determined in the affirmative.

Ordered that the clerk acquaint the Senate therewith.

Whereupon Messrs. McLean, Dunlap, Inge and Alexander E. Smith were appointed a committee of arrangements, in pursuance of the third resolution. And Messrs. Watkins, Claiborne, Gillespie, Rogers and Hardin were appointed pallbearers in pursuance of said resolution.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Hill, their clerk.

Mr. Speaker: I am directed to inform the House that the Senate will join the House of Representatives on the occasion of the funeral of the Hon. John Tipton, deceased, late a member of this House. And then he withdrew, when—

Mr. McLean, from the committee of arrangements appointed to superintend the funeral of the Hon. John Tipton, made the following report, to wit:

The order of proceeding in the funeral of the Hon. John Tipton shall be as follows, to wit:

That the two houses assemble in the Representatives Hall at half after 2 o'clock p. m. and that the committee of arrangements and pallbearers proceed to the Nashville Inn, and conduct the body from thence to the Hall of Representatives, where prayers will be said over it by the Rev. Robert Hardin, after which the order of procession shall be:

The body of the deceased.  
Relations and attending physician.  
Clergy.

Speakers of the two Houses.  
Officers of the two Houses.

Members of the House of Representatives, two abreast.

Members of the Senate, two abreast.

Governor and Secretary of State and staff.

Treasurers.

\*Christian Carriger was the representative from Carter and Sullivan Counties.



Mayor and Aldermen of Nashville and officers.  
 President and Trustees of the University.  
 Judiciary.  
 Citizens.

Ordered that the clerk acquaint the Senate therewith. And then the House adjourned.<sup>7</sup>

At 3 o'clock the funeral took place agreeable to the above arrangements. A large concourse of citizens accompanied the body of the deceased to the city burying ground, where it was interred with proper solemnities.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Matthew Stephenson was the successor of John Tipton in the House of Representatives, being admitted as a member November 7, 1831.<sup>9</sup> Shortly afterward he introduced and had passed the following bill:

AN ACT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE HEIRS OF  
 COL. JOHN TIPTON.

*"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the Treasurer of West Tennessee pay to the heirs of John Tipton, late representative from the County of Washington, one hundred and twenty-five dollars and thirty cents, the per diem pay and mileage due to said Tipton for his services from the 19th day of September to the 8th of October, 1831, inclusive; also the sum of twenty-seven dollars to Charles D. McLean, chairman of the committee of arrangements, the expenses incurred by said committee in the interment of the deceased Colonel Tipton; and the receipt of said heirs and of the said Charles D. McLean, shall be good vouchers in the hands of said treasurer, in the settlement of his accounts."*<sup>10</sup>

A beautiful monument stands in the old City Cemetery to the memory of Col. John Tipton, erected, it is supposed, by the voluntary subscriptions of his fellow members of the Assembly. The location is in Section S-E and Lot No. 73, and consists of a round, dignified shaft located on an appropriate pedestal, with the following inscription:

To the memory of  
 Col. John Tipton  
 Born in Washington County, Tennessee  
 Died October 8, 1831

Erected by order of  
 The Forty-ninth General Assembly

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest  
 By all their country's wishes blest,  
 When Spring with dewy finger cold  
 Returns to deck their hallowed mould  
 She then shall dress a sweeter sod  
 Than fancy's feet have ever trod."

"This monumental slab, sacred to the memory of the late Colonel John Tipton, of Washington County, in the State of Tennessee, was

<sup>7</sup>Printed Journal of the House of Representatives, Nineteenth General Assembly, 1831, pages 97-98.

<sup>8</sup>Report of the House Proceedings for October 9, as printed in the "Nashville Republican and State Gazette," issue of October 11, 1831.

<sup>9</sup>Journal of House, page 190.

<sup>10</sup>Acts of Nineteenth Assembly, page 219.  
 placed here by the members and officers of the 19th General Assembly



of that State as a token of regard for the talents and excellences of the deceased.

An early adventurer in this country, Col. Tipton was distinguished for his daring intrepidity in the sanguinary Indian wars of the day.

He gave promise of the future by the deeds of his youth, and verified public expectations by the lofty stand assumed and always sustained. In the councils of the State he was an incorruptible patriot, bold in conception and fearless in execution. Covered with honors and with years, he descended to the grave on the 8th day of October, 1831, in the 64th year of his age."

Judge William B. Reese, in the chapters contributed to "History of Nashville," 1890, p. 101, says, after speaking of the monument erected in the old City Cemetery to the memory of Gov. John Sevier:

"It is rather remarkable that all the recent histories of Tennessee assume—indeed, assert—that while John Sevier became a more prominent figure in our State, having been six times elected governor of the State and twice sent to Congress, his rival and opponent and captor, John Tipton, became more and more obscure and unknown. Now the fact is after Tennessee became a State John Tipton was elected ten times a member of the Legislature, while that body consisted of not more than thirty or forty members, adding both House and Senate together. He was eight times a member of the House, twice a member of the Senate; was Speaker of the House of Representatives on 1811-12, President of the Court of Impeachment of Judge Haskel in 1831, and died Oct. 8th, 1831, while a member of the Legislature in Nashville. His death occurring on Sunday, both branches of the Legislature convened in extra session, in honor of the deceased. His body was carried from the Nashville Inn, where he died, to the capitol, where his remains lay in state. The funeral services were held in the capitol, and the governor, both houses of the Legislature, the State officers, judiciary, city officials, and citizens generally followed his remains to the old city cemetery, where they now lie interred. The writer recently looking over the monuments in that old graveyard, came across one erected by the State of Tennessee to John Tipton. He was shocked to find that it had fallen down, and lies now in four or five pieces. It was therefore impossible for him to get the inscription, as it is carved on the detached pieces of marble, but he could see enough to make out that the monument was erected by the State of Tennessee in honor of John Tipton. It is to be hoped that the State will restore the monument to its former condition. But there John Tipton lies, midway between General James Robertson's and John Sevier's monuments."

The editor of the above history, J. Woolridge, in Chapter XIX., p. 344-345, continues the subject matter:

"It will perhaps be a surprise to many to learn that such an appreciative epitaph as the following should be found dedicated to the memory of Colonel John Tipton, inasmuch as he is set forth in such an unenviable light in certain histories of the State. In Chapter VII., p. 101, it is stated that on account of the monument to Colonel Tipton being broken into four or five pieces it was impossible for the writer to get the inscription. Since that chapter was written the writer of this chapter, with the writer of that, arranged the pieces of the broken slab in such a manner as to render it easy to copy the inscription, which is presented below. However, it is proper to state that the inscription was made public in the newspapers of that day, and it was also stated that it was written by Hon. Ephraim H. Foster."



That the monument was later rebuilt will be seen in a later contribution from the gifted pen of Will Allen Dromgoole, who gave in the *Nashville Banner*, October 19, 1907, the following description of the tomb, accompanied with a fine photographic representation of same:

"The tomb is a noteworthy one, standing some feet against the blue. It is a shaft of pure white marble, exquisitely designed and executed, one side showing a sword and battle flag and cannon ball. . . . This handsome and valuable monument is in great and immediate danger of destruction, the slender shaft having been twisted almost from the pedestal (itself too tall and slender for perfect safety) by the storm which left many an unsightly mark upon the historic burying ground."

The errors and confusions that have ever haunted the narratives of the noted Major John Tipton seem to have been further visited upon the noteworthy son.

In the above inscription a number of errors have been made permanent in marble. First, he is represented as a member of the "49" General Assembly, when it was in the Nineteenth Assembly that his labors closed. Again, on one side, his death is given as having occurred in "1813" instead of 1831. Possibly these are mistakes of the workman, chiseling in the first a "4" for a "1" and in the latter getting his "1" before his "3" rather than after it. Or, indeed, it may represent the traditional mistakes in the history of these Tiptons, as "1813" was the correct date for the death of Major John Tipton, the father of the man to whose memory the monument was erected.

Note how Judge Reese confuses the history of father and son!

Perhaps this will explain the confusion of another noted Tennessee writer as he strolled through this old cemetery and was impressed to write his pensive thoughts as follows:

"Every student of Tennessee history is acquainted with the early career of Col. John Tipton. He was the implacable foe of General Sevier, and is one of the most roundly abused characters in the annals of the State. He was born in Washington County and died in 1831. Perhaps not a half dozen persons know that he lies in the old City Cemetery under a beautiful monument erected by the order of the Forty-ninth General Assembly. His tomb and the shaft erected to General Sevier may both be seen from Summer Street. . . . The feud between Sevier and Tipton was bitter and of long duration, etc."—*Will T. Hale (in old clipping from a Nashville paper).*



## LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION; HOW NASHVILLE HEARD THE NEWS.

[In the *Journal of Illinois Historical Society* for October, 1914, is found a very interesting article written by Captain William H. Gay of Quincy, Illinois. This officer was stationed at Nashville during the winter and spring of 1864-5. His description of how the news of President Lincoln's death was received in Nashville is indeed worthy to be recorded in our annals.—*Ed.*]

I was at the time of this, our crowning disaster, stationed with my company at Nashville, Tenn., where we were quartered during the winter and spring of 1864-65. Here Thomas had met Hood on the 15th and 16th of December and well nigh annihilated his army. Sherman had marched to the sea with little opposition, making clear the weakness of the Confederacy; Grant was moving to capture Lee, all of which gave hope and promise that the end was near. And now we were hourly looking for news of surrender.

On the morning of April 10, 1865, the anxious waiting was brought to rest by the glad news of the surrender. The end had come, and the joy of it brought out wild demonstrations of delight and shouts of victory from thousands of Union soldiers encamped at Nashville. Immediately an order to fire a salute of fifty guns was issued to celebrate this great victory, and my battery had the honor to be selected to perform this service.

My company occupied Fort Negley. This fort was situated on the highest point, a short distance south of the city, and was mounted with guns of heavy and light caliber, which covered all the southern approaches to the city.

We must celebrate! was the spontaneous sentiment of the loyal army and the loyal citizens of Nashville; and Saturday, the 15th of April, was fixed as the day to give expression to the exultation of triumph that took possession of us all; for it seemed that the winter of our discontent and the glorious summertime of peace had come.

And so on the appointed day Nashville put on her brightest robes to shine beautiful in this hour of the nation's joy. It was a rare spectacle of patriotic splendor, well fitting the occasion. The army was to march in grand review, accoutred as for war. It was a brilliant and inspiring sight to see the different commands marching to take possession in the great line of march. Bands of music and fife and drum broke the air with soul-stirring music. The infantry and artillery were marching in separate columns. I was riding at the head of the column of artillery. When turning in College Street to take the position assigned us I looked down the street and saw a horseman riding toward me at a rapid gallop. As he drew near I recognized General Thomas' chief of artillery, and I noticed at once he was moved by some deep and powerful emotion. When he reached my side he said, in a voice of deepest intensity, "Have you heard the dreadful news?"

I then realized that something terrible had happened, and, halting my command, I replied, "No; what is it?" He replied, "President Lincoln and Secretary Seward were assassinated last night!"

For a moment this appalling announcement so staggered me and benumbed my senses that I was speechless and reeled in my saddle, nearly overcome. It was a dreadful moment to meet, and the shock of it affected me the remainder of the day.

I do not remember that I gave utterance to a single word but



rode silently down to the Public Square, where I met Governor Brownlow, Mr. Rodgers, president of the State Senate, and the speaker of the House of Representatives. "Parson" Brownlow had recently been inaugurated Governor of Tennessee. It was a gloomy meeting. The Governor was seated in his carriage, looking the embodiment of misery. His strong, honest face showed the marks of distress he felt within. In a low, faltering voice he gave me all the facts then known, and I passed on to learn more, if possible, at headquarters.

The rank and file were now getting hold of the dreadful news, and the glad acclaim of the morning soon subsided into subdued mutterings of resentful discontent. The beautiful flags, which had floated triumphantly in the breezes, were dropped to half-mast. Joy was turned to sorrow and hilarity to grief. Further proceedings in the program of the day was stopped, and the troops were sent back to their quarters. Minute guns were ordered to be fired till sundown, and the First Iowa and another battery at Fort Johnson were detailed to perform this service.

And now came a rallying from the first shock of this awful calamity, and with a deeper sense of irreparable loss, and it awakened the deepest indignation, increasing as the hours passed on, till it reached the flood gate of such intensity that many of the well-known southern cities sought safety in hiding. Some less cautious in speech declared their satisfaction and were shot dead on the spot by an outraged soldiery.

I remained in my quarters the most of the day pondering over the possible consequences of this unexpected crisis at such a critical moment in the affairs of the nation. Abraham Lincoln gone! This man of the hour! This man who held in his hands a divine mission to humanity to solve the problem of the unshackled bondsmen, and to finish the great task still remaining, to uplift and make a place for a ransomed people. Gone!

And this is the man whose birthday all the people unite to honor each year. And for his deeds and for his humanity he will forever stand out the grandest figure in American history. His is the type of greatness that will endure, for he was the incarnation of human rights.



# A TOUR IN 1807 DOWN THE CUMBERLAND, OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS FROM NASHVILLE TO NEW ORLEANS.

BY DR. JOHN R. BEDFORD.

## *Introductory.\**

Readers will find in the document that follows not only an intensely interesting and well-written narrative of one hundred and ten years ago, but also a real contribution to the economical and social history of the times when it was written. Acknowledgements are here made to later members of the Bedford family and friends for the use of the manuscript and for valuable data of personal history concerning the writer of the journal.

In description of the manuscript book it should be said that it was made no doubt by the author, and consists of sixty-two unruled sheets of durable paper, doubled and stitched so as to make a volume of one hundred and twenty-four pages, the sheets being cut six and a half by sixteen inches in size.

Pages 1-4 were left blank, page 5 records the title, pages 6-10 blank, pages 11-13 introductory, page 14 blank, pages 15-86 the journal, pages 87-124 blank. The volume, though long without the protection of a cover, is well preserved, the writing is neat and fairly legible and is intact, with the exception of pages 7-10 (blanks) torn out, pages 41-44 of the journal torn out, doubtless purposely "expurgated," pages 99-114 (blanks) torn out, likewise pages 117-118.

The journal, or at least the preface or introduction, seems to have been written after making the journey; possibly the whole book in its present form was rewritten from notes and placed in permanent shape subsequent to the voyage. That the writer never dreamed it should appear before many readers is disclosed in the aversion to publicity set forth in the introduction.

There is an account of ascending the Cumberland River dated Dec. 14—Jan. 19, 1795-6, by Andre Michaux, also of descent of the Ohio and Mississippi, by F. Cuming, just about a year later than Bedford's, viz., May-June, 1808 (supplementing his tour from Bayou Pierre to New Orleans by a narrative of an anonymous writer).

A still later tour of this same period from St. Louis to New Orleans was made December, 1810, by John Bradbury. Reprints of all three of these narratives are found in the Early Western Travel Series, edited by R. G. Thwaites, viz.: Vols. III, IV and V.

[\*The introductory matter and foot-notes are by the Editor.]



## DR. J. R. BEDFORD.

Dr. John R. Bedford was the son of Captain Thomas Bedford, a Revolutionary officer of the Virginia line, and his wife, Ann Robertson. He was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, January 18, 1782. His parents in 1795 emigrated from Virginia, coming to Tennessee, making settlement on a plantation near the village of Old Jefferson, in Rutherford County, a very refined and cultured community, so influential in after years as to receive votes for the location of the state capital. John R. Bedford making good use of the opportunities of the day, prepared himself for the vocation of medicine, and accordingly entered upon his profession in the neighborhood of his father's plantation. An influential family in this same community was that of General Coffee, and by friendship and marriage relations the Coffees and Bedfords were ever afterward closely associated.

Mr. Thomas Bedford, the father, died about 1804 and it devolved on his son, Dr. Bedford, to administer on his large estate.<sup>1</sup> About this time a local interest was started at Jefferson in the way of freighting the commerce of the community to New Orleans by way of Stones River and the Cumberland, which awakened an interest in the community for river travel, etc. It seems also that at this time members of the Bedford family were interested in the grocery and commission business at Nashville, including Dr. Bedford, with perhaps his brothers, William and Stephen. The following notice in the local Nashville paper indicates the preparation made for the trip to New Orleans, the relation of which is found in the subjoined narrative:

MESSRS Bedford & Co. having suspended business until the next season, earnestly REQUESTS THE FEW, who are in arrears to be punctual in payment by the 1st of January, otherwise coercive measures must necessarily be adopted. In the occasional absence of J. R. Bedford, accmpts will be left with Mr. George Poyzer, who is authority to settle and receive payment, and to whom we sold the stock of Groceries remaining on hand.<sup>2</sup>

It has been questioned as to whether it was Dr. J. R. Bedford or his brother William who was the author of the diary or journal, but when it is closely read with the number of allusions made to his special fellowship with and friendship for the physicians met, it discloses beyond a doubt that the writer was himself a physician or specially interested in the profession of medicine. Possibly he expected to add to his knowledge in this profession by his opportunities in New Orleans and the South.

In the *Impartial Review*, a paper published at Nashville,

<sup>1</sup>Haywood, Tenn. Reports, Vol. V, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup>*Impartial Review*, Dec. 12, 1806.



there appears in the issue of April 11, 1807, a letter "from a citizen of this place, dated New Orleans, March 27, 1807," that is most probably from his pen.

It is not known how long Dr. Bedford remained in the South—probably but a few months, as advertisements of stock sales, etc., on his plantation at Jefferson appear in a local paper of October 22, 1807,<sup>3</sup> likewise announcement of his removal to Nashville for the practice of his profession. Dr. Felix Robertson, one of the oldest and most influential practitioners, had occasion to spend the winter in Philadelphia, so he offered his office and drug business to Dr. Bedford, viz:

In a notice printed October 29, 1807,<sup>4</sup> Dr. Robertson says:

He has obtained the kindness of Dr. J. R. Bedford of Rutherford County, to assume charge of his shop, who will be found ready to obey the calls of his friends with promptitude and fidelity.

Followed by the printed announcement:

#### MEDICINE.

J. R. Bedford occupies the shop of Doctor F. Robertson, and proposes to exercise in the practice of his profession. He therefore tenders his services as a physician, etc., to the citizens of Nashville and its vicinity.—As to any claim in public patronage, to which merit may entitle him; he awaits, free of apprehensions, the decision of experience.

The same paper, issue of April 28, 1808, announces:

Dr. Robertson informs his friends and the public that he has just returned from Philadelphia, and has again commenced business at his former shop in Nashville, etc.

In 1818 lands in Alabama Territory having been cleared as to Indian titles, etc., began to be sold at public sale by the United States Government, new counties were soon formed and many new towns laid out and lots sold. What is now Florence, Alabama, in Lauderdale County was the particular exploit of a land company headed by Gen. Coffee, Jas. Jackson and others. The following advertisement of the day tells the story of Cotton-Port, afterwards so well known as Florence, the first settlement on or near the Tennessee River. Dr. Bedford was a member of this land company:

**THE TOWN OF COTTON-PORT.**<sup>5</sup> On the 16th day of March, 1818 (being the next Monday after the close of the Public Land Sales at Huntsville) will be offered for sale to the highest bidder on the premises; A part of the lots laid out for the new town of Cotton-Port.

The Town is laid out on the West Bank of Limestone River; one mile above its junction with the Tennessee and a little below the south Beaver Dam and the Piney Fork.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>Documentary History of Industrial Society, Phillips, Vol. II, p. 263.



The situation is high and dry, promises to be as healthy as any other place in Alabama Territory, as near the Tennessee, is sufficiently level, and elevated above the reach of the highest floods of the Tennessee.

Within the limits of the Town are two never-failing springs of good water. The appearance of the Land and the success of similar experiments in the country adjacent, justify a belief that on almost every lot a well of good water may be had at a moderate depth without blowing rock.

Limestone River from the Tennessee to this place is navigable by the largest Keel and flat Bottom'd boats used in the Navigation of the Tennessee. Limestone here affords a safe harbor of deep still water, in which the greatest floods, boats will be entirely free from the dangers to which at such times apprehended from the strong and rapid current and sudden risings and fallings of the Tennessee.

The situation at which Cotton-Port is laid out, has in fact long since been proved by the observation and experienced of the planters of the western and north-western parts of Madison county, to be the place which Nature has distinctly marked out for the commercial centre of the very fertile country adjacent. It includes the well-known old boat landing Limestone. At this place for several years past, not an inconsiderable part of the cotton from these parts of Madison county, has been embarked in flat bottom'd boats, which ascended with ease from the Tennessee and with full cargoes descended from this place to New Orleans. The saving in the expense of Land carriage, altho' the country for more than 15 miles around the boat landing was then unsettled and the Indian claim to it unextinguished, caused the produce of this quarter of Madison county to be embarked at this place in preference to any other. The same reason must naturally render Cotton-Port the place of embarkation for all the produce of the country north of it, as far as the southern boundary of the state of Tennessee, & for a considerable distance to the West and to the East.

The country whose trade seems decreed by Nature to centre here, includes one of the finest cotton districts North of Tennessee river. Of its fertility and probable wealth and produce something like definite ideas may be formed, when it is known that at the Public Sales now going on at Huntsville, the lands in the Township in which Cotton-Port has been laid out, and the next to the North, sold at from 2 to 70 dollars per acre and at an average of 16 dollars per acre. In the two next townships to the east and north-east at about the same prices.

The 2 nearest townships to the W. and N. W. of Cotton-Port are to be sold during the present week. The greater part of the Land in these is not less fertile and inviting to wealthy and industrious settlers.

To people at a distance who may not have enquired into the system pursued in surveying and selling Public Lands of the United States, it may be proper to observe, that a township is six miles square, in each of which after the reservation for Schools there are 22,400 acres to be sold in quarter sections of 160 each—of rich and high priced Lands just mentioned the most remote is but twelve miles from Cotton-Port.

Men of Industry, Enterprise & Judgement in almost every walk of life, who seek to better their condition, in a new and unoccupied field of action, will not be slow in forming their conclusions if they can rely upon these statements. Let them examine the records of the Land office and see if they are correct, let them examine the account of sales and calculate what must in all probability be the produce of



a district in one half of which, capital to so large amount has been vested by prudent men in the purchase of Lands at the Public sales of government, let them examine a Map of the country and ascertain the point at which the commerce of this district must centre.

To the merchant it must occur that for the exportation of the produce of such a country there must be buyers at the point where it will be collected—that to supply such a country in foreign articles of consumption there must be sellers at the place to which consumers come to sell their produce.

Trade cannot stagnate here. Industrious and ingenious mechanics must see that the inhabitants of such a country will want houses, furniture, farming utensils, leather, saddles, boots, shoes, &c. and will be able to pay good prices for them. The upper country on the Tennessee and Holston rivers and their branches will afford, at a very trifling expense for water carriage down the river, abundant supplies of provisions, iron, lumber and other raw materials.

A good dry road can be had from Cotton-Port, north to Elk river. The proprietors of the land laid out for the town intend to build a bridge across Limestone; and to make a good road for several miles towards the rich country about the Big Prairie.

From Cotton-Port to Falls of the Black Warrior, as good a road can probably be had as from any place on Tennessee river. The distance is about 100 miles.

The trustees of the town will reserve for public benefit, two lots including the two springs, two or more lots for a place of public worship, a school house, and such other public buildings as the prospects of the place may seem to require.

In the plan of the town the Trustees have endeavored to avoid everything which will tend to bring all its population and business into one span, and leave the rest of the lots unoccupied. They have endeavored so to arrange the streets, lots, etc., as to secure to the future inhabitants as far as practicable the benefits of shade and free circulation of air, and to every family a piece of garden ground.

A plan of the town and a map of the adjacent country, will be left for public inspection at John H. Smith's store in Nashville, and a plan of the town with Brice M. Garner Fayetteville, T. and with John Brahan in Huntsville as soon as they can be prepared.

The sale will commence precisely at 12 o'clock. The trustees are induced to commence the sale at so short a notice, in order to meet the wishes of many now waiting and anxious to commence improvements in the town immediately. If the demand for lots requires it, the sale will be continued from day to day.

Terms eight months credit.

Bond and approved security to be given.

John Coffee, James Jackson, John Brahan, Jas Bright.—Trustees.

In addition to the town exploit large investments were made by these parties in farming lands, much of it purchased directly from the hands of its original occupants, the Indians. On a beautiful site three miles from the town of Florence, on lands bought of the Indian Chief Doublehead, he built his family home and thus became the first resident physician of this new settlement, his family joining him there in April, 1818. In connection with Gen. Coffee and others he was instrumental in the organization of the Marion Land Company, among whose stockholders were a number of men of national



note, including a president of the United States. On account of impaired health, it became necessary for Dr. Bedford to spend his winters in the South, commonly at New Orleans.

Here he made investments in banking and commission business, the firm bearing the names of Bedford, Breedlove & Robertson and Bedford & Mackey. On his return from the South, in 1827, having reached Athens, Ala., he suddenly expired, March 24, his remains being brought to his plantation, "Mt. Hope," and there interred.

Thomas Eastin, editor of the *Examiner*, published at Nashville, said of Dr. Bedford:

He was a man of much philosophical research, and of a refined and scientific mind, and although somewhat skeptical in his opinions on points not clearly demonstrable, was much to be relied on for the keenness of his mental perceptions and the liberal exercises of his views.<sup>6</sup>

#### EXPEDITION OF COL. AARON BURR.

It is well to note the setting of this narrative in the history of this period in the southwestern country. The absorbing issue of the day was Col. Aaron Burr and his expedition to the Southwest. The crisis of his exploit was reached at Natchez almost on the same date that commences this journal. While little data is furnished in the journal for romantic surmises or exercise of the imagination, yet it is appealing strange that two bright young physicians lately located in Nashville should choose the rough weather of winter and the rougher method of transportation, to follow Col. Burr's expedition so closely to the Southwest just at this time. After all, however, perhaps the trying river voyage, accompanied, as we shall see, with many dangers and much physical suffering, was little less than was promised by the horseback journey over the Natchez Trail, characterized as it was in those years by daily robbery, and often murder.

Nashville had gotten itself no little in the limelight of the public in the few weeks that preceed the opening of this journal by its reception to Colonel Burr. The following appears in conspicuous print in a local newspaper of the town:

#### COMMUNICATION.

Col. Aaron Burr the steady and firm friend, of the State of Tennessee, arrived in this place on Friday the 28th inst. (Sept. 1806) and on the next day a dinner was given him at Talbott's Hotel at which were convened many of the most respectable citizens of Nashville and its vicinity. There appeared an union of sentiment on this occasion. Many appropriate toasts were drank, and a few of the most suitable songs given, when the company retired quite gratified.<sup>7</sup>

It is further related that during this visit Col. Burr was

<sup>6</sup>"It Happened in Nashville," W. E. Beard, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup>*Impartial Review*, Oct. 4, 1806.



graciously received at the Hermitage and likewise dined and wined at the residence of Gen. James Robertson's.

After taking certain ones into his confidence as to plans of future operation, arrangements were made for the purchasing of supplies and their transportation down the river to join other portions of the flotilla when the date of embarkation should be definitely known. The same local newspaper later notes:

Col. Burr left this place on Monday last (Oct. 6th) for Kentucky.<sup>8</sup>

A writer who has presented some features of this period in an earlier number of this magazine says:

Leaving Nashville for the more immediate scene of his preparations, Col. Burr sent back to Jackson \$3,500 to be expended for him in boats and provisions. Later an additional \$500 was despatched to Nashville. He left the impression behind him that his enterprise contemplated a settlement on the lands recently acquired upon the Washita, and in the event of a war with Spain, a warlike expedition into Mexico.<sup>9</sup>

On his arrival at Lexington, Kentucky, Col. Burr found his political enemies busy at work to discount the sincerity of his expedition before the bar of public opinion. Affidavit was made before the federal judge seeking to have his plans looked into. Later a jury at Frankfort gave investigation to the charges but exonerated him, whereupon he again received high social recognition by his friends and was equally cried down by his Federalist enemies.

A short time later he again returns to Nashville. Note:

Col. Burr arrived in town on Wednesday last (Dec. 17th). It is said he intends proceeding in a few days to Natchez.<sup>10</sup>

Col. Burr embarked from this place for New Orleans on Monday last (Dec. 22nd) with two large flat boats, which did not appear to be loaded.<sup>11</sup>

After President Jefferson issued his proclamation against Col. Burr his popularity necessarily somewhat waned in Nashville. Many of his intimate followers, and largely the populace, turned against him. So great was the change of sentiment as that it culminated in a scene described in the following:

#### COMMUNICATION.

Last night (Dec. 30th) at the hour of nine, commenced burning the Effigy of Col. Aaron Burr, by the citizens of this town. This proceeding is justified by the ardent emotions of Patriotism felt by the people, and excited from a deep conviction that the said Burr is a TRAITOR. This conviction is produced from the conduct of Col. Burr himself in these Western states, and even in this town—the Proclamation of the President—his Message to both houses of Con-

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>"Col. Burr's First Brush With the Law," W. E. Beard, Tennessee Hist. Mag., Vol. I (1915), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>*Impartial Review*, Dec. 20, 1806.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1806.



gress, and the Statement of Gen. Eaton. And we have the utmost confidence in assuring our Atlantic brethren that the idea of a separation is spurned with indignation and horror. That our lives and our property are pledged to support the General Government of the United States, as the safeguard to our own personal security, and as the only asylum for oppressed humanity.<sup>12</sup>

Embarassment was faced, of course, by Gen. Jackson and public sentiment caused him to summon the military to preparedness and secret couriers were sent to and fro for information. One, John Murrell, was despatched in the first days of January to the mouth of Cumberland River and beyond to Fort Massac. He reported:

I arrived at Centerville on the 4th inst. Jan. 1807. Heard a report that Col. Burr had gone down the river with 1,000 men. I arrived at the mouth of the Cumberland that evening, and made inquiry concerning Col. Burr, and was informed that he left that place on the 28th of Dec. with ten boats of different description and sixty men aboard. I left there on the 5th, and arrived at Fort Massac the same evening, delivered your letter to Captain Bissell and received his answer, made some inquiry of him and was informed that Col. Burr left that place on the 30th of Dec. . . . there are about fifty men stationed at the mouth of Cumberland under the command of Col. Ramsey.<sup>13</sup>

Reply of Captain Bissell to Gen. A. Jackson.  
Ft. Massac, Jan. 5, 1807.

On or about the 31st ult. Col. Burr passed here, with about ten boats, of different description, navigated with about six men each, having nothing on board that would suffer a conjecture, more than a man bound to market. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime the doughty Colonel proceeded on his way with many wild and exaggerated reports preceding him. The postmaster at Natchez gave out that he had received positive information from the postmaster at Nashville that two thousand of Burr's recruits were on the river. The sequel is told in the following:

"1807. Early in January. . . . Colonel Burr with nine boats arrived at the mouth of Bayou Pierre, and tied up on the western or Louisiana shore. He crossed over to the residence of Judge Bruin (whom he had known in the Revolutionary War) and there learned for the first time that the Territorial authorities would oppose his descent, though his landing on the Louisiana side would seem to indicate that he apprehended some opposition.<sup>15</sup>

Col. Burr submitted to arrest on the 16th, gave bond for appearance before the Superior Court on February 2. His escape to the Mobile River country and later arrest close his history in the South.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1807.

<sup>13</sup>*Impartial Review*, Jan. 10, 1807.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1807.

<sup>15</sup>"Mississippi—Province, Territory and State," J. F. Claiborne (1880), p. 278.



NOTES OR MEMORANDUM OF A TOUR FROM NASHVILLE TO  
NEW ORLEANS DOWN THE CUMBERLAND, OHIO AND  
MISSISSIPPI RIVERS IN THE YEAR 1807.

The following memorandums or Notes were written for two reasons only: viz:

1st. To banish *ennui* and keep at bay the "*taedium vitae*" of idleness, either of the body or mind. The scene on this tour is ever regular and almost invariable. The banks of the Mississippi seem to be of the same height from the mouth of the Ohio to N. Orleans a few places excepted, perfectly level, and covered with the willow & cotton wood—and sometimes decorated with verdure of the *cane*, which occasionally catch the eye and engage it for 1, 2 or more miles.

The meandering of the channel, is nearly as regular and invariable. It is round one large bend on the right, pass a point, into another large bend on the left—turn this point, into another large bend—and thus we are continually passing bends and points—all exhibiting such little differences to the view, that they would barely be observed by any, but the landscape painter, & then, merely for the punctillious accuracy of representation,—if indeed, any part of the Mississippi merited representation. Under every point,—which is the end of a bend,—is either the beginning of an island, a sand-bar, or flat *willow beach*.—A large island in the middle of the river covered with large, lofty cotton wood, sometimes catch and interest the attention.—Therefore little interesting employment is supplied to any of the faculties of the mind.—Such is the uniformity of scenery on the uninhabited banks of the Mississippi that fancy and observation are enlivened only at the commencement of the voyage.—Interesting novelty soon wears away, and insipid uniformity soon succeeds.—The mind sinks into *apathy*, and at distant intervals only, is aroused by the dread of danger or apprehension of difficulty.

2dly. They are written for my own personal amusement and satisfaction. The recollections of past scenes and transactions, in which we were intimately concerned, though attended with circumstances, that were difficult & unpleasant, never fails to interest & concern our own feelings.—But it is very improbable that others will be at all concerned, but those whose feelings, from intimacy, sympathize & vibrate with our own.—He, who expects a general concern for his private individual situation or circumstances betrays great ignorance of mankind and the secret springs that actuate them.—Little minds, *big* with the conceit of their own superiority and importance, imagine that every eye points to their persons with respect and every mind contemplates their excellencies with admiration.—Hence they vainly intrude their every thought and action upon others who would not otherwise even turn to the right or to the left to notice their greatest exploit.—Hence proceeds arrogance & vain ostentation,—personal defects, that are so despicable in the eyes of the intelligent, and so cautiously shunned by the deserving & modest.

JANUARY 14th. Four or five days being busily spent in preparation for the voyage, went on board the BARGE MARY<sup>16</sup> with Doctr. Claiborne,<sup>17</sup> a fellow voyager, accompanied with the friendly wishes of a few friends—a *few friends*—because we might be under a mistake to receive every compliment indiscriminately given us, as springing from pure fountains of candour and sincerity.—Inquiries into health,

<sup>16</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>17</sup>See Appendix B.



good wishes and other similar compliments, like most manual motions, acquire ease and fluency from mere custom and habit.

Between 1 and 2 o'clock p. m. weighed anchor and sailed, Capt. Duffy commander or Director of the voyage and 3 hands at oars—proceeded very pleasantly 14 miles—encamped on the North shore—weather cold.

15th THURSDAY—Proceeded without interruption 30 miles and unexpectedly grounded on the Harpeth Shoals,<sup>18</sup> 2 or 3 miles above the mouth of Harpeth River, 3 o'clock P. M. With the aid of two other Boat's crew, endeavored to get again on float but without effect.—Passed over to North shore and encamped.

FRIDAY, 16th. With the same as yesterday made exertions the whole of this day to get on float & with no more effect.—Our perplexity and unpleasant sensations more easily felt, than described.

SATURDAY, 17th. From the low stage of water in the Cumberland were sensible of the impossibility of floating the Barge and cargo to the Ohio.—Anxious to proceed with the least delay, deliberated and resolved to load two Keel Boats<sup>19</sup> which were at our command, send to Nashville for another and float the Barge down to the mouth of C—d, empty.

Doct. Claiborne returned for another Boat, I proceeded on to the Ohio with the two, loaded from the Barge, and Capt. Duffy remained in charge of the balance, to await the arrival of Doct. Claiborne from N.ville.

18th, 19th, 20th, 21st & 22nd. These days with the 17th were spent in the passage from the Harpeth Shoals to the mouth of Cumberland,—arrived 3 o'clock P. M. was advised of a large sand bar, of very difficult passage in low water at the entrance of the Cum—ld—into the Ohio.—Therefore passed three miles below it, to Lower Smithland<sup>20</sup>—lodged the load on the beach dismissed the boats and procured Cumberland being called Upper Smithland.<sup>21</sup>—Lodged the load on the beach dismissed the boats and procured comfortable boarding at John McKay's, half mile above the landing.—McKay has been an

<sup>17</sup>Between the mouths of Sycamore Creek on the north and Harpeth River on the south, the Cumberland River is interrupted by a rough reef of limestone rocks that were for long years a great danger to boating, especially in low water. This has been overcome in later years by the erecting of Lock "A." which has raised the water permanently above the reefs so that they are no longer visible. The steamboat General Jackson was wrecked here by running into a snag in 1821. "Hist of Nashville," Crew, p. 307.)

<sup>18</sup>See note 16.

<sup>20</sup>"This town contains only ten or a dozen houses and cabins, including two stores, two taverns and a billiard table. There appear to be only about 30 acres of land, badly cleared and worse cultivated, around it, though the soil seems very good, but as it is as yet only considered as a temporary landing to boats bound up and down the Cumberland River, the inhabitants depend on what they can make by their intercourse with them, and are not solicitous to cultivate more land than will suffice to give them maize enough for themselves and their horses. They live chiefly on bacon, which comes down the two rivers, and corn, being too indolent to butcher and to fish, though they might raise any quantity of stock, and doubtless both the Ohio and Cumberland abound in fish. One the whole it is a miserable place, and a traveler will scarcely think himself repaid by a sight of the Cumberland, for stopping at Smithland. There is an old Indian burying ground at the upper end of the town, where we found several human bones enclosed in their flattish stone tombs close to the surface. Cumberland River mixes its clear blue stream with the muddy Ohio at an embouchure of about three hundred yards wide."

("Tour in the Western Country," F. Cuming, p. 275.)

<sup>21</sup>See Appendix C.



inhabitant of this place 9 years—an adventurer with the famous Zacariah Cox,<sup>22</sup> from the lower part of Georgia,—is a hospitable, industrious, honest man.—Nothing worth noting after leaving the Barge to this place, but the intense severity of the cold,<sup>23</sup>—which on the 19th was almost insupportable, occasioning a very thin skim of ice on the river the morning of the 20th,—which is very unusual,—not having happened for many years.—Passed Clarksville<sup>24</sup> on the right, Palmyra<sup>25</sup> on the left 12 miles below, Dover<sup>26</sup> on the same side, all of little importance or notoriety, only that they are county towns.—Eddyville<sup>27</sup> some distance lower on the North bank, is in the State of Kentucky, Livingston County,<sup>28</sup>—and remarkable only for Ship building which is carried on with some spirit,—3 schooners being on the stocks of about 160 tons, one launched & nearly finished—the other two not in such forwardness,—also two Gun Boats for the U. States, under the superintendence of Matt. Lyon.<sup>29</sup>—Two others were completed at this place & forwarded on in November last.

<sup>22</sup>Concerning Zacariah Cox, the Settlement of the Big Bend of Tennessee River, the Yazoo Land Company, etc., see "Annals of Tennessee," J. G. Ramsey, p. 549-551 "History of Georgia," Stevens, Vol. II., p. 457-496.

<sup>23</sup>See note <sup>22</sup>.

<sup>24</sup>Established in 1785 by Martin Armstrong, being the second town established in Middle Tennessee—Nashville being the first in 1784. It is located on the northern bank of Cumberland River just above the mouth of Red River. Was named in honor of Gen. George Rogers Clark, no doubt, through the influence of Col. John Montgomery, one of Gen. Clark's commanders in his expedition against the French of the Illinois, who was one of the first settlers there. When the State of Tennessee was erected, the County of Tennessee gave up its name to the State and took the name of "Montgomery" in honor of Col. John Montgomery, who had met death at the hands of the Indians. The U. S. Gazetteer, of 1795 says: "It contains about thirty dwellings, a court house and a jail."

(Hon. A. V. Goodpasture, in Amer. Hist. Mag., Vol. VIII., p. 197-199.)

<sup>25</sup>The first settlement made in Montgomery County on the south side of the Cumberland River. It is located at the mouth of Deason's Creek, and the settlement was made under the auspices of Dr. Morgan Brown, being erected by legislative enactment in 1796. It was the first port of entry opened west of the mountains. In 1802 Dr. Brown built in this neighborhood the first iron works in Montgomery County, also kept a general store and run a water mill. He removed to Kentucky in 1808.

(Amer. Hist. Mag., Vol. VIII., p. 200 )

<sup>26</sup>The neighborhood of which the town of Dover is the center was settled as early as 1795, by George Petty, Joseph Smith, Larry Satterfield and others, their homes being located at the foot of the Cumberland Hills on Lick Creek. The county of Stewart was formed in 1803, when commissioners were appointed to locate the county seat, it being specified that its name should be "Monroe." In the fall of 1805 the site of the new town was settled upon, thirty acres being bought of Robert Nelson. The name of Dover, however, was given to it instead of that designated in the act of the Legislature. The courthouse built was of logs, two rooms and one story high, costing about \$600. In 1806 George Petty was issued a license to keep an "Ordinary" (tavern).

("History of Tennessee," Goodspeed, p. 897.)

<sup>27</sup>The site of Eddyville was visited by the French traveler, Michaux, in 1795. He makes mention of the locality in his Journal, under date of December 22, says:

"Rowed about seven leagues, and slept at the Great Eddy, which is considered to be at a distance of forty-five miles from the mouth (of the Cumberland)."

"Western Travels," Thwaites, Vol. III., p. 81.)

The town was founded by Col. Matthew Lyon, and was given its name because of its location between the two large eddies in the river at that point, one being just below and the other two miles above the site of the town. As noted in the journal, this place was famed for its boat-building industry. The *Nashville Impartial Review* has this notice in the issue of March 21, 1807:

"The brig Melinda was launched at Eddyville on Friday (28 ult.) and will set sail in a few days for New Orleans. She is a handsome vessel of 150 tons, the property of Messrs. Bullock and Picklin, of this town." (Copied from a paper published at Russellville, Ky.)

<sup>28</sup>Established in 1798 out of part of Christian County, Ky., and named in honor of Robert R. Livingston, of New York

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix D.



FRIDAY, 23rd. Light Rains,—covered cotton on the beach with staves near at hand—washed and exchanged clothes.—After dinner set out for Upper Smithland—mistook the way and would unavoidably have been bewildered, till, God knows when! but for McKay whom I accidentally met returning from a hunt—was persuing a small trail, that led from the Ohio towards the Cumberland river, above Upper Smithland—in which direction were no inhabitants for many miles. Returned home with McKay, glad at having so luckily escaped such a difficulty.

SATURDAY, 24th. Clear and cold.—After breakfast set out again for Upper Smithland,—which was three miles above—arrived without embarrassment—was unknown to any of the inhabitants, but a Mr. Cribbs,—with whom I had a slight acquaintance—was destitute of a cent of money, having paid all in hand to the boatmen for their services and required still more to comply with engagements with them,—not anticipating difficulties, set out from N-ville with only 30 dollars—which was deemed sufficient for contingent expenses, that usually occur on similar voyages.—Among strangers without money and dunned for money justly due! ! my feelings are too painful to describe! Cribbs seeming inattentive and little disposed to render my situation pleasant, even as a stranger in the place,—my feelings certainly forbade presuming on his good offices.—Quite unexpectedly, but very luckily met with Robt. McConnell, now living in Centreville,<sup>30</sup> Kentucky,—formerly in N-ville—with whom I was acquainted when a lad.—He has ever been remarkable for his goodness, generosity and gentlemanly deportment.—Did not hesitate to disclose my situation and wants to him.—He had not money, but made arrangements with Woods & Hicks<sup>31</sup> at Upper Smithland, for my accommodation.—Obtained from them money and articles necessary for the voyage of which we were already destitute, to the amt. of 75 dollars, for which gave a Bill on Mr. G. Poyzer, Mercht.<sup>32</sup> Nashville. Returned to Mr. McKay's,—examined pork and cotton on the beach,—all safe.

<sup>30</sup>This place was in Livingstone County, Ky. The name no longer is in use. Perhaps was changed. "Eddyville was made the seat of justice of Caldwell when that county was established in 1809. It was removed to Centerville, returned to Eddyville, but again removed and fixed permanently at Princeton."

("School Hist. of Ky.," Collins, p. 491.) See page 47.

<sup>31</sup>Both of these names stand high in the commercial and social history of Nashville. Joseph, Robert and James Woods' names appear in connection with nearly every commercial enterprise undertaken in the early days of merchant life of Nashville. Reared in central Kentucky, Joseph and Robert married sisters, daughters of the noted Kentucky inventor, Edward West, who it is claimed really invented the first steamboat, giving it a try-out at Lexington in the 179—.

Another daughter of West became the wife of Moses Norvel, who came to Nashville in 1807, and a son, William Edward West, was the well-known artist and portrait painter.

Whether the result of association with Mr. West, who was so interested in river navigation or for pure commercial reasons, we find the Woods brothers at an early date engaged in the river trade, having a noted commission house at Smithland. Later they moved to Nashville, where they continued for many years in the same business.—

"The early experience of these men as commission merchants on the river, in receiving and forwarding goods of various kinds, gave them great advantage over all others, and they were very successful in their business, and held the confidence of the entire community." So wrote the Hon. Willoughby Williams in his "Recollections of Nashville."

(Clayton's Hist. of Dav. Co., p. 199.)

<sup>32</sup>George Poyzer came from Lexington, Ky., to Nashville. He was an Englishman by birth, and had lived at Lexington some years. His was the first cotton "factory" in Nashville, located on what is now 3rd Avenue, from Phillips & Buttorff Co down to Church Street. He did not manufacture cloth, only thread. When offered for sale, his factory was described as follows:

"One mule of one hundred and forty-four spindles, a double throttle of seventy-



SUNDAY, 25th. Clear and pleasantly warm,—passed the whole of this day in repose,—occasionally examined the load on the beach.

MONDAY, 26th. Weather as yesterday.—Wrote Mr. George Poyzer, Parry W. Humphreys<sup>33</sup> & Dr. James L. Armstrong.—Half after 3 o'clock P. M. while writing, Doct. Claiborne arrived with the welcome intelligence that the boats were in 12 miles and approaching,—all safe & well conditioned.—Closed my letters and returned with him to Upper Smithland—continued here this night in company with Mr. Kirkman<sup>34</sup> & Murrell<sup>35</sup> from N-ville—Mr. Cobb of Eddyville & Mr. McNair<sup>36</sup> of St. Louis.—No occurrence worth attention.—Upper Smithland is situated on the South bank of the Cumberland River—at its junction with the Ohio,—and Lower Smithland on the South bank of the Ohio three miles below.—The situation of these places, gives them superior commercial advantages,—which at present are enjoyed in a more limited degree by a Mr. Hamlin Hicks, the only Inn Keeper and Merchant of Upper Smithland,—indeed of both Smithlands. No establishment being at the lower.

The whole exportation, of Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, West Pennsylvania and the greater part of Indiana Territory now pass this place,—and events of a few years will very probably draw the importations to all these places, but West Pennsylvania, by this place.—These circumstances, with well regulated establishments founded on good capital, will certainly give Smithland great importance in the Western country.—Little doubt exists, but that Lower Smithland is far more eligible and advantageous than Upper Smithland,—and for evident reasons, viz: the obstruction occasioned by the large Sand Bar and an Island which divided the current of Ohio immediately opposite the mouth Cum—ld.—The nearest current is impassable except in high water,—of course that on the opposite side of the Island is in far greater use.—Large crafts from N. Orleans bound above this place, seldom proceed further up, except in very high water,—Deposit & freight in smaller crafts.—Therefore in consequence of Upper Smithland being measurably blocked up by this Island and Sandbar, except in high water, equal establishments at Lower Smithland would have preference and become the place of more general deposit and resort.—It seems a providential regulation that one place shall not be endowed with every benefit or advantage,—wherefore this possesses

two spindles, and two single throttles of thirty-six spindles each, with the necessary carding machine, etc."

In addition to the factory, he also conducted a store. Likewise his residence was in the same plat.

(Clayton's Hist. of Dav. Co., p. 198. Hist. of Nashville, p. 215. "Old Days in Nashville," Thomas, p. 23.)

<sup>33</sup>Distinguished lawyer and jurist of Tennessee Appointed an additional judge of the Superior Court in the fall of 1807, continued in office till the abolition of those courts, January 1st, 1810. The fall preceding he had been appointed one of the judges of the Circuit Courts In April, 1813, was elected a member of Congress, thereupon resigning the office of judge.

(Clayton's Hist. of Dav. Co., p. 93.)

<sup>34</sup>A prominent family in the history of Nashville.

<sup>35</sup>See p. 47.

<sup>36</sup>First Governor of the State of Missouri. b. in Derby Township, Dauphin Co., Pa., in 1774. d in St. Louis, March 18, 1826. Educated at Derby and the College of Philadelphia (U. of Pa.). In 1794 was a lieutenant in charge of a company from Dauphin Co. in the Whisky Rebellion of Western Pa. Went to Missouri Territory in 1804, settling at St. Louis, where he served for several years as U. S. Commissary. Was an officer in the War of 1812. Elected Governor of Missouri, holding office from the foundation of the State in 1820 to 1824, thereafter held an important office in the Indian Department (Appleton's Cyclo. of Amer. Biog.)



such, only as results from its relative situation with the places above named by means of the Ohio & Cumberland Rivers.—The country around is

The country around is greatly interspersed with marshes, ponds or lagoons, which render it unhealthy—much subject to fevers of different types—intermittents more generally. And it has not the advantage of a fertile soil or good water. But for these Smithland would be a very desirable situation in every respect. The settlements around will probably ever be of inferior respectability.

**TUESDAY, 27th.** Morning cloudy, windy and cold. 9 o'clock A. M. Barge and boat in company hove in sight—arrived—all safe and well conditioned—continued on for lower Smithland—violent head wind detained till afternoon—then set out. Barge grounded on the sand-bar with five bales cotton and 16 or 20 barrels pork only—after two hours' labor worked her off—by a mis-step in haste fell overboard on the sand-bar—water waist deep. Arrived at lower Smithland—unloaded the boat and dismissed her—commenced reloading the barge.

**WEDNESDAY, 28th.** Weather as the day before. Engaged in reloading.

**THURSDAY, 29th.** Weather more moderate—finished reloading and other preparations for an early start tomorrow.

**FRIDAY, 30th.** Weather as yesterday—weighed anchor and set out with very alarming apprehensions of again grounding—Ohio still falling—proceeded 12 miles—1 mile below the mouth of Tennessee—encamped on the south side of the Ohio. Had a light snow.

**SATURDAY, 31st.** Morning quite clear and not very cold. With difficult and tedious progress proceeded to Fort Massac,<sup>37</sup> only nine

<sup>37</sup>Some have thought that the site of Fort Massac was first occupied by the French when Juchereau established his trading station and tanneries on the "Oua-bache" at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Others state that as early as 1711 the site was occupied by the French as a stockade fort for the protection of the Jesuit missionaries and the fur traders who were subject to marauding Cherokee Indians.

Pownall's map of 1751 shows the location of a fort or post here, and in 1757 Aubry, Governor of the Illinois country, erected a fort here on his way to reinforce the garrison at Fort Duquesne, giving it at first the name of Fort Ascension. On the approach of the English under General Forbes, in 1758, the commandant at Fort Duquesne evacuated the fort and destroyed it with fire, a portion of the forces went north to Canada, the other part descended the Ohio one thousand miles to Fort Ascension, where they strengthened it and left a garrison of one hundred men, changing its name in honor of the Marquis de Messiac, Minister of the Marine, to Fort Messiac, shortened in use to Massac. Later the English perpetuated a tradition of an Indian massacre at this point from which it is said the name Massac originated. When the French surrendered the country east of the Mississippi to the English in 1763 this fort was dismantled and evacuated. The English never rebuilt it, though it was afterwards appreciated by them that it was the key to the Northwest country, since it was from near this site that George Rogers Clark, having landed his company of soldiers, took his departure for the Illinois towns, resulting in the end of the English occupation of the country. When, in 1793-1794, the French agent, Genet, was fomenting his scheme for capturing Louisiana and Florida from Spain by the help of filibusters from Tennessee and Kentucky, the site of old Fort Massac was designated as the place for the base of supplies, etc., but General St. Clair's proclamation of March 24, 1794, ordering General Wayne to fortify and restore the post, defeated their purpose and prevented the passing down the river of the expedition. A year later this same old fort began to figure in another similar project. This time it was the Spaniards, through their agent, Thomas Power, who attempted to separate the western states from the Union and ally them with Spain. No less personage than Gen. George Rogers Clark was associated with others in this venture, and amongst other designs provided for was the capture of Fort Massac, etc. Another picture of Fort Massac about this period is found in the "Sketches



miles—strong head winds opposing progress. Boat examined by the sergeant. Delivered a letter of introduction in behalf of Doctor Claiborne and myself from General A. Jackson<sup>28</sup> to Capt. Daniel Bissel,<sup>29</sup> commander of the Fort. Was received with much politeness and accommodated with great hospitality—partook of an excellent dinner, and by the friendly invitation, perhaps solicitation, more properly, of Capt. Bissel, after having taken leave, returned and tarried all the night. Capt. Bissel is of tall straight, commanding stature—o genial deportment—converses with good sense, but not with ease and fluency—quick and considerably stammering—positive and confident, a circumstance not unusual with those long accustomed to military command—he is a native of N. England and has been an officer in the U. S. Army 16 or 18 years. Mrs. Bissel is amiable, genteel, polite and affable—possessing great female delicacy. Hair and eyes black and skin somewhat brown.

Fort Massac is situated on a considerable eminence on the north,

of a Tour to the Western country," F. Cumming, 1807-8, published in *Early Western Travels*, Vol. IV, pp. 276-277:

"On fastening the boat a corporal from Fort Massak, just above the landing, came on board and took a memorandum of our destination, etc. We landed and, approaching the fort, we were met by Lieutenant Johnson, who very politely showed us the barracks and his own quarters within the fort, in front of which is a beautiful esplanade with a row of Lombardy poplars in front, from whence is a view upwards to Tennessee River, downwards about two miles and the opposite shore, which is about one mile and a quarter distance—the Ohio being now so wide. The fort is formed of pickets, and is a square, with a small bastion at each angle. The surrounding plain is cleared to an extent of about sixty acres, to serve for exercising the garrison in military evolutions, and also to prevent surprise from the enemy. On the esplanade is a small brass howitzer and a brass caronade two-pounder, both mounted on field carriages, and a sentinel is always kept here on guard. The garrison consists of about fifty men. Some recruits were exercising. They were clean and tolerably well clothed, and were marched into the barracks yard preceded by good drums and as many fifes. The house of Captain Bissel, the commandant, is without the pickets."

Fort Massac continued to be used by the government as a military post until the close of the War of 1812-15, and the remains that exist today are the remnants of this period. A modern traveler by boat down the Ohio in 1894 gives the following present-day picture of the site:

"No doubt the face of this rugged promontory of gravel has, within a century, suffered much from floods, but the remains of the earthwork on the crest of the cliff, some fifty feet above the present river stage, are still easily traceable throughout. The fort was about forty yards square, with a bastion at each corner. There are the remains of an unstoned well near the center; the ditch surrounding the earthwork is still some two and a half or three feet below the surrounding level, and the breastwork about two feet above the inner level; no doubt palisades once surrounded the work, and were relied upon as the chief protection from assault. The grounds, a pleasant grassy grove several acres in extent, are now enclosed by a rail fence and neatly maintained as a public park by the little city of Metropolis, which lies not far below. It was a commanding view of land and river which was enjoyed by the garrison at old Fort Massac. Up stream there is a straight stretch of eleven miles to the mouth of the Tennessee; both up and down the shore lines are under full survey, until they melt away in the distance. No enemy could well surprise the holders of this key to the lower Ohio." (*On the Storied Ohio*, Thwaites, pp. 285-288.)

<sup>28</sup>Andrew Jackson was elected major-general of the militia in the State of Tennessee in 1801 at the age of thirty-four. His principal opponent was Governor John Sevier. He was elected by a majority of one vote. (*Brady's The True Andrew Jackson*, p. 65.)

<sup>29</sup>Daniel Bissel was appointed a cadet from Connecticut in September, 1791; became ensign in 1792; lieutenant in January, 1794; captain in 1799; lieutenant-colonel August 18, 1808; colonel August 15, 1812; brigadier-general, March 9, 1814. Commanded on the northern frontier in the War of 1812-15; commanded at the affair at Lyon's Creek, October 19, 1814, in which he was successful. In May, 1815, he became colonel of the First Infantry, with the brevet of brigadier-general. On January 26, 1816, he was transferred to the Second Artillery. He resigned from the army in 1821; died at St. Louis, Mo., May 14th, 1833. Appleton's *Cyclo. of Bio.*)



or Indiana,<sup>40</sup> side of the Ohio. It is the only eminence between Smithland and the mouth of the Ohio—has a very commanding and beautiful prospect of the Ohio above—extending at least 7 or 8 miles—all this distance the river is from three-quarters to a mile in width. Capt. Bissel has commanded here 3 or 4 years. The stockading is strong and well executed—within and round about the Barracks is covered with small pebble making handsome dry walks. Houses of logs neatly erected and pretty well finished—neat and comfortable. Without the Barracks round about at some distance are several smoky huts inhabited by miserable wretches who get subsistence some way or other, I cannot tell how—one or two Indian traders—this being a place of considerable trade with the Indians—Chickasaws and Cherokees,<sup>41</sup> principally. This place has been inhabited many, many years—first by the French, when claiming all the country west of the Ohio—a fort was established by them about this time. They were attacked, the whole murdered and fortifications burnt by the Indians—whence the significant name—Fort Massac—or the massacred fort.<sup>42</sup> The country round about not very fertile and much of it flat and marshy. It is not deemed healthy.

FEBRUARY 1st. Rose a little before the dawn of day—agreeable to the Capt's orders good fires were continued in our rooms the whole of the night—and breakfast ordered by sunrise, soon after rising—Doctor Claiborne yet in bed—Capt. Bissel entered, having been informed of our rising—breakfast was soon ready, Mrs. Bissel appeared and served breakfast. Exchanged ceremonies and civilities, went on board and started by an hour's sun, with great and alarming apprehensions of grounding or rather, of wrecking, on what is called the Little and Grand chain<sup>43</sup> of rocks—proceeded six miles, saw three flat boats on ground and narrowly escaped grounding ourselves—were saved only by the sight of them, which warned us of danger and prompted us to sound. This apprized us of shallow water and we cast anchor—obtained aid from the boats on ground, ascended the stream above the large sand-bar on the north and passed on the north side of it, where there was abundance of water. Then, attempting to land, was grounded on shore—made exertions with the poles—these ineffectual, leaped into the water and with prizes forced her off. I could not hesitate being the first out, as exemplary for the others.

Wind continued raging,—deemed it unsafe to proceed and encamped. Night extremely cold and tempestuous—unsafe to bring the boat to shore, therefore anchored 20 yards off—passed and repassed in a canoe.

MONDAY, 2d. Wind continued violent without abatement till a half hour's sun. Set out and proceeded 4 miles just below what is

<sup>40</sup>In the year 1800 Congress divided the Northwest Territory and established out of that portion of it west of the present State of Ohio the INDIANA TERRITORY. In 1809 Indiana Territory was divided and that portion west of the Wabash River was erected into the ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

<sup>41</sup>Fort Massac was the natural trading place of the French with the Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians. At an early date the French commenced to designate the Tennessee River by the name of "Cherokee River," since it had its sources in the region of their settlements and was used by them as the highway of intercourse with the nations of the west. Likewise it was equally convenient for the Chickasaws, as they were located in what is now northern Mississippi and western Tennessee. It remained a rendezvous for Indian trade after the English took possession of the country and remained such until the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

<sup>42</sup>This is an echo of the familiar tradition as to the name "Massac" explained in note 37, see.

<sup>43</sup>Well-known localities to the boatmen, called by the French "La Petite Chaine" and "La Grande Chaine."



called the Little Chain of Rocks, a place before viewed with such terror, and encamped on the north, or Indiana, shore—night very cold, but moderately calm.

TUESDAY, 3d. Set out early and proceeded rapidly 36 miles to the mouth of Ohio, where we arrived at an hour's sun in the evening—passing Wilkinsonville<sup>44</sup> and the Grand Chain of Rocks, places so terrible and alarming by information before given us. Lodged at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, in a comfortable house not quite completed and thence unoccupied. Fort Wilkinsonville was erected and occupied 6 or 7 years past—and is the place where the troops then stationed, first heard and received the extravagant, arrogant and fantastical orders for cropping their hair.<sup>45</sup> The order was obeyed by all but Col. Thomas Butler,<sup>46</sup> who saw and was determined to resist the tyranny of the mandate attended with circumstances the most arbitrary. This exciting the violent animosity of Wilkinson, Col. Butler finally fell a sacrifice to his malicious persecution—not condemnation. Fort Wilkinsonville is now the abode of a few Cherokee Indians only—inhabiting a few little huts—The fort and appendages wrecked and tumbled to ruins—the same fate probably will ere long attend its cognomen.<sup>47</sup>

WEDNESDAY, 4th. Cloudy and cold—entered the Mississippi with the anticipation of a more pleasant and unembarrassing progress—considerable quantities of ice were floating—passed on smoothly and easily, fearless of any difficulty, but such as might be avoided with

<sup>44</sup>“(leaving Ft. Massac.) At three miles passed a new settlement on the right where the river is two miles wide, with a very gentle current. The current carried us twelve miles and a half further, without our perceiving any signs of inhabitants on either shore. We then rowed into Cedar Bluffs or Wilkinsonville, where we found an eddy making a fine harbor, and an ascent up a low cliff by sixty-two steps of squared logs to a beautiful savannah or prairie of about one hundred acres, with well-frequented paths through and across it in every direction. We observed on it the ruins of the house of the commandant and the barracks which were occupied by a small United States garrison, until a few years ago, the buildings were destroyed by the Indians. Though our harbour here was a good one, yet we did not spend our night with perfect ease of mind, from the apprehension of an unwelcome visit from the original lords of this country, recent vestiges of whom we had seen in the prairie above us. May 22nd, at daybreak we gladly cast off, and at a mile below Wilkinsonville turned to the left into a long reach in a S. W. by S. direction, where, in nine miles, the river gradually narrows to half a mile, and the current is one-fourth stronger than above. (*Cuming's Tour*, p. 278.)

<sup>45</sup>“In 1798 the first United States troops that came down the Mississippi were quartered at Fort Adams. General Wilkinson, Colonel Hamtrack, Major Butler, Captain Guion and other officers became rather merry over their punch one night, and the General, by some accident, got his queue singed off. Next day he issued an order forbidding any officer appearing on parade with a queue. Major Butler refused to obey, and was put under arrest. He was soon after taken sick, and when the surgeon, Dr. Carmichael, informed him that he could not live, he made his will and gave directions for his burial, which, he knew, would be attended by the whole command. ‘Bore a hole,’ said he, ‘through the bottom of my coffin, right under my head, and let my queue hang through it, that the d—d old rascal may see that, even when dead, I refuse to obey his orders.’ These directions were literally complied with.” (*Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*. Claiborne, p. 362.)

<sup>46</sup>Thomas Butler, soldier, born in Pennsylvania in 1754; died in New Orleans, La., September 7, 1805. While studying law in Philadelphia in 1776 he joined the army, soon obtained a company and was in almost every action in the middle states during the Revolution. At Brandywine, September 11, 1777, he received the thanks of Washington on the field for intrepidity in rallying a retreating detachment. At Monmouth he was thanked by Wayne for defending a defile in the face of a heavy fire. After the war he retired to a farm, but in 1791 was made a Major, and commanded a battalion at St. Clair's defeat, where he was twice wounded. He became Major of the 4th sub-legion April 11, 1792, Lieutenant-Colonel July 1, 1792, and, on reorganization of the army on a peace basis in June, 1802, was retained as Colonel of the 2nd Infantry. In 1797 he was ordered by President Washington to expel settlers from Indian lands in Tennessee, and made several treaties with the Indians while in that country. (*Appleton's Cyclo. of Bio*g)



care and caution—passed the Iron and Chalk<sup>48</sup> banks on the south, or Indian, side, about 16 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, 9 miles below which on the same side encamped on the sand beach immediately at the water's edge—the banks being too high and perpendicular to be ascended. The south boundary<sup>49</sup> line of Kentucky and the north boundary line of Tennessee begins at the Iron banks and passes thence due east.

THURSDAY, 5th. Set out early with prospects of making New Madrid—passes a flat boat lodged on the sand-bar of Second Island<sup>50</sup>—spoke the master—was informed they had been grounded twenty days—boat belonging to C. Stump & Co.,<sup>51</sup> of Nashville—was 6 or 7 feet above water which was then falling—proceeded without difficulty within five miles of New Madrid, when tempestuous wind forced to

<sup>47</sup>“The career of General James Wilkinson is as remarkable as his character is despicable. His adroitness and power of inspiring confidence maintained him in his intrigues, and gave him the opportunity of playing a prominent part in the early western affairs. His share in the Revolution was indicative of the man, he being concerned in the Conway Cabal and other questionable movements. At the close of the war he migrated to Kentucky and engaged in mercantile business. His commercial connection with New Orleans furnished the opportunity for his intrigue with the Spaniards, whose paid agent he became, for attempting to dismember the Union. In this position he first embarked upon, and then betrayed the schemes of Aaron Burr. Not able entirely to clear himself of suspicion, Wilkinson was removed from his Western position at the outbreak of the War of 1812-15; and after a futile and mismanaged campaign against Montreal demanded an investigation by court-martial. This being inefficiently conducted, Wilkinson was acquitted, but he soon (1815) retired to extensive estates which he had acquired near the City of Mexico, where he died ten years later.” (Note by R. G. Thwaites, to *Cuming's Tour, Early West. Travel*, Vol. IV, p. 245.)

<sup>48</sup>On the old French maps this is denominated “Mine de Fer,” and mention is made of it in the voyage of Marquette and Joliet in 1673, LeSeur in 1700, Gravier in 1702, Charlevoix in 1720. etc. Cuming, the contemporary of our traveler, in his tour of 1808 says:

“At fifteen miles from the Ohio . . . Five miles lower down we passed the Iron Banks on the left. These are very remarkable, being a red cliff near the top of a high ridge of hills about a mile long, where the river is narrowed to little more than a quarter of a mile wide. From the Iron Banks a fine bay of a mile in breadth is terminated by the chalk bank, which is a whitish brown bluff, rising from the water's edge, surmounted by a forest of lofty trees.” (Cuming, p. 280.)

<sup>49</sup>The history of the controversies concerning the state line between Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia with the final agreements is best told in “*History of the Northern Boundary of Tennessee*,” by W. R. Garrett, A.M., Nashville, 1884. The locating of the Mississippi terminus of the line at the Iron Bank was a mistake, being too far north, but was popularly regarded as such till officially surveyed.

<sup>50</sup>The ancient “Baedeker” of the Mississippi Valley was one Zadoc Cramer, of Pittsburg, who, about 1800, had put in print a guide book to the river routes west. Harris’ “*Journal of a tour*,” 1803, mentions “a little pamphlet published at Pittsburg, called the “*Ohio Navigator*,”—that served him as a reference book. Its title page (fifth edition, 1806) affirms the book to be:

“The traders’ useful guide in navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, containing an ample account of these much-admired waters, from the head of the former to the mouth of the latter, a concise description of their towns, villages, harbours, settlements, etc., with particular directions how to navigate them, in all stages of the water, pointing out their rocks, ripples, channels, islands, bluffs, creeks, rivers, etc., and the distance from place to place.” In this volume the islands in the Mississippi River receive numbers, commencing at the mouth of the Ohio, viz: “Island No. 1,” etc. (*Early Western Travel*, Vol III, p. 334. “*Historic Highways*,” A. B. Hulbert, Vol. IX, p. 74.)

<sup>51</sup>That this boat eventually reached its destination may be inferred from the following “ad”:

Money.

By our last arrival per the Barge Willing Maid, from New Orleans, we have received the following articles, viz: A large quantity of Brown and Loaf Sugar, Coffee, Rum, Brandy, Teneriffe, Malaga and Sherry Wines, Claret in Bottles, Shad and Mackerel, Spanish Segars, Chocolate, Patent Shot off different sizes, a large quantity of Queens and Glass Ware.—all will be sold for cash. . . .

C. Stump & Co.

(*Impar. Rev.* April 18, 1807.)



put in. It continued without abatement till night—encamped on the beach with prospects of setting out early in the morning, by which time the wind might probably abate.

FRIDAY, 6th. Wind very high, without any sensible abatement, coming from the north, continued till the dusk of evening, too late to make any progress—moved our encampment on the bank above in the midst of very thick and lofty cane, which was a great protection from the cold north wind that yet continued with little abatement—cold almost insupportable<sup>62</sup>—wind abated about 8 o'clock in the night—were therefore sure of proceeding in the morning.

SATURDAY, 7th. The intense severity of the weather yesterday and last night froze the water to an extraordinary degree—far beyond what is usual in this latitude, viz, 30°, 30'. The Mississippi was blocked up from bank to bank with thick and extensive flakes of floating ice—which rendered the river impassable by crafts of any kind, great or small. We had therefore no other prospects but to remain in statu quo this day out at least—how much longer could not be anticipated—but hope, ever accommodating to our will and wishes, pointed to the shortest probable time and flattered us with a departure tomorrow morning. Stuck close to the fire the whole of this day, moving to the river at intervals, with anxious looks on the ice, which seemed to come thicker and thicker, if possible.

SUNDAY, 8th. Weather and ice as yesterday—no prospects of departure this day—but surely tomorrow. This day spent as yesterday—moved camp about twenty or thirty yards for the greater convenience of getting wood—having consumed all adjacent to the other.

MONDAY, 9th. Weather moderated and the quantity of ice greatly diminished—but yet unsafe to proceed—have great hopes tomorrow. Much wearied with 4 days posture in a very narrow space which confined the view to a few paces and the weather becoming more mild set out on a short ramble with Doctor Claiborne—to give action to the body and a little life to the mind. For the greater safety we pursued the margin of the river, as a guide—rambled about 4 or 5 miles below opposit New Madrid. Spoke a boat crew on the opposite side—but the roaring of the ice confounded our voice—on the way about a mile below camp found our canoe that had broke away the day before. On the return to camp caught a wild goose—rejoiced at the prize—on examination, found it had a wound in the wing which disabled it from flying—it was in consequence very poor—but had before rudely killed it. Returned to camp after 4 or 5 hours absence,

<sup>62</sup>The winter of 1806-7 was memorable in the annals of the people for its severity. At Nashville, on February 6th, the mercury stood at five degrees above zero, and the next day by 10 a.m. it was down to the zero mark. As far south as Natchez it was unusually severe and had been at times during the preceding month of January. February 7th in Kentucky was remembered as the "Cold Friday." An account relates: "On two occasions only since the commencement of the present century the mercury has been caused to sink sixty degrees in twelve hours by these cold winds. The first occurred on the evening of the 6th of February, 1807, which was Thursday. At nightfall it was mild but cloudy; after night it commenced raining, with a high west wind. This rain soon changed to snow, which continued to fall rapidly to the depth of some six inches; but the wind, which moved at the rate of a hurricane, soon lifted and dispersed the clouds, and, within the short space of twelve hours, from the close of a very mild Thursday, all Kentucky was treated to a gentle rain, a violent snow-storm, and a bright, sunshiny morning, so bitterly cold that by acclamation it was termed COLD FRIDAY." (Claiborne's *Hist. of Miss.*, p. 278, *Impartial Review*, Nashville, February 7, 1907. *History of Ohio Falls Counties*, Vol. I, p. 219.)



extremely fatigued with the excursion—ventured out from the river and was somewhat bewildered—hastily sought the margin of the river and stuck close to the beach the balance of the way home.

TUESDAY, 10th. Cut through the ice that blocked us up, about forty feet and set out, under great dread and alarm at the floating ice that yet continued pretty thick—floated only 3 miles and, alas! stuck fast on a large sand-bar 2 1-2 miles above New Madrid. The bar extended obliquely up the river nearly to the north shore. It was intersected by 4 or 5 channels of water thereby making small islands of sand—which, being covered with ice to the height of 4 or 5 feet, exhibited a singular view. At a distant view we were apprehensive that they might be collections of sawyers and drift wood on which had lodged these vast quantities of ice and therefore thought it safest to pursue the broadest channel—but, by the by, was the shallowest and we run hard on ground about 2 o'clock P. M. Neglecting to secure our canoe when found, no means were left us to gain the shore. Slept on board above deck without a shelter. In the night came a cold rain, to which we were every how exposed—were wet under and above.

WEDNESDAY, 11th. Still raining—rose from our lodging, having a buffalo rug and blankets under the two blankets above, wet, cold and with heavy hearts and sad fears, not knowing when relief could be obtained. Our lungs were sore and overstrained by hallooing and blowing the trumpet the night before, but without any benefit. New Madrid being in view we had hopes of aid from there—but now despaired. In this state of extremity a plan was devised and adopted, which gave some hope of reaching land—viz, a raft of 4 or 5 cotton bales, sufficient to bear two adventurers who were to be determined by lottery—and were to procure aid from Madrid after landing. One of the crew, eccentric and fanciful, proposed to saw off the legs of a 3 by 4 table that was on board, set that on float and he alone would be the adventurer on board for the shore and the messenger of our unpleasant condition and forlorn situation. Having no need then of a messenger to the world of spirits, this rash and visionary scheme was ridiculed and rejected.

At 9 o'clock P. M., just at the moment when about to begin the raft of cotton bales, descried two persons through the misty rain, who seemed approaching towards us—whether on the sand beach or in a canoe we could not determine—or whether they were directing towards us could not be positively ascertained—but hope persuaded us they were, and for our relief. On nearer approach it was ascertained that they were in a canoe and directing towards us—after some interval they arrived—all elated with joy, saluted them with overflowing cordiality and gratitude—as our deliverers from this deplorable dilemma—in which we must either have perished by cold, wet and hunger or submitted to a very perilous hazard on an unmanageable raft of cotton bales in a very rapid current, perhaps more expressively, ruffle. Immediately after their arrival, having no time to lose, Capt. Duffy passed over to the south bank for the canoe, which Doctor Claiborne and I had found lodged on the bank while on the excursion to opposite New Madrid from our cane camp—perhaps from the circumstances, more properly our icy or frozen camp. The hands were transported to the north shore with the cooking utensils and bed clothes to warm, dry and cook. Doctor Claiborne and I passed on in the canoe with the two Frenchmen, who relieved us, to New Madrid. Dirty, wet and



shivering with cold, we entered the town—enquired for Mr. Jos. Humphreys,<sup>53</sup> an acquaintance and friend—was advised of his lodgings at a Monsieur DeOlive's, and pursued the street hither. As we passed, the door of every house in sight was crowded by their inmates gaping and staring at us with unmannerly, vulgar curiosity—we were uncertain whether our condition, which could not be made worse by drawing through a dirty puddle, was so ludicrous as to excite their unmannerly risibility or whether their curiosity was of that kind which is common to the rude, impertinent and vulgar of all nations and country—a little more observation of their general manners and appearance, justified the latter conjecture. In sight of these gaping, unmannerly loungers we passed and arrived at Monsieur DeOlive's. Saw Mr. Humphreys—after an interchange of mutual civilities and enquiries, scrubbed off some of the dirt that abounded on our skin and exchanged our dirty, wet clothes for more cleanly. Then some plan to get the barge afloat was to be devised. The Frenchmen, to whom we at first attributed great benevolence and disinterested humanity, had already intimated a proposition to relieve the barge, by job, which, and other expressions, betrayed low motives and convinced us they were not as pure and benevolent as at first very willingly believed. They were exclusively mercenary—for we might have floated on our cotton bales—been drowned—if he had not expected to surprise us into a good fee for executing the job—exaggerated the difficulties and increased our alarms, until he secured a promise of 50 dollars for the safe delivery of the barge and cargo at Madrid as speedily as practicable. We were afterwards informed that this is a kind of profitable business with him—he is a masterly swindler, and, of course, destitute of common honesty. Our suspense and anxiety were now much diminished—returned to the society of our friend Humphreys, who, being clerk of the district, had intercourse with a variety of persons—were introduced to the most respectable and worthy. It cannot be therefore presumed we made many new acquaintances. Monsieur DeOlive is a decent, polite Frenchman—a native of Paris. He is a justice of the peace and by occupation a baker and inn-keeper—possesses great moral rectitude. His wife, also a native of Paris, is decent and civil—attentive to the duties of her station. Had a comfortable lodging this night—far more so than the previous night on board above deck.

THURSDAY, 12th. Rose early—saw the Frenchman set out for the barge—returned—passed our time more contentedly with our friend Humphreys, Olive and family, and some others, new acquaintances—among whom were a Doctor Dorsey, notable for his long time residence here only—about 14 or 16 years—a native of Maryland,—

<sup>53</sup>In "*Recollections of the West*," H. M. Brackenridge, mention is made of like courtesies shown by Mr. Humphreys, whom he speaks of as the "cadi," "alcade" or local justice of the peace in 1809. See pp. 226-229 of above mentioned volume.



and a Mr. S. F. Bond,<sup>54</sup> judge of the district of Cape Gerrado,<sup>55</sup> then on a voyage to New Orleans. He is a singular character, and somewhat eccentric—but polite, affable, sensible and interesting—views considerably enlarged and extended by travels to various parts of the globe—to South America, many parts of Europe and most of the United States—discovered much observation and reflection—possesses notion of the nature of mankind, and their moral relations, etc., etc.—spoke the French language with ease and fluency and from his general good sense, presumed he spoke it correctly—among the French his manners and gestures indicated him to be a Frenchman by birth and education—but is a native of Maryland—of or near Baltimore. 12 o'clock, we walk with Mr. Humphreys to Doctor Waters,<sup>56</sup> 1 1-2 miles from Olive's—were introduced to the Doctor and lady and received with a distant politeness—sat about half an hour, when the object of our visit was made known to him aside by Humphreys. It was to borrow money of him to make good the engagements before entered into with the Frenchman and to obtain some other little necessary supplies—for we were—

(Here two whole pages are missing and a small portion of a third.)

FRIDAY, 13th. Weather cloudy, but not very cold. The barge and cargo arrived at Madrid last night—Capt. Duffy and the hands engaged in reloading. We walked to Doctor Waters to breakfast and to make the necessary arrangements with him—were satisfied of our misconception yesterday, as to his disposition and intentions towards us—were received politely and very hospitably—had an excellent breakfast—had our engagements with the Frenchman adjusted—were furnished the little necessary—(four or five lines torn out.)—preparations—too a farewell of Olive and family—received their friendly wishes and passed down to Doctor Waters—were entertained with much attention and great hospitality—by him and his lady.

New Madrid is situated on the north bank of the Mississippi about sixty miles below the mouth of the Ohio—contains sixty or seventy families—the greater number of whom are French—more properly Creole, with few exceptions—number Americans—some Dutch. They are mostly abject and degenerated wretches—many of the Americans are respectable and but few of the French. The houses are generally miserable looking tenements—many are built in French style, with piazzas extending round the whole house, which is but one story in

<sup>54</sup>This was in all probability Shadrack F. Bond, afterwards the first Governor of the State of Illinois. Born at Fredericksburg, Md., November 28, 1778; died at Kaskaskia, Ill., April 12, 1832. Having received a liberal education, he came to Illinois, where an uncle of the same name had lived for many years, since he was a member of G. R. Clarke's expedition to the Illinois. He was elected a member of the first legislature of Illinois Territory and represented the Territory in Congress during the years 1812-1814, when he was made receiver of public monies for the territory, with headquarters at Kaskaskia. In 1818 he became the first Governor of the new state, serving until 1822.

<sup>55</sup>This is a provincial spelling of *Cape Girardeau*. The first settlement was made here by Don Lui Lorimer in the year 1794. He was appointed commandant of the post by the Spanish Governor with full civil and military authority. (*"History of the Mississippi Valley,"* Rosier, p. 189.)

<sup>56</sup>During the Spanish regime at New Madrid many prominent men settled there, viz.: Pierre A. LaForge, Jean LaValle and Dr. Richard Waters, who acted in official capacities. "They were men of considerable energy, generally highly educated, easy in circumstances, endowed with good sense, affable manners, and soon acquired great influence in the community, and became leading spirits of the infant colony." (Rosier, pp. 193-198.)



height. This description includes the best houses—most of the houses look old and upon the verge of tumbling to ruins—Madrid is situated on a perfect plane. The river makes annual encroachments on the town and in the course of time threatens to subvert its whole foundation. The neighborhood is said to be of good fertile land, very favorable to the growth of cotton—is inhabited most entirely by industrious Americans.<sup>57</sup>

SATURDAY, 14th. Breakfasted with Doctor Waters—embarked and passed on well 10 miles came up with Bond, who embarked the preceding day for New Orleans—passed him 4 or 5 miles and again grounded. Oh! what perplexity! Two hours' laborious struggle luckily set us once more on float—proceeded 10 miles further and encamped on the Louisiana shore—the night stormy and tempestuous—my hat was blown overboard and not recovered.

SUNDAY, 15th. Wind subsided at an hour's sun this morning—moved on without impediment 30 miles—encamped on the L. shore—at a late Indian camp, where was quite a comfortable shelter. At sunset have in sight a barge under sail—supposed to be from New Orleans—they encamped two miles below us.

MONDAY, 16th. The barge discovered last night passed us before sunrise—spoke her, but received no distinct reply. Immediately departed ourselves—proceeded not more than 100 yards—struck a large and stubborn sawyer,<sup>58</sup> two or three feet below the surface of the water in a rapid current—stern wheeled with rapidity—barge tottered so much as to threaten an overthrow. Bow stuck fast—the lar-board

<sup>57</sup>New Madrid was originally the site of a Delaware Indian town. Here in 1780 two Frenchmen by the name of Le Seur established a trading station. The surrounding country was a paradise for hunters, abounding in all species of game, etc. Such was this station as a depot of slaughter, etc., as it received the nickname of "*L'Anse a la Graisse*"—"Cove of Fat," "Greasy Place," etc. In 1787 Col. George Morgan of New Jersey sought to obtain from the Spanish authorities a large concession at this place and laid out the town which he named "New Madrid. After inducing some fifty emigrants to locate there, trouble arose between the Spanish authorities and Morgan, resulting in their annulling his partial grants and the occupation of the place as a military post by the Spanish themselves, who built a fort there to which they gave the name of Fort Celeste. When the United States Government took possession of the place after the cession of Louisiana in 1804, the population was reckoned as about 1,400. Later, in 1811-12, the whole locality was almost destroyed by the noted earthquake disturbance.

<sup>58</sup>"The following observations apply to the Mississippi, and point out the greatest impediments and the most imminent dangers attending the navigation of this heavy-watered and powerful river: These are: 1st. The instability of the banks. This proceeds from their being composed of a loose, sandy soil, and the impetuosity of the current against their prominent parts, which, by undermining them unceasingly, causes them to tumble into the river, taking with them everything that may be above. And if when the event happens boats should be moored there, they must necessarily be buried in the common ruin, which has unfortunately been sometimes the case."

2nd. Planters, sawyers, and wooden islands. *Planters* are large bodies of trees firmly fixed by their roots in the bottom of the river, in a perpendicular manner, and appearing no more than about a foot above the surface of the water in its middling state. So firmly are they rooted that the largest boat running against them will not move them, but they frequently injure the boat. *Sawyers* are likewise bodies of trees fixed less perpendicularly in the river, and rather of a less size, yielding to the pressure of the current, disappearing and appearing by turns above water, similar to the motion of a saw-mill, from whence they have taken their name. *Wooden islands* are places where by some cause or other large quantities of driftwood has, through time, been arrested and matted together in different parts of the river." "*The Navigator*," Cramer; "*Historic Highways*," A. B. Hulbert. Vol. IX, p. 74.



side raised 1 1-2 feet—gave signal of distress to the barge crew just passed, and ask for aid—inhuman monsters!—continued on as if they neither saw nor heard us. No practicable means were untried to loosen her—but all without effect. The sadness and gloom on every countenance indicated despondence at ever reaching New Orleans—for it seemed as if our impediments were never to cease. The slow rising of the water, discovered not till after the misfortune, alone gave hope—but calculated under the most favorable events, to camp another night at this place. Therefore some of the crew had passed over to the shore, to raise fire, etc., and the canoe was returning for the others—just at this moment, as if providence interposed, the barge moved, at first imperceptibly—afterwards was discovered certainly on float. There were luckily on board—the Capt., a hand and I—who safely directed her to shore amidst very dangerous sawyers on every side. All things again on board, departed at half after two o'clock—proceeded ten miles—encamped on the Louisiana shore. Slept comfortably till 12 o'clock—rain came on—stretched tent and slept pretty well the balance of the night though little wet—bed clothes more so.

TUESDAY, 17th. Morning rainy—river rising slowly—proceeded 12 or 14 miles, were forced to put in by cold rain and wind, which was heavy—the balance of the day and whole of the night very rainy—blankets wet—impossible to dry them or ourselves—of course, night very uncomfortable—snow ensued in the latter part of the night.

WEDNESDAY, 18th. Set out at eight o'clock after breakfast—wind very high—proceed with great apprehension of grounding—the river being very wide, much interspersed by large, extensive sand-bars and islands—consequently, divided into separate channels—passed 20 miles—safely, nearly through the whole—but at last, in spite of all our vigilance, grounded at 1 o'clock P. M.—our exertions to set her floating were fruitless. Oh! what perplexity and embarrassment!—are we to stick and ground every 2 or 3 days? Some fatality seems directed to us particularly, which, after torturing and perplexing us almost out of life, will sink and drown us! Sorely lamented ever attempting the voyage—with these are a thousand other reflections, more painful, if possible—cast anchor, trained the barge up with the current and passed over to the S. shore to encamp—how long, could not be foreseen or anticipated—perhaps never to proceed further. Being restless and not disposed to sleep, I rose 10 o'clock P. M. and discover the barge to have moved 30 or 40 yards—hallooed with great gratification, observed more particularly and anxiously, and saw her floating slowly. anchor being out, retarded her progress and retained her in a right position—with great joy roused the hands—indeed, all were up and much gladdened at the fortunate event. The Capt. and two hands hastened in the canoe on board and towed her safely to land. Slept the balance of the night more pleasantly.



## APPENDIX.

### A.—RIVER COMMERCE.

The part played by the barge and keel-boat in the commerce of the South at this period of history is well illustrated in the story of adopting and making the Great Seal of Tennessee. When the matter was up for consideration by the Legislature of the new State and the committee's report, adopted on November 14, 1801, among other provisions, it was specifically ordered:

"That in the lower part of the lower semi-circle there be the word COMMERCE; and said lower semi-circle shall contain the figure of a *boat* and *boatman*." [American Historical Magazine, Vol. VI, p. 207.]

"Prior to the introduction of steamboats on the Western waters, the means of transportation thereon consisted of *keel-boats*, *barges* and *flatboats*. Keel-boats and barges ascended, as well as descended the stream. The flatboat was an unweildly box, and was broken up for the lumber it contained on its arrival at the place of destination.

"The keel-boat was long and slender, sharp fore and aft, with a narrow gangway just within the gunwale, for the boatmen as they poled or warped up the stream, when not aided by the eddies that made their oars available. When the keel-boat was covered with a low house, lengthwise between the gangways, it was dignified with the name of '*barge*.'

"The only claim of the flatboat or '*broad-horn*,' to rank as a vessel was due to the fact that it floated upon water and was used as a vehicle of transportation. Keel-boats, barges and flatboats had prodigious steering oars, and oars of the same dimensions were hung on fixed pivots on the sides of the last named by which the shapeless and cumbrous contrivance was in some sort managed."

("Miss. As a Province, Terr. & State," Claiborne, p. 537.)

It was about 1805-6 that merchant barges began to make periodic trips from Nashville to New Orleans and return. It took them about ninety days to make the trip each way, or a total of six months or a round trip.

Because of low water in the Cumberland at certain seasons of the year these barges or boats only made on an average one round trip, commonly leaving Nashville in December or January and returning in May or June. They usually went down loaded with cotton and pork and returning brought sugar, coffee and other groceries. The time of departure and arrival of these boats were gala days in the history of the town and community, great crowds assembling to bid them good-bye and to welcome them on their return.

Among the earliest firms that owned barges and keel-boats running regularly to New Orleans was that of James Stewart and James Gordon. It is said they were the first to bring a barge from New Orleans to Nashville. Stump, Rapier & Turner was another firm having boats in the New Orleans trade. This same barge "*Mary*" was advertised by George Poyzer in October, 1807, as "*the fast going Mary*"—then lying near the Upper Ferry and ready to take on freight for down the river.

Either the same barge, or one bearing a like name "*Mary*," was advertised to leave Nashville December 10, 1817, by the firm of Joseph and Robert Woods. (Hist. of Nashville Crew, p. 302-304, Hist. of Davidson County,—Clayton, p. 203, etc.)

In addition to the boats in the New Orelans trade there were keel-



boats plying between Nashville and the mouth of Cumberland River to bring up salt from the salt works in the Saline region of the Illinois, also such goods as were brought from the East over the Allegheny Mountains and down the Ohio to the Cumberland. The freight price from Philadelphia or Baltimore by this route was \$10 per hundred-weight.

#### B.—CLAIBORNE FAMILY.

Dr. Thomas Augustine Claiborne was one among a number of brothers who came from Virginia to Tennessee and the further South about the beginning of the nineteenth century—all of whom became social and civic leaders. General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, born in Sussex County, Virginia, 1772, died 1813 at Natchez, was noted in military and civic matters. Gov. William Charles Cole Claiborne, after living in Tennessee a number of years was appointed Governor of Mississippi Territory, then later of the Louisiana Territory, born 1775, died 1817. Nathaniel Herbert Claiborne lived in Virginia, served in Congress 1825-1837.

Dr. Thomas Augustine Claiborne, the companion of Dr. Bedford on his tour to New Orleans, was born in Virginia. Came to Nashville and married, April 20, 1801, Sarah, eldest daughter of William Tirrell Lewis, their children were: Ferdinand, born 1804, died 1832; Mary E. T., born 1806, married Hon. Abram Maury; Micajah Lewis Claiborne, born 1808, died 1878.

Dr. Claiborne was in every way a distinguished citizen and took an important part in public leadership and civic service. In 1806, with others, he served as commissioner to build the new town jail; in 1807 he joined Dr. Bedford in his tour South. On his return, in October of same year, we find his leadership in organizing one of the earliest literary clubs of the town, viz: "The Nashville Discussion Society."

"On the northeast corner of Market Street and the Square was the first brick 'office-house' in Nashville. This was built by Dr. Claiborne. . . . It was two rooms deep and two stories high, the front room downstairs being used as an office, while the other three were used as his residence." (Mrs. Thomas, "Old Days in Nashville," p. 13.)

Dr. Thomas Claiborne is not to be confused with his relative, Major Thomas Claiborne, member of Congress and the first Grand Master Mason of the State of Tennessee. He also married into the Lewis family, the daughter of Hon. Joel Lewis, brother of Wm. Tirrell Lewis.

#### C.—LOCATION OF SMITHLAND.

Letter of John Sappington<sup>1</sup>, Red River<sup>2</sup>, Tennessee, September 20, 1791, to Major William Croghan<sup>3</sup>. MS. in Wisc. Hist. So. Draper Collection, XX Vol. V., No. 24. Printed in American Industrial Society (Doc. Hist. of) Phillips, Vol. II., p. 262.

<sup>1</sup>One among a number of brothers of this name who settled in Kentucky and Tennessee. This letter to Maj. Croghan was written from "Red River," possibly at this time he was a citizen of Tennessee County (Montgomery). Afterward he removed to Missouri and settled in Saline County, where his family were very prominent in social and political circles.

(Mo. His. So. Collec's., Vol II., No. 2, p. 2.)

<sup>2</sup>A branch of the Cumberland entering in from the north near Clarksville, the writer lived in Montgomery County, Tenn.

<sup>3</sup>Major William Croghan came to America from Ireland when quite young. He was a nephew of the noted George Croghan, who was long employed by the British as Indian agent under Sir William Johnson. Unlike his uncle, he gave his service to



Dr. Sr: I, with pleasure, embrace this opportunity by Coln. James Ford<sup>4</sup>, to inform you that I am well at present and have enjoyed a good state of health since I left the Falls of the Ohio.

I also have the pleasure to introduce to you Coln. James Ford, a person anxious to make a purchase near the mouth of Cumberland River. There are a number of families that would wish to (buy) any land adjacent to the town. Moses Shelby<sup>5</sup> requests me to inform you he would give cash for five or six hundred acres of land near the Town five or six miles distant. He would wish to know by this opportunity what you would take per hundred for land in that distance from the Town. Also several others wish to know what you would take for Land near the Mouth of Little River<sup>6</sup>, or Ramsey's Camp, particularly a Mr. Desha<sup>7</sup>, he would wish to purchase two or three thousand acres. He can make you good pay in Beef Cattle, as he has a large Stock of Cattle. He is a very punctual man. I have not the least Doubt provided you would engage Land at a certain fixed price your Town would be established at the Mouth of Cumberland immediately. I have drew up an article for the settling of sd Town &

the colonies in the Revolution and at its close married Lucy, daughter of John and sister of George Rogers Clark. This family had in 1785 moved to Kentucky and settled near the Falls or Louisville. Here, at "Locust Grove," Major Croghan lived till his death at the age of seventy years, September, 1822. The close of the letter gives remembrance to different members of the Clark family, viz: the father, John Clark; Col. Richard Clough Anderson, who married another sister of G. R. Clark; Dr. James O'Fallon, a finely educated Irishman who came to America after the Revolution and married Francis Eleanor, another sister of G. R. Clark. This family afterwards moved to St. Louis. The "Falls of the Ohio" is the older name for the location of Louisville.

(History of Indiana, English. Vol. II, p. 1002.)

<sup>4</sup>"Perhaps the most striking figure of the country, in the pioneer days, was Colonel James Forde. He was about six feet tall, rather fleshy and of commanding appearance. He sat a horse perfectly, and in the saddle he was the admiration of all the settlements. Personally, he was kind and affable, as well as bold, outspoken and independent in his sentiments. He was thrifty and successful in business affairs. Fourth Captain in the Davidson County militia in 1784, he became a Colonel in the militia of Tennessee County and had a command in both the Coldwater Expedition of 1787 and the Niojack campaign of 1794. He was the representative of Tennessee County in the Legislature of the Southwest Territory in 1793 to 1796; and represented Montgomery and Robertson counties in the Senate of the First and Second General Assemblies of the State of Tennessee. He died in May, 1808."

(Hon. A. V. Goodpasture, in Amer. Hist. Mag. Vol. VIII., p. 197.)

<sup>5</sup>General Evan Shelby of "Kings Meadows" had three very distinguished sons. Major Evan Shelby, killed by the Indians in Montgomery County, Tennessee; Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky and Col. Moses Shelby. These sons were all in the Battle of King's Mountain, and before this in numerous expeditions against the Indians. In 1782 Col. Moses Shelby, with other adventurers, came to the Cumberland settlement in central Tennessee, later followed the frontier settlers further down the Cumberland River to Montgomery County, where he was living when the above letter was written. Later he moved still further down the Cumberland to the new County of Livingstone in Western Kentucky, where, at the unanimous solicitation of the people, he was appointed Colonel of the County. After the acquisition of the Territory of Louisiana, he removed to the west bank of the Mississippi, settling a plantation two miles below New Madrid, where he lived till his death, September 17, 1828. His brother, Governor Shelby, wrote in a letter dated Danville, Ky., June 16, 1823:

"Covered with the scars of thirteen deep wounds, received in defense of his country, for which he is too proud to receive a pension, always disdaining to apply for one. In youth he was of a warm and ardent disposition, always ready to risk his life for a friend, and profuse of his property (of which he had a considerable inheritance), even to a fault. It would exceed the bounds of a letter to give you a statement of the many hair-breadth and eminent dangers through which he passed. Soon after his marriage, he became impressed with religious sentiments, joined the Methodist Church, liberated his slaves, and, so far as I know and believe, has always supported a good character." (Dr. Archibald Henderson's "Isaac Shelby," in North Carolina Booklet, July 1918, p. 28.)



find that if you would give an out Lott of about five acres with the two Lotts in Town the Settlement would be established this Fall. Indeed, provided you would fix a reasonable price on the Twenty acre Lotts at the expiration of the ten years, I have the promise of a Number of Adventurers sufficient to establish a permanent Settlement. I shall expect to hear from you fully and particularly on the above head—as I intend to become an Adventurer myself I conceive it must be a place of Trade at present and a future day a place of Consequence as it is the key of the Settlements on Cumberland & the Ohio above & as it lies near the mouths of several Capital Rivers also near the present Spanish Settlements. I conclude with presenting my compliments to Mrs. Croghan, Mr. Clark's family, Colln Andeson & his Lady Doctr James Ofallon & his Lady & my Acquaintaintances in generall in the neighborhood of the Falls & with subscribing myself Yr. Mst. Obt. Servt &c.

JNO. SAPPINGTON.

#### APPENDIX D.

##### MATTHEW LYON.

"Col. Matthew Lyon, the most remarkable character among the public men of Southwestern Kentucky, was born in Wicklow County, Ireland, in 1746, and died at Spadra Bluff, Arkansas Territory, August 1, 1822, aged 76.

His father, while Matthew was a small boy, engaged in a conspiracy against the British crown, for which he was tried, condemned and executed. His widow soon married; and Matthew, at the age of 19, fled from the cruelty of a step-father to America. To secure his passage, he bound himself to the captain to work for twelve months after his arrival. The captain sold him to a farmer in Connecticut for *two bulls*; he served his time faithfully and became a free man; but ever after his favorite by-word was "By the bulls that bought me." Subsequently he became a citizen of Vermont; and in 1776, when the Revolutionary war broke out, entered the army of the colonists as a lieutenant in a company of "Green Mountain Boys." In the latter part of that year, he was reduced to the ranks for disobeying orders by leaving his command on Onion River (to visit his sweetheart); but he subsequently served as temporary paymaster of the Northern army in 1777, and in 1778 as deputy secretary of the Governor of Vermont, and also clerk of the court of confiscation; and eventually rose to the rank of Colonel of militia.

At the close of the war he married the girl who cost him his lieutenancy; but she soon died, leaving one child. He founded the town

<sup>a</sup>A tributary of the Cumberland from the north side, it flows through Trigg County, Ky., in a northwest course, emptying into the Cumberland at the northwest corner of the county. It has been declared a navigable stream up seventeen miles to the county town of Cadiz.

<sup>b</sup>This was probably Joseph Desha. His father, Robert Desha, of French descent, came from Pennsylvania to Kentucky in 1781, the next year he settled further south in Tennessee, four miles east of where the town of Gallatin, Sumner County, was afterwards located. Here he reared a noted family. His son, Joseph Desha, was born in Pennsylvania in 1768, but was reared in Sumner County, Tenn.; was a successful farmer and stock raiser. In 1792 he removed from Tennessee to Mason County, Ky. Served with General Wayne in 1794, represented his county in the Legislature for several terms from 1797-1807. Made a Major-General in the War of 1812. In 1824 was elected Governor of Kentucky. His wife, Margaret Bledsoe, was the eldest daughter of Col. Isaac Bledsoe, of Sumner County, Tenn. He died at Georgetown, Ky., 1842.

("Historic Sumner County," J. G. Cisco, p. 170-171.)



of Fairhaven in 1783, where he built saw mills, grist mills, an iron foundry, engaged in paper making from basswood, and in a variety of other occupations; and at one time edited a newspaper, to which he gave the strangest of names—"THE SCOURGE OF ARISTOCRACY AND REPOSITORY OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL TRUTH," it was of an ultra-Democratic character, and part of the types and the paper were manufactured by himself. He served that town in the Vermont Legislature ten years; in 1786 he was Assistant Judge of Rutland County.

Becoming an active political leader, he was elected to Congress in 1797 by the anti-Federal party; and during his service, married Mrs. Beulah Galusha, a widowed daughter of Governor Thomas Chittenden, of Vermont. He was extremely bitter against the administration of President John Adams; and in October, 1798, under the alien and sedition law, was convicted of a libel on the President, fined \$1,000, and confined for four months in the Vergennes goal. An attempt to expell him from Congress as a convicted felon failed for want of a two-thirds vote.

During this congressional term, he had a violent personal altercation on the floor of the House, caused by spitting in the face of Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, ending in blows; but the motion to expell them was defeated. In 1799, while a prisoner in goal, he was re-elected for two years, 1799-1801, and taken from prison by his friends to represent them in Congress. Just before the close of this term, on February 17, 1801, on th 36th ballot, Col. Lyon decided the painful and protracted seven days' voting for President, by casting his vote and that of Vermont for Thomas Jefferson—making him President in preference to Aaron Burr.

In the spring of 1801, with him family, and his sons-in-law, John Messenger and Dr. Geo. Caldwell, and their families, Col. Lyon sailed down the Ohio River and up the Cumberland in Livingston County, and founded Eddyville. He became a large land holder, and owned many slaves. He served in the Legislature of Kentucky and again in Congress for eight years, 1803-1811. Through his instrumentality Eddyville became a place largely known for boat building, not only of barges and keels, but gun-boats, etc. (See note "Eddyville"). In 1811-1812, Col. Lyon was employed by the United States War Department to build gun-boats for the war with England, but he became bankrupt from the speculation. In 1820, he was appointed by President Monroe a factor among the Cherokee Indians in Arkansas; and when that territory was organized in 1822, was elected the first delegate to Congress, but did not live to take his seat. His remains were interred at Eddyville."

(Collin's "School Hist. of Ky."—p. 491).



## HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

*Isaac Shelby, Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero*, Parts I and II, pages 79 and 75. By Dr. Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina.

Some very original research and finely written historic matter is set forth in these two late booklets from the pen of this noted historical student. Originally printed in the *North Carolina Booklet*, January, 1917, and July, 1918, this valuable contribution to western border life has been re-issued, well illustrated and finely printed. Nothing has been put in print since the issue of Draper's "King's Mountain" that is so valuable concerning Isaac Shelby. An interesting setting is given to this worthy character in the history of his time and many new documents appear for the first time in print. The booklets can be had on application to the author.

*Historia*, the quarterly publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has as its leading article for the July number, "Sam Houston In Indian Territory." It is with regret that we note the article as hardly in keeping with the general character of historic matter issued in this publication. While it contains interesting data concerning the life of Houston among the Indians, the article is written in a style and vein wholly lacking in historic appreciation. As Tennessee lays claim to Houston's early history, readers of the article in this state will be grievously disappointed. It is to be hoped that the author of this article in *Historia* is better posted on Oklahoma history than he seems to be in Holy Writ. Speaking of the devotion of Houston to his first wife, he says: "For her he lived, his life, his all, his *pillow of fire by day and burning bush at night!*" The confusion of figures reminds us of the Hibernian who gave expression to his suspicion in the words: "Sir, I smell a rat, I see it hovering in the air, and, by heavens, I'll nip it in the bud." or, as cited by our local Tennessee press, descriptive of an accentuated period in the speech of a local politician, using the proverbial spider and the fly, said: "John went into the parlor, poor fellow, and they tied the knot in his tail that he liked never to have got out!"

*The South Atlantic Quarterly* for April has its usual fine list of contributions. One, "Walter Hines Page; Friend of the South," is a very sympathetic estimate of the late publisher and printer by Dr. Edwin Mimms of Vanderbilt University. Another appreciation, "George W. Cable," by Dr. Edwin W. Bowen, will be widely read. Announcement is made that the editorial management of the magazine has changed. Dr. Wm. K. Boyd, Professor of History, and Dr. Wm. H. Wannamaker, Dean of Trinity College, succeed as editors.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a pamphlet entitled, "A Descriptive List of the Confederate Flags in the Possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa." Inasmuch as so far it has not been possible to give the history and original owners of these much-revered relics, the publication of this list may lead to the identification of some of them.

*The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for April gives as frontispiece a picture and sketch of Old St. Thomas Church in Washington County, Pennsylvania, with the statement: "It is not generally known that the Episcopalians organized the pioneer church west of the Allegheny Mountains where the English language was used,



and erected the first house of worship in that entire territory, viz: 1770."

The society that fosters this magazine finds itself in deep sympathy with the Wyoming Historical Society, in that as yet, in all of its long history, it has not been able to impress itself upon the consideration of the State to the end that a modicum of financial aid might be received. With this plea the Wyoming Society issues a very creditable pamphlet entitled "*Miscellanies*," 1919. Two of the contributions have much more than a local State interest, viz.: the "Texas Trail" and "Some of the Newspapers of Wyoming." In the latter article note is made that the widely-known Bill Nye, as early as 1876, located at the frontier post of Laramie, and soon became connected with the "Weekly Sentinel," issued at that place. His enjoyable wit and humor is recalled in the reproduction of his famous "Ode to a Cucumber," and "Resignation"—as postmaster of that "coming" city!

Another worthy volume is added to the list of the publications of the Iowa Historical Society in "Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa, 1838-1918," by Ruth A. Gallaher. The preface states: "The writer has attempted to present a general survey of the status of women in Iowa by pointing out the distinctions between men and women which have been established by law or sanctioned by judicial rulings. The status of women with reference to activities which are not regulated either directly or indirectly by the government is outside the scope of this monograph."

Volume XIV, 1915-1918, of the Kansas Historical Collections is a large handsome double number, edited by W. E. Connelly, Secretary, with 896 pages, well indexed and finely illustrated. Articles of note are: "Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains," "Kansas Penitentiary—Its Building and Operation," "Early Missionaries of the Kansas and Platte Valley," "Territorial Kansas and Civil War," and "Biography."

#### ITEMS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MEETING OF JANUARY 14, 1919.

*New Members Elected:* George Phillips, Dr. Wilbur Nelson, State Geologist, Mrs. Robert F. Weakley, and Prof. Chas. B. Caldwell of Montgomery Bell Academy, all of Nashville.

*Gifts Received:* A silhouette likeness of Hon. Felix Grundy, by Mrs. Whiteford Cole, his great-granddaughter. A bronze medal given to Maj. John L. Brown of the Third Tennessee Infantry for services on the battlefield in the Mexican War, by Mrs. W. M. Duncan, per her brother, Mr. Chas. H. Eastman. A handsome volume, "The Boddie & Allied Families," by the author, Hon. John T. Boddie, Chicago. "The Killing of Adam Caperton & Sketch of the Caperton Family." *The Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vols. I, II, III, IV, to current number, by Catholic University, Washington, D. C. "Hill's Tenn., Ala. & Miss. Almanac and State Register" for years 1853-1856 and 57 (loaned), by Mr. Charles Waddle, Fayetteville, Tenn., per Mr. R. H. Gray. "Order" issued from the Provost Marshal's Headquarters, Tupelo, Miss., January 12, 1865, to Capt. T. J. Gray, Starnes' Escort, 41st Tennessee Cavalry (loaned). Postal card showing "Old House in Fayetteville, Tenn., where Gen. Andrew Jackson was quartered on his way to the battlefields of Alabama, and the monument



erected by the local D. A. R. Chapter to commemorate the site where his army was mobilized, Camp Blount; presented by R. H. Gray. Pocket Testament carried by Capt. T. J. Gray during the war, 1860-65, given by his son, R. H. Gray. Also by same, eighteen unbound volumes, Acts of Tennessee, Journals of Senate and House, being loan of D. L. Conger, Esq., Fayetteville, Tenn.

Dr. A. E. Parkins, of the department of geography, George Peabody College for Teachers, read a highly interesting article on "Geography as Related to the World-War."

#### MEETING MARCH 11, 1919.

(No meeting was held in February.)

*New Members Elected:* Mr. Lee J. Loventhal, Nashville; Rev. Francis Tappy, Shelbyville; Mr. Robert W. Green, Manchester, Tenn.

*Gifts Received:* A hand-carved wood-cut of the State Capitol building, by the Nashville *Banner*, per E. M. Foster, with statement that the cut was originally made on order of Mr. A. J. Wheeler of this city, some thirty years ago and had been given by him to the Banner company.

"A History of Schenectady During the Revolution," by the author, Willis T. Hanson, Jr. (privately printed). "Introduction to English History," by the author, John L. Sandford, Baltimore, Md. "Biography of Governor Wm. B. Bate," by the author, Hon. Park Marshall, Franklin, Tenn. A copy of the "Memorial Edition" of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, containing interesting matter concerning the Hon. Henry Watterson, many years editor of same; presented by Judge Robt. Ewing.

The special event of the evening was hearing read an interesting paper on "My Experience Indexing Ramsey's Annals," by the Recording Secretary, Mr. J. Tyree Fain.







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GENERAL ROBERT ARMSTRONG.



# THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1849  
INCORPORATED 1875

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## FORM OF LEGACY

*"I give and bequeath to The Tennessee Historical Society  
the sum of.....dollars."*



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# TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5

JULY, 1919

No. 2

## PORTRAIT OF GENERAL ROBERT ARMSTRONG.

(The extract published in a former number of the magazine of the Minutes of the meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society for November, 1918, made mention of the presentation to the society of the portrait of Gen. Armstrong, in behalf of his granddaughter, Miss Catherine Vaulx, by the Hon. Robert Ewing. The details of this occasion were ably reported in the local press of Nashville, and the interest of the matter is so worthy and wide that a permanent record in this magazine is deemed appropriate. To this end an extract of the *Nashville Tennessean* of November 18, 1918, with an appended paper of Dr. J. H. Calendar of an earlier date, is herein set forth. Ed.)

"The Tennessee Historical Society held its first meeting for this season Tuesday evening in its rooms in the Watkins Building, the prevalence of the influenza having caused a postponement of the October meeting. There was no set address delivered, though the meeting was rendered quite interesting by the receipt and examination of many valuable gifts of a historical nature. The principal one of these was a splendid portrait in oil of General Armstrong, the life-long friend and staff officer of General Andrew Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, the gift of his granddaughter, Miss Catherine C. Vaulx of this city. In presenting this portrait in behalf of the giver, Mr. Robert Ewing, a member of the society, spoke as follows:

"Mr. President: Miss Catharine C. Vaulx, granddaughter of Joseph Vaulx, Sr., who is well remembered by the older citizens of Nashville as a man of great character, has authorized and requested me, in her name, linked with that of her family, and in tender memory of her mother, to present to this society the portrait of her distinguished grandfather, General Robert Armstrong. This I now do with a feeling of very great pleasure and honor. The portrait was painted by George Dury, a Nashville artist of no mean ability, whose works are now highly prized, gaining daily in artistic appreciation. So that in this gift the society receives a very distinct addition to its collection of valuable portraits, historic and artistic."

"You are aware that the society already has in this room, hanging prominently on its walls, a splendid portrait of Gen-



eral Andrew Jackson in his old age. There also hangs near this portrait an interesting sketch of his death scene. If I may be pardoned for doing so, I suggest that this portrait of General Armstrong, which the society is now about to receive, be hung as near as possible to that of our great hero, for the strong reason that in life they were very closely associated, and now that they have long since gone to their reward, we, who cherish the memory of their glorious deeds, should not separate them, for they were admirable in their lives, and in death should not be divided.

"That such action of the society would have the earnest sanction of General Jackson himself, if he were here, there can be no sort of doubt, for I hold in my hand a copy of a letter from Chief Justice and United States Senator A. O. P. Nicholson to General Lewis Cass, which recites that shortly before General Jackson came to die, when he realized that death was near, he sent for Judge Nicholson, who was his close friend, and put into his hands the sword which he had used at the battle of New Orleans, with instructions to deliver it to General Armstrong as a testimonial of his warm personal friendship and as evidence of his high appreciation of his military services and his patriotic devotion to the honor of his country. Higher testimony than this as to the personal worthiness of him whose picture you now receive it would be impossible to obtain, for General Jackson had ample opportunity to know; was abundantly capable of passing correct judgment, and, above all things else, was sincere in his expressions."

#### INDIAN FIGHTER.

"By birth General Armstrong was a Virginian, the son of Trooper Armstrong of that state, who took a very prominent part in the Revolutionary War which established the freedom of his country. In his twentieth year General Armstrong came to Tennessee, and immediately joined an artillery company under General Jackson, and rendered notable service in the Creek War, turning the fortunes of the day in the battle of Enotchapko, as General Jackson himself testified. He was severely wounded in that battle, and throughout his life suffered from the effects of that wound. The extraordinary gallantry of action which he displayed caused General Jackson to take him on his staff that he might have very close to him so brave and dependable an officer. In the following year he served as aide-de-camp to General Jackson at New Orleans, fighting there bravely to defend and forever preserve the liberties of the people whom his father had helped to free."

"In civil life General Armstrong served his state and coun-



try as actively and efficiently as he had done as a soldier. He was postmaster of Nashville for sixteen years, and afterwards proprietor of the *Washington Union*, a paper which ably advocated the political views of his beloved chieftain. He was serving the national government in an honorable capacity at the date of his death, February 23, 1854, and his loss was severely felt. The House of Representatives took appropriate official notice of his death, and President Pierce and his cabinet attended his funeral in a body, with members of the House and Senate as pall-bearers."

#### HEROIC LIFE.

"General Armstrong may be said truly to have heroically lived a life heroic, and so it must now appear eminently proper that this society should gladly receive, take charge of, and always carefully protect, this excellent representation of him as he appeared in life. He chose this State as his mother, and served her nobly in dangerous days. It behooves those citizens of Tennessee who follow him to be inspired by his example to noble deeds, willingly at this perilous juncture in national affairs to answer her call as a part of our beloved country. That citizens of the State may cherish her glory most truly represented by such men as General Armstrong, is the higher purpose of the Tennessee Historical Society, and this purpose it always steadily keeps in view, for men and their glorious deeds constitute the state."

"I feel highly honored that the granddaughter of this great patriot, who now does her full part to this end by placing this portrait where it can be seen by every citizen who visits the capital of the State, should have honored me by appointing me, her friend, to present this portrait, which I feel sure the society will gladly receive, properly prize and guard and cherish as it so fully deserves to be."

In speaking of the receipt of the gift Mr. Ewing said:

"The portrait of General Armstrong, which the Tennessee Historical Society has received, is one of the very best samples of the excellent work of George Dury, a Nashville painter. It is, in fact, worthy of the subject. The very strong features of General Armstrong are forcibly and clearly presented. Hung as this portrait will be, on the wall near that of General Jackson, it will be seen by every visitor to the society's rooms, and it will do much to enhance the reputation of the artist who, though he left many very beautiful samples of his work in pictures of the beautiful women of Nashville, is not appreciated as keenly as the very artistic nature of his work amply merits."



"Many years ago Dr. John H. Callender, well remembered as a newspaper writer of considerable power, when writing of General Armstrong, and particularly of this portrait, said that it should, and indeed prophesied that ultimately it would be given to the Historical Society for safe-keeping and a proper display, Miss Vaulx, the granddaughter of General Armstrong, by her magnanimous act, now verifies this prediction. This portrait will constitute a notable addition to the already large number owned by the society. They are lifelike representations of the most distinguished men of the nation and state, embracing the well-known ones of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, Fillmore and others, besides those of the three which Tennessee gave to the Union—Jackson, Polk and Johnson."

"The walls are also adorned with admirable portraits of such statesmen as Henry Clay, Felix Grundy, George W. Campbell and others. Those of Tennessee's orators and distinguished jurists, men like the brilliant Haskell and profound Catron, also have their appropriate places."

#### MANY VISITORS TO ROOMS.

"Though there are a number of daily visitors to the rooms of the society to see these pictures of the great ones of the past, and also the innumerable other objects of historical interest there to be found, it is to be doubted whether, in these very exciting days, citizens of Tennessee place the value they should on the preservation and cherishing of things which tend to keep in memory actions worthy to be remembered. These men made the State great, and gave it its glorious and interesting place in history, Tennessee has always had citizens of strong character and worth, men who did things of note, and who were always ready to their country's call, and who by their quick response crowned it with the name it now bears—that of the Volunteer State. Great deeds, and also the great men who performed them, should be remembered. "Haud Immemor"—not forgotten, the old Roman legend, has cheered and inspired its thousands. The Historical Society was organized and is maintained to keep keenly alive a just and continuing appreciation of the acts of those men who really constitute the State, as well as to secure and properly preserve valuable documents and other things of historic interest relating to them. Every citizen from any part of the State is always cordially welcomed and made to feel that he has his individual part in ownership. Those who have such things are being assured constantly that if they will commit them to the care of the society they will be carefully protected and placed where they can be seen by those whom they will interest.



## A LEAF FROM HISTORY.\*

## A Portrait of Gen. Robert Armstrong.

The eminent artist of this city, Mr. George Dury, has recently completed for the family a portrait of the late Gen. Robert Armstrong, for many years a distinguished citizen of this State, and a resident of this city. More than the period of a generation has elapsed since his death, and the term "the late" we have used will only be significant to the minds of older citizens, who remember him as a conspicuous figure in this community and a prominent actor in the civil and military history of the State and the nation. Many of these who have examined the portrait pronounce it an admirable likeness and a work of art which will add to the reputation of the painter. In due time it will probably be presented to the Tennessee Historical Society, to take its place in the galaxy of those who have conferred renown on the State, and a brief review of his life will be interesting to his surviving contemporaries, and instructive to the younger generation.

Gen. Robert Armstrong was the son of Trooper Armstrong, of Virginia, a valiant soldier of the war of the Revolution, noted for his superb figure and great physical strength, as well as skill and enterprise as a partisan fighter in the struggle of that period in Virginia and the Carolinas. His son, who inherited in great degree these personal characteristics, was born in Abingdon, Va., on September 28, 1792. The father removed with his family early in the present century to Knox County, Tennessee, where descendants still reside. Besides the subject of this memoir, two brothers—Maj. Frank Armstrong and Maj. William Armstrong—were men of high character employed in the Indian service of the United States Government in the Southwest, both of them serving as Superintendent of the Indian Territory after the removal of the tribes west of the Mississippi River. They were beloved by the red men for their justice and humane treatment, and their service was recognized by the Government as of great value.

Robert Armstrong's education was chiefly obtained at a school in his native place, Abingdon, but before its completion and in his twentieth year, he returned to Tennessee and was made Lieutenant of a company of volunteer artillery, and soon joined the command of Gen. Andrew Jackson, engaged in what is known as the Creek war. At the battle of Enotochapko, January 24, 1814, one of the decisive engagements of that war, he displayed conspicuous courage and qualities as an officer, arresting a formidable movement of the Indian forces, and by the report of Gen. Jackson, turning the fortunes of the day. He was wounded severely and carried the missile through life, at times suffering greatly from its effects. His gallantry endeared him to his commander, and he was appointed on his staff and was his aide-de-camp in the battle of New Orleans the following year. At the conclusion of hostilities he became a citizen of Nashville. On June 9, 1814, he had married Margaret D., daughter of Josiah Nichol, a leading merchant. A daughter, the widow of Joseph Vaulx, who died in 1878, a resident of this city, survives him.

In 1829 he was appointed postmaster of Nashville by President Jackson, and held the office for sixteen years. In 1836, while in this position, he was made Brigadier General of the Tennessee Mounted

\*Written by Dr. J. H. Calender, Oct. 28, 1888.



Volunteers, and commanded them when sent by the United States Government against the Seminole Indians in Florida. This was a brief campaign and ended in the battle of Wahco Swamp, in which the Indians were defeated. Politically, he was a warm adherent of President Jackson and the measures of his eventful administration, and in 1837, after his return from Florida, was the candidate for Governor of Tennessee against Gov. Newton Cannon, who represented that portion of the people of the State who had become alienated from the Jackson influence under the lead of Hugh L. White and John Bell. In this contest he was defeated. Upon the advent of Mr. Polk to the Presidency in 1845 he was appointed United States Consul to Liverpool, one of the most important positions in the foreign service, which he held until 1849. Before his departure for Europe in the spring of 1845, and a few months preceding the death of Gen. Jackson, he was the honored recipient at the hands of his old commander of the sword worn by the latter at the battle of New Orleans, as a testimonial of his personal friendship and his estimation of Gen. Armstrong's military service. This sword, after Gen. Armstrong's death, was formally presented in 1855 by his family to the United States Government, and is deposited in the archives of the War Department. In 1851, Gen. Armstrong and Maj. Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, became the proprietors of the *Washington Union* newspaper, and shortly thereafter, Gen. Armstrong became the sole proprietor, and in this capacity was made printer for the National House of Representatives. In this service he died, of congestion of the brain, February 23, 1854. The House of Representatives took notice of his death, and his funeral was attended by President Pierce and his cabinet, with a corps of pall-bearers from the Senate and House of Representatives. In January, 1855, his remains were removed to Nashville for final interment, which was conducted under the direction of a committee of prominent citizens appointed at a public meeting. The civic orders and military bodies and citizens generally composed the funeral escort and his body lies in the Nashville cemetery.

Born amidst the warm and recent memories of the revolutionary struggle for the independency of the country, and an enthusiastic and gallant participant in his manhood's prime in the war of 1812, the virtue of patriotism shone conspicuously in Gen. Armstrong's character, and was admired by all in later life, even when his temperament made him a stern, unbending partisan in a period of acrimonious political controversy never exceeded in this country, and in which he bore a notable part.

Ardent in convictions, unquailing in courage and devoted in attachments, he maintained the esteem and friendship of his fellow-citizens through confidence inspired by his candor and honorable dealing, not less than by his kindness of heart and gracious manners, and was at all times personally popular with men of all classes. He was of imposing and dignified carriage, commanding respect, and bore himself with credit, in every sphere in which he figured. He died in his sixty-third year, when the shadows falling from the west were growing long in an active and exciting life, and perhaps left no personal enemies, but instead a great troop of loving friends.



## THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

(The interesting document that follows was written by a former citizen of Tennessee, Rev. T. M. Hurst, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Arnot, Penn. Mr. Hurst is a native of Hardin County, Tennessee, grew up in the vicinity of "Where the Battle Was Fought," and during his residence in our State made numerous contributions to the press of both literary and historic worth. A number of years ago he read the document that follows before the Tennessee Historical Society and afterwards portions of it was published locally. The entire article is of such an interesting nature and created at the time such wide notice that permanent record is given to it in the magazine. Ed.)\*

In the evolution of civilization and the progress of human government, wars have been necessary. By them the genius and energy of the ages have been aroused, and with the blood of human sacrifice nations have been made great. Every great war has had one decisive battle in which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes, and these battles have for men an actual interest, both in the investigation of the chain of causes and effects by which government has reached its present standard, and in speculation on what probably should have been if any-one or all of them had come to a different termination.

In studying these battles, or any of them, in all of their reaches, it is probable that we would not all agree in the details that lead to nor the effects that followed them. Different minds will naturally vary in the impression which particular events make on them, and in the degree of interest which they reflect on the importance of the principles involved and watch the career of the men engaged in them.

These battles that mark epochs and form new outlines of history are always fought in obscure places that live only in history because they are the altar places on which men gave up their lives for the perpetuation of an idea; because they are the places where some current of fate is turned back, and where new impulses originate.

### BATTLES BACK OF CIVILIZATION.

The culture of Athens stands between us and the Asiatic despotisms that rise before us through the twilight of primeval history, dim and indistinct, but massive and majestic like

\*Since this article was set in type it has been discovered that it appeared as a contribution to the *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, Jan., 1902. However, a period of eighteen years having elapsed it will probably be new to the larger number of the readers of this periodical. Ed.



mountains in the early dawn, but back of Athens lies the crescent plain of Marathon with its Miltiades and his vanguard of European liberty, making possible the intellectual splendor of the age of Phidias and Pericles, and that secured to the future the growth of free institutions, the liberal enlightenment of the Western World, and the gradual ascendancy of the great principles of European civilization. When Calimachus laid down his life on the coast of Attica, he reared a monument of fame that will live in song when the mound and columns of Marathon are leveled in the dust, and when the golden mantle of Pallas Athenae rests in the forgotten archives of everlasting oblivion.

The backward thoughts of every lover of the beautiful delight to linger in and around Athens, but it is the heroic achievements of the Spartan three hundred in the wild Thesalian Mountains that fires the patriotic heart and incites to deeds of heroism the lovers of freedom and liberty in every age.

The English student regards with pleasure the growth of English ascendancy, and points with pride to English achievement in all that tends to make nations great, but back of English greatness lies the field of Hastings which determined the course of English history for centuries, and marked the beginning of a decisive future for the English-speaking people. The field whereon was begun the building of new nations, capable of every form of action from the union of Norman and Saxon thought, that afterwards gave to the world the Magna Charta, and sent out influences that will still be felt in determining the course of the world long after the valley of the Amazon shall be more thickly inhabited and better known than today is the valley of the Danube.

For centuries the culture and energy of England have congregated in London, and the fashions and art of France have sought an abiding place in Paris, but on the open plain near the village of Waterloo was fought the great battle that made a new map of Europe necessary, and that gave to the nineteenth century the history that shall outlive the British Museum or the towers of Notre Dame.

When the crumbling walls of feudalism shook medieval Europe from center to circumference there came a western tidal wave that landed the Puritan and the Cavalier on the strange shores of an unexplored continent, and left them there charged with the task and duty of building a new government that should demonstrate the practicability of triumphant democracy—a government broad as humanity and comprehensive enough for every human interest, wherein the fullest de-



velopment of a cosmopolitan citizenship would be possible, and whereby every man could be made a peer and any man might enjoy the possibilities of kingship. Not a government for the Puritan alone, nor yet for the Cavalier, but a broader, higher government in which should be blended the good in Puritanism with the heroism of chivalry, both merging with whatever else is noble in man into a comprehensive citizenship whose history is yet to be written.

This work was taken up and prosecuted under difficulties, and with conflicting differences of opinion that grew as it progressed until they finally culminated in the great Armageddon of the western hemisphere—the battle of Shiloh. The decisive battle in which were centered the vexing differences and by which were determined the conflicting issues of this new civilization. A battle that shall be catalogued along with Marathon, Chalons, Hastings, Blenheim, Pultawah, Valmy and Waterloo.

#### THE ARMAGEDDON OF THE WEST.

When the time had fully come for the baptism of fire and blood that were necessary for the blending and remoulding of the nation, and when the uniformed hosts under flaunting banners stood ready to do the bidding of the god of war, they were not marshalled at Castle Garden nor in the streets of the national capital, nor yet at the Golden Gate; neither were they deployed along the restless shores of the great lakes or called to bivouac under the perfumed orange groves down by the gulf, but amid the scrubby oaks and the broom sedge of the quiet woods, in the midst of which nestled a spireless meeting-house whose name will live in history when the flaring electric light flickers and grows dim in our Broadways, and when the twenty-story buildings crumble in our bustling State streets. They gathered at Shiloh!

In presenting a paper covering a study of this greatest of modern battles, I am not unmindful of the fact that it has been the subject of more animated discussions than have been indulged in on account of all other battles of the war of 1861, and in naming it as the "greatest battle," my estimate is made up from what I conceive to be its relative influence on future history rather than on the number of men engaged or the heavy slaughter that resulted. More men met on other fields during our war, and they fought longer and sustained heavier losses of human life, but these battles were all either preparatory to or confirmatory of this decisive struggle at Shiloh.

Neither is it the purpose of this paper to name the hero of Shiloh nor to undertake to settle the controversies concerning



the generalship of any leader in that battle, nor to give credit to, nor bring a charge against any man for the part he took in it, but to deal with the battle as it appears to me from a study of the incidents that lead up to it, and to its general final result.

When the first gun was fired, General Grant was several miles away from his army on an opposite bank of a river and the army of General Buell had not yet made the expected junction with Grant's army. At the close of the first day the Confederate army rested where the Federal army had slept the night before, and General Albert Sydney Johnston had fallen in the vanguard of an advancing host. At the beginning of the second day a part of Buell's army had reached the field, and at the close of the second day General Beauregard was leading the Confederate forces southward. In these facts one man sees the surprise and defeat of Grant, another sees an unnecessary and reckless daring that cost the life of Johnston, another sees the lack of generalship on the part of Buell, and still another sees in Beauregard an absence of the military prowess that brings success out of aggressiveness, and that might have changed the general result and thereby given to the world what is now an impossible history. Like all decisive battles, this battle seems to have turned on accidental or providential incidents that are apparent only to the student of war. These accidents, if you call them by that name, are left to your own study.

No matter how varied our differences concerning the incidents of the battle, or the wisdom of the generals who lead its contending forces, we must agree that it was a conflict of heroes whose valor was only equalled on other American battlefields. The victorious soldier is not always the bravest, nor is the successful general necessarily possessed of the greatest military tact. Cataline was as brave a soldier as Leonidas and a much better general. Alva surpassed the Prince of Orange in the field, and Suwarrow was the military superior of Kosciusko. But a just comparison of American generalship is not possible to an American, and there are no grades of heroism among American soldiers. American soldiers are all heroes. The men of Shiloh were Americans all, and the unmarked resting place of the man in gray, and the terraced tomb of his brother in blue testify alike to the unflinching heroism of American soldiering, and the man who would dare snatch from either a single laurel is a coward and an ingrate.

#### EXONERATION OF GENERAL GRANT.

Leaving the military course pursued by each of the generals at Shiloh to the just vindications and criticism of history, I



venture to take advantage of this opportunity to settle one question concerning General Grant that has been the source of much controversy—the charge of drunkenness. General Grant was not under the influence of any intoxication, either at the beginning of, or at any time during the battle. On this point I simply beg to submit and file with this paper the following letter from a resident of this city in reply to an inquiry on the subject:

Corner Spruce and Demonbreun Streets,\*

December 6, 1892.

Mr. T. M. Hurst:—

Dear Sir: Your letter of inquiry concerning "General Grant's physical condition the morning the battle of Shiloh began" was received several days ago. You will please pardon my seeming negligence, and accept my assurance, gladly given, that on the date mentioned, I believe General Grant was thoroughly sober. He was at my breakfast table when he heard the report from a cannon. Holding untasted a cup of coffee he paused in conversation to listen a moment at the report of another cannon. He hastily arose saying to his staff-officers: "Gentlemen, the ball is in motion, let's be off." His flag-ship (as he called his special steamboat) was lying at the wharf, and in fifteen minutes he, staff-officers, orderlies, clerks and horses had embarked.

During the weeks of his occupancy of my house he always demeaned himself as a gentleman; was kind, courteous, genial and considerate, and *never* appeared in my presence in a state of intoxication. He was uniformly kind to citizens, irrespective of politics, and whenever the brutality to citizens, so frequently indulged in by the soldier, was made known to him he at once sent orders for the release of the captives or restoration of the property appropriated. As a proof of his thoughtful kindness I mention that during the battle on Sunday he wrote and sent to my mother a safeguard to prevent her home being used for a hospital. Yielding to the appeals of humanity she did, however, open her home to the wounded and sick for three months in succession, often administering to their wants and necessities in person. In such high esteem did General Grant hold such magnanimity, under the most aggravating circumstances, that he thanked her most heartily, assuring her that considering the great losses and gross indignities she had received from the soldiers, her nobility of soul was more to be admired than the fame of a general leading an army of victorious soldiers.

On one occasion he asked to be introduced to my mother and family, saying: "If you have no objections to introducing me, I will be much pleased." I replied: "Not because you are a great general, but because I believe you to be a gentleman I will introduce you to them unhesitatingly." In deference to the fact that I was a Southern lady with Southern proclivities, he attired himself in a full suit of citizen's clothes, and touching himself on the shoulder said: "I thought you would like this best," evincing delicate courtesy and gentlemanly instincts of which the horrors of war nor merited promotion had not deprived him.

\*Nashville, Tennessee.



I feel that it is due the surviving members of General Grant's family to mention some evidences of his great-heartedness as shown in kindness to Southern people. "Military necessity" was not to him a term synonymous with uncensored vandalism or approval of terrorism. He was too great and too true to his manhood to be fettered by prejudice.

I am pleased that I can give these reminiscences of a man who as a soldier and statesman received and merited the homage of a nation—for they are testimonies of his inner life and innate characteristics, worthy to be recorded with the magnimity of "kingship over self" as manifested on the day of General Lee's surrender.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Mrs. W. H. Cherry.

And also the following from Colonel Douglas Putnam of the Ninety-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry, who accompanied General Grant in the battle as a volunteer aide, and who now lives at Ashland, Kentucky. Writing under date of January 15, 1892, he says:

"I was with him—in fact rode by his side during the forenoon and until 2 p.m., on Sunday, when I gave up my horse to Lieutenant Col. McPherson, then Chief-of-Staff of General Grant, whose horse had been shot under him. I saw General Grant several times during the evening and next morning, and staid on the Tigress with him that night, and it now gives me pleasure to state again, as I have repeatedly done before, that the charge that he was in any manner or degree during any of that time under the influence of liquor is wicked and unfounded, as well as absolutely false. It was so cruel under the circumstances that I knew it caused a noble and true a heart as ever throbbed to bleed. In fact, so great was his feeling, that strong and grand as was his character on one occasion sometime after, he broke into tears, and told a circle of devoted friends that he should end his military career then and there by tendering his resignation. They persuaded him not to do so, and when his decision was finally made he said: 'I have tried to do my duty, and I believe that history will do me justice.'"

But this is only a personal diversion that carries with it a vindication that will no doubt be welcomed by every true American heart.

#### THE ARMADA OF THE TENNESSEE.

The Union army with a fleet of 167 vessels, excelled only in number by the Spanish Armada, and in tonnage by no flotilla that ever broke the foam, was plowing its way up the Tennessee River, which was then full to overflowing, and General Buell was marching westward with an army of 60,000 to 80,000 men to form a junction with this army on the west bank of the Tennessee River at Hamburg, Tennessee.

There is nothing in American history that compares with this fleet that carried the Federal army up the Tennessee, and



yet history has made no record of it so far as I have read. The student staggers in wonder at the stupendous proportions of the royal navy and the Spanish Armada under the leadership of Lord Howard and the Duke de Medina Sidonia, but perhaps he has never been told that in our own late Civil War there gathered in the beautiful Tennessee River a grander spectacle than either of these.

Under the convoy of fourteen men-of-war there came a fleet of 153 steamers (giving the river when at their moorings at Savannah) the appearance of a grand floating city of splendid palaces. For the benefit of the future student of our history, I take the liberty of copying the names of the boats that composed this fleet, and file the list with this paper as follows:

## MEN-OF-WAR.

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Alfred Robb | 8. Key West   |
| 2. Carondelet  | 9. Undine     |
| 3. Conestoga   | 10. Taw Waw   |
| 4. Brilliant   | 11. Paw Paw   |
| 5. Tyler       | 12. Peasca    |
| 6. Lexington   | 13. St. Clair |
| 7. Fair Play   | 14. Naumkeg   |

## TRANSPORTS.

- |                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Autocrat           | 30. Charley Miller         |
| 2. Argyle             | 31. City of Alton          |
| 3. Aurora             | 32. City Belle             |
| 4. A. McDowell        | 33. Charley Bowen          |
| 5. Alex Scott         | 34. Crescent City          |
| 6. Anglo-Saxon        | 35. Clarionet              |
| 7. Americus           | 36. Coronett               |
| 8. Athy Watham        | 37. Countess               |
| 9. Armada             | 38. Diamond                |
| 10. Adam Jacobs       | 39. Duett                  |
| 11. Belle of the West | 40. D. A. January          |
| 12. Bostonia No. 1    | 41. Dunleith (or Demleith) |
| 13. Bostonia No. 2    | 42. D. J. Taylor           |
| 14. Boston            | 43. Evansville             |
| 15. B. J. Adams       | 44. Elenora                |
| 16. Baltic            | 45. Emma                   |
| 17. Bay City          | 46. Emma No. 2             |
| 18. Ben South         | 47. Empress                |
| 19. Black Hawk        | 48. E. W. Fairchild        |
| 20. City of Memphis   | 49. Eugene                 |
| 21. City of Madison   | 50. Equinox                |
| 22. Clara Poe         | 51. Edward Walsh           |
| 23. Choteau           | 52. Empire City            |
| 24. Commercial        | 53. Emerald                |
| 25. Champion No. 2    | 54. Emlie                  |
| 26. Champion No. 4    | 55. Fort Wayne             |
| 27. Chancellor        | 56. Fanny Bullitt          |
| 28. Continental       | 57. Falls City             |
| 29. Commerce          | 58. Forest Queen           |



- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 59. Fannie Barker     | 106. Mussulman           |
| 60. Golden State      | 107. Minnehaha           |
| 61. Grey Eagle        | 108. Marengo             |
| 62. Gossamer          | 109. Marble City         |
| 63. Glendale          | 110. New Uncle Sam       |
| 64. Gladiator         | 111. Nashville           |
| 65. Hiawatha          | 112. Nebraska            |
| 66. Hazel Dell        | 113. Niagara             |
| 67. Horizon           | 114. Ohio                |
| 68. Havanna           | 115. Ohio No. 3          |
| 69. Henry Fitzhugh    | 116. Oriental            |
| 70. Iatan             | 117. Planet              |
| 71. Iowa              | 118. Poland              |
| 72. Izetta            | 119. Prairie Rose        |
| 73. Imperial          | 120. Pink Varble         |
| 74. Indiana           | 121. Phantom             |
| 75. Jewess            | 122. Rocket              |
| 76. J. W. Chapman     | 123. Rose Hamilton       |
| 77. Jno. D. Roe       | 124. Rebecca             |
| 78. J. B. Ford        | 125. Sunny South         |
| 79. John Taines       | 126. South Wester        |
| 80. J. C. Swan        | 127. Saline              |
| 81. J. B. Dickey      | 128. S. W. Thomas        |
| 82. J. W. Kennett     | 129. Sir William Wallace |
| 83. Jesse K. Bell     | 130. Sallie List         |
| 84. John Galt         | 131. Shenango            |
| 85. John Bell         | 132. Spread Eagle        |
| 86. John Warner       | 133. Silver Moon         |
| 87. J. W. Hailman     | 134. Sunshine            |
| 88. J. S. Pringle     | 135. Sciota              |
| 89. Jonas Powell      | 136. Silver Wave         |
| 90. Jas. H. Trover    | 137. St. Clair           |
| 91. Jacob Poe         | 138. St. John            |
| 92. Liberty           | 139. Sam Orr             |
| 93. Lady Pike         | 140. Telegram No. 3      |
| 94. Leonora           | 141. T. L. McGill        |
| 95. Lewellen          | 142. Tecumseh            |
| 96. Lancaster No. 3   | 143. Tycoon              |
| 97. Lancaster No. 4   | 144. T. J. Patton        |
| 98. Lizzie Simmons    | 145. Tribune             |
| 99. Louisana          | 146. Tigress             |
| 100. Leni Leota       | 147. Umpire              |
| 101. Masonic Gem      | 148. Universe            |
| 102. Meteor           | 149. Wisconsin           |
| 103. Memphis          | 150. Wild Cat            |
| 104. Manhattan        | 151. White Cloud         |
| 105. Mary E. Forsythe | 152. Westmoreland        |
|                       | 153. Yorktown            |

The Lexington and the Tyler were the first gunboats that went up the Tennessee River. The Tigress was General Grant's flagship, and as he went down the river bank to embark on Sunday morning, April 6, he was leading with his own hand the cream-colored horse that he rode on the field that day. This statement is made from memory. History records General Grant as using crutches at the time.



The Henry Fitzhugh was the first boat to carry wounded Federal soldiers back from Pittsburgh Landing, and as she came steaming around the bend above Savannah that dreadful Sunday with one of her smoke-stacks literally riddled with cannon balls, she presented an appearance quite in contrast with what she had shown but a few days before. In this great fleet but one boat—The Glendale—had on it a calliope.

While at Savannah, Governor Harvey of Wisconsin, who was visiting officers in the 16th Wisconsin Regiment, stepped from the steamer Demlieth into the river and was drowned. But these are only incidents remembered by a boy. Please pardon their indulgence.

#### THE FAR-FLUNG BATTLE LINE

The causes that brought about the war that gave to history our Shiloh are familiar to every American citizen, but a study of the movements that brought the two armies together there has perhaps been undertaken by but few of the present generation.

The fact that we are not a military people is seen in nearly every movement made by either army during the first few months of the war, but as war preparations progressed, and as the magnitude of the struggle became apparent, the military genius of the contending forces in seeking strategic points developed a leadership on both sides that compare favorably with the military leadership of nations trained to war.

Much speculation and criticism have been indulged concerning the first line of battle drawn up by the Confederate authorities in the Southwest; some taking the position that the line should have been an aggressive line drawn further north, thus forcing the fight into Ohio and Indiana, while others are of the opinion that the line should have been drawn as far south as the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and made a defensive line with the view of controlling the lower Mississippi and protecting the states actually and actively in the Confederacy, but it is not the purpose of this paper to settle these mooted questions but to deal with things as they were.

A Confederate line with its right wing resting on Covington, Kentucky, and extending westward to cover St. Louis, Missouri, would have materially changed our war maps and perhaps our national history, while a line resting its right wing on Knoxville, Tennessee, and its left on Memphis, Tennessee, might have been made more effective as a line of defense, but in speculating on either of these possibilities we should remember that between these two extremes lay the three states that made possible the perpetuation of the union



of states. Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee did more to save the union than any other ten states in the great federation, and if blame attaches to particular states for the fall of the Confederacy, or if glory accrues to them, history will place a large portion of it to the account of this trio that nestled around the junction of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee and Missouri Rivers with the Mississippi River. These were the three stones that supported the arch. Within the radius of this territory was the key to the situation. More important than Washington or Richmond. Here the decisive battle must be fought, and to the victor in this battle was to be given the control of the country.

Preparatory to this battle the Confederate line was actually drawn from Mill Spring, Kentucky, via Bowling Green, Donelson, Henry and Columbus on to Pea Ridge, Arkansas.

At the beginning of the year 1862, General Beauregard was in Virginia, General Zollicoffer was in Eastern Kentucky, General Albert Sydney Johnston was at Bowling Green, Kentucky, with a part of his army under General Buckner at Fort Donelson, and another division of it under General Tighlman at Fort Henry, and still another division of it under Major-General Polk at Columbus, Kentucky, guarding the Mississippi River at the great iron banks. General Van Dorn was at Van Buren or Pocahontas, Arkansas; General Bragg was at Pensacola, Florida, and General Pope was somewhere in Missouri. Up to this time there had been no fighting in the South and Southwest, and neither army had been thoroughly organized—the Confederate army especially being then in progress of organization and equipment. Late in January General Beauregard was sent to the assistance of General Johnston, and on the 4th day of February, 1862, they met for the first time, at Bowling Green, Kentucky. General Buel was at this time marching southward from Louisville, Kentucky, and was only forty miles north of Bowling Green. General Grant was at Cairo, Illinois, preparing to move on Henry and Donelson, and General Halleck was at Saint Louis with a general oversight of the movements of the Union troops in the Southwest. Three days after the first meeting of Beauregard and Johnston, Fort Henry fell into the hands of the advancing Union hosts, and on the 11th day of February the Federal army moved towards Fort Donelson. Then began the great movements of two tremendous armies that culminated in the battle of Shiloh. On that same night General Johnston evacuated Bowling Green, and on the 13th day of February took up his headquarters in Edgfield, Tennessee.\* On the nights of the 15th and 16th

\*East Nashville.



Fort Donelson fell, and in a few days afterwards the movement of the Federal army begun with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad† near Iuka and Corinth, Mississippi, as the objective point, with the expectation of separating the two wings of the Confederate army and fighting them in detail.

On the 23rd day of February the rear guard of General Johnston's army left Nashville by way of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and Stevenson, Alabama, for Corinth, Mississippi, and on the 25th day of February, General Polk left Columbus, Kentucky, to form a junction with Johnston at some point on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad.† Four days before this calls had been made by the Confederate authorities on the Governors of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana for from 5,000 to 10,000 men each and the plantation bells, church bells and irons and candlesticks of the South were rapidly converted into belching messengers of death. Men armed with a medley of small arms wholly unadapted to war, and men without uniform or drill, were hurried to the scene of action. The divisions of Polk and Bragg and Pope and Van Dorn were directed to a common center, and it was soon apparent that the great battle of the Mississippi Valley was shortly to be fought somewhere near the line that divided the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi.

#### BATTLE ALIGNMENT.

After the fall of Donelson, General Grant had for some cause been relieved of his command, and during this time the Federal army under General C. F. Smith had reached Savannah, and disembarked to await the arrival of General Buell. The 46th Ohio Volunteers, under Col. Thomas Worthington, being the first to disembark, which was done without orders, and for which this officer was afterwards tried by a court-martial. On the 17th day of March, 1862, General Grant resumed command and took up his headquarters at Savannah. General Wallace then being at Crump's Landing, four miles above and on the west side of the river, and General Prentiss being still further up—at Pittsburgh Landing on the west side of the Tennessee, and separated from General Wallace's division by the backwater then standing in Snake and Owl Creeks, while the Confederate armies were being marshalled at Corinth, Mississippi, which was only twenty-eight miles away from the headquarters of General Grant.

The first day of April, 1862, found the armies occupying these respective positions, with General Buell moving from

†Now, Southern Rail Road.



Columbia to join General Grant, and from these conditions have come more severe criticisms than grew out of any other battle of our Civil War. General Buell has been severely criticized because he consumed all the days from March 15 to April 6 in moving his army a hundred miles. General Grant has been severely criticized for allowing his army to "lay for two weeks and more in isolated camps with a river in its rear and a hostile army, claimed to be superior in numbers, twenty miles distant in its front, while the commander made his headquarters and passed his nights nine miles away on the opposite side of the river, leaving his army with no line or order of battle, no defensive work of any sort, no outposts and no avenue of escape by retreat." General Johnston has suffered criticism because he did not move forward and strike and crush Grant before Buell could possibly come to his assistance, and General Beauregard has been mercilessly criticized because he did not press the battle to a decisive termination on Sunday after he learned of the death of General Johnston.

All of these criticisms rest no doubt on what seems to the critics to be good grounds, but every one of them may be materially modified when the facts are understood.

Up to this time the Confederate army in the Southwest had not been aggressive, but simply defensive. The Federal army at and near Savannah occupied about the same position in which General Grant found it when restored to his command. General Grant had good reason to expect General Buell any day after he took up his headquarters at Savannah, while General Buell might plead bad roads, high waters and the absence of a proper engineering corps as the cause of his delay, and this same plea might avail for General Johnston. Men who were with him at Corinth, Mississippi, are living today, and can testify as to the almost impassable condition of the roads on the 1st to the 6th days of April, 1862.

#### THE "IFS" OF BATTLE.

The critic on a cushioned seat by his own fireside, scanning the map of a battlefield, may move an army with much greater ease and rapidity than can the best-trained general at the head of his column in muddy weather with incessant rains and swelling water courses interfering with and obstructing his plans. If the rains, muddy roads and high waters had all been east of the Tennessee River from the first day of February to the first day of April, 1862, the attack and defeat of General Grant might have been accomplished before General Buell left Nashville; while if the rains had all fallen



south and west of the Memphis and Charleston Road during the time, there would perhaps have been no battle of Shiloh; but neither of these things happened. The rains fell then on the just and the unjust alike, just as they always fall. If the unknown boy had led Grouchy instead of Blucher to the field, or if it had not been for the Ohain road, or if something else had not happened that did happen, Napoleon would never have been the monarch of Elba's Isle; but because of these "ifs" history will continue her efforts to record these things as they were, regardless of the fine-spun theories of a thousand unpauled generals with deploying brigades of vision-made soldiers moving on every hilltop and in every valley.

The battle of Shiloh was not fought on the 2nd day of April, 1862. General Johnston did not move forward and crush General Grant's army before Buell came up, but he no doubt moved as early and as rapidly as he could move under the circumstances, and this brought on the battle April 6 instead of at an earlier day. General Johnston did his best and he did well for his cause, and his heroism will be honored as long as heroism has an advocate and self-sacrifice has a votary. Mr. Davis says that in the fall of Johnston the great pillar of the Southern Confederacy was crushed and beneath its fragments the best hopes of the Southwest lay buried.

A combination of circumstances that could not be wholly controlled by Grant and Johnston and Buell and Beauregard, brought together in deadly conflict these powerful armies who for two entire days stubbornly and bravely contested every point involved, and the fact that these noble men made such determined resistance argues that the victory was in no sense an easy one to the victor.

The purpose of this paper is not to recount the details of this battle. These are familiar to many a living soldier whose closest friend sleeps tonight on the quiet hills of Shiloh, and through these living heroes to their children, they are familiar to the student of American history, and they lie open to all of us in every library in this country. And yet there is a temptation that almost leads me to indulge in recollections of incidents as they were impressed on the mind of a thirteen-year-old boy by the fire and blood of that terrific tragedy—that necessary conflict of brothers. But I suppress the wild staccatto of the blazing musketry that still rattles in my ears, the sullen roar of the thundering artillery and the weird music that broke the silence of Sunday night, and drawing the curtain over the dead and dying—I spare you.

Neither do I enter into lengthy reflections or speculations concerning what might have been. If allowed to indulge in



such a course I would feel disposed to ask why Generals Grant and Johnston should have been the subjects of such violent criticisms from the house of their friends on the eve of this impending crisis, and then I should try to find some satisfactory answer. As is stated in this paper, General Grant was relieved of his command by the Federal authorities after the fall of Donelson, and left at Fort Henry, while it is a fact that about this same time a committee headed by G. A. Henry of Tennessee was actually in Richmond demanding the removal of General Johnston, who was protected in his place largely by the friendship and confidence of Mr. Davis, who said to the committee, "If Sydney Johnston is not a general, the Confederacy has no generals." But I leave even these curious yet important facts for the study and speculation of those who are interested in them.

#### SHILOH DECISIVE.

My object is to call attention to Shiloh as the decisive battle in a war that has no historic parallel, and to leave you to study its details if you choose.

Other wars have settled the disputed questions of possession, or the right of possession of territory claimed by the different nations; they have settled questions of religious and political expansions whereby one sect or nation was made greater while the other was extinguished as a civilizing or controlling force, but no other great war has been fought by a great people among themselves for a great country in order that they and their country might be made greater.

The miracle and marvel of history! One great people with one great country, moved by one controlling idea, but simply differing as to methods, pass through the greatest fratricidal war the world has ever known, and come out still one people, with one flag, one patriotism and one country, only with an enlarged plan for the future, and an intensified devotion to popular free government.

Shame on the man who dares impugn the motives of the hero who offered his life a sacrifice on the altar of the Southern Confederacy, and cursed be he who would tear a single star from the grand banner that hangs its protecting folds today over 65,000,000 of free and happy people!

T. M. HURST.



## EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER.

(Under date of February 2, 1918, from Arnot, Penn., Mr. Hurst adds other interesting facts here appended.)

"I am handing you the original letter of Mrs. Cherry to be filed in the archives of the Society. . . . Mrs. Cherry refers to her mother without naming her. Her mother's name was Mrs. Nancy Irwin, and she had two sons in the Confederate army at the time, one of whom, Capt. J. W. Irwin, is shown in the Confederate monument dedicated at Shiloh last May. Mrs. Cherry was the oldest daughter of Mrs. Irwin, and a cousin of mine married her youngest daughter, now dead.

"At the time I delivered the address before the Society, this letter of Mrs. Cherry's was copied in one of the Nashville dailies, from which it was copied and commented on by many papers throughout the nation. Among others, in the *Evangelist*, edited at that time by Dr. Henry M. Field. This agitation led to a letter of inquiry from Mrs. Grant to Mrs. Irwin, and finally to a visit from General Fred Grant, with his daughter Nellie, to my cousin who married Mrs. Cherry's youngest sister. I happened to visit my cousin in July after General Grant had been there, and found that he was as much admired as was his father by Mrs. Irwin."

"Concerning General Grant's drinking, I have a letter from Col. Douglass Putnam, who was with Grant at Shiloh and stayed with him until about the middle of the afternoon of Sunday (April 6, 1862) when McPherson's horse was shot, when he gave his horse to him and walked back to the river and slept with Grant that night on the "Tigress," the flag ship to which Mrs. Cherry refers. Thus Col. Putnam corroborates what Mrs. Cherry says."

"The facts about General Grant's drinking are about these: Up to the time Fort Donelson was attacked General Grant was drinking. After the battle he was removed from his command by General Halleck for 'disobeying orders,' or something of the sort, when General Smith took the Federal army to Savannah, where Grant was restored to command not long before the battle of Shiloh was fought.

"The report that General Grant was drunk at Shiloh was persistently circulated all through the war, and led to the saying of Lincoln, 'I wish I could get a few barrels of the same kind of whisky Grant drinks for my other generals.' Grant was much disturbed by these reports after the battle of Shiloh and at one time midst the shedding of tears said, 'I am doing my best, and I am not going to stand it any longer, but will send in my resignation and go home.' However, Putnam, McPherson, Lew Wallace and other friends persuaded him not to do so."

"I have a lot of matter that interests me, but it is gathering moss and will soon become rubbish. During the period in which I lived at Nashville I knew some men from whom I heard many interesting stories. One story told by General Frank Cheatham I recall:

'Old Frank' often comes to my mind, and I think of him and George Pickett and General Grant with intense interest. They were together with the old army in Mexico and preserved their personal friendship through the Civil War. After the war Grant offered to make Pickett marshal of Virginia, when Pickett said: 'You cannot afford to do it.' To which Grant replied: 'I can afford to do anything



that is right.' (See Mrs. Pickett's *Reminiscences*.) After the war, when Grant was President, he wrote to General Cheatham, beginning his letter, 'Dear Frank,' and among other things he said, 'Old boy, you have played in hard luck, and I am sorry for you, and I wish I might favor you in some way.' Then suggested that he appoint Cheatham to some place in the diplomatic service, adding that 'I could not give you an office in the South because the *Radicals* would want to lynch me if I did.' And 'Frank' replied, saying, 'Dear Lis: I appreciate your good feeling; but if I should accept an appointment at your hands, these *Rebels* would lynch me before I got across the line.' Old Frank used to tell that and laugh. When General Cheatham died, the Grand Army Post was given the place of honor at his head when he lay in state at the capitol at Nashville. This, I think, was one of the prettiest things that happened in Nashville while I was a resident there. Gen. Cheatham had been in the National Army before he was in the Confederate service; and when lying in state, a representative of the G. A. R. stood at his head, while a representative of the Confederate Veterans stood at his feet."

"After Libby Prison was removed to Chicago, I went through it, and on its roster found the name of Col. W. C. Kendrick, who escaped and was supposed to have been lost, but I traced that man from Libby to Washington City, thence to Cincinnati, Paducah and to his grave in Waynesboro, Tennessee, where his remains sleep 'unwept, unmarked, unhonored, and unsung.' His father and five brothers were in the Confederate army. W. C. Kendrick, though he organized a regiment in the Union army and was elected its colonel, was never sworn in, and hence lost his pay, as well as his pension for his family. . . . O, the tragedies, the unwritten tragedies, that came into the Southland as the result of the war can never be fully known."



## MANAGEMENT OF NEGROES UPON SOUTHERN ESTATES—AN ECHO OF SLAVE DAYS IN THE SOUTHLAND.

(The Tennessee Historical Society has lately been presented with two interesting volumes dealing largely with industrial, economic and social conditions in the South some seventy-five years ago, viz:

*Industrial Resources of the Southwest*, by J. D. B. DeBow, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Louisiana.

Few remain that participated in the institution of slavery, and such as survive remember those days from the standpoint of childhood. The immediate problems of that day, of course, passed away with the industrial situation of which they were a part, nevertheless the present generation needs to study a number of phases of modern life in the South in the perspective of this past. In the light of this interest two articles appearing in the above volumes are reproduced representing views of the larger and smaller slave-holder in reference to proper care of those whom they regarded as providentially placed under them.—Ed.)

### I.

Some very sensible and practical writer in the March number of *The Review*, under the "Agricultural Department," has given us an article upon the management of negroes, which entitles him to the gratitude of the planting community, not only for the sound and useful information it contains, but because it has opened up this subject, to be thought of, written about, and improved upon, until the comforts of our black population shall be greatly increased, and their services become more profitable to their owners. Surely there is no subject which demands of the planter more careful consideration than the proper treatment of his slaves, by whose labor he lives, and for whose conduct and happiness he is responsible in the eyes of God. We very often find planters comparing notes and making suggestions as to the most profitable modes of tilling the soil, erecting gates, fences, farm-houses, machinery, and, indeed, everything else conducive to their comfort and prosperity; but how seldom do we find men comparing notes as to their modes of feeding, clothing, nursing, working and taking care of those human beings intrusted to our charge.

From the vast amount of experience in the management of slaves, can we not deduce some general, practicable rules for their government, that would add to the happiness of both master and servant? I know of no other mode of arriving at this great desideratum than for planters to give to the public their rules for feeding, clothing, housing and working their slaves, and of taking care of them when sick, together with their plantation discipline. In this way we shall be continual-



ly learning something new upon this vitally interesting question, filled, as it is, with great responsibilities; and while our slaves will be made happier, our profits from their labor will be greater, and our consciences be made easier.

I would gladly avail myself of the privilege of contributing my mite to the accomplishment of this end, by giving my own system of management, not because there is anything novel in it—that it is better, or differs essentially from that of most of my neighbors—but because it may meet the eye of some man of enlarged experience, who will necessarily detect its faults, and who may be induced to suggest the proper corrections, and for which I should feel profoundly grateful.

#### HOUSING—THE “QUARTER.”

To begin, then, I send you my plantation rules, that are printed in the plantation book, which constitute a part of the contract made in the employment of the overseer, and which are observed, so far as my constant and vigilant superintendence can enforce them. My first care has been to select a proper place for my “quarter,” well protected by the shade of forest trees, sufficiently thinned out to admit a free circulation of air, so situated as to be free from the impurities of stagnant water, and to erect comfortable houses for my negroes. Planters do not always reflect that there is more sickness, and consequently greater loss of life, from the decaying logs of negro houses, open floors, leaky roofs, and crowded rooms, than all other causes combined; and if humanity will not point out the proper remedy, let self-interest for once act as a virtue, and prompt him to save the health and lives of his negroes, by at once providing comfortable quarters for them. There being upwards of 150 negroes on the plantation, I provide for them 24 houses made of hewn post oak, covered with cypress, 16 by 18, with close plank floors and good chimneys, and elevated two feet from the ground. The ground under and around the houses is swept every month, and the houses, both inside and out, whitewashed twice a year. The houses are situated in a double row from north to south, about 200 feet apart, the doors facing inwards, and the houses being in a line, about 50 feet apart. At one end of the street stands the overseer’s house, workshops, tool house, and wagon sheds; at the other, the grist and sawmill, with good cisterns at each end, providing an ample supply of pure water. My experience has satisfied me that spring, well and lake water are all unhealthy in this climate, and that large underground cisterns, keeping the water pure and cool, are greatly to be preferred. They are easily and cheaply constructed, very convenient, and save



both doctors' bills and loss of life. The negroes are never permitted to sleep before the fire, either lying down or sitting up, if it can be avoided, as they are always prone to sleep with their heads to the fire, are liable to be burnt and to contract disease; but beds with ample clothing are provided for them, and in them they are made to sleep. . . .

#### FOOD AND REST.

I allow for each hand that works out four pounds of clear meat and one peck of meal per week. Their dinners are cooked for them, and carried to the field, always with vegetables, according to the season. There are two houses set apart at mid-day for resting, eating, and sleeping, if they desire it, and they retire to one of the weather sheds or the grove to pass this time, not being permitted to remain in the hot sun while at rest. They cook their own suppers and breakfasts, each family being provided with an oven, skillet, and sifter, and each one having a coffee-pot (and generally some coffee to put in it), with knives and forks, plates, spoons, cups, etc., of their own providing. The wood is regularly furnished them, for I hold it to be absolutely mean for a man to require a negro to work until daylight closes in and then force him to get wood, sometimes half a mile off, before he can get a fire, either to warm himself or cook his supper. Every negro has his hen-house, where he raises poultry, which he is not permitted to sell, and he cooks and eats his chickens and eggs for his evening and morning meals to suit himself besides, every family has a garden, paled in, where they raise vegetables and fruits as they take a fancy to.

#### CARE OF CHILDREN—NURSERY.

A large house is provided as a nursery for the children, where all are taken at daylight, and placed under the charge of a careful and experienced woman, whose sole occupation is to attend to them, and see that they are properly fed and attended to, and, above all things, to keep them as dry and as cleanly as possible under the circumstances. The suckling women come in to nurse their children four times during the day, and it is the duty of the nurse to see that they do not perform this duty until they have become properly cool, after walking from the field. In consequence of these regulations I have never lost a child from being burnt to death or, indeed, by accidents of any description; and although I have had more than thirty born within the last five years, yet I have not lost a single one from teething, or the ordinary summer complaints so prevalent amongst the children in this climate.



## CLOTHING AND SPENDING MONEY.

I give to my negroes four full suits of clothes with two pair of shoes, every year, and to my women and girls a calico dress and two handkerchiefs extra. I do not permit them to have "truck patches" other than their gardens, or to raise anything whatever for market; but in lieu thereof I give to each head of a family and to every single negro, on Christmas day, five dollars, and send them to the county town, under the charge of the overseer or driver, to spend their money. In this way I save my mules from being killed up in summer, and my oxen in winter, by working and hauling off their crops; and, more than all, the negroes are prevented from acquiring habits of trading in farm produce, which invariably leads to stealing, followed by whipping, trouble to the master, and discontent on the part of the slave. I permit no spirits to be brought on the plantation or used by any negro, if I can prevent it; and a violation of this rule, if found out, is always followed by a whipping and a forfeiture of the five dollars next Christmas.

## SICKNESS—HOSPITAL.

I have a large and comfortable hospital provided for my negroes when they are sick; to this is attached a nurse's room; and when a negro complains of being too unwell to work he is at once sent to the hospital, and put under the charge of a very experienced and careful negro woman, who administers the medicine and attends to his diet, and where they remain until they are able to work again. This woman is provided with sugar, coffee, molasses, rice, flour, and tea, and does not permit a patient to taste of meat or vegetables until he is restored to health. Many negroes relapse after the disease is broken and die, in consequence of remaining in their houses and stuffing themselves with coarse food after their appetites return, and both humanity and economy dictate that this should be prevented. From the system I have pursued I have not lost a hand since the summer of 1845 (except one that was killed by accident), nor has my physician's bill averaged fifty dollars a year, notwithstanding I live near the edge of the swamp of Big Black River, where it is thought to be very unhealthy.

I cultivate about ten acres of cotton and six acres of corn to the hand, not forgetting the little wheat patch that your correspondent speaks of, which costs but little trouble, and proves a great comfort to the negroes; and have as few sour looks and as little whipping as almost any other place of the same size.



## SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

I must not omit to mention that I have a good fiddler, and keep him well supplied with catgut, and I make it his duty to play for the negroes every Saturday night until twelve o'clock. They are exceedingly punctual in their attendance at the ball, while Charley's fiddle is always accompanied with Ihurod on the triangle and Sam to "pat."

I also employ a good preacher, who regularly preaches to them on the Sabbath day, and it is made the duty of every one to come up clean and decent to the place of worship. As Father Garritt regularly calls on Brother Abram (the foreman of the prayer meeting) to close the exercises, he gives out and sings his hymn with much unction, and always cocks his eye at Charley, the fiddler, as much as to say, "Old fellow, you had your time last night; now it is mine."

I would gladly learn every negro on the place to read the Bible, but for a fanaticism which, while it professes friendship to the negro, is keeping a cloud over his mental vision, and almost crushing out his hopes of salvation.\*

These are some of the leading outlines of my management, so far as my negroes are concerned. That they are imperfect, and could be greatly improved, I readily admit; and it is only with the hope that I shall be able to improve them by the experience of others that I have given them to the public.

Should you come to the conclusion that these rules would be of any service when made known to others, you will please give them a place in the *Review*.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF A SOUTHERN PLANTATION.

1. There shall be a place for everything, and everything shall be kept in its place.
2. On the first days of January and July, there shall be an

\*Among other things the Revised Code of Mississippi passed in January, 1823, intending as it was said, as matters of police and as safeguards against insurrection, provided that:

"All meetings or assemblies of slaves or free negroes or mulattoes mixing or associating with such slaves, *above the number of five, at any place or public resort, or at any meeting-house or houses, in the night, or at any school or schools, for teaching them, reading or writing either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly.* . . . *Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the master, employee or overseer, of any slave or slaves, from giving permission in writing to his, her or their slave or slaves to go to any place or places whatever, for the purpose of religious worship; Provided, that such worship be conducted by a regularly ordained or licensed white minister, or attended by at least two discreet and reputable white persons, appointed by some regular church or religious society.*"

The disfavor and disapproval of this legislation by the best classes of citizens and slave holders was shown in the following election by the defeat of some of the most prominent politicians for office, notably the Hon. George Poindexter for Congress, a majority of the voters interpreting this law as substantially excluding the colored people from religious privileges.

"Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State," Claiborne, p. 385.



account taken of the number and condition of all the negroes, stock, and farming utensils of every description on the premises, and the same shall be entered in the plantation book.

3. It shall be the duty of the overseer to call upon the stock-minder once every day, to know if the cattle, sheep and hogs have been seen and counted, and to find out if any are dead, missing or lost.

4. It shall be the duty of the overseer, at least once in every week, to see and count the stock himself, and to inspect the fences, gates, and water-gaps on the plantation, and see that they are in good order.

5. The wagons, carts, and all other implements, are to be kept under the sheds, and in the houses where they belong, except when in use.

6. Each negro man will be permitted to keep his own axe, and shall have it forthcoming when required by the overseer. No other tool shall be taken or used by any negro without the permission of the overseer.

7. Humanity on the part of the overseer, and unqualified obedience on the part of the negro, are, under all circumstances, indispensable.

8. Whipping, when necessary, shall be in moderation, and never done in a passion; and the driver shall in no instance inflict punishment, except in the presence of the overseer, and when from sickness, he is unable to do it himself.

9. The overseer shall see that the negroes are properly clothed and well fed. He shall lay off a garden of at least six acres, and cultivate it as a part of his crop, and give the negroes as many vegetables as may be necessary.

10. It shall be the duty of the overseer to select a sufficient number of the women, each week, to wash for all. The clothes shall be well washed, ironed, and mended, and distributed to the negroes on Sunday morning; when every negro is expected to wash himself, comb his head, and put on clean clothes. No washing or other labor will be tolerated on the Sabbath.

11. The negroes shall not be worked in the rain, or kept out after night, except in weighing or putting away cotton.

12. It shall be the duty of the driver, at such hours of the night as the overseer may designate, to blow his horn, and go around and see that every negro is at his proper place, and to report to the overseer any that may be absent; and it shall be the duty of the overseer, at some hour between that time and daybreak, to patrol the quarters himself, and see that every negro is where he should be.

13. The negro children are to be taken, every morning, by their mothers, and carried to the houses of the nurses; and every cabin shall be kept locked during the day.

14. Sick negroes are to receive particular attention. When they are first reported sick, they are to be examined by the overseer, and prescribed for, and put under the care of the nurse, and not put to work until the disease is broken and the patient beyond the power of a relapse.

15. When the overseer shall consider it necessary to send for a physician, he shall enter in the plantation book the number of visits, and to what negro they are made.

16. When the negro shall die, an hour shall be set apart by the overseer for his burial; and at that hour all business shall cease, and



every negro on the plantation, who is able to do so, shall attend the burial.

17. The overseer shall keep a plantation book, in which he shall register the birth and name of each negro that is born; the name of each negro that dies, and specify the disease that killed him. He shall also keep in it the weights of the daily picking of each hand; the mark, number, and weight of each bale of cotton, and the time of sending the same to market; and all other such occurrences, relating to the crop, the weather, and all other matters pertaining to the plantation, that he may deem advisable.

18. The overseer shall pitch the crops, and work them according to his own judgment, with the distinct understanding that a failure to make a bountiful supply of corn and meat for the use of the plantation will be considered as notice that his services will not be required for the succeeding year.

19. The negroes, teams, and tools are to be considered under the overseer's exclusive management, and are not to be interfered with by the employer, only so far as to see that the foregoing rules are strictly observed.

20. The overseer shall, under no circumstances, create an account against his employer, except in the employment of a physician, or in the purchase of medicines; but whenever anything is wanted about the plantation he shall apply to his employer for it.

21. Whenever the overseer, or his employer, shall become dissatisfied, they shall, in a frank and friendly manner, express the same, and if either party desires it, he shall have the right to settle and separate.

A MISSISSIPPI PLANTER.



## II.

The public may desire to know the age of the writer, the length of time he has been managing negroes, and how long he has tried the mode of management he recommends. It is sufficient to say I have had control of negroes in and out of the field for thirty years, and have been carrying out my present system, and improving it gradually, for twenty years. . . .

Housing for negroes should be good; each family should have a house, 16 by 18 feet in the clear, plank floor, brick chimney, shingle roof; floor elevated two feet above the earth. There should be no loft, no place to stow away anything, nut pins to hang clothes upon. Each house should be provided with a bedstead, cotton mattress, and sufficient bedclothes for comfort for the heads of the family, and also for the young ones.

Clothing should be sufficient, but of no set quantity, as all will use or waste what is given, and many be no better clad with four suits than others with two. I know families that never give more than two suits, and their servants are always neater than others with even four.

## CLOTHING ALLOWANCE.

My rule is to give for winter a linsey suit, one shirt of best toweling, one hat, one pair of shoes, a good blanket, costing \$2 to \$2.50, every other year (or I prefer, after trying three years, a comfort). In the summer, two shirts, two pair pants, and one straw hat. Several of my negroes will require two pair pants for winter, and occasionally even a third pair, depending mostly upon the material. Others require another shirt and a third pair of pants for summer. I seldom give two pair of shoes.

Food is cooked by a woman, who has the children under her charge. I do not regard it as good economy, to say nothing of any feeling, to require negroes to do any cooking after their day's labor is over.

The food is given out daily, a half pound to each hand that goes to the field, large and small, water carriers and all; bread and vegetables without stint, the latter prepared in my own garden, and dealt out to the best advantage, endeavoring to have something every day in the year. I think four pounds of clear meat is too much. I have negroes that have had only a half pound each for twenty years, and they bid fair to outlive their master, who occasionally forgets his duty, and will be a gourmand. I practice on the plan, that all of us would be better to be restrained, and that health is best subserved by not overeating.



My cook would make cotton enough to give the extra one pound. The labor in making vegetables would make another pound. I say this to show I do not dole out a half pound per day from parsimony.

#### HOURS OF LABOR.

My hours of labor, commencing with pitching my crop, is from daylight until 12 a.m.; all hands then come in and remain until 2 o'clock p.m.; then back to the field until dark. Some time in May we prolong the rest three hours, and if a very hot day, even four hours. Breakfast is eaten in the field, half an hour to an hour being given, or they eat and go to work without being driven in and out, all stopping when my driver is ready.

I give all females half of every Saturday to wash and clean up, my cook washing for young men and boys through the week. The cabins are scoured once a week, swept out every day, and beds made up at noon in summer, by daylight in winter. In the winter breakfast is eaten before going to work, and dinner is carried to the hands.

#### DISCIPLINE.

I do not punish often, but I seldom let an offense pass, making a lumping settlement, and then correct for the servant's remembrance. I find it better to whip very little. Young ones being rather treacherous in their memory, pulling an ear, or a sound box, will bring everything right . . .

I have a fiddle in my quarters, and though some of my good old brethren in the church would think hard of me, yet I allow dancing; aye, I buy the fiddle and encourage it, by giving the boys occasionally a big supper.

I have no overseer, and do not manage so scientifically as those who are able to lay down rules; yet I endeavor to manage so that myself, family and negroes may take pleasure and delight in our relations.

It is not possible in my usual crude way to give my whole plans, but enough is probably said. I permit no night work, except feeding stock and weighing cotton. No work of any kind at noon, unless to clean out cabins, and bathe the children when nursing, not even washing their clothes.

#### RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

I require every servant to be present every Sabbath morning and Sabbath evening at family prayers. In the evening



the master, or sometimes a visitor, if a professor,\* expounds the chapter read. Thus my servants hear 100 to 200 chapters read each year anyhow. One of my servants, a professor,\* is sometimes called on to close our exercises with prayer.

Owning but few slaves, I am probably able to do a better part by them than if they were one or two hundred. But I think I could do better if I had enough to permit me to systematize better.

I would keep a cook and a nurse. I would keep a stock feeder, whose whole duty should be to attend to stock in general, to clean out the stable, have troughs filled with feed, so that the plough hands would have nothing to do but water,

#### A SOCIAL BUILDING.

clean down, and tie up the teams. I would build a house large enough, and use it for a dance house for the young, and those who wished to dance, as well as for prayer meeting, and for church on Sunday, making it a rule to be present myself occasionally at both, and my overseer always. I know the rebuke in store about dancing, but I cannot help it. I believe negroes will be better disposed this way than any other. I would employ a preacher for every Sabbath. One of my negroes can read the Bible, and he has prayer meeting every Sabbath at four o'clock p.m.; all the negroes attend regularly, no compulsion being used.

I have tried faithfully to break up immorality. I have not known an oath to be sworn for a long time. I know of no quarreling, no calling harsh names, and but little stealing.

A SMALL FARMER.

\*A professing Christian.



## A TOUR IN 1807 DOWN THE CUMBERLAND, OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS FROM NASH- VILLE TO NEW ORLEANS.

BY DR. JOHN R. BEDFORD.

(Continued from April No. Vol. V. page 63.)

Before continuing the text of this Journey it is well to call attention to a few errors appearing in the first installment, and give record to other items of interest with reference to Dr. Bedford.

On page 42 appears a document with reference to the exploiting of the town of Cotton-Port, and it is incorrectly identified with the present town of Florence. The latter place is not located on Limestone Creek, but on Cypress Creek, and while the exploiters were not identical, yet some of the personnel were the same—as is shown by the following:

### PUBLIC SALE OF LOTS<sup>50</sup> IN FLORENCE.

On the 24th day of July next, at the town of *Florence*, the TRUSTEES of the CYPRUS LAND COMPANY, in conformity with the articles of association, will commence the sale of the property belonging to the company, to the highest bidder, on a credit of eighteen and thirty months, and continue from day to day until all is sold. Much of the property yet to be sold is very desirable and valuable. The large Brick Tavern and purtenances, all the unsold Lots in the town, a great many out-lots and small tracts of land, the ferry lot on the north side of the river, and Campbell's ferry and the fraction of land attached to it on the north side of the river, and the house and lot now in the occupation of Dr. Woodcock, will then be offered for sale. The terms of sale, one half of the purchase money payable in eighteen months and the other half in thirty months from the day of sale. Bond and approved security will be required.

Leroy Pope,  
Thomas Bibb,  
John Coffee,  
James Jackson,  
Dabney Morris, (by John Craig, his atty. in fact)  
J. McKinley.

Trustees.

Nov. 27, 1822.

On page 61, footnote 54, error is made in identifying the Mr. Bond mentioned in the text, with Hon. Shadrack F. Bond, first Governor of Illinois. Re-examination of the much-blurred text discloses that the name is "*E. F. Bond*" and refers to Edward F. Bond, one of the appointees of Gen. Wilkinson, first

<sup>50</sup>(Nashville Whig. Wednesday morning, Feb. 5, 1823. Vol. XI, No. 25.)



Governor of Louisiana Territory, in the District of Cape Girardeau.

"General Wilkinson was visited by representatives of the several districts, and among others by one Edward F. Bond, a delegate from Cape Giredeau District. Wilkinson received him, so Bond says, with 'politeness and complacency' and bestowed on him 'a small share of his confidence' in giving him several appointments 'within his gift'."<sup>60</sup>

#### COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

On January 9th, 1815, Congress passed a revenue will providing for a direct revenue tax on certain personal properties of each citizen of the United States. Dr. Bedford was appointed collector for what was designated the Fifth Collection District of Tennessee, embracing the counties of Lincoln, Bedford, Rutherford, Williamson and Davidson.

In connection with this office the following notice appeared :

#### PUBLIC NOTICE<sup>61</sup> IS HEREBY GIVEN

To the Citizens & owners of property in the 5th. collection district subject to the direct Tax, that I will attend at Fayetteville in Lincoln county on the 11th & 22nd, at Shelbyville in Bedford county on the 23rd and 24th, at Murfreesborough in Rutherford county on the 26th. and 27th, at Franklin in Williamson county on the 30th days of June & 1st. day of July, and at Nashville in Davidson county on the 3rd. and 4th days of July, to receive appeals relative to any erroneous or excessive valuations or enumerations, which will be determined according to law and right, and in the manner prescribed in the 14th section of the act of Congress of the 9th. of January 1815; which requires that the question to be determined by the Principal Assessor shall be, whether the valuation complained of be, or be not, in a just relation or proportion to other valuation in the same assessment district; and that all appeals shall be made in writing, and shall specify the particular cause matter or thing, respecting which a decision is requested, and shall moreover state the ground or principle of inequality or error complained of.

My Assistant Assessors are hereby notified and requested to attend at the time and places above specified for each county, in which they severally act.

J. R. BEDFORD,  
Principal Assessor,  
5th Collection District.

June 11. 1815.

In respect to this special tax and its collection, the Hon. Park Marshall submits further interesting data :

"On Jan'y 18, 1815 Congress passed a very peculiar revenue act. It taxes watches and household furniture. Each silver watch \$1, gold watch \$2. Furniture valued from \$200 to \$400, \$1; \$400 to \$600, \$1.50, and so on.

There were exemptions from taxation the following: (1) All watches not in use; (2) Furniture and goods to value of \$200; (3)

<sup>60</sup>"History of Missouri," Louis Houck, Vol. II, p. 403.

<sup>61</sup>("Nashville Examiner," Tuesday, June 27th, 1815. Vol. II, No. 8.)



Kitchen furniture and bedding; (4) All articles made from the products of Tennessee.

Capt. Thos. P. Henderson has a list of these articles dated Dec. 17, 1815, signed by 'J. R. Bedford, Principle Collector of Revenue for the Fifth District of Tennessee'. The list covers only Williamson county, and appears to be the original tax list, with Bedford's original signature.

The number of persons thus listed for taxation in Williamson county is only 138. The number of watches listed on it is 112, of which 16 were gold.

Of course the names of these taxpayers are given, and that makes it quite interesting locally. There was one citizen of Franklin, a merchant, whose household goods were valued at as much as \$850, after allowing (presumably) the exemptions above mentioned. There were others whose household goods were valued at \$200 to \$300.

Watches were taxed without reference to value.

This law is peculiar, especially for that day, in view of the fact that it was very direct in its operation and application.<sup>782</sup>

### REMOVAL<sup>63</sup>

J. R. Bedford,

Has removed his Medicine and Drug Store a short distance up College Street nearly opposite to Doctor Robertson's brick house.

He has just received from Philadelphia, in addition to his former supply, an extensive assortment of Medicine, Patent Medicine, Medical Books, Surgical Instruments, Glass Furniture, Paints, Oil and Hatters Materials.

Physicians orders for Medicines, will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.

Nashville, 14th. of June, 1815.

### TOUR

THURSDAY, 19th. Started at an hour's sun—morning very cold and frosty—after the morning weather greatly moderated and became clear, warm and serene—more pleasant than any day since our departure from Nashville. Sailed<sup>64</sup> upwards of 30 miles—passing the 1st, 2d, 3d Chickasaw Bluffs, and the Devil's race ground,<sup>65</sup> so-called from the rapidity of the current and multiplicity of snags and sawyers—supposing every thing vile and dangerous and alarming is, somehow or other, subject to the Devil—encamped 5 miles below this place on I.<sup>66</sup> shore.

FRIDAY, 20th. Sailed thirty miles without any impediment, but occasional head winds—and made the 4th, or lower, Chickasaw Bluffs

<sup>62</sup>Letter to Editor, date, Franklin, Tenn., Sept. 28, 1919.

<sup>63</sup>(Nashville Examiner, Vol. II, No. 8, June 27, 1815.)

<sup>64</sup>The country west of the Tennessee River is a large plateau gradually rising until it breaks off near the Mississippi River into the bottom land. This highland plateau touches the river at four points, forming what appears from the river view, four bluffs.

In the Indian days these four points were known as the *Chickasaw Bluffs* and were numbered one, two, three and four as you descend the river. The first is near the town of Fulton, the second Randolph, and the third near the boundary between Tipton and Shelby counties and the fourth the site of the city of Memphis.

<sup>65</sup>Name given the sound between the island and mainland, about three miles long. Called by the French "*Chenal du Diable*." (Bradbury, p. 203.)

<sup>66</sup>The abbreviations used are, "I." for Indian shore and "L." for Louisiana shore.



at an hour's sun. At the lower end of which, two miles from their commencement, which is at the mouth of Wolf River,<sup>67</sup> is a garrison built some years ago by Capt., now Major, Pike—called Fort Pickering,<sup>68</sup> in honor, I suppose, of Timothy Pickering<sup>69</sup> and in imitation of the absurd and insignificant custom, which has become now very prevalent, of adopting the names of living characters to places of public notoriety. 20 soldiers are stationed here commanded by a Lieut. Jackson, who kindly invited Doctor Claiborne and myself to his quarters to lodge this night—which was gladly accepted—being heartily sick of the rough fare offered at the barge. We arrived here without money, without a single acquaintance and without many necessary articles of diet—being detained on the voyage so much longer than calculated on—supped and had a very comfortable lodging with the Lieut.

SATURDAY, 21st. Breakfasted with Lieut.—Wrote Parry W. Humphreys, Doctor J. L. Armstrong, Nat. W. Williams and Wm. Curry. Procured from Mr. Vanhorn, Deputy to the U. States Factor, petrican whiskey, sugar, coffee and other small articles—12 o'clock, sailed—cloudy and prospects of rain—proceeded 15 miles and encamped on L. shore.

SUNDAY, 22d. Passed an uncomfortable night—rain very heavy, accompanied with much thunder and lightning—bed clothes wet—rain continued until 9 o'clock—abated—was joined by a flat boat having African negroes commanded by a Mr. Harrison from Washington County, Kentucky,—proceeded on together—10 miles—rain and wind forced us in—encamped on the L. shore—trampling around camp worked up mud 3 or 4 inches deep—full of water—Doctor Claiborne and I slept on board Harrison's boat, having a shelter of plank—slept soundly.

MONDAY, 23d. Weather clear—river rose last night 8 or 9 inches—sailed 10 miles—stormy wind forced us in on south side of Island No. 55—wind continued very high till night, frequently beating the barge on ground—encamped on the bank—wind abated about sun-setting—weather moderate and pleasant. Harrison was forced to shore about a mile above us.

TUESDAY, 24th. Rose before day—morning clear and little cold. Set out just after twilight—proceeded 6 miles, passed a boat which

<sup>67</sup>This stream has received various designations. It was first known as Riviere de Mayot, the French giving it this name from the circumstance that at this point a Loup (Delaware) Indian of the party of La Salle bearing this name was lost here. The French map-makers of the earlier date, however, term it *Riviere de Margot*. Since a trail lead from the Mississippi up this stream over the watershed to the Chick-saw villages in what is now northern Mississippi, other Frenchmen called it Riviere de Chichicha—Chicasaw River. To the English it was known as *Wolf River*. Possibly this is an echo of the original French tradition of the "*Loup*"—French for wolf—Indian.

<sup>68</sup>See Appendix "E."

<sup>69</sup>Timothy Pickering was born at Salem, Mass., July 17th, 1745, and died at the same place—Salem, January 29th, 1829.

Graduated at Harvard in 1763, admitted to the bar in 1768. 1775 made colonel of local militia and served in the Revolutionary War. In 1780 was appointed Quartermaster General of the American Army to succeed Gen. Greene. resigned. 1792, on resignation of Knox, Secretary of War, he succeeded him. Founded West Point Military Academy and superintended the building of the frigates *CONSTITUTION*, *UNITED STATES* and *CONSTELLATION*. On the resignation of Randolph as Secretary of State, he served in his place and after three months was duly appointed to that office, which he held until dismissed by President Adams. May 12. 1800. (Apleton's Cyclo. of Biog.)



had been wrecked 3 weeks—load, flour and apples, and a considerable quantity of peltry, received on freight from the U. States Factor at Chickasaw Bluffs—wreck was repaired and expected to set out in the course of this day—no special damage to load—10 miles further arrived at what is called the Big Prairie,<sup>70</sup> 3 miles below the mouth of the St. Francis River,<sup>71</sup> which enters the Mississippi 75 miles below Fort Pickering. This river is of considerable size and well adapted to boating a considerable distance up—were informed the land adjacent to its waters not fertile, hilly and poor—12 or 14 families live at and about the Prairie—possess little property—partly hunters and partly cultivators—sell their little surplus produce to the boats passing and repassing. No other settlement nearer them than the village of Ozark,<sup>72</sup> which is sixty miles distant. This place was first settled five years ago—passed 18 miles beyond Prairie and encamped on L. shore, 10

<sup>70</sup>The Big Prairie was some seven miles above the present site of Helena. "It is a natural savannah of about sixty acres open to the river on the right bank. It is covered with a fine rich short herbage, very proper for sheep. Immediately behind it at less than a half a mile from the river, is a small lake eight or nine miles in circumference, formed in the spring and summer by the Mississippi, which in that season rising, flows up a small canal (or in the language of the country, bayou) and spreads itself over the prairie. As the river falls the lake discharges its waters again by the bayou, and becomes a luxuriant meadow, covered with a tall but nutritive tender grass. While a lake, it abounds in fish of every species natural to the Mississippi, and when a meadow it is capable of feeding innumerable herds of cattle. It is then watered by a rivulet which descends from some low hills about three miles to the westward of the river bank. From its regular annual inundation, this appears to be a fine situation for rice grounds, if the water goes off soon enough to allow the rice to ripen."

(Cuming. Early West. Travels. Vol. IV, p. 297.)

<sup>71</sup>St. Francis River. The headwaters of this stream are found not a great distance southwest of the city of St. Louis, and pass southward in a general parallel direction at times through swamps and enlarged into considerable lakes, some three to four hundred miles to where it empties into the Mississippi. From the earliest days of the French and Indian hunters this region was looked upon as a paradise of game, and even today the hunter's lodge can be found here and there near its banks. The tongue of land lying between the St. Francis and the Mississippi ranges from six to twenty miles in breadth and during the wet season is largely inundated. Further north the western bank of the St. Francis consists of a chain of hills and in them is located the lead mines so long known as the Genevieve field, which in the early days practically supplied the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley. (Cuming, *ibid.*)

<sup>72</sup>"Village of Ozark." This is commonly reckoned the oldest white settlement in the south Mississippi valley. However, it is probable that the earliest post or settlement was further down the river, and closer to the Mississippi than what was later known as Arkansas Post, or Village of Ozark. The French designated the country of the Arkansas Indians as "Des Arcs," and the post or settlement was commonly referred to as "aux Arcs," which was Americanized into OZARK. This later post was located up the Arkansas river about fifty miles from its mouth and by those descending the Mississippi was commonly reached either by landing at Big Prairie and proceeding in a southwest direction overland about seventy miles, (crossing White River at thirty-five), or by descending the river to the mouth of White River, thence up this stream a few miles to the Cut-Off, a bayou eight or nine miles in length leading to the Arkansas River—and then up the latter to the post. After the transfer of Louisiana to the United States the Americans occupied this post in 1804. The Louisiana Cession was divided at first into two territories, the lower known as Territory of Orleans extended north to the present boundary of the State of Arkansas, the remainder was known as Upper Louisiana and at first was placed under the jurisdiction of the Indiana Territory, as a "district." Later, March 3rd, 1805, it was erected into a separate government as "Louisiana Territory." Gen. James Wilkinson being appointed the first governor, with headquarters at St. Louis. This territory was then divided into districts, and that portion north of the present south boundary of the State of Arkansas extending into what is now the southern part of Missouri, became the District of New Madrid, the next year the Territorial Legislature of Louisiana divided the District of New Madrid, constituting the lower part into the District of Arkansas, viz: all that portion north of the present south boundary of the State of Arkansas to a point opposite the Second Chickasaw Bluff.

(Hemstead's School Hist. of Arkansas, pp. 46-47. Houck's Hist. of Mo., Vol. II, p. 412.)



miles down a 20 mile stretch—having run upwards of 40 miles this day.

WEDNESDAY, 25th. Set out a little after twilight—morning cloudy and every prospect of rain—progressed rapidly without difficulty between 40 and 50 miles—encamped at hour's sun on I. shore—light rain ensued which abated at 8 o'clock—night warm and pleasant—restless and not disposed to sleep—walked frequently to the boat to examine a hook I cast out for fish—it was taken off about mid-night and the hempen rope to which it was suspended bit squarely asunder. The fish must have been a huge one.

THURSDAY, 26th. Morning clear and calm. The pleasant temperature of the atmosphere, the various and lively musical notes of the birds, and the shrill sound of the frogs, indicated a speedy approach of spring—proceeded rapidly—to White River<sup>73</sup> 15 miles—20 miles further to Arkansas or Ozark River<sup>74</sup>—both emptying into the Mississippi on the north or Louisiana shore, opposite mouth of the latter river on the south or I. shore, were encamped 12 or 15 Indians of the Ozark, or Arkansas, tribe, accompanied by two Frenchmen, hunters, with them, from the village of Ozark—near which live this tribe of Indians. This village<sup>75</sup> is said to be fifty miles up the Ozark river, from its mouth—inhabitants almost exclusively French—contains fifty or sixty families—ignorant and little ameliorated by civilization—generally without any uniform or steady means of subsistence—agriculture extremely imperfect and limited—land generally beautiful and champlain—but not fertile—U. States have established a Factor for the benefit of the Indian tribes and citizens under the directions of Jos. M. Treet, who is also chief magistrate of the court of the district of Arkansas, and is said to be arbitrary and oppressive to the inhabitants. If this be true, the policy is extremely bad and unlucky—and such is calculated to injure and degrade our government in these distant provinces—prevent their forming national attachment, but instead thereof, engender resentment and enmity. White River enters the Mississippi behind a large island lying close to that shore, wherefore did not see its mouth. It is said to be a little larger than the Cumberland—of deep and very gentle current, which renders navigation up more easy. It is said to be without obstruction a long distance up. The Cherokee Indians<sup>75</sup> have a village or settle-

<sup>73</sup>The *White River* is now regarded as emptying into the Mississippi, but the older authorities represent it as a northwest branch of the Arkansas River, the region bounded by the Mississippi, the two rivers and the "cut-off" being regarded as an island. Hutchins' map of 1778 so notes it.

<sup>74</sup>So named by Marquette as he found the Arkansa tribes of Indians located near its mouth.

<sup>75</sup>As early as 1775 the Spanish Governor at St. Louis speaks of the *Cherokee Indians* as having been west of the Mississippi and of their having driven the miners away from the lead mine, Mine La Motte, on the headwaters of the St. Francis River. Again in 1782 certain Cherokee chiefs visited St. Louis. The Bowl's party of Cherokees settled on the lower part of the St. Francis River in what is now Arkansas in 1794. Their story is that a party of Cherokee Indians was returning from the Agency at Tellico and had encamped on the side of the Tennessee River near the Mussel Shoals. A party of whites under one Scot, stopped to trade with them and finding they possessed an amount of money soon caused them to be drunken and swindled them out of all of it. When the Indians sobered they demanded the return of their money, which was not only refused but they were attacked and two of them killed by the whites. Whereupon the Indians killed all the men in Scot's party, took possession of his boat, together with the women, children and slaves. Proceeding down the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi till they reached the mouth of the St. Francis, where the women and children were placed in their boat with slaves to care for them



ment on this river 60 miles above its mouth—300 of this tribe having emigrated hither. Spoke, this morning, two men on the bank about 5 miles above the mouth of White River, who live near the village—they were hunters. Between these two rivers is a more fertile body of land than usual in this country—it is extensive enough for a large country—encamped 22 miles below the mouth of Arkansas on the I. shore, near a camp of Indians—tribe of the same name—having made a run this day of 57 miles—purchased of the Indians 2 large buffalo perch, a turkey and some venison—sleped moderately well—little restless—night cloudy and windy.

FRIDAY, 27th. Weather cloudy and indication of rain—wind sometimes very high—was forced to make shore—detained an hour and sailed, it being calm—and 2:30 o'clock wind again very high—heavy rain ensued—fog became so dense as to make every spot but where we were invisible—therefore floated without knowing in what direction—afterwards was some little dissipated and we made shore with much difficulty and hazard. Rain continued very heavy until 8 o'clock in the night. Doctor Claiborne and myself again lodged with Mr. Harrison and Doctor Mallory, whose boat was yet in company. Sleped moderately well—was again restless. Run only thirty miles this day.

SATURDAY, 28th. Weather very cloudy and somewhat colder than yesterday. Set out at sunrise—weather soon after became cold and windy—run about 6 or 8 miles and were forced to the shore—continued without alteration till 2 o'clock P. M.—then became tempestuous, which obscured every prospect of proceeding further—weather was quite chilly—encamped on the Indian or Chickasaw shore in a cane thicket.

SUNDAY, MARCH 1st. Weather clear and cold, the north wind having continued nearly the whole night—standing water froze nearly half an inch—this encampment is little upwards an 100 miles above the Walnut Hills and about 200 miles above Natchez with the meanderings of the Mississippi—which is extremely winding—reducing the direct course to Natchez, to, perhaps, 130 miles. Therefore our camp was probably 33° 50' N. Latitude.—Run upwards of fifty miles this day and encamped on the L. shore. The day was quite clear and only moderately warm—the night cold, again froze very considerably.

MONDAY, 2d. Morning cold, having froze considerably last night. Sleped better last night than the three preceding nights, although was colder. Set out at twilight—weather moderated and became warm and pleasant, about the meridian of the day. Run without interruption, about fifty miles—encamped on the Indian shore—20 miles above the Walnut Hills—the distance found to be greater than calculated on yesterday. Evening become quite warm and cloudy—promising rain—we are in a climate perceptibly milder—saw a large quantity of black briar, with leaves green all the last winter, and others about half grown and evidently the growth of the present season—likewise discovered the elder to have vegetated—leaves one-third grown—and the buds of the box-elder to be springing—two kinds of weed—names unknown to me, though have often seen them before, of considerable

and sent on down the river to the settlements. The Bowl and his party ascended the St. Francis and made settlements over this part of what is now the State of Arkansas.

(See Houck's Spanish Regime, I. p. 100 & Hist. of Mo. I. p. 221.)



growth already, and dispersed pretty thickly about the bottom—which afforded a pleasant and enchanting view, similar to the springing of the tender grass in the meadows of Kentucky or Tennessee, early in the spring.

TUESDAY, 3d. Set out as usual at twilight—the moderate temperature of the weather and the clouds indicate speedy rain—these and the lucid intervals of sun-shine, still resemble the commencement of spring. Run ten miles to the mouth of the Yazoo—a river so celebrated by means of a fraudulent speculation in lands on its waters by a company of speculators, mostly of Georgia<sup>76</sup>—the validity of which has been so warmly and doubtfully contested in Congress the two last sessions. This river at its mouth is fully an half mile in width and is said to run nearly parallel with the Mississippi—its source being near the Great Bend of the Tennessee. As to the general size of this river, its facility or difficulty of navigation, or the nature and fertility of the soil adjacent to its waters, I possess no information. It exhibits a beautiful view at its entrance into the Mississippi, which extends probably two miles up—9 or 12 miles further is the Walnut Hills<sup>77</sup> on the east side of the Mississippi and is a part of the Mississippi Territory. Doctor Claiborne and I went on land and tarried a few moments—purchased some tobacco and made some enquiries of one of its inhabitants—who was so extremely ignorant, as not to be able to inform us the name of the county including the Walnut Hills—only “that they lived there and the one half of the Walnuts Hills belonged to one Turnbull in Charleston, S. C., and that the other half belonged to themselves”—four or five families live on or about the Hills in log houses or rather huts—most of them were in view—they were preparing for planting cotton—having chopped up and collected the stocks of last crop into small parcels, ready for burning. We saw but one peach tree and that very small—which was in full bloom. This was the only fruit tree to be seen. The Walnut Hills is the most beautiful place on the Mississippi above, (Natchez)—more elevated and more romantic—not having seen any place above it worth notice but the lower Chickasaw Bluffs. They are perhaps 150 feet above water, going off in a plane—The Walnut Hills is perhaps 300 feet above water and variegated by gentle elevations and depressions—sometimes very abrupt. They continue about a mile down the river where lives a family in a tolerably comfortable house—far superior to the others. Twenty-five miles below the Walnut Hills is a settlement on the east side of the river in the Mississippi Territory, extending down the river about three miles, immediately on the bank—about twenty families compose this settlement who are nearly all Yankees—and live in some more respectable style and decency than those about W. Hills—possess little property besides their land, which is rich and admirably situated for culture, which they pursue with

<sup>76</sup>See note 22, p. 50. Also Claiborne's "Miss. as a Province," etc., p. 98. "The Yazoo Land Company," Amer. Hist. Assn. Papers, N. Y., Vol. V, pp. 395-437.

<sup>77</sup>*Walnut Hills.* Present site of Vicksburg. The territory between 31 and 32½ degrees north latitude was for many years in dispute between Spain and the United States—from 1783 to 1795. In 1789 the Spanish built here Fort Nogales, but even after the treaty of 1795 was concluded they refused to vacate their posts and pursued dilatory tactics until 1798, when the United States forces finally occupied the fort, changing its name to Fort McHenry in honor of the then Secretary of War. Cuming, in 1807, speaks of the place as: "Where are seen the earthen ramparts of Fort McHenry, now abandoned." This locality was involved in the land schemes of the fraudulent Yazoo Company, entailing much litigation with regard to titles, etc. The present city of Vicksburg was laid out in 1811.

(Cuming's Tour, Early West. Travel, IV, p. 306.)



great diligence—cotton is almost the exclusive article of agriculture—corn, &c., barely sufficient to support them. A citizen of this settlement, which is called Palmyra,<sup>78</sup> informed us that from 16 acres of ground, he gathered the last season 26000 lbs of seed cotton, or 6500 ginned cotton, which he sold for \$18 cash in Natchez, the whole amounting to \$1170.—therefore every acre of ground produced \$69.37. The active preparations for planting cotton, the bloom of the peach trees, which are pretty numerous here, and the general springing of vegetation, evince the actual presence of spring—and the greater mildness of the climate than that of Tennessee. From a little above the W. Hills to opposite this place on the west side of the river are scattered a number of little huts few more than 10 feet square and more the resemblance of fowl-houses than human tenements. However, even these gratified the sight and revived us from dullness, after having traversed such a distance of uninhabited wilderness. Reluctant to leave this settlement so soon, we encamped at the lower end and last house of it at nearly an hour's sun—and were kindly favored with room for our pallet in the house—Fearful rain would come on in the course of the night—sleped moderately—was affected with feelings of great lassitude and perturbed dreams.

WEDNESDAY, 4th. Morning cloudy and rain beginning—Set out very early and proceeded through wind and rain 30 miles to Colo. Bruin's,<sup>79</sup> a mile below Bayou Pierre—having been once forced into shore about two hours. Doctor Claiborne and I procured lodging at Colo. Bruin's—night being cold and somewhat rainy. Being strangers we would not expect to be received with cordiality—therefore were entertained with reservedness and formal civility—we were inquisitive—being so long without society and feeling an interest in the transactions and news of the Territory—were here informed of Colo. Burr's arrest about the mouth of Bayou Pierre, his trial and acquittal by grand-jury—his flight and subsequent apprehension on the Tombigby.

<sup>78</sup>*Palmyra*. A settlement of New England emigrants commenced about 1801. Was most favorably situated on a peninsula in a four-mile bend of the Mississippi on which some sixteen families occupied a frontage of forty rods in a straggling village. The soil was exceedingly fertile, producing as much as five hundred pounds of clean cotton per acre, which exceeded that of West India or Georgia, where two hundred and seventy-five pounds was esteemed a good crop. The place is characterized as "one of the most beautiful settlements in Mississippi Territory, the inhabitants having used all that neatness and industry so habitual to the New Englanders."

<sup>79</sup>*Col. Peter Brien Bruin*. His father having become implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1756, he paid the usual penalty of having his property confiscated and he himself exiled. The Irish spelling of the name was doubtless *O'Brien*. The father brought with him to America an only son, Peter Brien O'Bruin, who on the outbreak of the Revolution joined in with the Colonies, entering the army as a lieutenant, in Morgan's company of riflemen. He was present at the siege of Quebec,—being the first officer inside the barrier, where he was wounded badly by the same discharge of grape shot that killed Gen. Montgomery,—being near where he stood at the time. Taken as a prisoner he was kept in rigorous confinement aboard a prison-ship, became infected with small-pox and was not exchanged for six months. Rejoining the army he was promoted to rank of major in the Virginia continental line, which position he retained through the rest of the war. After the Revolution General Morgan conceived a plan for an American colony in the Spanish domain west of the Mississippi and laid out the town of New Madrid. He was followed here by Col. Bruin, but he was not pleased and later settled at Natchez as a planter near the mouth of Bayou Pierre. Under the Spanish government he served as the local officer or *alcalde* and on the organization of the Mississippi Territory became one of the three judges appointed by the government. When Burr planned his operations in the southwest he visited Col. Bruin and won him over, greatly deceiving him. He remained in office till 1810, when he retired to plantation life on his lands at Bruinsburg near the mouth of Bayou Pierre, where he died.

(Claiborne's Miss. as a Province, etc., p. 161.)



THURSDAY, 5th. Rose very early before any of the family were out of bed and proceed—morning cloudy and strong threat of rain—proceeded with some difficulty on account of the strong winds—clouds at length dispersed and weather become very cold, strongly resembling winter—Arrived at Natchez<sup>80</sup> 3 o'clock P. M. Barge stationed about two hundred paces above the upper end of the town and twice that distance above the naval forces stationed there in the river to guard the pass, and prevent the conveyance of arms or ammunition below, for the vile purposes of the Burrites. Immediately after landing throwed off our very dirty clothes, that had not been in contact with water since Nashville, except when we were wet with rain or by an accidental tumble into the river—dressed in the best and cleanest we had, barely then reaching common decency and tripped up into the town. Doctor Claiborne to see a brother who resides here, I without any specific object separate from those of a stranger who has nothing to do but esquire, observe and add to my little stock of information of places, persons, &c. Went together to Colo. Claiborne's<sup>81</sup>—he was absent a considerable distance from home—were introduced by the principal clerk in Colo. Claiborne's store (for he is a merchant of extensive business) to Mrs. Claiborne, who received the Doctor with the most ardent cordiality and affection of a brother, and me, with all the ease and affability of an accomplished and amiable woman and the sincerity inseparable from chaste and virtuous sentiments. The solicitation of the Doctor, in the absence of his brother, and the polite civilities and affable condescension of Mrs. Claiborne manifested some inclination that I too should be a sojourner at her home. Therefore, not dreading the risk of the imputation of intrusion, was placed perfectly at ease and did not feel the customary solicitude for lodgings at an Inn—was flattered to consider myself as a temporary member of the family—and this appearance of welcome was not, as is often the case, deceitful—but its sincerity was indubitably realized.

This evening and night were entertained by the company not only of Mrs. C. equal to that of any, but of Doctors Speed, Latimore<sup>82</sup> and McCreary, all the most pleasant and excellent of men. A particular intimacy soon sprang up between Doctor Speed and myself, both natives of the same county, students of the same professional man, Doctor Brown, and an early and permanent attachment having subsisted between our fathers. Retired to bed about 12 o'clock and reposed very comfortably in a well furnished bed room.

FRIDAY, 6th. Passed the morning within doors—with that comfort and pleasurable security irresistibly inspired by chaste and amiable intercourse. After breakfast, visited Doctors Speed and Latimore who are partners in the business of their profession. Two hours were here beguiled away. Then visited Mr. G. Bell, Thos. Maury and Nat

<sup>80</sup>See Appendix "F."

<sup>81</sup>Gen. Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne. See Appendix "B," p. 65.

<sup>82</sup>*Drs. David and Wm. Lattimore* from near Norfolk, Virginia, settled at Natchez in 1801 and became eminent in the practice of medicine. Were men of cultivation and wrote with fluency and force and in private life highly esteemed. Wm. Lattimore settled in that part of Wilkinson County which subsequently became the county of Amite; was elected to Congress in 1805 and re-elected a second time, when he was succeeded by George Poindexter. The latter after serving four years declined a reelection, when he was succeeded in turn by Dr. Lattimore, who served until Mississippi Territory became a State in 1817. His last service rendered was serving on a commission to locate the State capital, which was decided in favor of Jackson. Dr. Lattimore died in Amite County April 3, 1843.

(Claiborne, Miss. as Province, etc., p. 263.)



McNairy,<sup>83</sup> who lodged at Mickie's—they were from Tennessee. Returned to Colo. Claiborne's where was a considerable company of gentlemen specially invited—none remarkably interesting—but the three doctors mentioned last night: the rest being civil enough. Ate of a sumptuous and grateful dinner—after quaffing a great deal of the best of Madeira, almost to inebriety and gulping down of three courses at table—1st, meats and sallads of every kind, most delicious in quality—2d, sweetmeats of the finest flavor and 3d, pastry, apples, cheese &c, I felt constrained to abscond the company rather abruptly, with Mr. G. Bell, whose disposition at this moment happened to be similar to my own—strolled about the suburbs of the city viewing the scenery as attentively and correctly as our deranged faculties would permit until somewhat restored. Returned and gladly, because luckily for ourselves found the balance not quite so fond of repetition in the taking of glasses it being supplied with a liberal hand till near the close of the evening. This was the night of an assembly dance. Having a wish to see a collection of the most genteel and respectable persons, males and females, of the Territory, presuming this to be the most favorable place and time, presuming on what I knew of their place and its customs, resolved to be one of the party and prevailed on my Tennessee friends for their company—We went—was introduced by Mrs. Thos. Maury to the principal manager, John Wood, who, it was expected would render my situation, as a stranger to all but a few, somewhat more pleasant and agreeable. But was noticed by him no more during the evening—no more than were I a vagabond—his civilities ended with the ceremony of introduction—without even a word to me afterwards. About forty men and fourteen or sixteen women made the party. They began preparation for a country dance about 8 o'clock. I was requested by a friend to get a number for the dance—replied, the manager would visit us presently with the numbers to be drawn—no, he said, the drawing was going on in the other room and he pulled me in by the elbow to the drawing in an adjacent apartment, which I should probably never have seen otherwise, nor others who were equal strangers with me. Entered the room—saw a red-headed, hump-shouldered, hard looking fellow, resembling the baboon tribe, perched on an elevated step of a flight of stairs, with something in his hand, something of which a numerous crowd that pressed round seemed extremely anxious to obtain, and when obtained, some looked on the prize, as I did not know what, else to esteem it, with pleasurable emotions—others—with discontented and grim faces. They dispersed after a little, and I was pulled up by my friend to draw a ticket—Now the mystery was explained, and I understood this was drawing tickets for the country dance. I intruded my hand to his, which contained the tickets. He admitted me to draw with the careless indifference, inseparable from rusticity—drew No. 10—The partners, according to the lottery, were arranging—I was called out to face the lady whose number corresponded with mine—met her with some confidence—but my modesty was as much ruffled as hers, when the manager introduced her by a wrong name and me by no name at all. Finding an unobjectionable apology in his unaffected want of politeness, regained my confidence, which inspired some more confidence in my very modest partner—and flirted through the dance, with all the little gracefulness and activity that I possess—seated my partner and returned to the society of Doctor McCreary and one or two more—conversation miscellaneous—Shortly after, Doctor Speed

<sup>83</sup>George Bell and Nathaniel McNairy were both representatives of very prominent families at Nashville.



appeared before me—said he did not learn of my being there till a few moments before and that he had come for my accommodation—my thanks of course could not be otherwise than numerous and cordial. He introduced me to only a few gentlemen and two ladies—one a married woman—Mrs. Lintot and Miss Reed, her relative—then replied, aside, that these only merited an introduction and were interesting. And thus I was enabled to account for the inattentive and selfishness that prevailed generally this evening—which was a source of some ease and comfort of sensation, and observing others in a similar situation meet similar affability from the managers and others. Supper came on about 12 or 1 o'clock—not a word from the managers—after the ladies supped—all flocked like hungry shoats to a styelittle and big—young and old, without distinction—took two cups of coffee in the corner without anything else, with Doctor McCreary—Heavy rain, which began about 10 o'clock, detained the company till after four o'clock in the morning—Lodged the balance of this night with my Tennessee acquaintances at Meckie's.

SATURDAY, 7th. Rose this morning at 9 o'clock—Breakfasted with Tennessee friends at their boarding house—saw Mess. Speed and Latimore awhile—then Mrs. C.—Sat and talked of last night's scenes awhile. Then withdrew to the counting room to address my correspondence in Tennessee—wrote Robert White, Nat W. Williams, Thos. Talbot—Doct'r J. L. Armstrong, Alex Porter and (Stephen Bullock, of Port Gibson, M. Territory)—while writing, Colo. Claiborne arrived—but that I should not interrupt the meeting of him and his brother, after finishing the letters, walked over to Speed & Latimore's and returned at the dusk of evening—was introduced to him by Mrs. C. and received with great cordiality and politeness. Supped and conversed till past 12 o'clock—reposed badly—restlessness great.

SUNDAY, 8th. Rose early, although after a restless night—morning very rainy—and extremely wet—passed the day within doors—dined very sumptuously with a large company—Doctor Lyon, Mr. Hardin, the most eminent attorney of the Territory, Judge Brookes and others, mostly of the party of the other day. Rain continued the whole of this day, with but little abatement.

MONDAY, 9th. Passed another sleepless night—know no other cause but too free indulgence in meat and drink—which clogs digestion and oppresses the vital powers. Weather clear—breakfasted, closed my letters, delivered them to the care of Colo. C., prepared some little supplies for the balance of the voyage, took leave of Colo. C. and Lady, whose kindness and polite hospitality, I hope never to be so degenerate as to forget, also of Doctors Speed and Latimore—and made for the boat in company with Thos. Maury, who joined us for the balance of the voyage. Delayed two hours for Doctor Claiborne, who seemed very tedious and reluctant to depart. In the mean time was boarded by a small party from the navy to examine our loading, &c—to ascertain whether we were of the party of Burr. They seemed satisfied and intimated their report would be satisfactory to the commander, if not they would again board us in their skiff without the inconvenience to us of going to shore—This seemed generous and liberal—as our large craft was far more unmanagable than their small one, which was more of the resemblance to a terrapin's shell than to anything else—Therefore when all other things were in readiness, we put out and passed on without any more notice of the navy than if they had been so many traffic barges in the Mississippi, for although



they at first excited the attention of curiosity, this motive to observation had ceased, from its frequent operation before—We passed then near half a mile, and heard the report of a musket—the ball whistled over head—presumed they were amusing themselves only with the implements of their profession—but that they were impertinent with all—soon after another fired ball again whistled over head—cursed the officers silently for not chastizing the rascals for their rude impertinence that seemed to threaten danger to us—not all presuming that they designed to bring us to—continued on without further notice, still thinking they were unmannerly enough to amuse themselves at our hazard—Soon after off went a cannon with a sound that seemed as great as the rending of earth and Heaven, and the ball buzzed over head and struck the water two hundred yards beyond the bow of the boat. This was a strong hint to put in—and although much irritated because their conduct seemed inconsistent, we obeyed them—choosing rather to submit to the over-bearing spirit of the military than to be hurt by their incivility. Two of their boats well manned and armed boarded us and forbid our continuing without a scrap of permission from the commander—which could not be obtained without returning to the fleet near two miles back—adopted the only alternative and was honored with a seat in the officers boat—not bound hand and foot as civil prisoners—but unfettered, in the presence of men, guns and bayonets, like prisoners of war—Some little sensation of degradation could not be restrained—but that it might be divided as much as possible and thereby diminished, Doctor C., Thos. M. and I, all went on board the little bark, sailed up to the fleet and was conducted aboard the schooner *Revenge*, which was the guardship of the day. The commanding officer, Capt. Reid happened to be an acquaintance of Doctor C. and Mr. M.—we were therefore received with great politeness and apparent cordiality, with an apology for their previous military salute, after being informed of the previous visit before we had left the wharf—were invited under deck, partook of two bottles of excellent Madeira and entertained with much politeness—became acquainted with Capt. Bainbridge, a younger brother of the celebrated Capt. Bainbridge of the Mediterranean—as genteel and gentlemanly young man as I ever saw,—and if he lives a length of time and continues in the navy, I have little doubt of his future celebrity. He might shine as a statesman and warrior were those talents advantageously cultivated.—After one and a half hours' stay, when the bottom of the two bottles were uncovered, were conveyed across to land and trudged on foot to the barge—Run 12 miles by night.

Natchez is situated on the east side of the Mississippi—a small part of the town immediately on the bank and under the hill—the houses here are small—being little else but hucksters' shops—The main body of the town lies an half mile from the river after rising an elevated bluff of 100 or 150 feet by a serpentine road winding obliquely up the hill. The site of the town is not a plane, but much diversified but gentle elevations and depressions—which, where houses are not erected, are covered with verdure—giving the town, and suburbs especially, an appearance considerably picturesque—All stores, taverns, and families of any importance or respectability are here—most of the houses are of wood and in the French style—elevated 7 or 8 feet from the ground—above which is one story only—and piazzas or galleries all round—under the galleries are their storerooms—which have a great resemblance to cellars—Natchez contains about 2000 inhabitants—Merchants of considerable wealth—some retail \$70. or \$80,000 worth of goods per annum. The Mississippi Territory con-



tains a great deal of wealth—many planters sell annually 100 or 200 bales of cotton—which is their staple article. The general produce in cotton is 250 nett per acre.

TUESDAY, 10th. Set out early, having run last night 15 or 20 miles after dark, narrowly escaping a dangerous sawyer that nearly touched the stern—becoming very cloudy, were forced to put in about mid-night—run 12 miles this morning to Loftus Height<sup>4</sup> or Fort Adams, which is on the east bank of the river 45 miles below Natchez—Here is a garrison—a store of considerable importance kept by a Mr. Evans & Co. The neighborhood of this place is wealthy, producing much cotton. It is remarkable for being one of the loftiest pinnacles on the whole of the Mississippi—a bottom extends up and down the river a long way and off about 100 yards—then commences a bluff similar to that at Natchez, rising and falling in an undulating manner—but in a sudden freak bounded and formed the pinnacle called Loftus Height, two hundred feet above water mark, on which stands a block house only, under which is the barracks and arsenal in the bottom—Sauntered about here 2 or 3 hours—just before departing was very agreeably surprised by the sudden appearance of Thos. Butler on board the barge, in company with a Capt. Sample—Sincerely regretted the necessity of setting out so soon, because I wished to have much conversation with him, as I esteem him a good and sensible young man and one every way interesting to me—He had lately arrived in the Territory and then intended to settle thereabouts—The best of friends must part—and therefore took an affectionate farewell and set out from Fort Adams about 11 o'clock A. M.—run 16 miles and passed the mouth of Red River,<sup>5</sup> emptying in on the west or Louisiana side—so much celebrated latterly for the fertility of its soil and salubrity of its climate—It probably derives its name from the red colour of its waters, which is very perceptibly redder than that of the Mississippi—and continues perceptibly different for a considerable distance below the mouth—It is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile wide at its entrance. Came up with Hunt & Foreman from Natchez in two barges, laden with cotton. Stopped at sun-set, procured some wood, put out again and drifted till about an hours before day 30 miles to Point Coupee.<sup>6</sup>

WEDNESDAY, 11th. Morning quite chilly. Put off at sunrise and un four miles to the mouth of Bayou Sara in West Florida and opposite Point Coupee settlement, included in the county of the same name. This country is included in the Territory of Orleans, in which is said to be more wealth than in any other county of the Territory. Great appearance of opulence was exhibited in the settlements on the margin of the river which continued ten or twelve miles and is said to extend thirty or forty miles back—good dwelling houses in the French style, the inhabitants being almost exclusively of that nation. Negro houses innumerable—being disposed almost contiguous to one another in a hurdle and adjacent to the manor house exhibit the view of small towns with their capitals. For the planters live generally not more than one half mile from each other. All are opulent, having from fifty, to one hundred or one hundred and fifty negroes, whose

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix "G."

<sup>5</sup>Point Coupee. An old settlement on the west side of the Mississippi. The French originally gave the name because the course of the river here at an early date was changed, forming a "cut-off" from the longer detour of its ancient bed. The Spanish term it *Punta Corda*, and it is represented today as a village and the name given to the parish.



houses are arranged in lines parallel to one another, one or two hundred yards from the manor.

While at Bayou Sara<sup>80</sup> the wind ble whigh, which checked further progress the balance of the day. Ellis & Stewart reside here, merchants in copartnership and very jovial, generous Irishmen—to whom I was introduced by Mr. M. and liberally entertained. This is the first time that my feet ever trod Spanish soil—and perhaps it may not be the last time. Walked an half mile off from the river to view something of the country and saw Mr. James Carpenter, a school mate of 6 or 7 years ago—who was then a merchant.—An half mile from the river the land rises above 60 or 80 feet—from which, the land is said to make off quite level and rich continuing thus 40 or 50 miles in every direction—constituting the best and most productive cotton land in all the Mississippi country—and was it emancipated from the Spanish government would be the most pleasant and desirable country in this quarter. Its elevated situation so far above the river probably constitutes its health—the rich soil must be a great source of wealth. It extends down from the Mississippi territory 60 miles, to the Bayou Manchac<sup>81</sup> which makes from the Mississippi to Lake Pontchartrain and which with the Mississippi forms the Island of New Orleans below. The settlements of this part of West Florida are rich—much cotton is produced here, and is a desirable place by all who I heard speak of it.

THURSDAY, 12th. Rain very heavy—therefore could not proceed. The liberal hospitality of Messrs. Ellis & Stewart seemed undiminished, therefore the detention was not so disagreeable as on a desert shore. There was an acquisition to our numbers of Mr. Hoggatt & Dunbar from Natchez, bound to New York. Ate and drank this day and yesterday very sumptuously. Rain ceased considerably—and got under way about four o'clock P. M.—run 9 miles—likely to be very dark—put in to camp on Point Coupee side—The ground was wet—prospects of rain continued—walked to a house close by to get a bed for the night—It belonged to a widow who was not within. Saw a grave gentleman walking the piazza—addressed him and communicated the object of our coming—he replied the house belonged to a widow woman—she was rich and did not keep tavern—and at any rate the French did not like to entertain strangers. He pointed out a negro tavern in view, where we might obtain lodgings. Indignant at this impertinence we returned to our boat—suspecting him to be a Priest or Father, whose amorous desires had for the moment got the better of his devout forbearance and that if we staid we might spy him. After the hands had cooked and ate supper, we concluded to drift this night, and immediately made off.

FRIDAY, 13th. Found ourselves four miles above Baton Rouge having drifted near 30 miles last night—continued on to the Fort and landed to report ourselves to the commandant—detained here 3 or 4 hours and put out again—were introduced to the commandant Grand-prie,—a man of polite address and reverend countenance—upwards of 50 years old.

Baton Rouge is situated on the Florida side, on a considerable eminence, which commands an extensive prospect up and down the river.

<sup>80</sup>Bayou Sara. The first settlement over the old Spanish line in the present parish of New Feliciana. The stream from which the settlement takes its name is a small one, only about thirty yards wide.

<sup>81</sup>See Appendix "H."



Proceeded from here about 12 o'clock, run upwards of 20 miles and encamped on the east shore. The settlements here commence on both sides of the river pretty thick—being some distance below Bayou Manchac.

SATURDAY, 14th. Run 40 miles—Settlements on both sides of the river, resembling the sides of a street on which inhabitants are numerous—50 or 60 and sometimes more, manor houses are in view—Seventy miles above N. Orleans is the first sugar plantation,—which is on the west side—10 or 12 miles further, they become more numerous—and orange trees decorate almost every garden.

SUNDAY, 15th. Drifted last night 30 miles within 9 leagues, or 27 miles of New Orleans—continued on till 10 o'clock and was forced in by head winds—wind abated and attempted to proceed again—run 4 or 5 miles and was forced in a second time—wind high the balance of the day—Continued here, 12 miles above New Orleans, this day and night.

MONDAY, 16th. Set out at twilight and run to New Orleans by half after eight o'clock—passing every mile, large sugar plantations—with buildings and other appendages that indicated great wealth. Fine gardens—finely decorated with orange groves, which seem larger as we approach the city. Attended the unloading the barge this day.

[THE END.]



## APPENDIX E—Fort Pickering.

Manuel Gayosa de Lemos, commandant of the Natchez District in the spring of 1795, ascended the Mississippi and occupied a place opposite to the Chicasaw Bluffs with a post which he called Fort Esperanza (Hopefield). After secretly providing all necessary material for the building of a block-house and stockade he suddenly on May 30th moved across the river to the site of the Bluffs, where in twenty-four hours he erected a post to which he gave the name of *Fort Fernando*.

On the signing of the Treaty between the United States and Spain October 27th, 1795, arrangements were soon made for the official marking of the boundary decided on between Spain and the United States. For this purpose Andrew Ellicott, an experienced engineer with twenty-five woodsmen and a small military escort commanded by Lieutenant McCleary, left Pittsburg to descend to the Mississippi country. Stopping at Fort Washington (Cincinnati) and Fort Massac en route, they arrived at the mouth of the Ohio on November 18th, 1796. Here an accurate survey of the locality was made, when they dropped down the Mississippi to New Madrid, arriving there December 2d. Thence they descended to the Chicasaw Bluffs—Fort San Fernando—where he remained from December 8th to the 10th, proceeding from here to Fort Nogales and later to Natchez.

Ellicott's party did not go to occupy the new domain in the name of the United States army; it was a civil, not military errand.

The first regular military detachment to go on Spanish soil was under Lieutenant Pope. He, in the fall of 1796, was sent by Gen. Wayne to Fort Massac with orders to remain there until further command was given him. However, hearing after the descent of Ellicott that the flag of the U. S. had been raised at Natchez and that the company of surveyors were in eminent danger of attack, Lieutenant Pope set out to the relief of the situation, not waiting for orders, and arrived at Fort Nogales April 15th, 1797, later joining Ellicott at Natchez.

It is to be noted that even this military movement was not official as to occupation of Spanish soil, for it was not until Capt. Isaac Guion of the Third Regiment, was ordered by Gen. Wilkinson (who had succeeded to the command of the U. S. Army on the death of Wayne in December, 1796) on May 20th, 1797, to prepare to descend to the Mississippi, that the first real military occupancy was provided for, and even this was conditional, and to be attempted in a most cautious manner. Guion's orders were to proceed from Fort Washington on May 26th down the Ohio to Fort Massac, where the commandant, Captain Zebulun Pike, would provide him a detachment, etc., with which he should descend South, provided he was not hindered by the Spanish. If impediment was put in his way, he was to officially offer protest, and return to Fort Massac, or if his judgment prompted such a measure, to occupy some location on the American side of the Mississippi. If no objection was made to his descent, Guion was authorized to proceed to the mouth of Wolf River, just above the Chickasaw Bluffs, where certain presents of supplies, etc., destined for the Chicasaw Indians were to be distributed. This done, further descent was to be made to Fort Nogales, which was to be occupied, or in case it had not been evacuated by the Spanish, due demand for same should be made.



On reaching New Madrid, the Spanish commandant objected to his proceeding further down the river, but on promise by Guion that he would not go further than the Chicasaw Bluffs, he agreed for him to go on, in the meantime each was to hear from their superiors.

Accordingly Guion on July 20th occupied the Chicasaw Bluffs, made distribution of the gifts to the Indians and built a fort to which he gave the name of Fort Adams, in honor of John Adams, the second President. The Spanish having before withdrawn and dismantled Fort San Fernando.

Later, in the summer of 1798, General Wilkinson himself came South and occupying Natchez, built below a short distance, at Loftus Heights, a fort to which he gave the name *Fort Adams*.

After this the name of the fort at Chicasaw Bluffs was changed to *Fort Pickering*, in honor of the Secretary of State. Just exactly when this took place is not to be gathered from the data at hand. However, a letter from Gov. Claiborne of Mississippi Territory, dated shortly after his arrival at Natchez, viz: November 23rd, 1801, says:

"On the eastern or American bank of the Mississippi, the only improvement until I reached the Walnut Hills (Fort Nogales) was our *Fort Pickering* at the Bluffs below Wolf River."

Mention is made by Cuming of a fort built on the site of the Chicasaw Bluffs, to which the name of *Fort Pike* was given. He says:

"Foy was the first settler fourteen years ago (1794). . . . Soon after Foy's settlement, and very near it, the Americans erected a small stockade fort, named *Fort Pike*, from the major commandant. After the purchase of Louisiana by the United States from the Spaniards, *Fort Pickering* was erected two miles lower down at the end of the bluffs and *Fort Pike* was abandoned (page 292). Evidently there is some confusion in this data.

In the "*History of Memphis and Shelby County*," by J. M. Keating, 1888, it is said (page 202):

"In 1805 he (Gen. Wilkinson) was ordered to relieve General Pike, there since 1803, in command of the Chicasaw Bluffs. Upon his arrival there his first work was to dismantle *Fort Pike* (formerly Fort Adams) and move the troops three miles further south to the vicinity of the mound on which the old chief Chisca lived when De Soto first came to the Mississippi River."

Here there is without doubt further confusion. That Fort Pickering had been in existence since 1801 is shown in the reference given in the above letter of Gov. Claiborne. Just when any fort on the Bluffs bore the name of *Fort Pike* is difficult to determine. Cuming says it was named "from the comandant," and it was not until 1803 that we find Pike stationed here.

Further, it has been said that this "Pike" was the afterwards well-known General Zebulun Montgomery Pike for whom "Pike's Peak" was named. We know that Capt. Zebulun Pike, the father of Gen. Zebulun M. Pike, was the officer in charge at Fort Massac when Capt. Guion descended to build the first Fort Adams on the Bluff. At the same time it is possible his youthful son (born in 1779) was a member of his garrison there, and it is further possible that it was this youthful son who was in charge at Fort Pickering in 1803-5. Yet there is room for grave confusion here. It should be remembered that the older Zebulun Pike served in the army till 1812, and lived many



years longer, dying at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, in 1843; while the brilliant son, known as General Zebulun M. Pike, who explored the source of the Mississippi and the regions of the far West, was killed by the explosion of the magazine at York, Canada, April 27, 1813.

#### APPENDIX F—NATCHEZ.

"I was much struck with the similarity of Natchez to many of the smaller West India towns, particularly St. Johns Antigua, though not near so large as it. The houses all with balconies and piazzas—some merchant stores—several little shops kept by free mulattoes, and French and Spanish creoles—the great mixture of colour of the people in the streets, and many other circumstances, with the aid of a little fancy to heighten the illusion, might made one suppose, in the spirit of the Arabian Knights Entertainments, that by some magick power, I had been suddenly transported to one of those scenes of my youthful wanderings."

When the illusion was almost formed, a company of Indians meeting me in the street dispelled it, so bidding adieu to the romance of the fancy, I sat down to supper at Mickie's tavern, or hotel, by which appellation it is dignified. . . . I arose early, and sauntered to the market-house on a common in front of the town, where meat, fish and vegetables were sold by a motley mixture of Americans, French and Spanish creoles. Mulattoes and Negroes. There seem to be a sufficiency of necessities for so small a town, and the price of butcher's meat, and fish was reasonable, while vegetables, milk and butter were extravagantly dear.

Natchez, in latitude 31 degrees 33 minutes N.—longitude 91 degrees and 29 minutes W. of Greenwich, contains between eighty and one hundred dwelling houses, as nearly as I could enumerate them. It is situated on a very broken and hilly ground, but notwithstanding the irregularity and inequality of the surface, the streets are marked out at right angles, which makes them almost impassable in bad weather, except Market street and Front street which are leveled as much as the ground will permit. A small plain of a hundred and fifty yards wide in front of the town rising gradually to the edge of the high cliff or bluff which overhangs the river, veils the view of that interesting object from the inhabitants, but at the same time contributes to defend the town from the noxious vapours generated in the swamps immediately on the river banks, yet not so effectually as to prevent it being sometimes subject to fevers and agues, especially from July to October inclusive, when few strangers escape a seasoning, as it is called, which frequently proves mortal. The surrounding country at a little distance from the Mississippi, is as healthy as most other countries in the same parallel of latitude. The landing, where are a few houses immediately under the bluff, is particularly fatal to the crews of the Ohio and Kentucky boats, who happen to be delayed there during the sickly season.

Though Natchez is dignified with the name of a city, it is nevertheless but a small town. It is however a place of considerable importance in consequence of it being the principal emporium of the commerce of the territory, and of its having been so long the seat of government, under the French, English, and Spaniards, which caused all the lands in the vicinity to be cultivated and settled, while those more remote were neglected, though in general a much better soil. There is a Roman Catholic church, which is an old wooden building



in decay, and there is a brick meeting-house for either Presbyterians or Anabaptists, I am not sure which. These, and an old hotel de ville, or court-house, are the only public buildings the city boasts, except it be an old hospital, now fitting up as a theatre for a private dramatick society. Several of the houses are new and very good, mostly of wood, and I am informed many (more than half) have been added within the last four or five years. Fort Panmure, on the edge of the bluff, is now in ruins, but the situation, and the extent of the old ramparts, prove it to have been a post of considerable consequence. It effectually commands the river, without being commanded itself, and the view from it is very extensive, particularly over the flat swamps of Louisiana, on the opposite side of the Mississippi.

The first permanent settlement on the Mississippi was made in 1712, and notwithstanding many misfortunes, particularly the failure of the celebrated Mississippi company, founded by John Law, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the settlements extended in 1727 to Natchez, and a fort was erected there. In 1731 the Indians, disgusted with the tyranny and cruelty of the French colonists, massacred most of them, for which, in the following year, the French took ample vengeance, almost extirpated the whole Natchez race. The few who escaped took refuge amongst their neighbors, the Choctaws, where becoming naturalized, they soon lost their original name. The French kept possession of the country till 1763, when it was ceded to the British. It continued under the British government until 1779, when it was surrendered by Col. Dickson, the commander of the British troops at Baton Rouge, to the Spaniards under Don Bernardo de Galvez. In 1798, in consequence of arrangements between the United States and the government of Spain, the latter gave up all claim to the country east of the Mississippi to the northward of the 31st degree of north latitude, in favor of the former, who erected it into a territorial government, under the name of Mississippi Territory.

(Note.)—Fort Panmure was the British name of the Natchez Post, which had been called Fort Rosalie by the French. The English garrison found the latter in a ruinous condition when sent to take possession in 1764. Fort Panmure was the scene of a struggle between English Tories and American sympathizers in 1778-79."

(Cuming Tour. Early Western Travels. Vol. IV. L. 320-323.)

#### CAUTION.

"Sometime during the night of the 4th instant, some person or persons entered a Flat Bottomed Boat, lying at the landing within the City of Natchez, belonging to the undersigned, and feloniously carried away a CHEST, containing between two and three hundred dollars in cash, promissory notes to the amount of 20,000 dollars or upwards . . . none of the notes indorsed by us, etc. . . .

Joseph Erwin.

Abraham Wright.

(Impar. Rev.—Nashville, May 23, 1807.)

#### APPENDIX G—LOFTUS HEIGHTS.

Before D'Iberville founded his colony on the Gulf, as early as the Spring of 1698, the Seminaire des Etrangeres decided to send missionaries to the Indians of the West. Fathers Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme were selected to found the mission which was divided into three stations on the Lower Mississippi. Father Antoine Davion chose the Tonica Indians as his field, this was at first near the mouth



of the Yazoo river, but a little later they removed to the bluffs south of the present city of Natchez which site was known under the French domination as "Roche de Davion," Davion's Rock. When the English began to occupy the Mississippi forts after the treaty of Paris in 1763, General Johnstone in command at Pensacola ordered Major Loftus with a part of the 22nd. Regiment to ascend the Mississippi to occupy the forts of the Illinois country. Proceeding from New Orleans Feb. 27, 1764, with 350 men on the 20th. of March he reached the point opposite Davion's Rock, where he was severely attacked by the Indians, having six men killed and four wounded, whereupon retreat was made to New Orleans. From this incident the place under the English rule was known as Loftus Heights. When the Americans occupied the former Spanish territory on the lower Mississippi, by order of Gen. Wilkinson in 1798 a fort was built at Loftus Heights to which the name of Fort Adams was given and since there has ever been a settlement of that name at this site. In 1808 Cuming thus describes the village:

"Fort Adams or Wilkinsonbourg is a poor little village of a dozen houses, most of them in decay, hemmed in between the heights and the river. The fort from which it derives its first name, is situated on a bluff overhanging the river, at the extremity of the ridge of Loftus Heights. It is about one hundred feet above the ordinary level of the Mississippi, which is not more than three hundred feet wide here, so that the fort completely commands it, with several small brass canon and two small brass howitzers mounted *en barbette*. The fort which is faced with brick, has only a level superficies large enough for one bastion, with a small barrack inside, the whole of which is commanded by a block-house a hundred and fifty feet higher, on the sharp peak of a very steep hill, which in time of war might serve as a look out, as well as a post, as it commands a most extensive view over the surrounding wilderness of forest, as well as the meanders of the river for several miles."—Cuming's Tour, p. 329.

#### APPENDIX H—MANCHAC.

*Manchac*, "strait" or "pass". Designation of a small bayou leading off from the Mississippi river in a southeast direction connecting with the Amite river, Lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain and the Gulf. First used, it is said, by d'Iberville on his descent from his earliest exploration voyage up the Mississippi, March 24, 1699. Pennicut, his historian, says:

"It was very narrow and some five feet deep in low water. Was full of logs, so that in many places we were obliged to make portages. After awhile it connected with other streams and the navigation became good."

The term as used by some of the early geographers designated only the bayou connecting the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, the Amite being called "ou riv' d'Iberville" and the bayou connecting it with the Mississippi, "Akankia." On this same tour of exploration d'Iberville gave names to the local waters, "Amite"—in token of the friendship of the neighboring Indians, "Maurepas" and "Pontchartrain" after two noted French ministers. Because of shortened distance and directness the route by way of Manchac was largely used by the earlier French in going from their settlements on the Gulf to the posts on the upper Mississippi,—the "Illinois."

By the dismemberment of Louisiana at the close of the French and Indian war all of the Gulf region from the Atlantic to the Mississippi



was given England except the "Isle of Orleans,"—the region inclosed between the Manchac and Mississippi River,—and it was organized into two provinces, East and West Florida, with separate governors and capitals at St. Augustine and Pensacola. West Florida according to the King's proclamation was bounded on the north by a line drawn from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Chattahoochy.

At once both Spain and England sought to protect their new possessions by the erecting of forts at the mouth of the Manchac, Spain building on the Mississippi just below the entrance of the bayou and England on the east side of the bayou near its entrance.

This English fortification,—a small stockade,—was erected by the 21st. Regiment, "Scotch Fusileers," in 1766, and was called Fort Bute,—in honor of the Earle of Bute, Prime Minister of England.

Around it there grew up a considerable village, which became an important trading station, representatives of large English firms being located here who carried on an extensive trade, much of it illicit. In those days there was heard much about New Orleans a proverbial expression,—"*by way of the little Manchac*," which was used to designate anything of illicit and smuggling trade, especially with reference to the trade by the English at Manchac with the French planters in Guinea negroes, which the Spanish authorities tried to prohibit.

Fort Bute was evacuated and demolished by the English in Dec. 1768, but the way of Manchac continued to be the highway of communication between Pensacola and Natchez during the occupancy of the Province of West Florida, which was lost to the English during the Revolution by capture of the Spanish under Galvez, 1779-1781.

Bartram, who visited this region in 1777, found the trading station at Manchac still quite a business situation and describes it as follows:

"Ascending the Amite to the west fork where the Iberville (Bayou Manchac) comes in on the left hand, and proceeding briskly, we soon came to the landing where there are warehouses for depositing merchandise, this being the head of the schooner navigation. From this point to Manchac on the Mississippi just above the outlet of the bayou is nine miles by land, the road straight and level and passing through a grand forest. The buildings established by the English, particularly those of Swanson & Co., Indian traders, are spacious and commodious. Over Fort Bute floats the British flag, while just across the bayou, on the bank of the river, is a Spanish post. There is a foot-bridge between the two fortresses."

The importance of this location practically ended when Gen. Jackson closed the route through the Manchac in 1814 to prevent British occupation, and it has never since been re-opened.

(French Hist. Collec. of La., Vol. III, p. 15. Claiborne's Miss. As a Province etc., p. 105. Houck's Spanish Regieme, Vol. I, p. 3 n. 8. Cuming's Tour, p. 359. D'Anville's "Carte de la Lousianae". Windsor's Mississippi Basin, p. 49. Monette's Valley of the Mississippi p. 77. Pittman's "Mississippi Settlements," pp. 64-71.)



## AN EPISODE IN THE BOYHOOD OF GENERAL FORREST.

[Among the files of the Historical Society the following correspondence is found with reference to an episode in the boyhood days of General Bedford Forrest.—ED.]

NASHVILLE, TENN., January 20, 1905.

*Hon Jas. D. Porter, President Tennessee Historical Society,  
Normal College, City.*

DEAR GOVERNOR:

I intended to mail you the original of the enclosed, but mutilated it slightly by cutting off some purely private matter and pasting the remainder, without noticing that it was written on both sides—a thing an old printer and editor would never suspect—a thing, in fact, a crime, to do. The part obscured, marked illegible, is of no consequence.

Tully Brown says Forrest went to Mississippi at about 13. Miller may have erred, or be misled, as to his age. Few can be accurate as to ages, dates or figures. I feel sure that no doubt can exist as to the occurrence at Chapel Hill—at what age matters little. It was too well verified to Miller, who is a most careful man, by eye-witnesses, and is too well established in traditions in Marshall County to be a mistake.

It may have less value than I think. Believing all papers of historical import should be in no private keeping, I send it. If you think it valuable, present it; otherwise burn it.

Sincerely your friend,

H. M. DOAK.

LEWISBURG, TENN., March 25, 1896.

*H. M. Doak, Esq., Nashville, Tenn.*

DEAR DOAK: Our Circuit Court is in session, and some of my friends are here from the Chapel Hill district, and I have been talking with them about the Forrest family, and especially Gen. Forrest. I fail to find any one now living, old enough to tell the facts and circumstances, having seen them, but, like myself, they simply remember them as told by others, now dead.

The persons whom I heard talk of the difficulty between Gen. Forrest and Mr. A. L. Adams are all now dead—Dr. J. H. Robinson, Maj. J. B. Fulton, Maj. J. M. Wilson, D. V. Chrisman, C. H. Lavender, J. M. Patterson. Consequently, I cannot refer you to any one now living who saw the trouble or was at Chapel Hill at the time it occurred. I expect that J. B. Boyd, who now lives at Holt's Corner, D. V. Chisholm (rest illegible), could tell you something about it. I expect also that Mrs. Eliza Putnam, who lives at Chapel Hill, could also give you the facts as they were told her by her brother, J. M. Patterson, and I expect she would be apt to remember them from the fact that Jonathan Forrest, an uncle of Gen.



Forrest, married her sister. It was this uncle also that was killed in a fight at Hernando, Miss., in which the General also was engaged.

The little log house where Gen. Forrest was born was about one and one-half miles north of Chapel Hill, at the point where the Nolensville and Eagleville turnpikes intersect, about one hundred yards to the left of the road going north from Chapel Hill. It was standing there when I was a boy, and the wreck of the chimney and logs are fallen down, and a heap was there during, and for some time after, the war. It has since been cleared away and ploughed over and cultivated, but I could go to the exact spot today. Gen. Forrest left here when he was quite young—perhaps before he was twenty-one. He had two uncles who lived at Chapel Hill—Nelson Forrest and Elisha G. Forrest. Nelson was a trader. Elisha G. was a tailor by trade, and it was at his tailor shop where the difficulty between Gen. Forrest and Mr. Adams occurred. Gen. Forrest was young at this time—perhaps not over 17 or 19—and had never given any evidence of his cool bravery and intrepid daring which so much characterized him in after life.

Adams was a large and powerfully built man, and was a daring and brave fellow, but considered insulting and overbearing in manner, and especially when he was drinking. It seems that on this occasion he was in his cups largely, and in company with some associates who were equally as troublesome as himself. Forrest was quiet and inoffensive and would not fall in with the noisy, row-making set when they entered the shop, where he was sitting on the table where his uncle was at work.

Adams and his crowd became offended at him for some imaginary cause and began to abuse and curse him. They were remonstrated with by those present who were sober and more prudent, but they persisted in their abuse.

Young Forrest, it seems, had little to say, more than that he was attending to his own business and wanted no difficulty, and, in his quiet way, asked them to go off and let him alone. In the meantime, he had carelessly picked up his uncle's tailor shears and worked them in such way as to separate the parts. Adams, it seems, had reached the highest point in his tirade and, concluding that young Forrest was cowardly and an easy prey, made a start for him, when, to his and his associates' surprise, the lion-like young fellow sprang to his feet, armed with a half of the shears in each hand and without a word, but with a look that presaged war to the death, started towards Adams and his crowd, who turned terrified and fled in dismay. I have heard it said that



had it not been for the interference of his uncle and some others of the good citizens who were present, Adams and his fellows would have been badly hurt.

This little occurrence lionized him in the neighborhood, and the bullies and their like kept their distance ever after. This is substantially the matter as I have often heard old citizens tell it, and those I have talked with since receipt of your letter remember it about the same way.

I remain

Yours truly,  
A. N. MILLER.

I certify, under my hand and seal of court of which I am clerk, that the foregoing is a true and perfect copy of a letter, in my possession, received from A. N. Miller, whom I know to be one of the most careful and painstaking of men, thoroughly trustworthy as to facts and no way likely to be mistaken as to what he has heard or seen. He has told me that he had the facts from several eye-witnesses and that he has verified them as they are traditionally remembered in the neighborhood.

H. M. DOAK,

Clerk of U. S. Court, Nashville, Tenn.

For verification, I attach the original as I have mutilated it.

H. M. DOAK.



## HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

"*Calvin Jones, Physician, Soldier and Freemason, 1755-1846.*" By MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

This is a reprint from the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of N. C., reissued 1919, by James W. Jones of Bolivar, Tennessee.

Calvin Jones was born in Massachusetts, came to North Carolina in 1795 and in 1799 participated in the organization of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. He was a soldier in the War of 1812, a large landholder and planter residing in N. C. till 1832, when he removed to near Bolivar, in Hardeman County, Tennessee. His plantation in Tennessee, consisting of 2500 acres, was known as "Wake Park," later changed to "Pontine." Being a prominent communicant of the Episcopal Church, he claimed as intimate friends Bishops Ravenscroft, Otey, Polk and Green. It is interesting to note that the plantation owned in North Carolina became the grounds and location of Lake Forest College, while a part of the Tennessee plantation furnished a location for the Western Asylum for Insane—an institution under the care of the State of Tennessee.

Two articles in *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* for July-Aug. (two numbers in one) of especial interest are: "A Great Franciscan in California," by Dr. Chas. E. Chapman of the University of Calif., and "Paul de St. Pierre, the First German-American Priest of the West," by Rev. John Rothenstein. In the former article Dr. Chapman seeks to divide the honor and reputation, heretofore commonly given wholly to Father Junipero Serra in the history of California Missions, with Father Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, whose valuation and work has evidently been neglected or unknown by writers in this field. The second article on Paul de St. Pierre brings to light many interesting facts as to Catholic history in the Illinois country of early date, and is worthy to be placed by the valuable material that has hitherto been associated with Father Gibault and other worthies of this period.

In "*William Peters Hepburn*," by John Ely Briggs, the Iowa Historical Society adds another elegant volume to its series of publications.

As a soldier, citizen and politician Congressman Hepburn made for himself a worthy name. It will be interesting to Tennessee readers to know that his war service was rendered largely with the Federal army in the western part of the state, Jackson, Lagrange, Memphis and north Mississippi. Though his family were opposed to the war, he himself entered the army in the early days of the conflict. He came South immediately after the close of the war with the intention of settling and did remain at Memphis for a few years, his war service and his intense hatred of the South, with active part in reconstruction days made him very unpopular with the Southern people. His biographer says:

"In the South undeveloped natural resources furnished splendid chances for investment. . . . There, too loyal men with political aspirations worked zealously in behalf of the Republican administration. And so, long before the Union armies were withdrawn, the South was invaded by a host of Northern fortune-seekers, and politicians. Resolved to take advantage of reconstruction in the South, and realizing that his military associations would attract the legal business of the army men, Col. Hepburn removed with his family to Memphis, Tenn., in the autumn of 1864 and



opened a law office. Fortune seemed to have smiled upon the Colonel, for by the end of a year he had established a profitable law practice. Working faithfully to maintain national authority and courageously seeking to prevent the disloyal element from gaining control of the local government, he became one of the political leaders of the city. Indeed, at one time he contemplated the organization of a party under the banner of Republicanism, the better to resist the concerted attempt of Southern politicians to rob emancipation of its fruits."

Pursuing this course it will not surprise the reader to know that his stay in the South was limited, his wife and children returned North in about a year, and he himself followed after another year, "finding the feeling against Northern men becoming stronger every day and the spirit of ostracism more manifest."

### EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

#### APRIL MEETING, 1919.

A number of valuable contributions were made to the society, including a Civil War Scrap-book kept by a Confederate soldier, donated by Mrs. Francis W. Ring. An old pistol found on the Shiloh Battlefield, presented by Mr. E. H. Skinmon of Lawrence County, Tenn.

The address of the evening was by Hon. Robert Wing, who in a very interesting manner discussed the history and purpose of the great Watkins Institute foundation for social and educational purposes in Nashville. He set forth among many other interesting matters the fact of how this original fund placed in trust by Samuel Watkins had been so managed by the trustees as to become at this date a most creditable amount, and through it a wide ministration of good was being accomplished.

A resolution offered by Col. Porter was unanimously adopted providing a committee to prepare a suitable petition to be sent Governor A. H. Roberts calling his attention to the urgent need of this society for suitable quarters in order to provide ample protection for the invaluable collection now the property of the society; also for such additional arrangements, as that the same may be properly displayed to the interested public, etc.

The resolution asked that the Governor include the matter of the above petition in his special message to the Legislature now in session, urging that provision be made by same for a building or annex that would house the society, as well as other vital departments of the State administration.

Further, it was suggested that the present title of the office of State Archivist be changed to that of State Archivist and Historian, and that a suitable office be assigned to that official in that part of the contemplated new building in which this society is also to be cared for, that a reasonable salary be appropriated for said official, and an individual of undoubted qualification be chosen to act in said place, etc.

#### MAY MEETING.

This being the time for the annual election of officers, the following were selected to fill the various places:

John H. DeWitt, President; Judge E. T. Sanford, Hon. Park Marshall, Hon. J. P. Young and Mrs. B. D. Bell, Vice-Presidents; J. Tyree Fain, Recording Secretary; Hon. Hallum Goodloe, Assistant Rec. Sec.;



Dr. W. A. Provine, Corresponding Secretary, and Col. George C. Porter, Custodian and Treasurer.

Attention of the society was called to the coming celebration in Memphis of the centennial of her history, and the picture of Gen. Winchester, one of its founders, was ordered loaned, and a local committee was appointed to represent the society on this special occasion.

The committee appointed to locate the grave of Charles Dickerson, killed in duel by Gen. Andrew Jackson, presented some interesting historical data.

A most valuable relic in the way of a letter written by Hon. W. C. C. Claiborne in 1801 to Edward Saunders referring to the election of Jefferson as President, was presented to the society by Miss Louise Lindsley of Nashville.

The following publishing committee for the Tennessee Historical Magazine was elected: Dr. W. A. Provine, Editor; Hon. J. H. DeWitt, Business Manager; J. Tyree Fain, Assist. Manager.



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COLONEL GEORGE C. PORTER.



# THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1849  
INCORPORATED 1875

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*Assistant Recording Secretary,*  
HALLUM W. GOODLOE,

*Corresponding Secretary,*  
W. A. PROVINE

---

## FORM OF LEGACY

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"I give and bequeath to The Tennessee Historical Society  
the sum of -----dollars."



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Watkins Hall, Nashville, Tenn.



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# TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5

OCTOBER, 1919

No. 3

## COLONEL GEORGE C. PORTER.

### RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF COLONEL PORTER.

(Extract from the Minutes of the Tennessee Historical Society.)

Col. George Camp Porter, Custodian and Treasurer of the Tennessee Historical Society, died at eight o'clock P.M., on Saturday, the 20th day of September, 1919, at the Protestant Hospital in the City of Nashville.

The following day the *Nashville Banner*, a newspaper to which Col. Porter was a frequent and valued contributor, published the following notice of his death, and sketch of his life:

### DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN DIES

COL. GEORGE C. PORTER WAS DELEGATE TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1870—LAWYER AND SCHOLAR—  
COLONEL SIXTH TENNESSEE.

Col. George C. Porter, well-known Tennessean, and a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1870, a gallant Confederate officer, a former member of the house of representatives and the state senate, died at his residence, 2119 Hayes Street, Saturday night shortly after 8 o'clock. Col. Porter was in his 85th year and had undergone an operation only a few days ago, first reports from his bedside following the operation being that he was getting along nicely.

The remains will be conveyed to Brownsville Monday morning and burial will be Monday afternoon. He is survived by a daughter, Miss Neppie Porter.

### SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

Col. George Camp Porter was born in Fayette County, Tennessee. His father was Charles Bingley Porter, a native of Orange County, Virginia, born at the family mansion on the Rapidan, which served as Gen. Lafayette's headquarters during the revolutionary war. Col. Porter's grandfather was Charles Bingley Porter, Sr., who commanded a Virginia infantry regiment under Gen. Washington at Yorktown, and who also defeated James Madison in a race for the legislature in Virginia.



Col. Porter's father removed to Tennessee in 1826. His mother was Miss Mary Scott of Haywood County, who had come to Tennessee from Halifax County, Virginia. There were three children by this marriage, George C., Robert Scott and Mary Bingley Porter. Col. Porter's parents died when he was still a boy and he and his brother were reared by their uncles and aunts.

Col. Porter's first job was with a party of civil engineers who surveyed the L. & N. Railroad from Memphis to Paris in 1854. In the fall of that year he was sent to the Kentucky Military Institute, one of the most noted schools of the time and second only to West Point as a military academy. He graduated with the rank of captain in 1857 with first honors, being valedictorian of his class.

Upon his graduation, Capt. Porter entered the law office of Yergen & Farrington in Memphis and there became associated with some of the most noted lawyers, politicians and literary men of the day. He secured his license to practice law in 1860 during the great political campaign which resulted in the election of Lincoln. After the beginning of the secession movement, in April, 1861, young Porter, with his uncle, Junius P. Howell, went to Philadelphia, where they were at the time of the fall of Ft. Sumpter and witnessed in Baltimore the shedding of the first blood of the Civil war in the clash between citizens and the first Massachusetts infantry regiment.

#### THE "HAYWOOD BLUES."

Capt. Porter then returned to Tennessee and at once organized in Brownsville, his old home, a company known as the "Haywood Blues," which became a part of the Sixth Tennessee regiment, having been sworn into state service May 15, 1861. Capt. Porter was elected major. All the West Tennessee troops were shortly brigaded under Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham, the Sixth Tennessee remaining under his command during the rest of the war, and having its share in Cheatham's division one of the most noted commands in the Army of Tennessee. After the battle of Shiloh, when the army was reorganized, Major Porter was made a colonel. Among the famous battles in which his regiment took part were Perryville, Stones River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge; all of the battles under Joseph E. Johnston against Sherman in the retreat from Dalton to Atlanta; and the battles of Franklin and Nashville. After the battle of Nashville and the retreat from Tennessee, Col. Porter's Sixth Tennessee was transferred with the remnants of the Western army to North Carolina, where it was surrendered under its old commander, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, in April, 1865.

From first to last, Col. Porter was with his own regiment. He was an active figure in all the great battles of the Army of Tennessee under Albert Sidney Johnston, Bragg, Joseph E. Johnston and Hood.

One of the most striking tributes to his gallantry as a soldier and a leader was paid him by the late Gov. James D. Porter, who was adjutant with the rank of colonel under Gen. Cheatham, and who was in no way related to him. When sent with an order to Col. Porter, when he was standing at the head of his army, holding in check the center of Rosencrans' army, Gov. Porter said of him that had he been commanding a regiment in the army of France under Napoleon, he would have been made a marshal on the field of battle for gallant and heroic conduct.



## BATTLE OF SHILOH.

Another high compliment from Gov. Porter was on Col. Porter's story of the battle of Shiloh, read before the Tennessee Historical Society and printed at Gov. Porter's request in the *Banner*, which Gov. Porter declared the most accurate and interesting description of that battle he had ever read and as a battle narrative second only to Hugo's description of Waterloo. The late Gen. Gates P. Thurston, who also participated in the battle of Shiloh as a Federal officer, gave the story the same high estimate.

At the close of the war Col. Porter returned to Brownsville, where he again entered law practice. In 1869 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention, which met in Nashville in January, 1870. He represented his district in the state senate in 1871 and his floterial district in the general assembly in 1877. He also served as president of the board of railroad commissioners and property equalizers and in 1897 was appointed chief deputy in the office of Internal Revenue Collector Frank Bond in Nashville, serving until the end of President Cleveland's term. In 1903 he was appointed superintendent of the state capitol by Gov. Frazier and served till Gov. Patterson was elected.

He has served as president of the Frank Cheatham bivouac, historian of that body and historian of the state association of United Confederate Veterans.

Col. Porter was a man of exceptional educational attainments and a writer of ability. His history of the Tennessee infantry regiments in the Confederate army is conceded to be one of the most valuable contributions to the military history of the war between the states. It was some time ago published serially in the *Banner*.

Col. Porter became a Mason shortly after the war and took all of the degrees in York masonry. He attended the grand encampment of Knights Templar in Nashville in 1866 and was the first man who ever drilled that body in the manuel of Templar tactics. He was a member of Cumberland Lodge, A. F. & A. M., and a member of the order of Knights of Pythias.

In 1871 he was married to Miss Mollie P. Bond, of Brownsville, who died in Nashville in 1907.

With Col. Porter's passing, the thin ranks of the gallant army of the Confederacy lose one of the most distinguished soldiers and one of the highest officers in the state of Tennessee.

This combined statement is correct as far as it undertakes to go, but it fails to mention the fact of Col. Porter's membership in this society, and his official connection with it, which marked his well-rounded life. To supply this essential lack, Hon. Robert Ewing, a member of this society, who, throughout Col. Porter's term of service, occupied conjointly with him this room of the society and who in this way had the opportunity to see how efficiently Col. Porter discharged his official duties, and also how active he was in making the society helpfully instructive to the youth of the State and agreeable for all citizens to visit, contributed the following card to the *Banner*:



## COL. GEORGE C. PORTER.

To the Editor of the Banner:

After reading in Sunday's Banner the satisfactory biographical sketch of Col. George C. Porter, who died in Nashville, Saturday night, will you allow me to add that he served the last few years of his long and honorable life as custodian and treasurer of the Tennessee Historical Society, of which he was one of the earliest members?

The commissioners of Watkins Institute, impressed with the fact that the society is a valuable arm of education, grants it the use of a room in the Watkins Institute building for the display and proper care of its valuable holdings, consisting of many fine portraits of the distinguished men of the state and nation, and also of rare historical documents and interesting relics. These could not have been placed under the care of one better fitted than Col. Porter, for no one in the state, perhaps, was better acquainted with the state's history, particularly as illustrated in the careers and characters of its great men. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to see to it, as far as he was able, that succeeding generations in the state kept memories of these men alive. He was peculiarly gifted with the power to describe, in a very interesting way, what these men had done to make glorious in history the name of Tennessee. Standing with him under the portraits of men like Jackson, Campbell, Catron, Haskell and many others it was really inspiring to hear him instill into the minds of the younger visitors to the society's room the importance of emulating their example and keeping the name of Tennessee, as the producer of great men, in the very front rank.

As custodian, Col. Porter always endeavored to have the monthly meetings of the society well attended, and, at the same time, questions of true historical moment discussed. He spent much of his time persuading citizens over the state to entrust to the safekeeping of the society rare documents and other things of historical value which were calculated to shed needed light or instruct and interest visitors from over the state. He labored diligently for years, seeking to have the state make a suitable provision for the care and proper display of the society's holdings, advocating successfully before the society the transfer of these, in their entirety, in trust to the state, provided such provision was made.

Col. Porter enjoyed and availed himself of the opportunity of acquiring a classical as well as technical education. He continued through life to broaden this by a systematic course of reading of the books of the best authors. He kept fresh his knowledge of Latin and Latin writers. He was a close student of Shakespeare and knew by heart his greater tragedies. He was also a great admirer of the writings of Byron and Macauley and perfectly familiar with them. This familiarity, but, far more, a very keen appreciation, frequently evidenced by opportune quotations, gave an added charm to his own acceptable contributions to the historical literature of our state.

Col. Porter was first a Christian and then a philosopher. He had no fear of death. A day or two before the operation, the extreme gravity of which he thoroughly understood, and which he hardly expected to recover, he conversed cheerfully with his friends and gave no sort of sign that he feared the result. He needed not to have done so, for he had lived as he should have done. Many will miss him.

Perhaps these two publications in themselves were sufficient to inform the general public of what a loss the State



had sustained by Col. Porter's death. However this may be, the members of this society, now assembled for their first meeting since Col. Porter's death, having known him so intimately and appreciating his extraordinary virtues as highly as they did, feel that not only should these public accounts of his life and death be spread on the society's minutes, but that they should be accompanied by a word of final farewell from them to a loved associate, who will never again sit with them. Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, By the Tennessee Historical Society, that the death of Col. Porter, though it came at a ripe age, is nevertheless a serious loss to the society, because of his continued and active interest in the society while he was with us, and also his keen appreciation and full understanding of the society's high and unselfish purposes, and especially because of his efficient service as an official in making the society and its valuable historical holdings inspiringly helpful to the youth of the State, as well as a valuable aid to all citizens of the State in acquiring a knowledge of the glorious history of Tennessee. Be it further

*Resolved*, That this final parting with so genial a gentleman, such an ardent patriot, and so true and tried a friend, causes the members of the society genuinely felt sorrow. Be it further

*Resolved and ordered*, That the aforementioned extracts from the *Nashville Banner*, accompanied by these resolutions, be spread on the minutes of the society, and that a certified copy thereof be furnished by the secretary of the society to Col. Porter's devoted daughter.



## AN EARLY TEMPERANCE SOCIETY AT NASHVILLE.

(In these days of National Prohibition readers may find interest in some of the "beginnings" of temperance sentiment in this South country in the long ago. The following article from the National Banner, published at Nashville, Tennessee, October 10, 1829, discloses the representative character of one of the earliest organizations for the furtherance of this great reform. Ed.)

At a meeting of the friends of Temperance, held in the Masonic Hall in the city of Nashville, pursuant to public notice, on Monday evening, August 31, 1829, for the purpose of organizing a Temperance Society, Robert C. Foster, Esq., was on motion called to the chair and Hugh Elliott appointed secretary.

When, on motion,

*Resolved*, That this meeting deem it expedient to form a society for the promotion of Temperance.

The following preamble and constitution was then presented by Henry A. Wise (in support of which he delivered an appropriate address), which, on being read, was adopted, to wit:

Perceiving and lamenting the incalculable evils which have resulted and are still resulting from the improper use of distilled spirits, and wishing to adopt some means more efficient than have ever yet been employed to arrest this torrent of evil and produce a change in public sentiment respecting the use of Ardent Spirits:

We, as friends of order, individual and social happiness, and sound morals, resolve to form ourselves into a society for the promotion of *Temperance*, and adopt, as the bond of association, the following Constitution:

Art. 1. This Society shall be called the Nashville and Davidson County Temperance Society, auxiliary to the AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

Art. 2. The business of this society shall be transacted by a board of managers, consisting of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and twelve Managers, five of which shall be a quorum.

3. Any person may become a member of this Society by subscribing this Constitution, and especially the following pledge:

We, the undersigned, do hereby agree that we will abstain wholly from the use of distilled spirits (except for medicinal purposes); that we will discourage the use of them in our families, not provide them for the entertainment of our friends, or for persons in our employment; that we will abstain from the business of making them or selling them by large or small, and that in all suitable ways we will discountenance the use of them in the community.

Art. 4. Any member wishing to withdraw from this Society may do so, on signifying the same in writing to the Secretary, when it shall be publicly declared at the next quarterly meeting.

Art. 5. It shall be the duty of this Society to hold public meetings *quarterly*, to receive any communications that may be brought before them, relating to the success of Temperance Societies throughout these UNITED STATES.

Art. 6. The Society shall meet annually on the second Monday in October, for the election of its officers, and at any other time when-



ever it shall be judged necessary by the Board of Managers; and that the first annual meeting be held on the first Monday of October next.

Art. 7. A majority of the members of this Society, at any annual meeting, shall have power to alter or amend this Constitution.

The following persons then became members by signing the Constitution: Robert C. Foster, Obadiah Jennings, William Hume, John Estell, Hugh Elliot, J. Roane, William Edmiston, R. H. McEwen, Joseph McCoy Sitler, G. R. Fall, T. J. Mulhallan, Wm. McCombs, John Thomson, George Holton, A. A. Caseday, John P. Aertsen, D. L. Thompson, Wm. Shaw, H. W. Abrams, Wm. A. Eichbaum, R. P. Hays, Henry A. Wise, John Scott, R. W. Graham, A. Simon, S. B. Snowden, Wm. P. Lawrence, Robert Whyte, Thomas C. Trimble, James C. Robinson, James Wilson, J. K. Fane, F. E. Fisher, James Avkioyd, Henry B. Milliken, Shadrack Nye, W. Russell, Thomas R. Jennings, Thomas Iredel, Philip Lindsley, Francis Newsom, William White, P. S. Fall, W. F. Tannehill, C. C. Norvell, P. W. Maxey.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That the Editors of the different papers in this city be requested to publish the Constitution and organization of this Society, also, that the Editors in the adjoining counties be pleased to copy the same into their papers.

*Resolved*, That Robert C. Foster, Rev. O. Jennings, James Roane, Robert H. McEwen, William A. Eichbaum, Henry A. Wise, John Estell, Hugh Elliot, Geo. Holton, John Scott, William McCombs, Joseph McCoy Sitler, and John P. Aertsen be a committee to procure signers to the Constitution.

*Resolved*, That the publication of the proceedings of this meeting be postponed until after the annual meeting, and that the Rev. O. Jennings, James Roane and Hugh Elliott be a committee to prepare a brief statement for immediate publication.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Chairman and Secretary for their attention to the business of this meeting.

*Resolved*, That we now adjourn to meet in this house on the first Monday of October, at 7 o'clock P.M.

R. C. FOSTER, *Chairman*.

HUGH ELLIOTT, *Secretary*.

The first annual meeting was held according to adjournment on Monday evening, October 5, 1829.

Robert C. Foster was appointed Chairman and Hugh Elliott, Secretary. Henry A. Wise, Esq., addressed the meeting on the utility of such associations, and in answer to the objections urged against them. It was, on motion:

*Resolved*, That this meeting now go into the election of officers, and that it be by nomination, when the following gentlemen were elected:

Robert C. Foster, President.

Hon. Robert Whyte, Vice-President.

W. A. Eichbaum, Treasurer.

Henry A. Wise, corresponding Secretary.

A. A. Caseday, Recording Secretary.



Managers: James Roane, John Estell, Wm. Edmiston, Robert H. Mc'Ewen, John Thomson, George Holton, J. P. Aertsen, R. P. Hays, Francis Newsom, Wm. McCombs, Wm. White, G. R. Fall.

*Resolved*, That a standing committee of *three* be appointed by the President, whose duty it shall be to select information on the subject of temperance and to submit the same, as frequently as they may deem it fit, to publication in the newspapers of this city.

The President appointed Shadrack Nye, Henry A. Wise and James Roane to compose said committee.

*Resolved*, That it be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary of this Society to address a circular, forthwith, to the friends of temperance throughout this State, on the subject of forming similar societies to this.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting with the proceedings of the former meeting be published in the newspapers of this city.

*Resolved*, That we adjourn, to meet on the second Monday of January, next, in the City Hall.

R. C. FOSTER, *Chairman*.

HUGH ELLIOTT, *Secretary*.



## COLONEL JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery, founder of Clarksville and eponymist of Montgomery County, Tennessee, was a native of Southwest Virginia. An officer in the militia of Augusta County, he took part in the Sandy River expedition against the Indians, under the command of Maj. Andrew Lewis, in 1756.<sup>1</sup> He was a justice of the peace of Botetourt County from its organization in 1770,<sup>2</sup> until it was divided in 1772,<sup>3</sup> when he became a justice of Fincastle County, which office he continued to hold under the State constitution of 1776.<sup>4</sup> He was also a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety of Fincastle County.<sup>5</sup>

Being brave, restless, and adventurous, like most of our earlier pioneers, in 1771<sup>6</sup> he explored the Cumberland Valley, in company with Mansker, Drake, Bledsoe and others, distinguished in the annals of its settlement. But events in the course of the Revolutionary War changed, for the time, the current of his activities.

In 1777 George Rogers Clark conceived his bold scheme for the conquest of the Northwest, and immediately repaired to Williamsburg to lay his plans before Gov. Patrick Henry. Gov. Henry at once recognized the immense possibilities of such an enterprise. He conferred the rank of Colonel upon Clark, and gave his authority and unqualified support to his Northwestern campaign. But the success of his operations required absolute secrecy; and the exigencies of the war on the seaboard forbade the withdrawal of troops from that quarter. He, therefore, authorized Col. Clark to enlist seven companies, each of fifty men, to be raised from the frontier counties west of the Blue Ridge, without disclosing to them the true object of his campaign.

When the call reached the frontiers of Holston Capt. Montgomery enlisted a company of volunteers, and was ordered to the Falls of the Ohio, for the defense of Kentucky. He moved with such promptness that his company was the first to reach the place of rendezvous, where he waited until May 27, 1778, when Col. Clark arrived with his Kentucky troops.<sup>7</sup> Here,

<sup>1</sup>Summers' Southwest Virginia, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>Summers' Southwest Virginia, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup>Summers' Southwest Virginia, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup>Summers' Southwest Virginia, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup>Summers' Southwest Virginia, p. 201.

<sup>6</sup>Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 441.



for the first time, Capt. Montgomery's men learned that they were intended for service in the Illinois; they were surprised and disappointed, and many of them deserted, but with those who remained he embarked with Col. Clark, June 24, 1778.

The first phase of the expedition was a complete success—Kaskaskia was taken without firing a gun, Cahokia and Vincennes submitted and took the oath of allegiance to America, and Fort Jefferson, south of the Ohio in the Chickasaw country, was erected and garrisoned. After remaining in the country until circumstances seemed to permit his absence, Capt. Montgomery returned home with his volunteers, being instructed to wait upon the Governor as soon as possible with letters and verbal messages which Col. Clark had entrusted to him.<sup>8</sup>

Having reached the seat of government and communicated with the Governor, Capt. Montgomery was commissioned Lt. Colonel, and ordered to raise three hundred men and rejoin Col. Clark as soon as possible. He succeeded in raising the greater part of the troops authorized, and embarked them down the Holston River, on his way to the Illinois.<sup>9</sup>

In the meantime, news of Col. Clark's successful campaign against Kaskaskia having reached the British Governor Hamilton at Detroit, he determined not only to drive Col. Clark from the Mississippi Valley, but to deliver a blow against our northwestern frontiers that would prevent a repetition of his bold exploits. Leaving Detroit with a strong force, he took Vincennes, December 17, 1778; but instead of pushing forward and destroying Col. Clark, as he might have done, he devoted the winter to planning and organizing a great spring campaign, in which he expected the assistance of five hundred Cherokee, Choctaw and other Indians, who were to rendezvous at the mouth of the Tennessee River. British agents collected a supply of stores and goods at Chickamauga to the value of \$125,000 for distribution at that meeting. Before the arrival of spring, however, Col. Clark, after one of the most arduous and difficult marches on record, retook Fort Vincennes, February 25, 1779, and sent Gov. Hamilton a prisoner to Virginia.

Their spring campaign in the northwest having thus failed, the Chickamauga Indians determined to invade the frontiers of Holston. Warning of their intentions having reached the settlements, a force of some three hundred and fifty men were

<sup>8</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 441-2.

<sup>9</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 442.



embodied under Col. Evan Shelby, which united with the troops of Col. Montgomery, then on their way to the Illinois, and proceeded down the Holston and Tennessee Rivers to the Chickamauga towns, which they surprised and destroyed. Col. Montgomery then continued on his way to the Illinois, and arrived at Kaskaskia May 29, 1779.<sup>10</sup> He was then ordered to Fort Vincennes on the Wabash.

Clark had now been promoted to the office of Brig. General, and finding the public interest required that he should reside at the Falls of the Ohio, until provision should be made for a campaign against Detroit, by general order dated August 5, 1779, Lt. Col. Montgomery was ordered to take command of the troops in Illinois, and the Indian agents there were directed to report to, and take orders from, him, at Kaskaskia, to which point he proceeded, August 14.<sup>11</sup>

In the spring of 1780 the American positions were threatened by an invasion of the Indians, and were saved from serious danger only by the timely arrival of Gen. Clark with reinforcements from the Falls of the Ohio. In June, Gen. Clark having again returned to Kentucky, Col. Montgomery marched three hundred and fifty men up the Illinois River to Lake Michigan, and thence across to Rock River, destroying the Indian towns and crops, the enemy, who had lately disbanded, not being able to raise a sufficient force to meet him.<sup>12</sup>

After this expedition he started home, by way of New Orleans, but finding no immediate passage to Virginia, returned, leaving New Orleans March 15, and reaching his command May 1, 1781. Finding the garrison at Fort Jefferson in a starving condition, with no goods or property with which to purchase supplies, the credit of the State being long since exhausted, and no supplies coming from the Falls of the Ohio, he was obliged to evacuate Fort Jefferson June 8, 1781.<sup>13</sup> It is worthy of notice, in passing, that the erection of Fort Jefferson caused the Chickasaw invasion of Cumberland in 1780, that resulted in the abandonment of the first settlement made within the limits of Montgomery County, and the massacre of a large part of its inhabitants. Its evacuation at this time restored peace with the Chickasaws, which was never afterwards disturbed.

July 2, 1781, Col. Montgomery returned to the Falls of

<sup>10</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 442.

<sup>11</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>12</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 443.

<sup>13</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 313; Vol. 3, p. 443-4.



the Ohio, where he found conditions almost as bad as at Fort Jefferson. There was not a mouthful for the troops to eat, nor any money to purchase supplies. He was compelled to billet his troops through the country in small parties, except the little guard he kept in the garrison. August 10, he represented these matters to the Governor by letter and also by a special courier.<sup>14</sup>

At the conclusion of his military services in Kentucky and the Illinois, Col. Montgomery came to the Cumberland settlements to make his permanent home in the land of his early explorations. Just when he reached the Cumberland is not definitely known. He signed the Cumberland Agreement; but the time is indefinite, as signatures to the Agreement were made from time to time as long as the Association continued; that is, from May 13, 1780, to the organization of Davidson County, October 6, 1783. He was present, however, at the organization of the Committee for the Government of the Cumberland Association, January 7, 1783, and was by the Committee elected sheriff of the District.<sup>15</sup> But his affairs connected with the Western army requiring his attention, he appointed Thomas Fletcher deputy sheriff, and returned to Kentucky. February 22, 1783, he was with Gen. Clark at New Holland,<sup>16</sup> and having learned that reports prejudicial to his character had been circulated by his enemies, he defended himself in a vigorous and manly letter to the Virginia Board of Commissioners for the Settlement of Western Accounts, which seems to have silenced his critics in that direction.

But while he was defending himself before the Virginia Commissioners, his enemies attacked him in a new quarter. James Colbert, a Scotchman who had married a Chickasaw woman and adopted the Indian life, had for some years been conducting extensive piratical practices against the Spanish on the Mississippi River, which gave them great annoyance, and caused much uneasiness on the Cumberland lest they should make it a pretext for inciting Indian hostilities against them. Col. Montgomery was now charged with being connected with Colberts operations. March 15, 1783, the Committee of Cumberland annulled his appointment of Fletcher to be deputy sheriff, and themselves elected him sheriff;<sup>17</sup> and on June 3, sent two men to the Illinois, with letters to be

<sup>14</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, pp. 313, 315.

<sup>15</sup>American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 116.

<sup>16</sup>Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 441.

<sup>17</sup>American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 123.



transmitted to the Spanish Governor, denying any connection or sympathy with Colberts proceedings.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, this charge was carried to the Governor of North Carolina, who issued a proclamation for Montgomery's arrest. Accordingly, the County Court of Davidson County, at its first term in 1784, placed Col. Montgomery under bond to appear at the next term of the Court, and answer the charge of aiding and abetting Colbert.<sup>19</sup> But before the next term of the Court, the Governor, being better informed, withdrew his proclamation, and the proceedings in the County Court were dismissed as a matter of course.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime the discerning eye of Col. Montgomery had discovered in the rugged hills that crown the forks of Cumberland and Red Rivers a superior site for the location of a town; and at the very time the County Court was ruling him to bond, to-wit, January, 1784, he and Martin Armstrong were entering the land on which the city of Clarksville is now located. In the fall of the same year they had it surveyed, and Armstrong, who was a practical surveyor, laid off the plan of a town on it. The town was named Clarksville, in honor of Gen. George Rogers Clark, the commander and friend of Col. Montgomery in the Northwestern campaign, and was established by legislative authority in 1785. Col. Montgomery, who made his home there, was the first named among its Commissioners. It was the second town established in Middle Tennessee, Nashville, chartered in 1784, being the first. Martin Armstrong never lived in Clarksville.

Col. Montgomery was one of the justices of Tennessee County from its establishment in 1788 until his death. In 1794 he commanded the territorial troops in the Nickajack campaign, the last, and one of the most important and successful enterprises undertaken against the Indians, in which the towns of Nickajack and Running Water were destroyed, and the power of the Chickamaugas completely broken. This was Col. Montgomery's last public service.

A party of Creek Indians from Tuskegee were doing much mischief on the Cumberland in 1794. It was the same party who had killed Maj. Evan Shelby in 1793. They began their operations this year on upper Red River, where they killed Miss Betsy Roberts on the twelfth, and Thomas Reasons and wife on the fourteenth of September. Soon afterwards

<sup>18</sup>American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup>Putnam's Hist. Mid. Tenn., p. 211.

<sup>20</sup>American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 218.



they moved down to the mouth of Red River. Col. Valentine Sevier, after the fall of the Franklin Government in 1788, had emigrated to Tennessee County and erected a station on the north side of Red River, near its mouth, and about a mile from Clarksville. The Indians surprised his station on the eleventh of November, and massacred many of its inhabitants. They then retired to the country around Eddyville, Kentucky.

After his return from Nickajack, Col. Montgomery led a hunting excursion to the neighborhood of Eddyville, where the party of Creeks were lurking. November 27, 1794, they surprised him in his camp. His party, taken at a disadvantage, retreated, when Col. Hugh Tinnon, one of the party, who was impeded by a wound, asked Col. Montgomery not to leave him. With the courage and devotion so often found among the pioneers, he threw himself between Col. 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 way from Fort Massac, reached Eddyville on the day of the tragedy, and met Julius Sanders, one of the hunting party, who had escaped, though shot in four places. Sanders told him the last he saw of Col. Montgomery an Indian was stabbing him repeatedly with a huge knife. The next day Rains went with a party, including a son of Col. Montgomery, and found his body, which they buried where a tree had been uprooted by the storms.<sup>21</sup>

Two years later, when Tennessee County gave up its beautiful name to the State, it took the name of Montgomery, in honor of the brave Col. John Montgomery, who had been her leading citizen, and was second in command of the national heroes, who, under Gen. George Rogers Clark, had conquered and saved to the United States the great West, from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River.

ALBERT V. GOODPASTURE.

<sup>21</sup>Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 266-7; Haywood's Hist. Tenn., pp. 424-5.



## THE FIRST LAUREL OF HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

(In 1830 an English-Canadian, Mr. Kenzie, went to Fort Winnebago or the "Portage," in what is now the State of Wisconsin, as Indian Agent. His wife, a young New England woman, accompanied him and afterwards wrote up her experiences of their early married life in a most interesting and spicy volume published in 1856 under the title "WAU-BUN, the Early Days in the Northwest." The following incident is narrated in this work and gives us an early glimpse of a young West Point lieutenant that later became a national figure. Ed.)

"After dinner Mrs. T. showed me the quarters assigned to us, on the opposite side of the spacious hall. They consisted of two large rooms on each of the three floors or stories of the building.

On the ground floor the front room was vacant. The one in the rear was to be the sleeping apartment, as was evident from a huge unwieldy bedstead, of proportions amply sufficient to have accommodated OG, KING OF BASHAN. with Mrs. Og and the children into the bargain!

We could not repress our laughter, but the bedstead was nothing to another structure which occupied a second corner of the apartment. This edifice had been built under the immediate superintendency of one of our young lieutenants, and it was plain to be seen that upon it, both he and the soldiers who fabricated it had exhausted all their architectural skill.

The timbers of which it was composed had been grooved and carved; the pillars that supported the front swelled in and out in a most fanciful manner; the doors were not only paneled, but radiated in a way to excite the admiration of all unsophisticated eyes.

A similar piece of workmanship had been erected in each set of quarters to supply the deficiency of closets, an inconvenience which had never occurred, until too late, to the bachelors who planned them.

The three apartments of which each structure was composed, were unquestionably designed for clothes-press, store-room, and china-closet; such, at least, were the uses Mrs. T. had appropriated the one assigned to her.

There was this slight difficulty, that in the latter, the shelves were too close to admit of setting in even a gravey-boat, but they made up in number, what was wanting in space. We christened the whole affair, in honor of its projector, a 'DAVIS'; thus placing the first laurel on the brow of one who was afterwards to signalize himself at Buena Vista, and in the Cabinet of his country."

("Early Days in the Northwest," Mrs. J. H. Kenzie, p. 83. Written, July, 1855.)



## THE BATTLE AT FORT DONELSON.

Those who were interested in the "Battle of Shiloh" article of the July, 1919, number of the Magazine, will find further interest in this article, especially with reference to General Grant, etc. It is reproduced from the *Daily Nashville Patriot*, March 26, 1862, Vol. 1, No. 14. Ed.

### GENERAL FLOYD'S REPORT.

Camp Near Murfreesboro,

February 27, 1862.

General A. S. Johnston:

Sir: Your order of the 12th of this month, transmitted to me at Cumberland City, reached me the same evening. It directed me to repair at once, with what force I could command, to the support of the garrison at Fort Donelson. I immediately prepared for my departure and effected it in time to reach Fort Donelson the next morning 13th, before daylight. Measures had been already taken by Brigadier-General Pillow, then in command, to render our resistance to the attack of the enemy as effective as possible. He had, with activity and industry, pushed forward the defensive works toward completion. These defenses consisted in an earthwork in Fort Donelson, in which were mounted guns of different caliber to the number of thirteen; a field work, intended for this infantry supports, and constructed immediately behind the battery and upon the summit of the hill in rear. Sweeping away from the field-work eastward, to the extent of nearly two miles in its windings, was a line of intrenchments, defended on the outside, at some points, with abattis. These intrenchments were occupied by the troops already there, and by the addition of those who came upon the field with me. The position of the fort, which was established by the Tennessee authorities, was by no means commanding, nor was the least military significance attached to the position. The entrenchments afterwards hastily made, in many places, were injudiciously constructed, because of the distance they were placed from the brow of the hill, subjecting the men to a heavy fire from the enemy's sharpshooters opposite, as they advanced to or retired from the entrenchments. Soon after my arrival the entrenchments were fully occupied from one end to the other, and just as the sun rose the cannonade from one of the enemy's gunboats announced the opening of the conflict, which was destined to continue for three days and nights.

In a short time the fire became general along our whole lines, and the enemy who had already planted batteries at several points around the whole circuit of our entrenchments as shown by a diagram herewith sent, opened a general and active fire from all arms upon our trenches which continued until darkness put an end to the conflict. They charged with uncommon spirit at several points along on the line, but most particularly at a point undefended by entrenchments down a hollow which separated the right wing under Brigadier-General Buckner from the right of the center commanded by Col. Heiman. This charge was prosecuted with uncommon vigor, but was met with a determined spirit of resistance, a cool, deliberate courage both by the troops of Brig-Gen. Buckner and Col. Heiman, which drove the enemy, discomfited and cut to pieces, back upon the position he had assumed in the morning. Too high praise cannot be bestowed upon the battery of Capt. Porter for their participation in the rout of the enemy in this assault. My position was immediately in front



of the point of attack, and I was thus enabled to witness more distinctly the incidents of it.

The enemy continued their fire upon different parts of our entrenchments throughout the night, which deprived our men of every opportunity to sleep. We lay that night upon our arms in the trenches. We confidently expected at the dawn of day a more vigorous attack than ever. But in this we were entirely mistaken. The day advanced, and no preparation seemed to be making for a general onset. But an extremely annoying fire was kept up from the enemy's sharpshooters throughout the whole line of entrenchments, from their long range rifles. While this mode of attack was not attended with any considerable loss, it nevertheless confined the men to their trenches and prevented their taking their usual rest. So stood the affairs of the field until three o'clock P.M. when the fleet of gunboats in full force advanced upon the fort and opened fire. They advanced in the shape of a crescent, and kept up a constant and incessant fire for one hour and a half which was replied to with uncommon spirit and vigor by the "fort". Once the boats reached a point within one hundred yards of the "fort" at which time it was that three of their boats sustained serious injuries from our batteries, and were compelled to fall back. The line was broken and the enemy discomfited on the water, giving up the fight entirely, which he never afterwards renewed. I was satisfied from the incidents of the last two days that the enemy did not intend again to give us battle in our trenches. They had been fairly repulsed, with very heavy slaughter, upon effort to storm our position; and it was fair to infer that they would not again renew the unavailing attempt at our dislodgement, when certain means to effect the same end without loss were perfectly at their command.

We were aware of the fact that extremely heavy reinforcements had been continually arriving, day and night, for three days and nights, and I had no doubt whatever that their whole available force on the western waters could and would be concentrated here if it was deemed necessary to reduce our position. I had already seen the impossibility of holding out any length of time with our inadequate number and indefensible position. There was no place within our entrenchments but could be reached by the enemy's artillery from their boats or their batteries. It was but fair to infer that, while they kept up a sufficient fire upon our entrenchments to keep our men from sleep and prevent repose, their object was merely to give time to pass a column above us on the river, both on the right and on the left banks, and thus to cut off all our communications and to prevent the possibility of egress. I thus saw clearly that but one course was left by which a rational hope could be entertained of saving the garrison, or a part of it. That was to dislodge the enemy from his position on our left, and thus to pass our people into the open country, lying southward towards Nashville. I called for a consultation of the officers of divisions and brigades, to take place after dark, when this plan was laid before them, approved and adopted, and at which it was determined to move from the trenches at an early hour on the next morning, and attack the enemy in his position.

It was agreed that the attack should commence upon our extreme left, and this duty was assigned Brigadier-General Pillow, assisted by Brigadier-General Johnson, having also under his command commanders of brigades, Colonel Baldwin, commanding Mississippi and Tennessee troops, and Colonel Wharton and Colonel Clausland, commanding Virginians. To Brigadier-General Buckner was assigned the



duty of making the attack from near the center of our lines upon the enemy's forces upon the Wynn's Ferry road. The attack on the left was delayed longer than I expected, and consequently the enemy was found in position when our troops advanced. The attack, however, on our part was extremely spirited, and although the resistance of the enemy was obstinate, and their numbers far exceeded ours, our people succeeded in driving them discomfited and terribly cut to pieces from the entire left. The Kentucky troops, under Brigadier-General Buckner, advanced from their position behind the intrenchments upon the Wynn's Ferry road, but not until the enemy had been driven in a great measure from the position he occupied in the morning.

I had ordered on the night before the two regiments stationed in "Fort Donelson" to occupy the trenches vacated by Brigadier-Gen. Buckner's forces, which, together with the men whom he marched to assist in this purpose, I thought sufficient to hold them.

My intention was to hold, with Brig.-Gen. Buckner's command, the Wynn's Ferry road, and thus to prevent the enemy during the night, from occupying the position on our left, which he occupied in the morning. I gave him orders upon the field to that effect. Leaving him in position, I started for the right of our command to see that all was secure there, my intention being, if things could be held in the condition they then were, to move the whole army, if possible, to the open country lying southward beyond the Randolph Forges. During my absence, and from some misapprehension, I presume, of the previous order given, Brig.-Gen. Pillow ordered Brig.-Gen. Buckner to leave his position on the Wynn's Ferry road and to resume his place in his trenches on the right. This movement was nearly executed before I was aware of it. As the enemy were pressing upon the trenches, I deemed that the execution of this last order was all that was left to be done. The enemy, in fact, succeeded in occupying an angle of the trenches on the extreme right of Brig.-Gen. Buckner's command; and as the fresh forces of the enemy had begun already to move toward our left to occupy the position they held in the morning, and as we had no force adequate to oppose their progress, we had to submit to the mortification of seeing the ground which we had won by such a severe conflict in the morning occupied by the enemy before midnight. The enemy had been landing reinforcements throughout the day. His numbers had been augmented to eighty-three regiments.

Our troops were completely exhausted by four days and nights of continued conflict. To renew it with any hope of successful result was obviously vain, and such I understood to be the unanimous opinion of all the officers present at the council called to consider what was best to be done. I thought, and so announced, that a desperate onset on the right of the enemy's forces on the ground where we had attacked them in the morning might result in the extrication of a considerable proportion of the command from the position we were in, and this opinion I understood to be concurred in by all who were present. But it was likewise agreed, with the same unanimity, that it would result in the slaughter of nearly all who did not succeed in effecting their escape. The question then arose whether, in point of humanity and a sound military policy, a course should be adopted from which the probabilities were that the larger portion of the command would be cut to pieces in an availing fight against overwhelming numbers. I understood the general sentiment to be adverse to the proposition. I felt that in this contingency, whilst it might be questioned, whether I should, as commander of the army, lead it to certain destruction in unavailing fight, yet I had a right individually



to determine that I would not survive a surrender there. To satisfy both propositions, I agreed to hand over the command to Brigadier-General Buckner, through Brigadier-General Pillow, and to make an effort for my own extrication by any and every means that might present themselves to me.

I therefore directed Col. Forrest, a daring and determined officer, at the head of an efficient cavalry regiment, to be present for the purpose of accompanying me in what I supposed would be an effort to pass through the enemy's lines. I announced the fact upon turning the command over to Brigadier-General Buckner, that I would bring away with me, by any means I could, my own particular brigade, the propriety of which was acquiesced in on all hands. This, by various modes, I succeeded in accomplishing to a great extent, and would have brought off my whole command in one way or another if I had had the assistance of field officers, who were absent from several of the regiments. The command was turned over to Brigadier-General Buckner, who at once opened negotiations with the enemy, which resulted in the surrender of the place. Thus ended the conflict running through four days and four nights; a large portion of which time it was maintained with the greatest fierceness and obstinacy, in which we, with a force not exceeding 13,000, a large portion of whom were illy armed, succeeded in resisting and driving back, with discomfiture, an army of more than 80,000 men. I have no means of accurately estimating the loss of the enemy. From what I saw upon the battle-field; from what I witnessed throughout the whole period of the conflict; from what I was able to learn from sources of information deemed by me worthy of credit, I have no doubt that the enemy's loss in killed and wounded reached a number beyond *five thousand*.

Our own losses were extremely heavy, but for want of exact returns I am unable to state precise numbers. I think they will not be far from 1500 killed and wounded. Nothing could exceed the coolness and determined spirit of resistance which animated the men in this long and ferocious conflict; nothing could exceed the determined courage which characterized them throughout this terrible struggle, and nothing could be more admirable than the steadiness which they exhibited, nature itself was exhausted in what they knew to be a desperate fight against a foe very many times their superior in numbers. I cannot particularize in this report to you the numberless instances of heroic daring performed by both officers and men, but must content myself for the present by saying, in my judgment, they all deserve well of their country.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JOHN B. FLOYD,  
Brigadier-General Commanding.



## JOURNAL OF JOHN SEVIER.

After the lapse of one hundred and five years, John Sevier, hero of thirty-five victories, first governor of Tennessee and founder of a great commonwealth, comes before us in the fragmentary diary of his last twenty-five years. It is the intimate story of much of his daily private life, the modest notations of his personal concerns, his domestic associations and, to some extent, his public services. It is a quaint document, full of interesting personalia of bygone folks and reflections of pioneer conditions. It records curious dreams and sets forth prescriptions based on primitive notions of the nature and causes of disease. It pictures Sevier the farmer and trader much more than Sevier the soldier and statesman. It hardly purports to be a diary, being rather a series of memoranda for the personal use or amusement of the writer. And yet in many aspects it is worthy of him who many times delivered our forefathers from the murderous savage; who led the valiant "over-mountain men" to victory at King's Mountain; who presided over the abortive state of Franklin; who was for twelve years governor of Tennessee; who sat for six years in the lower house of Congress; who served his people for forty years with almost no pecuniary reward; and who finally gave up his life in a distant wilderness while laying the foundations for permanent peace with the red man and progress in civilization for the white man.

One who ponders this multifarious journal must remember that the hand that made these entries was directed by the same great mind and spirit that guided and developed our early civilization; that these are generally but the commonplace of a life that was projected with a noble vision, guided by a great destiny and led along an unswerving path of duty. He must always read with the inspiring knowledge of the great soul and the splendid deeds of him who is so inadequately—even so faintly—portrayed by himself. It is a privilege to this generation to get these hitherto unnoticed and unpublished gleanings from life and times that are now Homeric in our historical perspective and our patriotic esteem.

Its not amiss here to present a summary of the career of the author of this journal.

John Sevier, son of Valentine and Joanna Goode Sevier, was born September 23, 1745, in Augusta, now Rockingham County, Virginia; attended school at Staunton; was married to Sarah Hawkins in 1761; founded the town of Newmarket; was farmer, merchant, innkeeper and soldier; moved to Milnerstown, in Shenandoah County, in 1770; moved to the Wa-



tauga settlement in 1773; moved to the Nolichucky settlement in 1778; was there an extensive farmer; was married to Katherine Sherrill in 1780; co-operated with Shelby McDowell, Campbell, Cleveland and other leaders in resisting the invasion of Western North Carolina by the British forces under Ferguson; commanded the regiment of "over-mountain men" at King's Mountain, October, 1780; commanded in thirty-four battles with Indians, his only battle order being, "Here they are, boys, come on, come on"; was governor of the independent state of Franklin, 1784-1788; was arrested for treason to North Carolina and never prosecuted; was a member of the North Carolina state senate; member of the First Congress; brigadier-general for the Washington District; governor of Tennessee, 1796-1801, 1803-1809; member of Congress, 1811, until his death, September 24, 1815, which occurred near Fort Decatur, Alabama, while he was acting as commissioner in running the boundary line of the cession made by the Creek nation.

The following opinion of Sevier, from Phelan's *"History of Tennessee,"* is quoted as a just characterization of the man:

"John Sevier is the most prominent name in Tennessee History, and within these limits and upon this field he is the most brilliant military and civil figure this State has ever produced. Jackson attained a larger fame upon a broader field of action, and perhaps his mental scope may appear to fill a wider horizon to those who think his statesmanship equal to his generalship. But the results he accomplished affected the history of Tennessee only in so far as it formed a part of the United States. Sevier, however, was purely a Tennessean. He fought for Tennessee, he defined its boundaries, he watched over and guarded it in its beginning, he helped form it, and he exercised a decisive influence upon its development. It is safe to say that without Sevier the history of Tennessee would in many important respects not be what it now is. . . . His chief claim to a high order of ability is justified by his clear vision of the present needs of his people, and of the future requirements of the State whose greatness he foresaw."

This diary was kept in the custody of George W. Sevier, the oldest child of the governor's second marriage. He was for some time an officer in the United States Army and became secretary to William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi Territory. He carried the diary with him to Mississippi, and finally gave it to Col. J. F. H. Claiborne for use in the first volume of his history of Mississippi; but it was never published. Through Col. Claiborne the diary, with many other Sevier papers, came into the custody of the State of Mississippi. All these papers are now in the State Department of Archives and History at Jackson, Mississippi. Years ago Hon. W. A. Henderson, of Knoxville, Tennessee, caused a copy to be made and later he presented it to the Tennessee Historical



Society. It is, therefore, due to the patriotic interest and splendid generosity of Col. Henderson that the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is able to present this diary of our first governor.

It is fortunate that this manuscript has been carefully examined and annotated in part by Col. H. M. Doak and Judge John Allison, both of whom came from the region where Sevier lived and had a vast knowledge of the history of Tennessee, especially of those communities of East Tennessee which are mentioned in the diary. The footnotes furnished by Judge Allison and Col. Doak are designated at the end of each by the letters "A" and "D" respectively; otherwise the notes are by the writer. The following observations were made by Col. Doak:

"Queer how the diaries of our ancestors never throw any light upon the very things their descendants 'want to know, you know.' I once bought Asbury's Journal, hoping to find something about the country and its early settlers from a man who'd tramped every pig-path of English-settled America. Asbury was a very intelligent man, a marvelous organizer. His journal is barren of all later men 'want to know, you know.' The country he traversed, by plain, mountain, flood and field, might be Asia, Africa, or the moon, for any descriptive trait of it he gives. It might have been inhabited by Chinese, chimpanzees, or angels—or devils—for any human trait, or suggestion of social life he gives—except barrenly in connection with the 'saving of souls.'

"If my revered great-grandfather, Rev. Samuel Doak, D.D., had kept a diary it would probably be as barren of all human interest for the modern man. It might have contained references to highly entertaining sermons preached at Old Salem, almost under the eaves of Washington College.

"Asbury and Doak were pioneers of two vast systems—profound thought at the base of each: Free-will and Fixed-Fate—the latter modified by Election. These are *Being's* two opposite poles of thought,

"'Twixt which life hovers like a star.'

Each system was great in its way. These pioneers failed to look at unfolding social life as we wish they had done. If they did, they neglected to record it in extant journals and diaries.

Sevier's diary is interesting and valuable, not as a record of social progress, but as an example of the daily life, routine and thoughts of one who was a great soldier, a thoughtful, practical statesman, a good farmer, a man of affairs, a thorough business man and a courtly gentleman, equally at home on the battlefield and in the ballroom. His journal is the mere unconscious record of daily details, without a trace or a suspicion of the vanity of him who writes to be read. As a record of daily goings and comings over wide spaces of a man of boundless impulse and restless energy and enterprise it is of incalculable value.

The manuscript is here reproduced without any change in spelling or punctuation. It was not the fashion of the pioneers to spell or punctuate correctly. Sevier was a man of fair



education for those days, as well as of great intelligence. It is natural that in this journal he should be given to abbreviation.

It is hoped that the explanatory notes will aid the reader in visualizing the characters, customs and events of those heroic times.

The diary begins when the author was forty-five years of age, about two years after the collapse of the State of Franklin. It continues intermittently until a few days before his death, twenty-five years and four months later.

JOHN H. DEWITT.

## JOURNAL OF GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER (1790-1835).

May, 1790.

Left home<sup>1</sup> Wednesday, 19th May, 1790, at 10 o'clock. Rained on us in the evening. Lodged that night at my father's<sup>2</sup>. 25 m.

20. Sent my horses to Z. Abdis & got them shod, cost 10—.

2 o'clock set out, & lodged all night at Mr. John Keewoods<sup>3</sup>. 20 mls.

Left this place 10 o'clock, received of Mr. John Keewood 9500 Dollars Virginia paper money called the forty for one money<sup>4</sup>, which I am to endeavor to exchange for Hard money.

21. Lodged at Col. Wm. Edmiston's<sup>5</sup> in Washington County, Virginia. Called on Saml. Edmiston, Esqr., and dined on our way to the Cols. 28 mls. e

22. Set out at 12 o'clock, fed at Genl. Campble's<sup>6</sup> plantation, pd.

<sup>1</sup>Mt. Pleasant on the Nolichucky River. Sevier moved there from Wautauga in 1778. His father, Valentine Sevier, lived at the first Wautauga settlement. He died at Carter's City, December 30, 1803, at the age of one hundred years. He was born of Huguenot parents in England. The name was originally Xavier. John Sevier's mother was Joanna Goode. Valentine Sevier, with his wife, his four sons, Robert, Joseph, Abraham and John and their families, and his daughters, Polly and Catherine, arrived at the Watauga settlement from the Shenandoah Valley on December 25, 1773.

Sevier's trip here outlined was from his home to New York to take his seat in the first Congress elected after the adoption of the Constitution. He had been elected to represent the westernmost district of North Carolina, which included all of what is now Tennessee. There is no record that he had any opponent.

<sup>2</sup>His father, at this date, resided on the south side of the Holston River, probably two or three miles below the present Kingsport, near old Fort Patrick Henry. A.

<sup>3</sup>"Keewoods." Keywood, in Sullivan County, near Bristol. A.

<sup>4</sup>"Forty for one money." Curiously, Confederate currency reached forty-for-one in 1864-5, at Richmond, gold basis. D.

<sup>5</sup>"Edmiston's." Near Abingdon, Va., probably Edmondson, a prominent Virginia family, largely represented later in Tennessee. D. In early political records I found Edmonson, Edmondson and Edmiston. A.

<sup>6</sup>"Campbles." The well known Campbells, many of whom were in the Revolution. D.

It is worthy of note that Sevier paid 8d at General William Campbell's "for some green wheat." General Campbell was at King's Mountain along with Sevier. Generals Charles and Joseph McDowell and many others "lodged" and were entertained without charge at Sevier's home for some time preceding the King's Mountain expedition. It seems that no charges were made for "lodgng" at Col. Arthur Campbell's. A.



8d for some Greene wheate, proceeded from thence to Col. Arth. Campbless<sup>7</sup>. Lodged there all night. 18 ms.

23. Set out in the morn. Sat. 10 o'clock. Fed our horses & dined at Englelodon<sup>8</sup>, paid 2-6. From thence to Capt. Robt. Sawyers on Reed Creek. Lodged there all night. 33 miles.

(Monday, 24th). Set out from Capt. Sawyers at 8 o'clock in the morning. Fed Horses at Mr. Carters, pd. 1—. Crossed the Ferry at Englishes, pd. 1-3. Lodged all night at Mr. Harris. Choacked (?) my horse (?) in the morning, paid for expenses 3-8. 34 miles.

(T., 25th). Set out at 10 o'clock. Dined at McCraigs (Hans Meadows<sup>9</sup>, pd. 4—. Fed at Mrs. Kemp's, pd. 4d. Lodged at Col. I. Robertsons, P. O., 21 miles, Wednesday, 26th.

Set out at 7 o'clock. Breakfast at Mrs. Aierly (?), pd. 2-6. Lodged all night at Mrs. Brackenridges<sup>10</sup>, pd. 2-6. 25 miles.

Set out on the 27th, Thursday morning. Breakfasted at Mr. Leatherdales. Called on D. Wood & got white vitrol for my eyes. Fed at Andersons Ferry, pd. 1-3. Lodged at Mr. Berkleys, pd. 4-8. 30 miles.

Fryday, 28th. Set out 9 o'clock. Arrived at Lexington 1 o'clock. Tarried all night. 12 miles.

Saturday, 29th. It rained. Lay by till Sunday morning, the 30th. At 9 o'clock set out for Staunton<sup>11</sup>, arrived there 8 o'clock. Lodged all night (rained, went in the morning to visit Mr. McClanahan (?), Colonel Alexr. McClanahan, Mrs. Reed & some other acquaints. Bought of Col. Gamble a pr. Boots, price 40—, paid Mr. Herschal with whom I lodged for Epenses 15-9. 35 miles.

<sup>7</sup>The Campbells here mentioned are General William Campbell, of King's Mountain fame, and his cousin and brother-in-law, Col. Arthur Campbell, who was impeached as judge of the Washington County, Virginia, court for an attempt to have all that part of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge joined to the State of Franklin. He was never tried on these charges. These kinsmen lived near Abingdon, the county seat of Washington County, in earlier times known as "Wolf Hills." A.

Note that Sevier says, "fed at Gen. Campbell's plantation." William Campbell had died nine years before this time, just before the siege of Yorktown. He held the chief command at King's Mountain and possessed much military genius. He and Col. Arthur Campbell composed their rivalries by agreeing to alternate with each other in command on military expeditions. This is why Col. Arthur Campbell was not at King's Mountain. It was Col. William Campbell's time. Col. Arthur Campbell was a kindred spirit to Sevier. They were associated in many Indian fights, notably the Chota expedition soon after the King's Mountain battle. Col. Campbell aided Sevier and his Watauga riflemen in destroping the settlements of the Cherokees even as far as Lookout Mountain. Col. Arthur Campbell was a farmer and was prominent in all the political and military movements of the time. At the age of sixteen, while fighting Indians in Augusta County, Virginia, he was captured and kept a prisoner near the Great Lakes for several years until he escaped. He died in 1811 on Yellow Creek, Kentucky, where he had removed a few years before.

General William Campbell's home was near the seven-mile ford of Holston, at "Aspenvale," twenty-two miles east of Abingdon.

<sup>8</sup>"Englelodon." Engle's Ferry, or ford, on New River, in Wythe County, Virginia, on the main road between the Southwest and the East. A.

<sup>9</sup>"Hans Meadows," should be "Max Meadows," as that is the name by which it has always been called. A.

<sup>10</sup>"Mrs. Brackenridges," should be "Breckenridges," as records at Abingdon and in other parts of southwest Virginia have it. A.

<sup>11</sup>Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, whence came Rev. Samuel Doak, D.D., after referred to by Sevier. From Augusta and the adjoining county of Rockbridge came to Tennessee the Doaks, Cowans, Alexanders, Montgomeries, Paxtons, Houstons, Tates, Walkers, Caruthers, Lilys, Mitchells and many others, mostly Scotch or Scotch from northern Ireland. D. The route was down the Shenandoah Valley.



Monday, 31st. I left Staunton about 3 o'clock. Arrived at Rockingham at 8 o'clock (evening). Lodged all night at Mr. Ruth-  
erfords, being 25 miles. pd. for Oats 1-.

## JUNE, 1790.

Tuesday, June 1st day. Set out at 11 o'clock fed and dined at Reuben Harrison, pd 1-. From thence to New Market<sup>12</sup>, there fed, pd. for Wine & Oats 4-6. From thence to Mr. H. Goarn. Lodged all night. 20 miles.

2d day. Wednesday, 10 o'clock, set out for Mrs. Hawkingses, 12 o'clock Lodged that night at Mrs. Hawkins.<sup>13</sup>

3d. Thursday 2 o'clock went to Woodstock. Lodged at Col. O. Browns. 17 miles. Tarried there till Saturday, the 15th. Had made by the tailor a Jacket & britches, cost 9-, paid for trimings 5-. Paid for Wine and Expenses 10-. Paid Col. Brown a dollar he lent Mrs. Sevier in Jones (?). 10 17 miles.

Saturday, 5th day. Set out from Woodstock a (t) 2 o'clock in company with Mrs. Pugh, dined and fed at Stovers town with Mr. Huffman pd for Expenses 2-6. Lodged that night at New town paid for Expenses 7-6. 22 miles.

Sunday, 6th day, 7 o'clock. Brakfirsted at Edmonses in Winchester<sup>14</sup> paid for Expenses 6-. dined & fed at Slaughters old place<sup>15</sup> pd. 3-6. rained on us, Lodged at Myers pd. 8-1 41 miles

Monday, 7th day. Set out at half after six o'clock in the morning very cloudy Crossed at Wadkins Ferry<sup>16</sup> paid 2-. Brakfirsted at Mr. Porters in the town at this place (fed our Horses, pd. 3-10. Set out from this place half after 9— Fed in Greene Castle town<sup>17</sup> pd 3-6 Fed in Chambersburgh<sup>18</sup> pd 2-6. had the stallions shoes removed, pd 8d. Expenses gifts & 8-6. Lodged all night with Joseph Campble Shippensburgh 42 mls.

Tuesday, 8th day. Tarried in town, bought five yds callico, got a Gound made cost 20 shillings. paid for Wine Expenses &c 4-.

Wednesday, 9th day. Set out at 11 o'clock from Shippensburgh fed at McClarys pd. 2-9 Dined and fed at Carlyle<sup>19</sup> pd 4-3 lodged at Betts tavern pd 8-11 Gave a byer (?) 2- 26 miles—

Thursday morning. Set out at 12 o'clock (Some what wearid (?) Fed at Harris Ferry<sup>20</sup> (Fergs. Expenses &c 5-. Lodged all night at Eliz Town paid Expenses 13-. 30 miles.

<sup>12</sup>Sevier had founded the town of Newmarket before he removed from Virginia. He lived there for some time prior to 1770.

<sup>13</sup>Sevier's first wife was Sarah Hawkins. She died in 1780, leaving ten children, Joseph, James, John, Elizabeth (m. W. H. Clark), Sarah (m. Benjamin Brown), Mary and (m. Joshua Corlin). Valentine, Richard, Rebecca (m. Waddell), Nancy (m. Walter King).

<sup>14</sup>Winchester, the county seat of Frederick County. Virginia.

<sup>15</sup>"Slaughter's old place" was near Harper's Ferry. A.

<sup>16</sup>"Wadkins Ferry," above Harper's Ferry on the Potomac River. A.

<sup>17</sup>"Greene Castle town," in Pennsylvania.

<sup>18</sup>Chambersburg, Pa., of fame as being (so alleged) burned by Confederates on Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. A.

<sup>19</sup>"Carlyle," Carlisle, Pa., originally. "Bett's Tavern." My grandparents, John and Mary Greer Chester, came from Carlisle, Pa., to Jonesboro in 1796. A.

<sup>20</sup>"Harris Ferry," now Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, on the Susquehannah. A.



Fryday morning. Set out \* o'clock. Fed & Brakfirsted at Dazeys 3-4. Dined in Lancaster<sup>21</sup> at Turkshead<sup>22</sup> paid Expenses 6-6 Set out at 4 o'clock Towards Philladelphia Lodged at Capt. Crawfords. that night rained till 2 o'clock pd. for Expenses 15-. 29 miles.

Saturday morning, 12 days. Set out at 3 o'clock lodged that night at Mr. Millers. (Foggy in the morning pd for Expenses 7-8 19 miles.

Sunday morning, 13th day. Set out 6 o'clock. Fed at Brahp<sup>d</sup> at Fouchan pd for Expenses 3-7 left there half after 9 o'clock at Sign of Eagle Dined &c pd 3-6 Lodged at Millers Sculkill<sup>23</sup> Ferry.

Monday, 14th day. I went into Philadelphia. bought a beaver hat 7 dollars price. 3 Hand & pair of cotton stockings cost 16-. . .

. Two N.papers 3d. paid to Mr. Jacob Miller for Expenses 5-8. Went to philadelphia this evening Left our Horses with Mr. Miller to pasture and be fed till I return from Congress— paid for washing 2-. pd. for fare in stage 6 dollars Expenses Philladelphia 11-3. Tuesday morn<sup>g</sup> 15th day set out in stage 3 o'clock Brakfirsted at Teasitors (?) pd 4-. 30 miles. Set out from thence 9 o'clock dined at Brunswick pd 4-. Wine &c on the road 8-. Crossed the ferry & Arrived in New York 9 o'clock. Lodged all night at Stair Ferry pd Expenses 10-4.

Wednesday morning, 16th day. Took a seat, in the House, and that day took up lodgings at Mrs ..... at 6 dollars pr week.

Thursday morning, 17th day.

Fryday, 18th. Josiah Parker<sup>24</sup> Dr To cash won at whist 1 guinea Mrs Burns Dr To cash at sundry times ten Dollars.—

1 July Col. Josiah Parker Dr. To cash lent 20 silver Dollars.

[From July 1, 1790, to October 9, 1793, there is no entry in the diary. The following notes relate to the Etowah Campaign, the last in which Sevier was engaged. Etowah was where the present city of Rome, Georgia, is located. On November 21, 1789, President Washington commissioned Sevier as Brigadier-General of the Watauga District, and he held this commission during the Etowah Campaign. It was the only military service for which he ever received any compensation from the government. His force consisted of six or seven hundred men under Colonel John Blair, of the Washington District, and Col. Christian, of the Hamilton District. The expedition resulted in complete victory. The Creeks and Cherokees were terribly punished and were never again a menace to the settlements in Tennessee. Sevier's official report is found on pages 587-8 of Ramsey's Annals.]

<sup>21</sup>From the region of Lancaster, Pa., came many of the Scotch Irish to Virginia and North Carolina.

<sup>22</sup>"Turkshead," a tavern. Evidently named for the celebrated meeting place of Burke, Garrick, Reynolds, Johnson, Goldsmith and others in London.

I have read somewhere that there is a room in this old town which was occupied by General Washington in which remain the old bedstead and bureau which were there when he occupied it. A.

<sup>23</sup>"Sculkill Ferry," on the Schuylkill River which flows by Philadelphia into Chesapeake Bay. A.

<sup>24</sup>Col. Josiah Parker, of "Macclesfield," Isle of Wight County, Virginia, member of the Virginia conventions of 1775 and 1776; colonel in Continental line, participated in important battles under Washington; member of House of Delegates, 1780-1784; member of Congress, 1789-1801; married Mary Bridger; died 1810. His kinsman, Nathaniel Parker, went from Hampshire County to Tennessee about 1785 and became one of the first settlers of Sumner County. His second wife was the widow of Anthony Bledsoe.

It is very disappointing that Sevier's journal gives no account of this memorable first Congress.







Easternoly Tuesday 15 Octo. 1793.

P. Kenedy  
C S. Doherty

Col. Doherty officer of the Day.  
Evans & Carson guards

Fired on the army last night.

Frost last night Easternoly 16th Octo. 1793.

Easternoly 16th Octo. 1793.

P. Columbia  
C S. America

Col. Kelly Off. of the day.  
Harrison van & Gillespy & Richardson rearguards.

Fired on by the enemy in the morning no damage done.

Camp Spring Creek 15 miles 17 Octo. 1793.

Par. Boston<sup>27</sup>  
C. S. New York

Col. Blair off of the day.

Makehee Van Taylor rearguards. Knox Reg. attacked Cap (?) 8 Hightower Weir & Pruitt killed John Wallace wound.

Fryday 12 miles 18th Octob. 1793.

Camp Forks of Coon & Hightower.

Parole Knoxville  
C. S. Jonesbo.

Col. Kenedy<sup>28</sup> off of the day.  
Evans Charles Allison Van & Tany rearguards.

Camp Nuo town 4 miles below the forks  
Coon & Hightower 19 Oct. 1793.

Par. Washington  
C S. Greene

Col. Christian off. of the day.  
Carson van Blair & Beard rearguards.

Wallace died of his wounds last night.

Your murders and savage Barbarities have caused me to come into your Country Expecting you would fight like men, but you are like the Bairs and Wolves. The face of a white man makes you run fast into the woods and hide, u see what we have done and it is nothing to what we shall do in a short time. I pity your women & children for I am sure they must suffer and live like dogs but you are the Cause of it. You will make War, & then is afraid to fight,—our people whiped yours mightily two nights ago Crossing the river and made your people run very fast.

Copy.

J. S.

To the Cherokees and their warriors if they Have Any.

Camp Head of Amutekah Creek 25 miles from  
last encampment 20 Octo. 1793.

Parole Sullivan  
C S. Liberty

Maj. Kelsey officer of the day  
Taylor van & Harrison rearguards.

<sup>27</sup>"Par. Boston, C. S. America." These are the parole and countersign of the day. Old army regulations explain how both are selected and how written and folded. There is always supposed to be a relationship between parole and countersign. If countersign be "Jackson," parole might be "New Orleans." D.

<sup>28</sup>Of these names of soldiers many are familiar names of Washington County families at date of 1856, such as Doherty, Carson, Kelley, Harrison, Gillespie, Richardson, Blair, Macghie, Taylor, Kennedy, Allison, Kelsy, Mac Farland, Beard, Hammond, Gamble, McKee, Murphey, etc. D.



Camp 2 miles from Big Spring 25 miles from  
last camp 21 Octo. 1793.

Parole Doherty

C. S. Kelly

Maj. McFarland officer of the day.

Cap. King van & Allison & Evans rearguards.

Some sentinels fired on the enemy

Camp 25 miles from big Spring and 4  
from Chiestown (?) 22 Oct. 1793.

Parole Blount

C S. Smith

Maj. Taylor off of the day.

Cap Magehee van & Carson & Beard rearguards.

Camp half way between Highwassee and  
Tenese 21 miles from last camp. 23 Oct. 1793.

P. Philadelphia

C S Baltimore

Col. Doherty officer of the day

Capt. Richardson & Gillaspay van & Harrison rearguards.

Camp Henry, Fort 24 October 1793. The army dis-  
charged.

John Chism<sup>29</sup> Esq. told me in presence of Col. Christian that the  
Indians in Easternoly hung up seven Green scalups the time he was  
first there August was a year by Gov. Blount to hold a talk (Mr. Ish &  
Wife present also as well as Col. Christian).

24 October 1793

Returned to Ish's Fort<sup>30</sup>. Gave leave to ensign Hammond & Four  
privates to return to Washington.

October 25th 1793

Returned to Knoxville.

[The diary is from this time a curious intermixture of incidental data, weather  
notations, dreams and social happenings. Sevier lived from 1778 to 1794 at Mount  
Pleasant, on his farm on the Nolichucky River, about ten miles southwest of Jones-  
boro and about eight miles southeast of Washington College, in Washington County.  
He was in the heyday of his popularity. What follows gives some indication of a  
peaceful domestic life.]

Memo of Due bills money &c Taken by Jno. Sevier Junr. with him to  
the No. Ward the 23 deccem, 1793

	dols	cents
James King to Page Sims.....	55	23
Do. to Genl. Sevier.....	194	40
Do. Michael Harrison & Co. ....	328	86
Sundry small due bills on James King.....	140	
David Allison note to Col. Christian.....	266	80
	985	29
In bank bills .....	320	
In cash with Jno. Sevier Junr. ....	136	
Dr. Luciholas (?) act. ....	438	
	1879	29
Drafts from Gov. Blount .....	8000	
	9879	29

<sup>29</sup>"Chism"—should be "Chisholm." Chisholm's Fort was on the north side of  
South Fork of Holston River, a few miles above Kingsport, then called the "Boat  
Yard." A.

<sup>30</sup>Ish's Fort was across the Tennessee River from Cavert's Station, about eight  
miles west of Knoxville, Ramsey, p. 581. At this place, on October 25, 1793, Sevier  
wrote his official report of the campaign.



George North Dr. to Cash lent at Knoxville 20-10 (2 Crowns 1 dollar 1-4 of dollar).

Capt. Harrison Cr. By his due bill 328 dolls & 86 Cents.

do do  
To Cash 10 dollars. 1 due bill on King 9 dollars.

	dol	ct
George North Cr. By due bill on King	8	64

9th Dec. 1793.

Capt. Harrison to one due bill 8 dols. 64 cts.

Staid at Gambles the 12, 13, & 14 of Septr. at Do the 1st 2d 3d of Novr.

Staid at Woods 7th Decr & 5th

January 1794.

January begins on Wednesday 1794.

W. 1 Mr. KcKee & lady dined here, (Fair day)

T. 2 M. Lovely & Mrs. Murphy Do. (Fair day) (also David Brown & John Set up a bed stead for which I gave him 30- in cash pd a guinea down.

F 3 Rained today.

S 4 Fair day Jack Sevier Junr. came here with Miss Mary Ann<sup>31</sup>

Sun 5 Fair day. Jack Sevier<sup>32</sup> went away. Mrs. Sevier<sup>33</sup> & Kitty went to meeting.

M 6 Cloudy. Mr. Weir fell off his house. Val Sevier lay here all night & took me Fulltons horse away.

Tu 7 Went to see Mr. Weir & let him blood (Snowed today) (Tobys sow piged last night and three of mine).

W 8 Snowed last night 2 Inches deep,—cloudy. Gillaspys J. Gallihier<sup>34</sup> and Mr. Condlig lay here.

T 9 cloudy. Frank came here, Blooded Mr. Weir, G. Gillaspys served (ex 'o) Jno Sevier Junr vs Taylor execr.

<sup>31</sup>Mary Ann Sevier, sixth child of John and Sarah Sevier, born about 1771. She married Joshua Corlin and moved to Overton County.

<sup>32</sup>John Sevier, Jr., the third son, was born June 20, 1766, and married Sophia Garrett. Their daughter, Anna, married Henry Hoss, and their son was the late Bishop E. E. Hoss.

<sup>33</sup>Mrs. Sevier was Katherine Sherrill, beloved in history as "Bonny Kate." The romantic story of her rescue from the Indians by Sevier is well known. They were married on August 14, 1780, the year in which the first wife died. Katherine Sherrill Sevier was eminently worthy to be the wife of her great husband. She was the helpmeet and inspiration of thirty-five years of public service marked with great vicissitude. They had eight children: George Washington, Samuel, Ruth (m. first Col. Richard Sparks, then Daniel Vertner), Katherine (m. first Archibald Rea, then Mr. Campbell), Polly Preston (m. Wm. Overstreet), Joanna Goode (m. Windle), Eliza Conway (m. Major Wm. McClellan), and Robert. The names of the daughters are frequently mentioned in the diary.

After the death of Governor Sevier his widow moved to a secluded place, called "The Dale," in Clay County, and lived there for many years. Governor Sevier located two grants for something over 57,000 acres in Overton and Clay counties. On this land many members of his family settled. Mrs. Sevier, his sons, George W. Sevier, Dr. Samuel Sevier, Valentine Sevier, and daughters, Katherine Campbell, Joanna Windle, Mary Overstreet, Sarah Brown and Ann Corlin. Mrs. Katherine Sherrill Sevier died October 2, 1836, at Russellville, Alabama, where she had recently gone to live with her son, Dr. Samuel Sevier.

<sup>34</sup>Th "J. Gellihier" here mentioned was probably the father of James Gallaher, the clergyman and author of "Western Sketch Book." A.



F 10 cloudy & rainy (Self poorly) (Mr. Weir some better)

S 11 cloudy

Sun. 12 went to see Mr. Weir he is some better Received letter from G. Blount sent by James Gallispie 12th Mr. Harrill dined here on his way to Guare (?)

Mon 13 cloudy Blooded Mr. Weir (Snowed)

Tues. 14 Mr. Murphy dined here<sup>35</sup>

On the 14th Jany John Sevier Genl Dreamed he was in an unknown country Supposed from some immagination that it was france, at which place his son Dickky came to see him, & welcomed him there, thought that his son Dickky was in a military Service Dressed in dove coloured Silk cloth trimmed wth blue sattin & said to me I will go with you to head quarters & introduce you to the Commander in Chief to which proposal I agreed & as we went there appeared the largest number of people ever beheld & all in quiet being some distance I conversed with him on the way respecting his fare and how he liked the service, to which he repled that the fair was better than he could describe the officers had taken great notice of him, and he was well contented to remain there all his days. I thought we gradually ascended towards the top of a high Hill of beautiful ground where there stood a large building which appeared to be built of either Diamond or Glass as I could see through the walls with doors & windows all round. The same we entered in, and immeadeately ascended the first pair of stairs. My son going before me, then proceeding up the second, then the third &c till we go to a very great height, the building still appearing to be a great height above us, he then told me they had the best station that was ever formed, for says he, we can from this place see all the nations in the world & what the armies are doing pointed out at the same time Large Countrys & Cities. Told me that such a place was Russia, another that was Germany, then prussia England, Holland, Denmark Turkey and as well as I can remember all the Countries in the known world. They seemed to lye at a great distance, looking like great piles of old buildings, both in Cities & Countries & of different sizes,

<sup>35</sup>The Sevier farm on Nola Chuckee, home and buildings were a marvel of fertility, comfort, convenience and tools for all kinds of farm work and production. The following is a fair sample of the old Sevier establishment. The Cowan house, about twelve miles north from the Sevier farm was built by John Cowan from Virginia, a soldier of 1812. It was a large two-story frame, with long upper and lower porches and ample back porch, gigantic rock chimneys, roof of walnut shingles, fastened on with walnut pegs. A big two-story rock springhouse contained all needful dairy paraphernalia, although only the family and farm hands were to be supplied. A vast double-log barn contained hay mows, threshing floor, graneries, and horse stalls. There were stored plows, harrows, harness, flails for threshing grain, sickles, reaping-hooks, the long English scythe blade and crooked snead, the clumsy Dutch scythe with short blade and straight snathe. There were two kinds of English scythes, a broader blade and a long narrow blade, known as the "black-snake scythe." There were many antiquated implements, known to Scotch farmers. At the house and in outhouses were all that pertains to the household, all that goes with production of flaxen and woolen fabrics, hackles, scutches, with long, swordlike wooden scutching-knives, brakes, small spinning-wheels for flax thread with "flyers"—all that pertains to flaxen thread, cloth and weaving. There were the "big wheel" for woolen yarns, smaller spinning wheels for fine yarns, reels for "hanking" woolen yarns in "crets." There were looms for weaving all kinds of cloth. In the garret were John Cowan's old leathern helmet, sword-belt and sabre, old muskets and flint-lock pistols. Scattered on the floor were numerous Irish, English and a few American periodicals.

This description is by an eye-witness and frequenter of the Cowan house and is fairly descriptive of the John Sevier place, only that it is reputed to have been upon a larger scale of provision for everything. D.



lying all around the place we stood which appeared to be so high that we had an easy view of all the world, notwithstanding we were not near the top my son told me I could not see the commander in chief at that time, but he would introduce me some other time. I then began to take great notice of the beauty of the palace, I thought I was then in; everything appeared to be all light & beauty & wondered that I had never seen nor heard of such a building before & that other nations had not built in the same advantageous manner, on which I awaked.

Wed. 15 Fair & cold

Thu. 16 cloudy towards evening (Rained)

Fry 17 Rained & cloudy all day (John MaMahon borrowed one Gall of Linseed oil killed three Hogs)

Sat 18 Rained & Cloudy also warm

Sun 19 Fair and warm, Mrs. Sevier and Nancy went to meeting. Cap. Brown Dined here

Monday 20 Warm, & Rained in evening & night; Mr. Waddle lay here all night went to see Mr. Weir who is geting better.

Tues. 21 Rained in the mornng. Mrs. Sevier Betsy & self dined at Mr. Sherrills John Fuhky put a floor in the stable.

Wednes. 22. Rained & snowed, cleared up in the night & turned cold John Fuhky put a floor in the stable.

Thu. 23 Fair day & pleasant for the season (John Fuhkee went to Gillaspys).

Fry. 24 Fair & cold. Jo. Greer & Ben parker was here all night. Self & wife went to see Mr. Weir

Sat. 25 Fair and pleasant (in the night Thundered & rained, Col. King L. here, 1. night.

Sun. 26 Cloudy in the morning.

Mon. 27 my father came here (Fair day & warm)

Tues. 28. Rained & cloudy day

Wed. 29 Snowed & Rained cleared up in the night & turned cold.

Thur. 30 Father went to Mr. Sherrills (Clear day & cold)

Fry. 31 Fair & cold (Sylva delivered of a Female child in the night.

#### February, 1794.

Sat 1st. day of Feby Father set out for home (a good day) dined at Mr. Sherrills<sup>36</sup> with Mr. McKee and wife, Mrs. Sevier along

Sun. 2d. Pleasant, son Jo. wife & Sally Keewood came here turned cloudy in the night.

Mon. 3 cloudy (Jo. set out for Knoxville wrote by him to Meek & Simms.

<sup>36</sup>Probably the father of Mrs. Sevier.

<sup>37</sup>Rev. Samuel Doak, one of the first preachers west of the Alleghanies, founder of Washington College, today a flourishing Presbyterian institute. He was a man of great courage and wide influence. He was born in Augusta County, Virginia, 1749, and died in Bethel, North Carolina, in 1830.



Tues. 4 Pleasant. The girls went to Ben Browns

W 5 Warm, self wife Jos. wife Miss Sally Keewood, Mary ann & Ruth went to Jonesbo. & came home in night Wind rose high & rained in night. Bought 8 lbs. shugar from May 1 bottle mustard 2 pr. w. shoes & sundry other things.

Th. 6 Cloudy but warm

Fry. 7 Pleasant, Bavildin (?) Harrill lay here all night.

Sat. 8 Pleasant, went to Wm. Colliers & dined there, stopped at Mr. Lovelys Charles lay here all night.

Sun. 9 Went to meetg. self wife & Ruth a Mr. Doake text 5 Ch. Ephesians 15 & 16 verses. Cloudy & like for rain.

Mon. 10 Warm & pleasant

Tues. 11 Warm Rob. Mcfarland & polly lodged here.

Wed. 12 Rained & turned cold transplanted two old apple trees.

Thur. 13 Snowed & rained

Fry 14 Cold & Cloudy

Sat. 15 Clear & cold

Sun. 16 cold

Mon. 17 went to Greene lodged at Cs. Richardsons.

Tues. 18 Brak. at store.

Wed. 19 Rained nothing Extraordinary.

Thur. 20 Cold & Snowed at night

Fry. 21 Very cold & some snow.

Sat. 22 Pleasant—came home in comp. with Mr. Simms & wife. who went to Mr. Sherrills bro. home 12¼ lbs. maple sugar 6 yds plains 9 yards check 1 bott (?) (?) drops Do Brittish oil & pepper-mint spirit 1 lb Raisons

Sun. 23 Rained

Mon. 24 very cold.

Tues. 25 very cold.

Wed. 26 cold.

Thur. 27 Rained

Fry. 28 Moderated

March 1794.

Sat 1st. Warm & pleasant.

Sun. 2 Warm.

[March 3-21. No record.]

Tuesday 22 July rained

Wednes. 23 Worked on road. Rained

Thur. 24 rained nothing extraordinary



Fry. 25. Self & Mrs. Sevier wt to J. Seviars & retd same day a light shower in eveng.

Sat. 26 Rained heavily; Rebecca & nancy came here. Washngn wt. to town<sup>38</sup> & came home.

Sun. 27 Rained.

Mon. 28 Rained

Tues. 29 rained, self & wife wt. to Mr. McCallisters returned the next day.

Wed. 30 Light shower of rain (Dog days began—

Thur. 31 Fair, began to drink & diet drink

[April-July. No record.]

#### August 1794.

Fri. 1 day of August 1794.

Sat. 2 day of August Mr. Mckee & lady dined here—

Sunday 3d wt. myself wife & girls to meeting to Mr. Doaks

Mon. 4 Dry weather, Creek Indian hung Knoxville

Tues. 5 Dry weather. Wed. 6 Ditto. Thur. 7 Ditto. Fry. 8 Ditto.

Sat. 9 dry. (Self wife Ruth<sup>39</sup> Betsy & Tobe went to Jonesbo. in carriage.

Sun. 10 return from Jonesbo (Dry)

Mon. 11 Fine Small rain

Tues. 12 A. Sherrill & d. Murphy came up

Wed. 13 rained.

Thur. 14 Fry. 15 rained

Wed. 20 Set out to Knoxville, my wife & Ruth went as far as Greene Staid till Fryday when we all left.

Thu. 21st Staid at Greene.

Fry. 22d Ditto Lodged at Hoskins. B. C

Sat. 23 Lodged at Brasiltons.<sup>40</sup>

Sun 24 arrived at Knoxville.

Mon. 25 Assembly met, dined with Governor.<sup>41</sup>

Wed. 27th dined with Governor

Thu 28th drank tea at Mr. Summervilles

<sup>38</sup>This was probably Jonesboro, eight miles distant.

<sup>39</sup>Ruth, the sixth daughter. She married first Col. Richard Sparks, U. S. A., then Daniel Verner, of Mississippi. She died in 1834. (Heiskell's "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," p 204). "Betsy"—Elizabeth, the eldest daughter. She married W. H. Clark and died early, leaving one child, Sarah Hawkins Clark, who married General James Rutherford Wily. (Heiskell, p. 203.)

<sup>40</sup>A Brazzleton was a wealthy man of Newmarket, in Jefferson County, in 1848. His son was a colonel of cavalry in the Confederate Army. This was probably an ancestor. D.

<sup>41</sup>William Blount, the governor of the Territory south of the Ohio. Knoxville became the residence of the governor in March, 1792.



Fry. 29 brakfirsted with Mrs. Duncan  
 Sat. 30 drank tea with Mrs. Blunt  
 Sun. 31 rained, rode out to J. Jackson C. O. with Cap. Richard.  
 (Remarks) this month was uncommonly warm with one or two  
 Cool evenings.

## September 1794.

Mon 1 Dined with Governor  
 Tues. 2 brakfirsted with C. Richard.  
 Wed. 3 Supered at Mr. Somervilles.  
 Thu 4 Brakfirsted & dined with Jo Sevier.<sup>42</sup> Fry. 5 Do. Do. Do.  
 Sat. 6 dined with Governor.  
 Sun 7 Drank tea at Mr. Sommervilles  
 Mon. 8 Drank tea with Mrs. Blount  
 Tues. 9 played Billiards<sup>43</sup> at Mr. Duncans.  
 Wed. 10 Lodged at Mr. Woods.  
 Thu. 11. Suppered at Mr. Chisoms  
 Fry. 12 dined &c at Jo. Seviars. Sat 13 Do. Sun. 14 Do. Mon 15 Do.  
 Tues. 16 Dined at Governors.  
 Wed. 17 Drank tea at Governors.  
 Thur 18 drank tea at Mr. Somervilles.  
 Fry. 19 dined at J. Seviars. Sat. 20 Do.  
 Sun. 21 Do with Governor wt. to meeting with him & his lady  
 to hear Mr. Carrick.<sup>44</sup>  
 Mon. 22 Dined with Governor  
 Tues 23 took tea Mrs. Blounts.  
 Wed. 24 Brak. at C. Richards.  
 Thur 25 Dined &c Jo. Seviars. Fry. 26 Do.  
 Sat. 27 Dined at Mr. Stones.  
 Sun. 28 Dined with Governor. wt. to meeting with Gov. & his  
 lady.  
 Mon. 29 ditto.  
 Tues. 30 Assembly was peroughed<sup>45</sup> till first Monday next Octor

<sup>42</sup>Joseph Sevier, born 1763, was the oldest child. He married an Indian woman. His son, Rev. Jack Sevier, was a Methodist preacher. (Heiskell, p. 201.)

<sup>43</sup>'Tis worthy of note that billiards was played in Knoxville in 1794. It shows how the backwoods kept up in the graces of civilization. Not many centuries have elapsed since an advanced Frenchman was burned at Paris as a wizard for billiard shots that would be commonplace now and perhaps Sevier might have made. D.

<sup>44</sup>Rev. Samuel Carrick, 1760-1809, a Presbyterian minister; native of Pennsylvania, educated in Virginia; president of Blount College, later the University of Tennessee, from its beginning in 1794 until his death.

<sup>45</sup>"Poroughed," prorogued. The word has not come down to this day and was seldom used then in political speech. We would say, adjourned, in almost any case. D.



Members collected with the Governor at (?) (?) and drank wine that evening.

### October 1794.

Wednesday 1 day of October dined at Governors

Thurs. 2 dined at Governors.

Fry. 3 dined with Governor set for home from Knoxville Accompanied by the Governor & Dr. White about 6 miles, also Maj. Lovely & Mr. Harrill came all the way Lodged that night at Mr. Meeks (Frost)

Sat 4 Lodged with M. Lovely at Judge Andersons.<sup>46</sup>

Sun. 5 Lodged with ditto at Col. H. Conways.<sup>47</sup>

Mon. 6 Lodged at Mr. Wyleys in Greenville Bro. home a loaf of sugar. Tues. 7 came home. Wed 8 Thur. 9 hard frost. Fry. 10 ditto. Sat. 11 ditto (began to take medicine) Sun. 12 Mon. 13 Mrs. Sevier went to Embrees<sup>48</sup> & her mothers.

Tues. 14 Rained in the night & in morning (killed sm. Beef.)

Wed. 15 frost. Thur 16 Do. Fry. 17 Do. Sat. 18 Do. Sun. 19 Mon. 20 Tues. 21 Wed. 22 Thur. 23 Fry. 24 Snowed in the night. Sat 25 rained. Sun. 26 Fair. Mon. 27 Fair. Tuesday 28th Wed. 29 Thur 30 Memo. An order on J. Richardson in favour of Rogers for £15 dated 10th August 1792. Fry 31. Rained.

### November 1794.

Sat. 1 day of November

Sun. 2 Fair. Mon. 3 Dry began to pull corn. Tues 4 Dry & warm. Wed. 5 warm & dry. Th. 6 warm & dry Fry. 7 warm. Sat. 8 rained a little.

Sun. 9 Mrs. Sherrill much better. Mon 10. Mrs. Sherrill taken suddenly. Tues. 11 rained finished halg. corn. Frank ran<sup>49</sup> away. Wed. 12 fair & warm. Thur. 13 warm. Fry. 14 cloudy. Sat. 15 rained & snowed at night.

Sun. 16 cold and Fine snow Mon. 17 clear & pleasant. John Rich-

<sup>46</sup>Joseph Anderson, 1757-1837, one of the territorial judges appointed by President Washington. Born near Philadelphia, served in the Revolution; member constitutional convention of 1796; senator from Tennessee, 1797-1815; comptroller of the U. S. Treasury, 1815-1836.

<sup>47</sup>The wife of James Sevier, the second son, was Nancy Conway, of Washington County.

<sup>48</sup>"Mrs. Sevier went to Embree." Embreeville was a furnace village in sight from the Sevier farm on Nola Chuckee River, said to have been named for Elihu Embree, who edited the first abolition newspaper in America, at Jonesboro. His son, Elihu Embree, Jr., served in the 19th Tennessee, C. S. A. D.

Embreeville, or "Embree," as it was sometimes referred to, was then, and still is, on the south side of the Nolo or Noli Chucky River right at the foot of the Unaka, a spur of the larger Iron Mountain, both part of the Appalachian Range; and the Sevier home place was about two miles down the river on the north side. It is very probable that smoke from the old time furnace stack and from charcoal pits was "in sight" of the Sevier home, but not in sight of buildings or Embreeville Village. A.

<sup>49</sup>"Frank ran away." While a horse gifted with the name of Franklin—quite popular in 1794—might have been the Frank that ran away, we are enlightened further along on page 17 that the "run-away nigger" had come to be a feature of that early day. D.



mond came this day and set in for the year at £25. Put up our Fattening Hogs. Tues. 18 I went to court. Wed. 19 rained. Thur. 20 cold Thos. Young died suddenly at Frank Allison's. Fri. 21 snow. Sat. 22 cold, negroes began to grubb.

Sun 23 came home from Court Recd. from Jno. Sevier Junr 10 dollars. Mon. 24 Fair & pleasant. Tues 25 Fair. Jas. Oliver Died. Wed. 26 Fair & pleasant Thur 27 same. Fry. 28 cloudy. gave L. Peters order for £3 to the store. Sat 29 cloudy & light rain. Mrs. Sherrill Died. 3 o'clock at night.<sup>50</sup>

Sun. 30 Mrs Sherrill buried in evening (rainy)

#### December 1794.

Mon. 1. first December, rained a little. Tues 2 snowed at night. Ruthy went to the Wheelrights. Wed. 3 fair. Th. 4 Joseph Sevier sit out for Knx & catey & his wife wt. to Greenville. Toby wt. to bring some things from there clear & cold Killed a beef Cone recd this day from Mr. Sherrill. Fry. 5 fair (sick myself) Sat. 6 Fair. Self & wife dined at Mr. Sherrills.

Sun. 7 Fair, rained in night. Negro Bet delivered of a Female child. Mon. 8 rained in the morning. cloudy & cool sent J. Richmond to shoemakers. Sent by him 2 dollars to shoemaker. Tuesd. 9 Wm. Greene Co. 180 lbs. pork. John Richmond 2 pr. overalls 24. John Fickey 1 pr Do 12. 3 yds linen a 3. 3 yds of check some time ago. Wed. 10 warm & pleasant. Thur. 11 went to Jonesbo. Fry. 12 staid at Jonesbo. the Comissrs for town sit. Sat 13. staid at Jonesbo. Mr. Sims came up.

Sun. 14 came home. Mr. Sims wt. home. Mon 15 cloudy. Negro Frank run away. Tues. 16 Fair & pleasant. M. Sevier's wife delivered of a son. Wed. 17 fair & pleasant. Mrs. Sevier went to Jonesbo. Thur. 18 warm. Fry 19 rained & snowed in the evening & in the night 6 inches deep. Sat. 20 cloudy & flying snow. Snowed in the night.

Sun. 21 Cloudy & flying snow. Mon. 22 Fair & Pleasant. Killed 8 fatning Hogs. Tues. 23 clear & pleasant. Mrs. McCallister Mrs. J. Gillaspy Miss Daisy & Miss — came here wt. home next day. Wed. 24. pleasant weather self & Mrs. Sevier dined at Mr. Sherrills. Mrs. McCallister<sup>51</sup> & Young ladies wnt home. Thur. 25 cloudy & some rain. Mr. Sherrill Mr. Sherrill Mrs. Beard Mr. Andrew Bears Mr McKee Mrs. McKee Miss Peggy McKee Mr. Weir & wife Mal Murphy dined here today Came up a thuder Gust with Hail & small rain. Fry. 26 Fine day Sat. 27 Washington & Fickey wt. to Greene Fair day.

Sun. 28 pleasant day. Mon. 29. wt. Jonesbo self & Washington cloudy. Tues. 30 rained a little returned from Jonesbo. Wed. 31 Fair.

<sup>50</sup>Probably the mother of Mrs. Sevier—November 30, 1794.

<sup>51</sup>The McCalister mentioned liver near McAlister's Schoolhouse, two miles down Hominy Branch from Washington College. They were kin to the McAlisters of Nashville, of whom is Hon. W. K. McAlister, lately of our Supreme Bench. In East Tennessee the name is still pronounced with the broad Scotch "a," "McOlistier," while at Nashville it has the flat "a," "McAlister." D.

The civil district in Washington County, where the McAlisters resided is still called "McAlister's District." A.



## January 1795.

Thurs. 1 Janry 1795. Rained. Self wife Catery<sup>52</sup> Rutha Chatty & Betsy dined at Mr. Weirs. Friday 2 Mr. King came here George Gillasp<sup>53</sup> came here. I wt. with him to Cap. Browns to take in the list of taxes. Sat. 3 Dry weather.

Sun. 4 dry. Mon. 5th wt. to Jonesbo to meet the commissrs for the town. Rained in the night. Tues. 6th rained. Wed. 7 ditto. Thur. 8 wt. to Colo. Carters rained. Fry. 9 rained. returned to Jonesbo. Sat. 10 came home very cold.

Sun. 11 snowed at night, Jos. Sevier Retd from Knoxville with letter from G. Blount. Mon. 12 day Fair & cold killed some fatted Hoggs. Tues. 13th snowed in the night. Wed. 14 warm & thawing. Thur. 15 rained. wt. to Greene with col. Robertson. Fry. 16 rained & snowed. Sat. 17 clear came home from Greene.

Sun. 18 clear & cold Mon. 19 Fair & pleasant. Tues. 20 Fair & pleasant. Mr. Keeler Brought Home the Hoggs I Bought from him. Wed. 21 rained & cloudy. Th. 22 cloudy & cold. Fry. 23 rained lightly Mrs. Sevier Ruthy & betsy went to Jonesbo. Sat 24 cloudy & some rain.

Sun. 25 Some rain & snow. Mon. 26 cloudy Washington & John Fickee carried horses to Jonesbo That run away from Sevier & Ruthy—Col. Carter came home with them. Tues. 27 set out myself. Washington & Col. Carter, Lodged at Greene all night. Wed. 28 we all Lodged at Col. Carters. Thur. 29 it rained We all Lodged at Jesse Reeves. Fry. 30 we all lodged at Mr. Perkins. Sat. 31 wt. to Knoxville (cold)

## February 1795.

Sun. 1 Feby. Fine day. Mon. 2 fine day. Tues 3 ditto. Wed. 4 ditto. Thur. 5 ditto. Fry. 6 rain. Sat. 7 Rained set out in evening self Col. Carter & Washington. from Knoxville lodged that night at McBee's Ferry.

Sun. 8th we lodged at Col. Cakes (?). Mon. 9 we lodged at Greenville. Very cold. Tues. 10 lodged at Greene. Wed. 11 ditto Thur. 12 ditto. Fry. 13 ditto. Sat. 14 we came home very cold.

Sun. 15 cloudy & cold. Mon. 16 wt. to Court to Jonesbo. Tuesday 17 very cold & snowed. Wed. 18 cold. Thur. 19 Mr. King & Nancy married.<sup>54</sup> Maj. & Jimmy Weirs family here Mr. Harrill Mr. Waddle, Mr. Claiborne Mr. Weirs family was here. Cousin Jack & Mr. Doake. Fry. 20 clear weather. Sat. 21 self & Mr. King wt. to Jonesbo and came home that night.

Sun. 22 wt. with John Sherrill & wife to Woods foard. Mon. 23 rained. col. Conway & James Sevier<sup>55</sup> came here cloudy snowed &

<sup>52</sup>Probably his daughter, Katherine, who was then very young. She married first Archibald Rhea, then Mr. Campbell. "Betsy," Elizabeth Sevier, N. Ante.

<sup>53</sup>The George Gillespie mentioned lived near the Sevier farm. Of this family came the Jonesboro Gillespies, James of which served in th C. S. A., and also Col. Hal. Gillespie, a dashing Confederate colonel of cavalry, who married Miss Cocke, of Knoxville, now living at Nashville. D.

<sup>54</sup>Nancy Sevier, the fifth daughter. She married Walter King, February 19, 1795. King operated some ironworks near the Sevier home.

<sup>55</sup>James Sevier, the second child, 1764-1847. He lived on his farm near that of his father, and was clerk of the court of Washington County for forty-seven years. (Heiskell, p. 201.)



rained in the night. Tues. 24 snowed in the morning. Wed. 25 cloudy. Thur. 26 cold Rebecca Sevier<sup>56</sup> & John Waddle married. Fry. 27 cold. Sat. 28 very cold came home from Rebecca wedding.

### March 1795.

Sun. 1st March 1795 Mon. 2 wt. to Jonesbo cold. Tues 3 self & son John went to Mr. Kings works (warm). Wed. 4 warm Mr. King & myself came home. Thur. 5 warm. Fry. 6 warm. Sat 7 high winds & rain.

Sun. 8 Fair & pleasant. Mon. 9 warm snowed at night. Tues 10 snowed in the morning. Bought of Mr. Paine 150 B. corn at 2. Paid him £7 Wed. 11 clear & cold. Thur cold snowed at night. Fry. 13 cold. Jno. Fickey 1 pr overalls 12. Sat. 14 very cold.

Sun. 15 pleasant. Old Frank returned. snowed in the night. Mr. Sherrill & Wm. Dined here. Mon. 16 Genl. Muster Washington Fickey & Richmond wt. rained & snowed. Tues. 17 went to court Wed. 18 pleasant. Tues. 19 Cox had his tryal Fry. 20 pleasant. wife & Girl came to town in carriage. Sat 21 pleasant.

Sun. 22 Ditto. Mon. 23 Pleasant & Fair Tues. 24 ditto

Wed. 25 ditto. Thur. 26 ditto. Fry. 27 came home from Court. Sat 28 Judge Campble<sup>57</sup> his lady & Mr. Claiborne<sup>58</sup> & Doctor Reed came here, tarried till Monday morning. Sun. 29 Judge Campble & lady Mr. Claiborne & Doctor reed came here. Mon. 30 pleasant self & Claiborne went to court. Tues. 31 pleasant.

### April 1795.

Wed. 1st day April came home from Court. Thur 2 pleasant & warm. Fri. 3 ditto. Sat. 4 ditto.

Sunday 5 ditto John Richmond 1 soldiers shirt. Mon. 6 ditto planted potatoes. Tues. 7 Rained & warm began to plant corn this day. Sylva delivered of a Female child. Memo. pd. John Keele 3 Dollars Do. to John Silburne 2 Doll. Do to Chairmaker 3 Doll 18-8. Wednes. 8 planted corn, frost. Thur. 9th went to Jonesbo Frost that night. Fryd. 10th returned from Jonesbo Let Wed. King have £6. 4. for the use of the iron works<sup>59</sup> received from Major Sevier 30. Sat. 11 Fair & cool w. King & wife went to the Iron works.

Sun. 12 Rained Mrs. Sherrill & son William dined here. Mon. 13 Fair & pleasant. Tues. 14 ditto. Let John Lellburne have 6-8. Wed. 15 ditto. Thur. 16 Rained that night. Fry. 17 cool. Sat 18

<sup>56</sup>Rebecca Sevier, the fourth daughter, married John Waddle, February 26, 1795. The Waddles lived at Broyles Ford, some eight or ten miles down Nola Chuckee from the Sevier farm. While Waddle is the correct spelling, it is now mostly written Waddell and the accent laid on the last syllable. D.

<sup>57</sup>David Campbell, one of the territorial judges appointed by President Washington. He was a judge of the superior court, 1797-1809.

<sup>58</sup>Probably Hon. W. C. C. Claiborne, who was then practicing law in what is now upper East Tennessee. Born in Sussex County, Virginia, 1775, died in New Orleans, 1817; member of Constitutional Convention of 1796; judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity; member of Congress, 1797-1801; Governor of Mississippi Territory, 1803; Governor of Louisiana Territory, 1804, until its admission as a state, then was governor of the state of Louisiana; elected U. S. Senator, but died before he could take his seat.

<sup>59</sup>Iron works mentioned is either Blair's Furnace at Embreeville, in Greasy Cove, or Bumpass Cove Furnace. D.



Frost at night Recd. a horse from Tom Greene (a bay at about £20 price)

Sun. 20 Wintry & cool Mr. Sherrill & son Wm. dined here. Mon. 21 dry weather. Tues. 22 ditto. Wed. 23 ditto. Thur. 24 ditto Fry. 25 cloudy. Sat 26 warm & dry.

Sun 27 light shower self Wm. Sevier & Catsey went to Mr. Doakes<sup>60</sup> meeting. Mon. 28 dry weather. Tues. 29 ditto. Frost that night. Wed. 30 ditto.

#### May 1795.

Thurs. 1st day of May dry & Hot. Fry. 2 went to Jonesbo staid all night. Sat 3 wt. to Greene staid all night.

Sun. 4 came home with Maj. Sevier. brought from the store 20 lbs. tree suger. Mon. 5 Mrs. Sevier Rutha Nancy & Mr. King wt. to Jos. Seviars. Began to plant our New Ground Corn. Tues 6 of May 1795 very warm Mr. King went to Iron works. Wed. 7 very warm & dry. Thur. 8 ditto. Fry. 9 ditto began to weed corn. Sat. 10 rained a fine shower. Memo. Recd from Joseph Hanna<sup>61</sup> 600 feet of poplar plank, 280 ditto of pine, 108 laths, 12 feet long each, 22 Rafters, 14 feet long each. Memo. Recd. from Mr. Bains plantation 100 feet of plank.

Sun. 11 Rained. Mon. 12 Rained. Tues. 13 Fair. Wed. 14 Rained in Evening. Mrs. Sevier Catery & Sammy went to Doctor Holts. the Doctor sent for Sammy<sup>62</sup> half a viol of castor oil & a small viol of drops. Memo. gave to old N. Frank a pair of overalls. Thur 15 went to Greene court. Recd a horse of Wm. Willson price £30. Fry. 16th Rained. Sat. 17 returned from Greene.

Sun. 18 dry & hott. Mon. 19 ditto. Tues. 20 ditto. Wed. 21 went to Jonesbo court. Thur. 22 rained. Fry. 23 warm & wet in the morning. Sat. 24 came home from Jonesbo. Bought from Mr. keel 24 Hoggs 1 sow 11 year olds marked with Crop in right Ear a hole & nick in under part of the left year. 12 piggs unmarked all of which is since marked with my own mark. One of the sows has since 6 piggs. Memo. lent unto Said (?) Gayer a Land warrant no. 2728 for 200 acres in name of Jos. Sevier Located at No. of Little lick Creek the warrant returned

Sunday 24 warm. Monday 25 ditto. Tues. 26 ditto. Mr. Carson sent horse to pasture is to work corn two times dry. Wed. 27 ditto & dry. Mr. Weir & wife returned from river. Thur. 28 fine rain Mr. Lilburn (?) hauled (?) of plank from Embrees paid him 1 dollar Fair. Memo. paid Tho. Embree for John Fickey 4. paid Mr. Sherrills Jane 4 for Do. sent to Shoemaker Mr. Messer by John Fickey 3 dollars 18. John Richmond 1 pr shoes, made by Messer. John Fickey 3 pr. shoes made by Messer. Fry. 29 warm & dry. Sat. 30 do. Sun. 31 do.

June Mon 1 Dry. Tues 2 do. Wed. 3 went to Iron Works. Th. 4 small shower, C. L. B. Fry. 5 Do. See. Do. Sat. 6 Do. See Do.

<sup>60</sup>Rev. Samuel Doak, D.D., President of Washington College and pastor of Old Salem church, a stone's throw from the college building. At date of this diary it was Washington College, founded by Doak in 1778 as Martin Academy. D.

<sup>61</sup>The Hannahs were prominent people living between Washington College and Sevier's farm. One of the family was captain in the Nineteenth Tennessee, C. S. A., and became colonel of another regiment. He was father of Col. Harvey Hannah of the Public Utilities Commission. D.

<sup>62</sup>Samuel Sevier, the seventh son. He became a physician, lived in Overton County and later at Russellville, Alabama.



## Joune 1795.

Sun. 7 staid at M. Seviars. Mon. 8 came home from Works Tues. 9 very warm. Wed 10 small shower. Mrs. Sevier & Kitty went to Jonebo. Thur 11 Fine rain & rained all night began to lay by corn. Fry. 12 Shower in mornng. Mrs. Sevier & Kitty went to meeting a very High flood in the river Rained in afternoon. Sat 13 Mrs. Sevier Rutha & Sammy went to meeting, rained in the morn. Memo. when at the Iron Works let Mr. King have 2 dollars 16.

Sun. 14 rained. Myself, wife, Rutha & Catery & Joanna went to meeting the sacrament was administered by the Rev. Doake, Balsh & Hueston.<sup>63</sup> Mon. 15 self Catery Rutha & Mrs. Sevier went to meeting Dined at D. Holts (rained). Tues. 16 rained. Mrs. Sevier & Catery went to Mr. Sherrills. Recd from Jos. Hannah 720.10 lbs. at 22-6 per M. 260.8 ditto at 15 per M. 130 Feet pine plank some time ago. Wed. 17 Hot & Dry. Thur. 18 ditto. Fry. 19 went to Jonesbo. rained in evening. Sat 20 staid at Jonesbo. Sun. 21 Sot off for Col. Carters & met him near home seting out for Assembly Staid all night at Maj. Loviers with Col. Carter. Mon. 22 came home Reaped wheat Rained in the night Frank run away. Tues 23 Rained went to Jos. Seviars Rained all night Recd from Jos. Sevier 22¼ dollars. Wed. 24 Rained (planted cabbage) Thur. 25 rained Fry. 26 cleared up & cool set out for the Assembly Lodged at Greene Memo. to bring for Betsy a pr of shoes 7 Inches long. Sat 27 sit out in the morning in company with Col. Hardin (rained) Eat dinner & fed at Parks Recd from H. Conway Junr 2 Guineas & 1 dollar Lodged at Evans Painter Spring.

Sunday 28 Brak. at Mr. Reeses Dined at Mr. Meeks Arrived in Knoxville & Lodged at Mr. Stones. Mon. 29 Assembly met.<sup>64</sup> Tues. 30 L. Council agreed to conference Representatives did the same. Memo. 219 P. below Little River in the county desired to be laid off amt of Taxes in same, 148 dollars 84 cents.

## July 1795.

Wed. 1 July both ohuses met both Houses unanimous for change of Government except Tho. Tardiman of Davidson county Dined at Judge Campbles. Thur 2 Nothing extraordinary. Fry. 3 nothing extra.

Sun. July 5 Nothing Extrao. Mon. 6 hott & Dry weather. Tues. 7 ditto. Col. Tho. Blount arrives in Knoxville. Wed. 8 a bill for (?) of (?) Rejected in Council. Thur. 9 nothing E. Fry. 10 N. E. Sat. 13 Assembly adj sine die.

Sunday 14 N. E. Mon. 15 N. E. Tues. 10 N. E. Won at whist<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup>"Doak, Balch and Houston," all were prominent Presbyterian clergymen of the day, and all are yet represented by descendants in Tennessee. Rev. Houston was very prominent in the early politics of Tennessee, a profound political scholar. D.

"Rev. Houston" took an active part in organizing the last state of Franklin, was the author of a proposed constitution for the state, under the provisions of which it was said there were few persons but preachers who could have qualified as state or county officials. See Haywood and later histories of Tennessee. A.

Rev. Hezekiah Balch founded Greeneville College in 1794, and was its first president; Tusculum College was begun as Tusculum Academy in 1818 by Samuel Doak.

<sup>64</sup>This was an extra session of the territorial legislature which met June 29, 1795. Upon nomination of this body, President Washington commissioned John Sevier, Griffith Rutherford, James Winchester, Stockly Donelson and Parmenas Taylor as the Council.

<sup>65</sup>'Tis gratifying to know that the noble game of whist had not yet given way for the vulgar game of poker. D.



from S. Milche (?) & Somerville (?) Dollars. Wed. 15 N. E. Won of Mitchell & Duncan 213 dollars. Thur. 16 N. E. Fry. 17 very Hott. Dined at Governors. Sat. 18 dined at Gov. Blounts.

Sun. 19 set out for home from Knoxv. in company with Governor, Willie<sup>66</sup> & Tho. Blount, Mark & Sam Mitchell, dined at Jas. Kings Lodged at Brasiltons paid 4-6. pd. Mr. Stone his bill £7. 1. 6. Mon. 20 Dined & Fed at Mrs. Smith paid 7-6. Lodged at Colo. Roddies. Tues. 21 Brakfirsted at Greenville came home at sunset. Mr. Sherrill Raised his house<sup>67</sup> this day. Wed. 22 went to Jos. Seviars house Raising in Company with Mrs. Sevier & Betsy. Thurs. 23 Small shower of rain Sowed some Cellery & Radishes. Mr. Sherrill dined here. Memo. Saml. Mitchell<sup>68</sup> is indebted 15 dollars being part of the money won from Mr. Crawford C. by 15 dols. sent pr. Brother Joseph. Fry. 24 rained. Sat 25 Set off to Col. Carters. Staid at Col. all night.

Sund 26 Stayed at my Fathers; rained, Monday 27. Returned to Col. Carters. rained. Tues. 28 staid all night at Mr. Greer. rained. Wed. 29 Retd. to Col. Carter staid all night rained. Thur. 30. Rained Came to Jonesbo with Colo. Carter.<sup>69</sup> Fry. 31 staid at Jonesbo in company with Colo. Carter.

#### August 1795.

Sat. 1st. came home in company with Walter King & George Gordon.

Sun. 2 went to hear a sermon preached by Mr. Cobler at James Seviars. Mon. 3rd. Sent 150 land warrants<sup>70</sup> 640 acres each by Geo. Gordon to No. Carolina to Get Titles for the same, to be laid on Each Side of Cumberland near the mouth of Obias<sup>71</sup> River (sup-

<sup>66</sup>Willie Blount, half brother of Gov. Wm. Blount, was governor of Tennessee, 1809-1815. His later home was in Montgomery County. Thomas Blount, brother of Gov. Wm. Blount, was an officer in the Revolutionary Army and was afterwards a member of Congress from the Edgecomb District (N. C.) until his death in 1812. (Heiskell, p. 82.)

<sup>67</sup>Gov. Sevier attends house-raising on two successive days. House-raising, corn-shuckings, and log-rollings were altruistic neighborly festive occasions. Closely related were quiltings and "apple-butter bilin's." D.

<sup>68</sup>Mark and Sam Mitchell lived at Brownsboro, a few miles below the Sevier farm. They were close kin to the Miss Mitchell who married the father of Rev. Samuel Doak and also kin to Hon. John Mitchell, the "Irish Patriot," a very eloquent Irish exile, who canvassed Tennessee as a democrat, 1856 to 1860, edited a democratic paper at Knoxville, served in C. S. A., went back to Ireland and was elected to parliament, refused his seat, re-elected and died. A son was born in Richmond, Va., during the Civil war, whose son, Jno. Purroy Mitchell was Mayor of New York until 1918. In 1850 Sam and Gum Mitchell, bachelors, were living at Brownsboro, managing the farm and the mill. D.

<sup>69</sup>Col. John Carter, famous in the history of the Watauga settlement. He was chairman of the convention which drew up and signed the Watauga articles of government, "the first written constitution adopted by the consent of a free and independent people of America." (Garrett and Goodpasture's History of Tennessee. He was the first colonel of the militia of Washington County. He lived about half a mile north of "Watauga Old Fields," now Elizabethton, in Carter County. Landon Carter was at this time (1795) entry taker for the district.

<sup>70</sup>This recital of land warrants recalls the celebrated controversy which was instigated by Sevier's enemies in 1802 when Governor Roane cast the deciding vote between Sevier and Andrew Jackson in favor of Jackson for the position of Major-General of Tennessee militia. It became the principal issue later in that year when Sevier ran successfully against Roane for the governorship. (See Garrett and Goodpasture's History, p. 143; also the case of Polk vs. Windle, 2 Tenn., 118, 433.)

<sup>71</sup>Obey River. It rises in Fentress County, flows northwestwardly through Fentress and Overton and empties into Cumberland River in the central part of Clay County. The 57,000 acres which were owned by Sevier and later owned and occupied by his widow and children, were probably a part of the lands described in the grants mentioned. These grants were dated August 28, 1795.



plied 100 dols. to Walter King for use of the working. Tues. 4 Rained self & Mrs. Sevier Dined at Mrs. Sherrills. Bt. 60 ls. Bacon from Mr. Mathews. Wed 5. Bought of John Green 2 Cows & 10 Geese at 20 dollars. he was indebted to me 11 doll. J. Fickey 7 & pd him 7 dollars. Willie Blount came here. Thurs. 6 Settled with Willie Blount for Major Scorers, notes given to David Allison in November 6, amounting to 6,594 dols. 78 Cents & 584 dols. & 50 Cents. the interest due thereon, which notes I have paid unto Mr. Willie Blount in Land Warrants to the amount of twenty Eight thousand Eight hundred acres at 250 dollars per thousand, which has Over paid the same 23 dollars. Maj. Willie Blount then set out for Jonesbo in the evening accompanied by myself as far as Mr. Slygars. Fry. 7 cloudy in morning. Yesterday I sent unto John Hunter 5 dollars pr. J. Richmond. self Mrs. Sevier Catery & Ruthy Dined at Mr. Sherrills. Sat 8 rained in afternoon. Memo. on 6th. I put into the hands of Walter King a 300 acre & 640 acre warrant to be laid on lands in Sullivan Opposite the Iron Works on No. side holsen (Holston) also. a 200 acre & 640 acre warrants to be laid on vacant land adjoining the lands on Kendricks Creek.

Sun. 9 rained. Monday 10 went to Greenes Court. Tues. 11 went to Mr. Bennetts staid at night. Wed. 12 rained. Thur. 13 ditto Fry. 14 rained. Sat 15 set out for home Dined at Mr. Aitkens. Came home in evening.

Sun. 16 Staid at home. Mon 17 ditto. Began to pull blades<sup>72</sup> Mr. Stygar came to my house. Tues. 18 went to Washington Court. Wed. 19 nothing Extra. Mr. Barlaben came to my house. Thur 20 rained. Fry. 21 dry. See Mrs. A. B. at night. Sat. 22. played at ball<sup>73</sup> self & son John vs. Messrs. Aitken & Anderson beat them four Games. Paid Mr. Carson schoolmaster 12. 2 dollars, came home eveng. Memo. put in the hands of Geo. Gordon 640 Land Warrants to be his if he brings me a patent for 96 thousand acres of land from Secy. of No. Carolina.

Sun. 23 nothing Extra. Mon. 24 began to pull blades in the New Ground. Tues. 25. Fair a cow died. Sent n. Corn to mill. Wed. 26 a cow died at night. Uriah Sherrill came to P. Grove. Thur. 27 rained. Fry. self, Washington, Bardelebin & p. Steiger went to W. Kings. Stayed there until Sunday Sunday & returned. Sat. 29th I See S. B.

Sun. 30 came home R. Campble came here from Wains<sup>74</sup> Army. Mon. 31 Rained began to sew wheat.

#### September 1795.

Tues. 1 September. Bardelebin sit for South Carolina (rained). Wed. 2 Thurs. 3 Memo. paid unto Colo. Christians Estate to this date 112 D. 16 C. Fry. 4 self Mrs Sevier & Betsy went to Jonesbo staid all night at Mr. Waddells. Sat. 5 Brak. at Maj. Seviars. Dined at Mr. Cashties (?) & Returned home in Comp. with R. Campble.

Sun. 6 Rained. John Fickey Cr. by Jno. Greene 2 dollars. Some time ago. Memo. Geo. Gordon receipted to Wal. King for 96000 acres

<sup>72</sup>"Began to pull blades." This is August and that is a quaint way of saying they were "pulling fodder"—get green corn blades to dry for feed. D.

<sup>73</sup>"Played at ball." Sevier and son beat their antagonists four games. There were not enough for town-ball, not for baseball, evolved from town-ball, and not yet evolved. There were not enough for bullpen. The game was probably cat-ball. D.

<sup>74</sup>General Anthony Wayne, who had routed the Indians in Ohio.



of Land Warrants, which I furnished to W. K. which Gordon is to bring me titles for. Mon. 7 Rained Tues. 8 fair A. Readerson Drowned in Nolcuhooky River.<sup>75</sup> Wed. 9 Ditto Sett off to Greene self & W. King staid all night at W. Gillaspies Thur. 10 arrived at Greenville in the mornng. began to take an Inventory of the Goods Fry. 11 finished taking the Inventory of the Goods amount to £700 & odd pounds. Sat 12 we returned home & was caught in a heavy rain. John Richmond cash 3 dollars 18.

Sun. 13 Fair. Mon. 14 went to Jonesbo to G. Muster.<sup>76</sup> Staid there till Sunday. Tues. 15 court began being the 15th, nothing Extraordy. Wed. 16. Thur. 17. Fry. 18. Sat. 19. Sun. 20 nothing Extraordinary. Mon. 21 went to Jonesbo Frost at night. Tues. 22 Frost. Wed. 23 Lodged at Bakers W Moth. Thur. 24 Fry. 25 Rained heavily in evening. Sat. 26 rained all day. caused great flood in New River & other places in Virginia.

Sunday 27 came home in Comp. with Mr. Claiborne, Mr. King & wife went to Washington Colledge to the Exhibition J. Anderson Trimble<sup>77</sup>—Sam Sevier 3 best speakers. Tues. 29 Mr. Claiborne set out for N. Fork Hasket came to work. Wed. 30 W. King & wife set out for Home.

#### October 1795.

Thurs. 1st nothing Extra. Fry. 2 went to Board Vendue Bought 3 sheep 13 geese & 12 ducks. Sat. 3 nothing Extra.

Sun. 4 cloudy Memo. sent to Tho. Brown by Washington Sevier 5 dollars some time ago. Memo. paid Mrs. Handly 2 dollars for 6 geese pd. Al. Moore for 2 C. & 12 ducks & An. Beard. for 13 & 12 ducks Mon. 5 Tues. 6 went to Jonesbo with R. Campble who set off to Virginia. Wed. 7 Thur. 8 Fry. 9. began to haul corn shut up the hogs got from Keele. Sat. 10 cloudy.

Sun. 11th clear. Mon. 12 ditto. Tues. 13 ditto. Wed. 14 clear.

<sup>75</sup>This river, from where it ceases to be Toe River in North Carolina, down to Cocke County, Tennessee, with its succession of falls, rapids and dangerous fords, and with its rapid "freshets," probably has the record among American rivers for drownings of unwary travelers. D.

One of the most dangerous of these fords was "Red Bank" in what is now Unicoi County (but *Washington* before Unicoi was established), even during my time and knowledge of it persons were drowned in that ford constantly. There is now a bridge near where the "Red Bank" was. A.

<sup>76</sup>August 11, 1795. "Went to G. muster." Doubtless "grand muster" is meant. From 1850 to 1860 musters were called "big muster," or "battalion muster," and "pettit muster." As training for war they were, doubtless, useful in Sevier's day when they were for definite war ends in sight. Later they were merely holiday occasions, where "stud-horses" were shown, women showed their finery and men drank "simmon beer" (persimmon), honey-locust beer, apple-brandy and whiskey and everybody ate ginger-bread.

In 1862, perhaps the last muster was seen by a Confederate soldier who had been wounded at the battle of Shiloh. Bent on recruiting a company in his old county, dressed in full Confederate uniform, he was riding by McCalister's School House. Rising the long hill he saw in the woods that lined the road a federal flag flying and a big company drilling, his old college-mate, George Wilson, in command. The situation was perilous, although "bushwhacker" outrages had not yet begun. The Confederate soldier said, as coolly as he could, with cold chills running down his spine: "Good morning, George!" George replied: "How are you, Mel?" Nothing more was said and nothing was done. George was killed in the Federal service, reputed a gallant soldier. D. Col. Doak says, "Everybody ate ginger bread," and should have added, "and washed it down with apple cider." A.

<sup>77</sup>The Trimble mentioned was probably an ancestor of Hon. John Trimble, an able lawyer of Nashville, who married a sister of Gov. Neil S. Brown. The Trimbles were kin to the Jordans and Doaks of Washington County. D.



Thur. 15 went to Jonesbo (clear) Fry. 16 came home from Jonesbo. Sat. 17 hard frost at night.

Sun. 18 Cool light Frost. Memo. Deberlabins horse & negro brought & left here. Mon. 19 pleasant. Mr. Messer the shoemaker brought forward his account up to this date amounting to £5.3 out of which had before received 5 dollars, & at this time 4 more dollars. Tues. 20 fair & pleasant. Wed. 21 raised the corn house. Thurs. 22 Mr. Stengar set out for So. Carolina.<sup>78</sup> Fry. 23 rained. Sat. 24 Hard Frost.

Sun. 25 Fine day hard Frost that night. Mon. 26 Jno. Keele came to cover the corn house. Self Mrs. Sevier & Betsy went to Jonesbo. Washington bro. home 3 bushels of salt from Mrs. Matthews<sup>79</sup>—Tues. 27 staid in Jonesbo. Wed. 28 came home Thurs. 29 Genl. Kennedy Dined here. Fry. 30 John Fickey pr. stockings from Mr. Mays store 6-6. Memo. Settled with Joseph Hanna & there is due to him 3 dollars & I am yet to Receive from him 700 Joint shingles & some blocks 250 Feet pine planks 1 Inch thick 200 feet  $\frac{3}{4}$  Inch poplar Ditto. Sat. 31 clear & pleasant.

#### November 1795.

Sun. 1 Do. Mon. 2 Do. Tues. 3 Do. Wed. 4 Do. Thur. 5 Do. Fry. 6 rained. Sat. 7. Do cloudy.

Sund. 8th clear. Mon. 9 Ditto, John Richmond cash 6 Dollars. Tues. 10 Do. Went to Gollehen (?) Vendue Mrs. & Mr. Cowan came home with me staid all night & set out in the morning for the Secys office—I furnished Mr. Gordon with Land Warrants to the amt. of 40000 acres & lent him cash 10 Dollars. Alex. McKee to Cash lent 3 Dollars John Fickey 4 yds Foistos (?) out of Harrison's store 3-6 pyd. 5 yds. Rusha sheeting from Deadricks at 4-6 pr. yd. Wed. 11 Digging potatoes began yesterday. cloudy. Thur. 12 recd. from Wm. Collier 2 Gallons honey at 5 pr. Gallon. 4 Gble Beeswax at 1-3 pr. (?) pd. to him 3 Dollars 18. Fry. 13th warm & pleasant Sat. 14 self Rutha Mary Ann Saml Joanna & Betsy & negroes wt. to J. Seviens husking of Corn. Rained at night. Mr. Claiborne came here.

Sun. 15 rained at night. Mr. Ward staid all night. Mon. 16 court began at Jonesbo. Tues. 17th went to Court. Wed. 18 Staid at Court. Th. 19 ditto. Fry. 20 ditto. Won of Gerum 5 pr. Stockgs. Sat. 21 came home in evening.

Sun. 22 Find day. Mon. 23 Jos. Allen, the Mason came to work on kitchen chimney. Tues. 24 began to haul stones. Wed. 25 Lilbarns waggon came to. Thurs. 26 Lilbarns waggon worked. Fry. 27 Lilbarns went home. Self Mrs. Sevier Ruthy & Betsy went to Mr. Aitkins worked 2 days in all rained. Quilla Sherrill was here to brakft. Memo. Solomon Horket (?) cash 4 dols. his work amounts

<sup>78</sup>Mention of South Carolina here and in many places. In those early days and down to 1861 relations, especially trade relations, were close between East Tennessee and South Carolina, intermarriages frequent. There were always many students from South Carolina at Washington College. Trade with Augusta and neighbor South Carolina marts was quite large. D. Especially Charleston. A.

<sup>79</sup>Mention of Matthews. The reference is probably to a "Mathes"—a very large family. Perhaps as many as a dozen Mathes heads of families owned farms within a few miles of Washington College, leading members of Old Salem church—a very enterprising, energetic and progressive stock. D.

They were elders in Old Salem church continuously for 120 years. A.



to £210. Sat. 28 Returned from Mr. Aitkins Dr. Holts son Wm. fell off from horse Tho. Talbett his wife Mrs. Johnson & Polly Greer Lodged all night. Capt. James Ward in Meyon (?) county near to Washington town (2) Memo. to cure the Scratches. an equal Quantity of Wine, oil & Lime, made into a poletice & left on 24 hours at a time.

#### Road to Charleston.

To Iron Mountain .....	20 miles
Turky Cove .....	40 miles
Lincoln Ch. ....	50 miles
York Ch. ....	40 miles
Winsbo .....	50 miles
Col. Thompson .....	60 miles
Ustane (?) Spring .....	35 miles
Charleston .....	60 miles

255 miles

Memo. Kitt Bullard has in possession Rachel old Wench, Arthur Aggy children, Wm. Gest Lear, Wt. Reed Mary, John Bullard Violet, Austin in possesso. of Kitt Bullard for his sister Sally. (Hulday a girl dead) Widone Bullard has Ned.

Sun. 29 pleasant Self Mrs. Sevier Mary An & Rutha accompanied Mr. Talbot &c as far as Mr. Holts. Mon. 30 pleasant day.

#### December 1795.

Tues. 1st of Decem. Very warm. Wed. 2 some cooler Thur. 3. fine day Fri. 4th paid to Allen Gillaspie for John Ficker 10 dollars. £3. Sat 5 fair & pleasant. Richard Campble returned from Virginia.

Sun. 6 cold & clear in the day at Stormy & began to rain towards day, sent Jim to Jonesbo for R. Camples negroes. Mon. 7 remarkable high winds with some rain. Josiah Allen began the kitchen Cellar. Tues. 8 more moderate. Wed. 9 Mr. Debardelabins family arrived, & took their Horse & negro boy away & Got 2 bushels of corn & half bushel of meal. Mrs. Davis wife of Nathanl. Davis died & is to be buried on the 11th inst. Self & Mrs. Sevier (?) Dined at Mr. Sherrills. Thurs. 10 I went to Jas. Seviere to Hunt turkys. R. Campble Rutha & Washgn. went to Jonesbo. Fry. 11 cold mornng & hard Frost. James Anderson came here in the evening & tarried at night. Sat. 13 windy Washington R. Campble & Js. Anderson went to Jonesbo & Returned in the evening & tarried all night. Rained in evening & all night.

Sun. 13 cloudy in mornng. Mon. 14 Some snow in mornng. began to kill Hogs. Tues. 15 cold, Killed Hogs 16 in the 2 days. John Ficke to 1 pr. stockgs got in Harrison's store price 16. Finished walling & plastering the Cellar of the Kitchen. Wm. 200 ls. Flour of Wm. Clarke at 12 pr. ct. Wed. 16 James laid the kitchen flour Mrs. Sevier & R. Campble wt. to Jonesbo. Thurs. 17. I killed a large turkey cocke. cloudy. Fry. 18 went to the Election. Sat. 19 tarried at Jonesbo Let John Keele have 2 dollars.

Sun. 20 came home Mon. 21 Pleasant weather. Mr. Collier sent 5 Fine Fish by his son. Tues. 22. Ditto. Wed. 23 Windy. Thur. 24



very warm. R. Campble & Kitty Sevier<sup>80</sup> married by Mr. Doake. Maj. Sevier his lady Mrs. Waddle Mr. Harrill Mr. Gordon Mr. J. A. Anderson Mr. McKee & his lady Miss Peggy Mr. Sherrill Mr. & Mrs. Weir James Sevier & lady, Mrs. William Clarke Benj. Brown & wife Josiah Allen John Fickey at the wedding. Fry. 25 Christmas. Most of the gest staid Brakefirst & went home. High wind in the night. Sat. 26 very warm Mr. Sherrill came to Brak. I went to Mr. Debarbelebins & Dined. High winds in the night & Rained. Doctor Chester came in evening & Tarried all night & lanced a little negro girls imposthumes (?) called Sarah. Mr. R. Campble his wife & Mary Ann went to Mr. Doakes meeting.

Sun. 27 Warm & pleasant. Mon. 28 cooler & frost that night Tues. 29 Myself Mrs. Sevier Betsy Mr. & Mrs. Campble set out for the Iron Works, arrived there that night & staid till fryday & came to Jonesbo & tarried all night. Next day came home. Rained in the evening. Wed. 30 rained. Thur. 31 Fair & Warm.

### January 1796.

Fry. 1 day of Jany. 1796 a warm & pleasant day. Mrs. Thompson arrived at Jonesbo. Sat. 2 a fine day.

Sun. 3 Rained, Josiah Allen set out for home paid him off for his work by giving him up his note of £6.19, that I got from J. Lacky

Let him have 2 coats for which he is to wall in a Cellar in Feby. next. Paid Josiah Allen for John Richmond 7 dollars, for James Sevier at Mr. Mays store £3. 2. 9. also cash 4 dollars. John Richmond Dr. to cash paid Jos. Allen 7 dollars. John Fickey 1 blk. Handkf got at Mr. Deadrick<sup>81</sup> store. Mon. 4 warm, the violets in the garden bloomed. Tues. 5 very warm & pleasant in the night snowed. Wed. 6 snowed all day. Thur. 7 clear & windy set out for knoxville. styd. at Greenville. pd. Expenses 6. Ferryed at Lick Creek (?) (?) to pay Gray 9d. Fed at Parks & owe him 1. Lodged at Wm. Murphys. Sat. 9 Dined at Mr. Reeses Lodged at Browns pd. for expenses 5.

Sun. 10 Crossed Holeson at McBees Ferry pd. 1. Traveling in Co. with Jn. Anderson Colo. Roddey & Arc. Rowan<sup>82</sup> esq. Arrived in Knox. in the evening & put up at Stones. Mon. 11 The convention met,<sup>83</sup> & a heavy rain fell that day & night. Tues. 12 sent our horses to Cains. Wed. 13 Rained & the river very high. Thur. 14 Rained Fry. 15 the committee reported the bill of rights. Sat. 16 cold.

<sup>80</sup>Marriage of Katherine Sevier (sixth daughter) to R. Campbell, the veteran of Wayne's Campaign, December 24, 1795. Her first husband was Archibald Rhea.

<sup>81</sup>The Deaderick family have long been prominent. James W. Deaderick, born at Jonesboro in 1812, was a justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, 1870-1886, and was chief justice, 1876-1886. His nephew, William V. Deaderick, 1836-1883, a noted lawyer, was one of the judges of the Court of Arbitration for East Tennessee. (Caldwell's Bench and Bar of Tennessee.)

<sup>82</sup>Archibald Roane, born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1760; admitted to the bar at Jonesboro and Greeneville, 1788; judge of the Superior Court; governor of Tennessee, 1801-1802; circuit judge, 1811-1815; judge of the Supreme Court, 1815 until his death in 1818.

<sup>83</sup>The constitutional convention of 1796, which framed the first constitution of the State of Tennessee. Sevier was not a delegate, but he must have been generally looked upon as the coming governor. His son, John Sevier, Jr., was reading and engrossing clerk of the convention. The convention met on January 11, and adjourned on February 6, 1796. It was composed largely of the ablest men in Tennessee. (See Caldwell's Constitutional History of Tennessee.)



Sun. 17 ditto. Mon. 18 Rained heavily. Tues. 19. Rained. Wed. 20 Very Thur. 21 Do. Fry. 22 Do. Sat. 23 Snowed in the night

Sun. 24 very cold. Mon. 25 ditto. Tues. 26 clear & cold. Wed. 27 cold. A ball at Mr. Dunlaps.<sup>84</sup> Thur. 28 cold & clear. Fry. 29 ditto Sat. 30 ditto. Sun. 31 very warm & pleasant.

#### February 1796.

Mon. 1 Feby. 1796. Rained. Tues. 2. rained all night Lodged at Woods. Wed. 3. clear & cold. Th. 4 ditto. Fry. 5 some warmer. Sat. 6 cloudy. Convention adjourned.

Sun. 7 very warm rained in the night. Mon. 8 Cumberland members set out. I sent with them many letters to sundry persons. Tues. 9 warm & pleast. Rained in the night. Wed. 10 dined at Govs. Thur. 11 left Knoxville in Company with Colo. Carter & Wm. McCinn (?). Lodged at D. Halys. Fry. 12 we lodged at Maj. Pres (?). Sat. 13 at Colo. Cockes.

Sun. 14 at Colo. Coils. Mon. 15 at Rogersville. Tues. 16 Lodged at Capt. Anies. Wed. 17 Lodged at Ar. Galbraths. Thur. 18 at Walter Kings S. B. deld. Fry. 19. ditto Lent John Christian 7-6. Sent to him pr. his wife. Sat. 20 Snowed. went to Abel Morgans.

Sun. 21 Lodged at night at J. Yancys. Mon. 22 came to Sullivans court. put up at Mr. Greghams. Tues. 23 Court. Wed. 24 ditto. Snowed 3 Inches Deep. Thur. 25 rained in the night. Fry. 26 cloudy. raid. yesterd. From Maj. Sevier 1 guinea & 4 Dollars. Sat. 27 came home from Sullivans swam our horses at Widow Ducanes (?) over the River holes on Sun. 28 Cold & Frosty. Mon. 29 ditto.

#### March 1796.

Tues. 1 day of March wt. to Jonesbo. Wed. 2 came home. Thur. 3 staid at home. Fry. 4th cold & clear. Sat. 5 went to Mr. Sherrills.

Sun. 6 Set out for Jefferson Election. Lodged that night in Greenville. Mon. 7th lodged in Company with Capt. Js. Stinson & Alex Carmichael at Parks on Bent Creek, very cold. Tues. 8th lodged at Mr. Fitzgeralds. Cold. Wed. 9 lodged at A. Wilkins. Thurs. 10 went to Jefferson Election & from their wt. to Wilcoxes. Lodged there in Comp. with Capt. Cauzby. Fry. 11. wt. to Sevier Election. Lodged at J. Thomas. Brakfirsted at Do. Sat. 12 Set out for home lodged at John Naves (?)

Sun. 13 Bracket. at Capt. Fines. Dined at Greenville & Lodged there all night. Mon. 14 came home at night. Tues. 15 cold & Dry. Wed. 16 Ditto. Ja. Sevier Lodged at my house. Thur. 17 cold & Dry. Fry. 18 self & Mrs. Sevier with Betty wt. to Jonesbo. Sat. 19 staid at Jonesbo. cold.

Sun. 20 came home. cold. Mon. 21 cold. Tues. 22 Mr. & Mr. Casson, Mr. and Mrs. Weir & Miss Jinmy & Betsy, Mr. McKee & his Lady, Mr. Debardeliben, James Sevier his Lady, Mrs. Jack Sevier, Capt. Harrison, Mr. Evans, & Mr. Sherrill Dined here. Mr. Waddell, Capt. Harrison & Mr. Evans staid at night. Wed. 23 Capt. Harrison,

<sup>84</sup>The first male child born in Knoxville, and the most prominent member of the Dunlap family, was General Richard G. Dunlap, who was a zealous friend of Andrew Jackson. He served at Mobile and Pensacola under Jackson, practiced law, was brigadier-general of militia in 1836, member of the legislature, and was a member of the cabinet of the Republic of Texas. (Caldwell's Bench and Bar, p. 101.)



Mr. Wddle & Mr. Evans took Brak. & set out for Jonesbo. Rained some in the evening. Thur. 24 Rained some in the evening. Thur. 24 rained in the morn'g. Frost in the morn'g. Memo. Paid Mr. Doake for schooling Washington & Saml. a half Joe (?). Paid Mr. James Paine towards Rye had some time ago 1 Guinea. Memo. Paid Alex Nelson for Expenses at Rodgers pr. order for Rogers 34-9. Put into the Hands of Walter King a patent of 25060 acres on waters of Cumberland. Ditto into the Hands of Capt. M. Harrison for 10500 on Sequatchie River. to see if any person will purchase the same. I pd. Jos. Young 15 bushls. Fry. 25 cold & Dry Frost at night. Sat. 26 cloudy. Colo. Carter & self set out for Knoxville Lodged in Greenville cool & Dry.

Sun. 27th set our from Green & lodged that night at Painters Springs.<sup>85</sup> Mon. 28 Brak. at Haines, & arrived in Knoxville in the evening. Assembly met. Tues. 29 cool & Dry. Recd. message by committee that I was duly elected Governor of the State of Tennessee. Wed. 30 was attended by a committee to the House of Representatives Chamber & was there Qualified as Governor.<sup>86</sup> 16 round of cannon was Discharged. Thurs. 31 Dry & cool, Dined at Gov. Blounts.

#### April 1796.

Fry. 1st day of April, cool. Sat. 2 ditto.

Sun. 3 ditto. Mon. 4 ditto. Tues. 5 ditto. Wed. 6 ditto. Thur. 7 the members of Assembly, the clks., the Judges, the Senator Mr. Blount, Col. Henly & a number of Gentlemen Dined with me at Mr. Stones. Fry. 8 warm & Dry. Sat. 9 ditto.

Sun. 10 ditto. Mon. 11 Went to Mariessville in Compy with Colo. McKee. After granting Coms. to Judge McNairy<sup>87</sup> & Blount. Lodged all night at Mr. Wallises. Tues. 12 Rained. went to P. Simmes, staid all night. Wed. 13 Returned to Knoxville. Thur. 14 rained heavily. Fry. 15 very warm. Sat. 16 accompanied by Gov. Blount as far as Cains on his way to Congress. McClung<sup>88</sup> McClellan & self Returned same evening.

Sun. 17 Self Col. Ford, Maj. Johnson & Cak (?) went out to Loves 3 miles. Mon. 18 removed from Cap. Stones to the house of Col. Carter in Knoxville. Col. Carter set off home; I sent with him Wm. Willsons bond for £63 for to Collect. Tues. 19th cloudy. Wed. 20 Dry & warm. Thur. 21 Ditto. Took tea at Mrs. McClungs in

<sup>85</sup>"Painter's Spring." Panther Springs, a well known station then and later, between Greeneville and Knoxville. The panther is still called "painter" in the mountain regions. D.

Panther Springs, not a railway station. Col. Doak has it confused with Blue Springs, now Mosheim, nine miles west of Greeneville. A.

<sup>86</sup>The old warrior, statesman and thorough business man makes far less noise recording his inauguration as governor than was made by the sixteen-round salute fired in his honor. The honor is recorded about as record is made of the sale of a hog. The inaugural ceremonies occupy less space than weather changes. D.

<sup>87</sup>Judge John McNairy of Nashville, judge of the Superior Court for Mero District, 1789; one of the territorial judges until 1796; member for Davidson County of the Constitutional Convention of 1796; judge of the United States District Court, 1797-1834. He was here commissioned as a judge with Archibald Roane and Willie Blount, as a judge of the Superior Court.

<sup>88</sup>Mention of McClungs. An old Virginia family, ancestral to McClungs of later Cowan & McClung, afterwards Cowan & Dickinson, a great mercantile house, trading with almost the entire South and with New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. D. The McClung here mentioned was probably Charles McClung, who was president of the Constitutional Convention of 1796.



Co. with Col. Gest & lady & Colonel White. Fry. 22 Very warm & sultry. Sent in an address to the Assembly<sup>89</sup>. Sat 23 Assembly adjourned. Doctor Cabel & Deleon arrived.

Sun. 24 very sultry & cloudy. Mon. 25 Knox. Court begun. Tues. 26 Fine rain, and rained in night. Mrs. Smith was here— Wed. 27 very cloudy in the morn'g. Cool in the night river raised also. Thur 28 very cool for the season. Fros. Fry. 29 light Frost. Sat. 30 some warmer.

#### May 1796.

Sun. 1 day of May some warmer. Mon 2d. Mr. Barrow brot news from Mrs. Sevier all well, cloudy & some rain. Judges Blount & Roane<sup>88</sup> Messrs. Dillen, Johnston, Terrill, Barrow, Maloy, Ross<sup>89</sup> & others set out for Nashville, 2 o'clock afternoon. Tues. 3 to Natl. Hays. Warm & Dry. Wed. 4th lent unto James Hankins 5 dollars, he being the workman who is building the school house in Knoxville. (lent in presence of Secretary Maclin)<sup>90</sup> Thurs. 5 fine shower. Fry. 6 warmer Dined at D. Whites. Sat. 7 Left with Mr. McCrory. James Kings receipt for cask powder. wt. 101 ls. Gross, which powder he is to get out of the public magazine, & give me Cr. for at 4/ per lb. Sat. set out for home, left with Secretary Maclin—Morgans reports. Simms military guide, the public papers & 2 Coats & 1 Hatt & a looking-glass. Lodged at Mr. Hains. pd. 5/. heavy rain.

Sun. 8th Fed at Mr. Cheeks Rode in company with Pegg Forest. Lodged at Greenville. Hard Frost Mon. 9 tarried in Greene.—Dry & cold Tues. 10 ditto, dry & cool. Wed. 11 tarried in Greene. Thu. 12 ditto. Fry. 13 came home in company with Mr. Claiborne. Sat. 14 Fine rain.

Sun. 15 Some light showers. Mon. 16 went to Jonesbo to Court. Tues. 17 staid at Jonesbo at Mr. Waddles. Wed. 18 ditto. rained. Thur. 19 ditto—ditto. Fry. 20 came home Frost in morn'g. Mr. Norvel & Geo. King came home with me. 21 all of us went to Mr. Loaks meeting. Mr. Balch, his lady & daughter came home with us.

Sun. 22 Went to meeting. Sacrament. Miss Balch & Mrs. Hammes came home with us. Mon. 23 self & Mrs. Sevier wt. to meet-

<sup>89</sup>This address was brief and mainly salutatory. It is to be found on pp. 659 and 660 of Ramsey's Annals.

<sup>88</sup>Willie Blount, Archibald Roane and John McNairy were the judges of the Superior Court. McNairy lived at Nashville. He was appointed United States judge in 1797 and held that position until 1834. Blount resigned from the Superior Court in 1796. He was governor of Tennessee, 1809-1815. He became a resident of Montgomery County and died there in 1835. His name is especially illustrious for his great ability and efficiency as governor during the War of 1812 and the Creek War.

<sup>90</sup>The early records of Davidson County show the names, Thomas Dillon; Isaac, John, David, Robert, Joseph, Peter, James, George, and Alexander Johnston; James, William, Daniel, and David Ross; William Terrill; John, Sherrod, Micajah, and Willie Barrow; and Thomas Mulloy, who shared with Edward Douglas the honor of being the first lawyer at Nashville. Mulloy was one of the signers of the Cumberland compact. He died about 1816. Willie Barrow was a son of Micajah Barrow and father of Washington Barrow, prominent in business and politics in the succeeding generation.

The route then traveled from Knoxville to Nashville was the old road which began at Leas Springs in Grainger County and ran through the present counties of Knox, Roane, Morgan, Fentress, Overton, Jackson, Smith, Trousdale, Sumner and Davidson. It was opened by militia in 1787. The Walton Road, which ran mainly through the tier of counties just southward, was opened about 1799.

<sup>90</sup>William Maclin, secretary of state of Tennessee, 1796-1807. Little is known of him. He seems to have removed finally to Davidson County and died there.



## May 1796.

ing. Tues. 24 a violent Hale & rained gust, did much damage to everything growing. Wed. 25 very cool for the season. Thur. 26 rained & cool. Memo. to send Doctor Holt some different articles to make bitters. Memo. paid to Mr. Saml. May for Saml. Sherrill in part pay of negro man named *Will*. Saml Sherrills own acct. with Mr. May £29.10.7 to Mr. May for goods to Josiah Allen on Mr. Sherrills acct. £4/10.0 Virginia money. Memo. pd. Mr. May for Charles Waddell pd. Mr. Doake on the 23 May 1796 6 dollars. Recd. from James Sevier 20 May 1796 12 dolls. Memo. Let a Quaker near Rogers mill have a bushel of corn.

Fry. 27 rained & cool went to Jonesbo. Self & Mrs. Sevier. let Mr. Balch have 18 bushels corn, recd. 9 dollars for the same.<sup>91</sup> Sat. 28 came home from Jonesbo.

Sun. 29 some more warm & pleasant. Mon. 30 rained lightly. Tues. 31 dry & some warmer, Brown & others dined here.

## June 1796.

1st warm & dry Let Mr. Hunt (B. J.) have 2 bushels of corn. Thur. 2 dry & hot let Miss Balch have half bushel corn. Fry. 3 rained in the mornng. let Mrs. Kennedy (widow) have 1 bush. corn. Sat. 4 rained. Memo. Jane Newman departed this life on 25th inst. at night buried 27th. Jacob Embree rendered an account against John Fickee for

Lyquor Amt. ....	0.13.6.
John Richmond for Do.....	0. 6.0.
Myself 1 qt. brandy.....	0. 1.3.
To his mother Gallon Do.....	0. 5.0

	1. 5.9. V. M.
4 Chairs .....	12.0 <sup>92</sup>

Gave Jacob Embree an order to Walter King for 150 ls. Iron. Sat. 4th rained in evening.

Sun. 5 Self, Mrs. Sevier, Mrs. Campble & betsy went to Mr. Doakes meeting rained. Mon. 6 dined with Mr. Sherrill rained. Michl. Woods & wife Lodged here all night. Mrs. Waddle also lodged all night here. Memo. of corn delivered to sundry persons. To Mr. Sec. H. pr. order from Mr. Doake 8 bushels. To Andrew Lilburns sundry times 12 bushels. To 2 men living at the Hotts (?) place 4 bushels. To Moses Hocket 2 bushels of rye. To William Celry 5 bushels. Mrs. Kenedy Corn 1 bushel. Mr. Hunt (B. Smith) 2 bushels. Tue. 7 Dry & warm. Wed. 8 very warm. Thurs. 9 light shower

## June 1796.

Fry. 10 A Gust in the evening. Mrs. Sevier & self dined at James Seviens myself wt. to W. Colliers & got cherys. Mr. John Waddle Junr. Lodged here all night Rained in the night. Sat. 11 rained in the mornng.

<sup>91</sup>Corn fifty cents a bushel. In 1856 it was about forty cents a bushel. D.

<sup>92</sup>The account here given, in the proportion paid for chairs and for brandy and whiskey recalls Falstaff's itemized account as to which Prince Hal descants upon the intolerable "deal of sack" to the small bit of bread. D.



Sun. 12 Ditto. Mon. 13 Went to Jonesbo & returned hom. Tues. 14 rained. Wed. 15 dry & hot. Thurs. 16 rained. Fry. 17 small shower. Sat. 18 Rained.

Sun. 19 Dry & hot. Mon. 20 warm & dry began to p. corn. 2nd time. Tues. 21 rained Eliz. Handly Died. Wed. 22 rained. Eliz. Handly buried. began to reap wheat. Tues. 23 reaped wheat<sup>93</sup> & finished. rained. Memo. Wm. Colyer 2 bushels corn. Mr. Haislet Junr. reaped part of the day. Haislet Senr. a whole day paid by Richmond to Gen. Burget for 2 Gallons of whiskey 8/. Wm. Collier 2 bushels of corn. Mr. Hunt (B. S.) 2 Bushels. Thos. Hutson on lick Creek near James Mauhons Dr. to 2 Bushels corn. Fry. 24 very hot. Sat. 25 Doctor Cathcart of Philadelphie & Mr. McCollister, Brak. here, and then we all went to Jonesbo. Tarried all night & Sunday night.

Sun. 26 tarried at Jonesbo. Mon. 27 paid John Hunter 14/6. in full of his (B. Smiths) account vs. me. Came home in Company with D. White who tarried all night, W. King also. Tues. 28 Doctor White left here, hauled in our wheat, W. King returned home. Sold unto Doctor Cathcart Lead mines for £750 V. M. very warm Day. began to hoe corn in the lower field on the river. Wed. 29 Mrs. Geo. King came to my house Thur. 30 self Mrs. Sevier, & Betsy in Company with Mrs. Sherrill & Mr. Geo. King set out for Knoxville<sup>94</sup>—arrived in Greenville that Evening—Lodged all night at Mr. Purdues pd. Expenses 3 dollars. Memo. left with Mr. Richd Campble 7 Dollars to purchase plank & salt. Let Mr. Richd. Jones have one Bushl. corn. Richd. Jones son & 2 daughters of Joshua Green died on the 29th with the flux—

#### July 1796.

Fry. 1 July lodged at parks, pd. Expenses 16/. Gave him 2 Dollars.

Sat. 2 Brak. at Col. Rodies Expenses 6/ rained Lodged all night Hains Exps. 28/.

Sun. 3d crossed at Magbees Ferry pd. Expenses 4/. left with a dollar Ball due me 2/. Arrived at Mr. Cains Lodged their all night Expenses 21/ left 1/6 unpaid. Mon. 4 arrived in Knoxville 10 o'clock. An Elegant Ball at Mr. Stones. very warm & Dry. Tues. 5 warm & Dry. Wed. 6 Ditto. a ball at Mr. Stones. sent our horses to Mr. Cains. Thur. 7 warm & Dry. Fry. 8 Bt. of Crozier 6 pr. stocks. Silk & buttons. 20/ cotton plain. Memo. pd. at Greenville as we came Down, to a Mr. Right, 9 Dollars for a muslin Habbitt bought by my Daughter Caterly some time ago. Sat. 9 very Hott.

Sun. 10 some rain at night. Mon. 11 cloudy & sultry. Tues. 12 very fine rain, cool at night. Wed. 13th cool & pleasant. Thur. 14 something more sultry. Fry. 15 Mrs. Sevier Mr. Sherrill & Mr. Geo. King set out for Washington. Mrs. Sevier took with her 10 Dollars for Expenses, &c. Sat. 16 very warm, & Dry.

<sup>93</sup>"Reaped Wheat." Grain was reaped with sickles, with finely tempered edge formed of very fine teeth. Later a reaping-hook was used, with a sharp knife-edge, much cheaper than the sickle. The cradle does not seem to have been yet used, at least for wheat. D.

<sup>94</sup>The first governor had thus been at his Nolichucky home since April 7. This diary shows that he had not changed his residence to the farm near Knoxville, as averred by some biographers. This journey lasted four days.



Sun. 17 My son Washington<sup>95</sup> & Saml. arrived in evening. Mon. 18 cloudy & some rain in the morning. went to a dance at Mrs. Blounts. Tues. 19 very hott. Wed. 20 Sent a dispatch to the Secy. at War by the post. Thur. 21 fine rain in the mornng. A Genl. muster of the light horse in Hamilton District.—S. Greer, G. Mr. Claiborne & Mr. Miller arrived. Fry. 22 recd. a letter from Saml. May Sat. 23 cool.

Sun. 24 Self, Rutha, etsy, Washington, & Sammy wt. to meeting. Last night Mr. Miller had stolen from him 5 gall peas & Maj. Claiborne 1 Dollar. Mon. 25. cool for the season. Maj. Nelson & Brak. with us at Mr. Stones Knox county court began today. Tues. 26 Blount Election began for a representative in room of J. Hueston resigned.

Wed. 27 nothing Extraordinary. Thur. 28 a Gust of rain in afternoon. Fry. 29 Mrs. Sevier & family arrived. Sat. 30th Mr. Hanly came in with Waggon we moved to Carters house Lent Mr. Claywell 3 dollars. the Assembly met this day.

Sun. 31 very warm. pd. unto Joshua Phipps 10 dollars in full of an old debt due William Crone.

#### August 1796.

Mon. 1 Settled with John Handly in full up to this date. & the Amt. of acct. Driving the waggon home included is 11 Dollars. Out of which he recd. 4 dollars & set out for home. Tues. 2 Election for Senators was held by the Assembly. Blount, & Cocke,<sup>96</sup> elected. Wed. 3 Recd. from Maj. Claiborne 4 dollars—paid to Mr. Holt 2 Dols. Thurs. 4 Dry & &cool Fry. 5 ditto. Sat. 6 warm & clear.

Sun. 7 ditto. Mon. 8 ditto. Tues. 9 Assembly broke up. Wed. 10 rain. Thur. 11th rained—pd. Mr. Hope in full for work done &c. & Fry. 12 rained. Col. Henly, Capt. Rouse & Capt. Cunzby dined here. pd. for 2 pails & a w. Tubb 9/6. Let Suza Haiston have 1 dollar recd. from her melons & to the amt. of 4/. Sat. 13 rained.

Sun. 14 clear. Mon. 15 Went to the Plant. & returned. Tuesday

<sup>95</sup>George Washington Sevier, the eldest child of the second marriage—now about fifteen years old. He was Circuit Court clerk of Overton County; served for many years in the army and became a colonel in 1814. He married Katherine Chambers and had eleven children, the second of whom married A. W. Putnam, the author of a history of Middle Tennessee. Col. Putnam, at his own expense, erected a monument to John Sevier in the City Cemetery at Nashville. (Heiskell, p. 203.)

<sup>96</sup>August 2, 1796. William Blount and William Cocke elected as the first United States Senators from Tennessee. Blount was the handsome, courtly and popular territorial governor. He had been a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. In July, 1797, he was expelled from the Senate for writing a letter to James Carey, an Indian interpreter, which, it was charged, was for the purpose of employing him "as an engine to alienate the affections and confidence of the Indians from the public officers of the United States residing among them." His hold upon the confidence of the people was unshaken. He was elected to the state senate and was made speaker. He died March 1, 1800.

William Cocke was a remarkable man. He was born in Virginia in 1748 and died in Mississippi in 1828. He was a companion of Daniel Boone on one of his exploring expeditions into eastern Tennessee and western Kentucky; was employed by Richard Henderson to aid in establishing settlers in Transylvania; was in the Kings' Mountain campaign; was a leader in the State of Franklin; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1796; served as United States Senator until 1805; was Sevier's most valued and trusted adviser; was elected circuit judge in 1809; moved to Mississippi in 1812; at the age of 65 volunteered for the War of 1812 and served with efficiency and gallantry; was a member of the legislature of Mississippi. He was an effective orator. (Caldwell's Bench and Bar, p. 24; Life by Wm. Godrich, *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. III.) Andrew Jackson was the representative in Congress from Tennessee at this time.



16 Mr. Hancocke recd 2 Dols. for which he is to furnish 6 bushls. of seed Oats on the plantation to sow in the spring. Wed. 17 a refreshing shower—Washington Swaped off his mair for a bay horse Settled with the butcher due to him £3.12.8. Sent the money to him the next mornng by Tobee. Thur. 18 very hott. Fry. 19 ditto. Chickasaw Indians came here. Sat. 20 Ditto. S

Sun. 21 self Mrs. Sevier & betsy wt. to Mr. John Sherrills. rained in eveng. Mon. 22. Staid at Mr. Sherrills. Wm. Sherrill came to Knoxville. Tues. 23 came home, in compy with Mr. Sherrill & wife. Wed. 24 Mr. Sherrill and wife wt. home. Thurs. 25 Wm. Sherrill & P. Simms Dined here. Fry. 26 Mornng Foggy. Memo. Chickasaw Indians came to Knoxville. Self, Washington & Sally Clarke sit out for Washington. Lodged all night at Mr. Hains. paid for expenses 7/6.

Sun. 28 Lodged at Colo. Conways. Mon. 29 lodged at Mr. Purdems. Tues. 30 rained very heavily. Wed. 31 came home, rained.

### September 1796.

Thur. 1 Sepr. came to Jonesbo. Fry. 2 staid in Jonesbo rained. Sat. 3 rained, staid in Jonesbo.

Sun. 4 rained came to the plana. Mon. 5 returned to Jonesbo. Sent Washington to Greene. Tues. 5 Was taken ill in the mornng. before Mrs. Mays store,—Washington returned with 175 Dollars from G. Conway, on a warrant on the Treasury for part of my annual service lodged all night in Col. Robertsons house. Wed. 7 some better came to Mr. Waddells. Let Muhl. Harrison have 100 dollars to pay the wagoners for bringing goods from Richmond. Thurs. 8 Mr. Stuart went off to Knoxville Sent by him to Mrs. Sevier 10 dollars. Fry. 9 lent Wm. Cox 6 dollars (Dry & Cool) Sat. 10 paid John Doake<sup>97</sup> 6 Dollars for his father for schooling the boys—Washington & Saml.

Sun. 11 cloudy & light frost. Mon. 12 ditto—light frost. Tues. 13 Some warmer. Wed. 14 blistered by Doctor Chester. Thur. 15 took off the blisters, kept my bed. Fry. 16 Kept my bed & very sick. Sat. 17 ditto—ditto.

Sun. 18 Mrs. Sevier came to Jonesboro this day I walked a little about. Mon. 19 got some better. Tues. 20 Fair & cool, Supr. Court began. Wed. 21 ditto. Thur. 22 cool. Fry. 23 ditto. Sat. 24 paid John Waddle 10 Dollars which he lent me sometime ago & lent him 2 dollars beside.

Sunday 25 Pleasant & warm. Mon. 26 ditto. Tues. 27 ditto. pd. Saml. Handly<sup>98</sup> 7 dollars in full of all his demands. Wed. 28 ditto. Mrs. Sevier came to P. Grove.<sup>99</sup> Thur. 29 I came to ditto, Major Claiborne appointed a Judge P. Tem. & Qualified. Francis Baker

<sup>97</sup>"John Doak," Rev. John Whitfield Doak, D.D., later president of Washington College and pastor of Old Salem Church, for a time pastor of a church in Philadelphia, Pa., father of Rev. Archibauld Alexander Doak, D.D., last Doak president of Washington College. D.

<sup>98</sup>Probably Capt. Samuel Handly, who was captured by the Indians in a fight near Crab Orchard while marching with his company of forty-two men for the relief of the Cumberland settlement. See account of his adventures and captivity in Ramsey's Annals, pp. 571-573. In his later years he lived at Winchester, Tenn., where he died.

<sup>99</sup>P. Grove—Plum Grove, the name of Sevier's farm and residence, on the Noli-chucky (or Nola Chuckee, as Col. Doak spells it).



whipped at Jonesbo. Fry. 30 Bealer whiped, Cropped, Branded & pillored for H. Stealing.

### October 1796.

Sat. Octo. 1st Self, Mrs. Sevier & Mrs. Campble set out for Knoxville lodged that night at Col. Conways.<sup>100</sup>

Sun. 2 Set out from C. Conways & lodged that night at Brachhaws, head of Dumplin. Mon. 3 arrived in Knoxville in evening/ all well/ Tues. 4 dispatched Commissioners to Cumberland Mero District<sup>101</sup> for Field officers & for the Cavalry by Maj. Miles. Wed. 5 rained in the mornng. paid to Mr. Hancock 1 dollar. The Butcher brot in his acct. £3.16.6. pd. him out of it £2.11.0. Thur. cool Frost at night. Fry. 7 red. of James Greenaway 5 dollars in part pay of powder some time ago—Frost at night. Sat. 8 Frost at night. Mrs. Blount & family sit out for philadelphia.

Sunday 9th clear & pleasant. Memo. purchased from Alex Cunningham 100 bushels of corn to be delivered on my plantation—pd. him in Croziers store £10.0. Mon. 10 cool. Tues. 11 Superior Court for Hamilton District begins. Wed. 12 cool. Thur. 13 cool. Fry. 14 rained. Sat. 15 clear & cool.

Sun. 16 Cool & pleasant. Mon. 17 ditto. Tues. 18 ditto. pd. Alex. Cunningham 100 dollars. Wed. 19 cool Jesse Geffrys whiped for Horse stealing. (Branding & Pilloring pardoned). Memo. lent the butcher in Knoxville 30 dollars. Thur. 20 Dry & cool, paid unto Mrs. Hairston 3 dollars in full of all accompts. Fry. 21 dry & cool. Sat. 22 Self Mrs. Sevier & Betsy wt. to Mr. Simms Tarried there all night. (Dry weather).

Sun. 23 Staid all night at Mr. Simms (D. W.) Mon. 24 came home (Dry weather). Tues. 25 let Mr. A. Crozier, have some time ago, a Draft on P. Garts in Baltimore Drewby Jos. Ennwer (?) for £250 V. money. Wed. 26 (Dry) Bought of Geo. Gordon a black mare 8 years old £16. price. Thurs. 27 Bought of Jas. Anderson a bay horse 70 dollars. price. 5 years old. gray star branded n. shoulder J↯ Fry. 28 dry & warm. Sat. 29 ditto.

Sun. 30 ditto. Mon. 31 ditto.

### October 1796.

Tues. 1 November 1796 hard rfost Wed. 2 dry & cool. Thur. 3 ditto Fry. 4 ditto. Sat. 5 ditto.

Sun. 6 Settled with Delancy the butcher & there is due to me 3 dollars & one 8th, & so settled in his books & my acct. crossed out. Memo. paid for Alexr. Cunningham unto N. P. Perkins 10 dollars. & 25 Cts. to Thos. Hamilton 20 dollars. Mon. 7 Dry the waggon & carriage set off for Home from Knoxville, Rutha Joanna & polly came on to Mr. McCains myself Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Campble & betsy tarried at Capt. Stones (Hoggs put up). Tues. 8 we set from Knoxville lodged that night at Breiziltons, paid Expenses 15/. Wed.

<sup>100</sup>Was this the George Conway who was major-general of Tennessee militia and whose death in 1801 brought about the contest between Sevier and Jackson for the office, which was decided by Governor Roane's vote for Jackson?

<sup>101</sup>"Mero District." Part of Middle Tennessee was once so called, named for Mero, Spanish governor of Southwest territories, at New Orleans. Robertson had this compliment paid Mero as a diplomatic tribute, during negotiations concerning navigation of the Mississippi. The early settlers of Middle Tennessee were sadly hampered by Spanish trade and navigation relations. D.



9 Fed our horses at the painter Springs pd 9d. Tarried all night at Col. Boddys pd Exps. 2 dollars. Thurs. 10 Tarried at Greenville pd. 4 Dolls. Fry. 11 came home all well. Sat. 12 warm & pleasant.

Sun. 13 ditto. Mon. 14 ditto went to Jonesbro. Tues. 15 rained in the mornng. came home from Jonesbro. Wed. 16 pleasant Thur. 17 ditto. Fryday 18 Settled with Jno. Richmond & there is due unto him £3.14.0. Sat. 19 Sowed Timothy seed rained all night.

Sun. 20 Finished sowing Timothy seed rained. Mon. 21 very warm. Tues. 22 went to Jonesbo. rained in evening & in the night snowed. Wed. 23 cold. Thur. 24 Genl. muster & very cold, all the little brooks Frozen, & part of esclotucky<sup>102</sup> (?) Fry. 25 Rutha takes very sick. Mrs. Sevier came home, continued very cold. Sat. 26 very cold. Court adjourned.

Sunday 27 very cold, snowed at night. Mond. 28 came home from Jonesbro. cold. Tues. 29 sent the waggon & horses to Jonesbro to sit out for Richmond (Some warmer, but still very cold) Wed. 30 some warmer, rained in the night. Peter Turny came to P. Grove with Petitions Letters &c for a pardon for Jacob Turney staid all night.—a pardon granted.

#### December 1796.

Thur. 1st of December cold & snowy day. John Fickee 1 dollar to pay the shoemaker. Fry. 2 Mrs. sevier came home rained. Sat. 3 very cold.

Sun. 4 Some more moderate. Mon. 5 pleasant Rutha came home from Jonesbo. Tues. 6 cold, & some snow. Wed. 7 very cold & flying snow. Thurs. 8 Snowed in the night. Fry. 9 very cold. Mr. Gillom came here. Sat. 10 some milder weather. pd. Isaac Embree 2 Dollars for plank.

Sun. 11 Very cold. Mr. Gillom left here. Sun. 11 cold & clear Maj. Sevier, Mr. Sherrill, Wm. Sherrill & wife dined here. Mon. 12 Settle with John Wei esquire for sundries unto this date & there is yet due unto him £3.13.8 Virga. Money., which he has from under my hand today on demand (Clear & cold) day but some more moderate than yesterday. Memo. to get Clarks Jud. vs. Denton from Major Sevier. Gave Clarke an order on Colo. Taylor (Columbia) for 143 dollars & 9 Cents being the ball. of Redins Debt. Memo. 15, 20, or 30 drops of the acid Elixir of Vitrol, 2 or 3 times a day. Good to expel wind & promote digestion. Memo. to Commissioners Joseph Demoson (?), & Fedance Lane Cpts out of Lanes sla. compy. which is divided into 2, near unto Colo. Roddys, Jefferson county, this division was set on Foot first by, Outlane & Major Mcfarland. Memo. Take a single handfull of the white shoemake root bark, boil it in water till it is strong & little more than a spoonfull then take out the root & add a spoon of tarr & a spoonfull of honey & mix it well together, then put to it a pint of new milk & Drench the horse—a sure curt for worms—a sixth part, for a child—or half as much for a grown person, or nearly as much as for a horse—proved & a Certain cure. remark of Smith 3 vol. 15 page.

Nations, like France, & England consist in great measure, of proprietors & cultivators, can be enriched by industry & enjoyment—on the contrary like Holland & Hamburgh, are composed of merchants,

<sup>102</sup>This reference is clearly to Nola Chuckee. D.



artificers & manufacturers, can grow rich only through parsimony & privation as the interests of nations are so differently circumstanced, so is the common character of the people the former liberality frankness & good fellowship, mark their character. in the latter, narrowness, meanness, & a selfish disposition, averse to all social pleasure & enjoyment.

Mon. 12 Genl. Smith Joseph Greer & Hugh Nelson came to P. Grove to get certificates of their being elected Electors of President & Vice-President of the United States.<sup>108</sup> Tarried all night. Tuesday 13 rained went in Co. with Genl. Smith to Jonesbro. Richard Campble Hawkins Windle & Mr. McCory came to town in evening. Staid all night & came to my house next day. Wed. 14 I came home rained. Thur. 15 very pleasant day. Paid off John Richmond for his 2 years work £3.14.1. Fry. 16. rained killed 5 fatted Hoggss. Sat. 17 Fine & cold.

Sun. 18. rained in the mornng. Dined to-day at Mr. Sherrills in Company with H. Windle Mr. Campble & his wife. Mon. 19 wt. to Jonesboro (cold) Tues. 20 Walter King came here. Wed. 21 snowed & rained. Thur. 22 Extremely cold froze very hard the river across & all the small streams. Fry. 23 W. King set out, (very cold). Gave him an order on Jno. Waddle for the ball. of a 200 dollar warrant on the treasurer having recd. of Waddle 100 out of it, also an order on Mr. Montgomery for goods. Sat. 24. Very cold—paid Allen Gallaspie 5 dollars for John Fickee as pr. receipt.

Sun. 25 very cold Dined at Mr. Sherrills Mon. 26 V. cold. Dined at Mr. McKees. Tues. 27 Reuben Paine set in to be Overseer at £40 pr. annum. pd. Ruble th B smith 1/9. in full of all dues for S. work —pd. Richd. Campble 14/. for a pr. shoes. Wed. 28 very cold Thur. 29 ditto/ Fry. 30 ditto. Sat. 31 ditto.

#### January 1797.

Sun. 1 day January 1797 some m. moderate. Mon. 2 very cold. Tues. 3 ditto Flying snow. Wed. 4 a little rain & Freeze at night. Thur. 5 myself in co. with son Rector sit out for Knoxville Lodged in Greenville that night pd Expenses 9/. Recd. from Wm. Conway a Dappled Gray horse which he recd from J. Richardson at the price of 130 dollars in part pay of a debt Richardson was indebted to our store Keaped at Greenville. Memo. left with R. Campble an order I obtained from Charles Robertson of 70 Dollars on Acquilla Sherrill; which R. C. is to collect & send me the money. Fry. 6 lodged at H. Conways very cold Sat. 7 snowed lodged at Wm. Conways.

Sun. 8 Lodged at John Bradshaws very cold Mon. 9 clear & some more moderate Lodged at J. McCains pd Expenses 4/6. Tues. 10 came to Knoxville rained very much in the night turned warm. Dined with Secy. Muclin. Wed. 11 Cloudy & windy the weather mod. Came to Capt. Stones last evening. Thur. 12 very warm & pleasant. Mr. Campble & his wife arrived & Mr. Arthur Crozier & his wife. Fry. 13 warm & pleasant a comp. of regulars arrived. pd. to Seth Johnson 5 dollars. Rained in the night. Richd. Campble recd. the 70 dollars on my acct. from Acquilla Sherrill cash for myself 2 dollars. Sat. 14 cloudy & warm.

<sup>108</sup>These three electors cast the vote of the State for Jefferson for President and Burr for Vice-President.



Sun. 15 very warm. Mon. 16 ditto. Tues. 17 cloudy & rained in the night. Wed. 18 cloudy & some rain in eveng. Sent to Richard Campble 15 dollars. Recd. from Secretary Pickering by way of Cumberland 7 acts of Congress. Thurs. 19 Rained. Fry. 20 cloudy & rained in eveng. Sat. 21 cloudy.

Sun. 22 clear & warm. Mon. 23 clear & cool. Tues. 24 clear & pleasant. Wed. 25 clear & pleasant. Thur. 26 ditto. pd. A. Char-michael 5 & a half dollars in full of his account. Fry. 27 ditto & pleasant. Sat. 28 warm & a violent storm Loud thunder Large hail & rained. High winds, & constant flash of Lightning the greater part of the night.

Sun. 29 some cooler & fair

Mon. 30 rained, court began paid Hickey the B. smith 3 dollars for a grubbing hoe.

Tues. 31 cloudy & some rain.

#### February 1797.

Wed. 1 February 1797 wet day. dined with the officers & a number of other gents at Mr. Campbles

Thurs. 2nd cloudy & some cooler

Fry. 3 rained

Sat. 4 clear & warm

Sun. 5 ditto

Mon. 6 ditto

Tues. 7 ditto

Wed. cloudy & some rain

Thur. 9 clear & warm

Fry. 10 ditto

Sat. 11 ditto

Sun. 12 ditto

Mon. 13 warm & rained heavily all night went to a ball at Capt. Stones being President Washingtons Birthday.

Tues. 14 warm & pleasant, Danced in the evening again at Capt. Stones pd. Mr. Hancocke 5 dollars for 2 acres of ground Grubed by Hitchcock

Wed. 15 clear & cold night

Thur. 16 clear & pleasant

Fry. 17 cloudy & rained

Sat. 18 Cloudy & like for rain

Sun. 19 dined at Mr. cains in Co. with W. Rector on his way to Virginia who took with 163 Virga money. rained all night. Rutha Sevier arrived.

Mon. 20 rained in mornng.

<sup>104</sup>February 13, Washington's birthday; doubtless old style. D.



## A DAVIDSON COUNTY POLITICAL CIRCULAR.

1843.

### TO OUR WHIG BRETHREN OF DAVIDSON COUNTY:

The names of the undersigned were selected to fill the blank in a resolution passed unanimously in the WHIG COUNTY CONVENTION, which met on the 18th ult., appointing a committee to prepare a suitable address to the Whigs of this county, and urge them to unite upon the nominees of said Convention. Previous to the nominations by the Convention, there were two or more Whig candidates in the field for each of the county offices. Had all of them continued to run until the election, the defeat of each one would most certainly have ensued, and success have crowned the efforts of our political opponents. The Whig party would have been torn asunder by divisions, whilst our political adversaries would have repaired to the polls and voted for their most available men with their usual concert and unanimity. Hence to secure the election of some one of the Whig candidates to each of these offices, we perceive the necessity and propriety of the Whig County Convention, which was composed of delegates chosen by the Whigs from all the districts in the county, whose duty it was to ascertain the Whig strength of each Whig candidate in their respective districts. The principles on which the Convention proceeded in making its nominations, were the fairest and most satisfactory that could be suggested. The names of the delegates were called by the Secretary in numerical order, commencing with those from District No. 1, whereupon one of the delegates gave in the vote of his particular district. The whole vote being noted down, a committee was appointed to sum up the same, and those candidates receiving a plurality of the aggregate county vote, were proclaimed by the Convention as its nominees. The following candidates obtained the greatest number of votes of those aspiring to the same office, (to wit):

THOMAS T. SMILEY, for Circuit Court Clerk.

CHURCHILL LANIER, for Sheriff.

EGBERT A. RAWORTH, for Register.

JOHN RAINS, for County Trustee.

Although the mode adopted by the Convention in its nominations, was the most republican that could be mentioned, yet we did not expect it to meet the approbation of our political opponents, especially those that were candidates. We knew that they in their harangues to the people would denounce the whole affair as a mere caucus, or junto of men assembled together with assumed powers to obliterate the fair prospects of those candidates that were defeated in receiving the nominations. It is easy to perceive that the object they have in view, in making these assertions in the face of reason and truth is to secure their own elections by sowing broadcast the seeds of dissention and disunion in the Whig ranks.

Three Districts, (viz:) the 4th, 8th and 25th were not represented in the Convention. At each meeting previous to the 18th ult., they were earnestly requested by the convention, through the Whig papers of Nashville, to appoint delegates, and on the 4th ult. the Secretary was directed to correspond with some of the known Whigs in each of these Districts, urging upon them the propriety of having delegates



in attendance. Their omission to act upon this subject, after such repeated solicitations, we think implied an acquiescence on their part to support the nominees of the other districts.

In this county we have a Whig majority of near 600 votes, nevertheless all the county offices with a single exception are filled by those of the opposite party. Why is this the case? Simply because our opponents in the county elections have voted upon party considerations alone, whilst the Whigs in casting their votes, have been influenced by friendship, courtesy, and things of a like nature. It is now high time this game which has been so successfully played, should be stopped and the rights which a majority in numbers give, be maintained. If the products of our soil are prohibited from entering the ports of Foreign Nations, by an imposition of onerous duties, we believe in reciprocal acts prohibiting the fabrics of their manufacture from entering our ports. Upon the same principle, if the Democrats oppose the election of Whigs to county offices, merely because they are Whigs, we think it our duty to oppose the election of Democrats, especially when we have in the field Whig candidates who are clever, and in every way capable of filling the offices to which they aspire.

In the next Presidential election, we may expect a hot and fierce contest, and our opponents to put into action every influence within their reach. If such be the case, and these county officers who are in daily intercourse with the people contribute anything to the political complexion of this county, we believe it the duty of every true Whig to vote for the candidate of his own party, so that this influence may not be brought to bear against a cause, on the success of which depends in a great measure the happiness and welfare of the American people.

In performing the duty allotted to this committee, we take great pleasure in saying, that the Whigs in different portions of the county have manifested a disposition to support in good faith and harmony the nominees of the Convention. To our Whig brethren we say, be firm—be united, and a glorious result will attend our efforts.

S. V. D. STOUT, Chairman;  
THO. S. KING,  
M. C. GOODLETT,  
M. M. MONOHAN,  
JNO. HUGH SMITH,  
E. P. CONNELL,

Committee.

Nashville, Dec. 5, 1843.



## HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

*The Rhodes Family in America*, Vols. 1 and 2, is a very painstaking genealogical study that is put forth by Nelson Osgood Rhoades of Los Angeles, Calif. Most detailed and interesting matter is here collected of worthy representatives of this family in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New York, etc. The writer seems to be engaged in a labor of love and is sparing no time or means to bring his work to a worthy finish. Other volumes will follow.

*Early History of Huntsville, Alabama*, was published in 1916 by Edward Chambers Betts, Esq., and presents a most readable volume of local history. From the first days of settlement in what was then the "Mississippi Territory," Madison County, of which Huntsville is the county seat, was the most important. It seems that the place was first known as "Twickenham," but later took permanently the name of one of the first settlers who tarried near its noted great spring. The South furnishes no more interesting place for original study of economic and historical situations than this old cultured center of north Alabama.

*The Star of Empire* is another most valuable monograph that comes from the versatile pen of Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina. Again it is "Phases of the Westwood Movement in the Old Southwest" that is under consideration, the field where Dr. Henderson has already distinguished himself in contributions made. The basis of this special monograph is a series of articles originally contributed to the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer, but the issuing of the matter in this permanent form carries with it the resultant of much further research and pertinent criticisms. The story largely centers about the career of the two great men, Isaac Shelby and Richard Henderson, one a surveyor, hero of many battles and first Governor of Kentucky, the other an eminent jurist, pioneer and president of the Colony of Transylvania. It must be admitted that the contributions of Dr. Henderson in this special field have reopened many historical situations that for a hundred years have been practically settled, and new valuations must be given in this day of larger perspective and access to original sources.

### ITEMS FROM THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Society holds no meeting during the summer months. The first meeting of the fall was held at the rooms of the Society in the Watkins Building, October 14, 1919. Among the donations recorded were:

*History of the Chicasaw Indians*, by the author, Hon. James H. Malone, of Memphis, Tenn.

*Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, by the author, Hon. Samuel G. Heiskell, Knoxville, Tenn. In a personal note to the Society from Mr. Heiskell accompanying the volume he says:

"The preparation of my work was greatly aided by the Tennessee Historical Society and the archives in your custody. . . . Your



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society is doing the best work that was ever done for the neglected history of Tennessee, and every lover of the State hopes that its activities may receive that appreciation which it deserves from all."

*Industrial Resources of the South and Southwest*, by Dr. DeBow, published many years ago, together with "*The Law of Slavery*" by the same author, were presented to the Society from the private library of Mr. Robert Dyas.

*The Battle of Shiloh*, an official document published by the United States Government, Washington, D. C.

*The Northwest Company*, by Gordon Charles Davidson.

*A Catalogue of Materials in the Archives de Indies*, by Charles A. Chapman.

A proper minutes recording the passing away of the Hon. George C. Porter, former Treasurer and Custodian of the Society, was made and appropriate remarks offered by members present. See article in this number of the Magazine.



# THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1849  
INCORPORATED 1875

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## FORM OF LEGACY

"I give and bequeath to The Tennessee Historical Society  
the sum of -----dollars."



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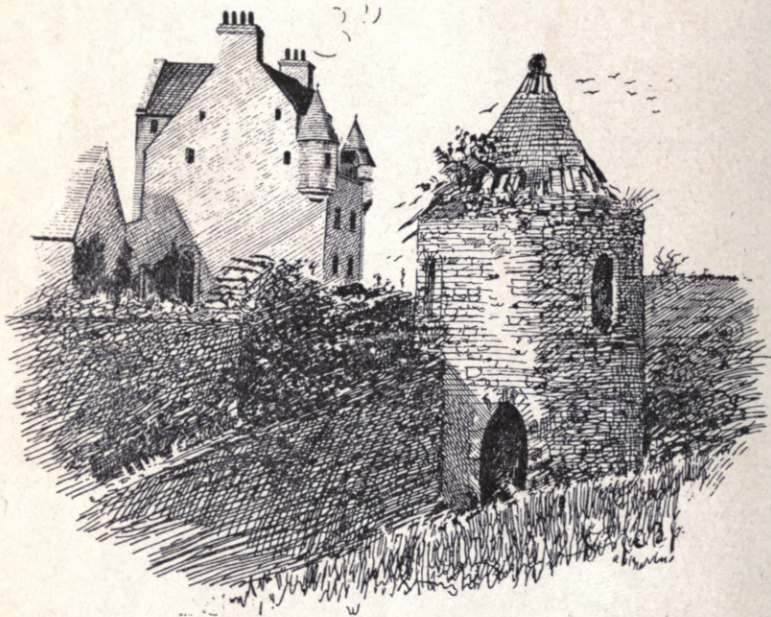
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A NORTH IRELAND PLANTATION-HOUSE WITH BAWN BUILT BY JAMES  
SHAW IN 1626.

(See page 203.)



# TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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No. 4

## TENNESSEE SCOTCH IRISH ANCESTRY

[We are pleased to present to our readers the accompanying contribution from the accomplished pen of Mrs. Blanche Bentley, of McMinnville, Tennessee. For some years she has devoted her spare moments to cultural and historical pursuits, as well as to leadership in many worthy local objects, to the social betterment of her residence town. Her historical studies embrace local history of the South, with special emphasis on Tennessee and its county of Warren, together with wide research in genealogical matters. A residence for quite a period in Washington City furnished opportunity for study in the Library of Congress, libraries of Baltimore and other valuable eastern collections. The article that follows was planned as an introductory chapter to a larger work on the History of Warren County, and the reader will be amply persuaded that such a worthy enterprise is in most fitting hands as to painstaking accuracy and discriminating historical judgment.—EDITOR.]

In the years intervening between the first settlement upon the soil of Tennessee and the first settlement in Warren County, two most important events had occurred in the history of our country: a war for independence had been fought and won, and a permanent peace and security for the white race had been wrested from the Indian after a struggle of nearly two hundred years. The region lying immediately west of the Appalachian Mountains, extending from the Scioto and Miami rivers to the Tennessee, had long been set apart by the great tribes as a hunting ground, the "theatre of bloody conflicts between the savage warriors." Much the greater part of this territory was afterward included within the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and became the scene of the last desperate stand made by the Indians to hold their old possessions. Tennessee received the baptism of fire at her very birth, and fully won her right to become a great state amid scenes of lofty courage and heroic daring.

"Tennesseans, as the breed runs in 1806, can go anywhere and do anything," wrote Aaron Burr. A people who "can go anywhere and do anything" are not the result of chance; they are in truth the product of influences, experiences and



traditions extending through many generations. To find the forces at work which produced the Tennessean, one must go back to a time before the word "Tenasee" was known to any save the Indians living along that river's banks, and to events occurring in years, long gone by, in lands beyond the seas.

#### FIRST IMMIGRANTS.

The first immigration to the territory afterward known as Tennessee came chiefly from Virginia and North Carolina, and was drawn almost entirely from the English and Scotch-Irish nationalities, the Scotch-Irish composing, it has been estimated, one-half the early population. "Scotch-Irish" is a term belonging to the usage of America, and coined by those who bore it to distinguish between the native Irish and the Scotch who, though living in the Irish province of Ulster for more than a century, remained a separate people. From Ulster came the second tide of immigration to Virginia. This immigration, entering the colony from the northeast, flowed down the valley lying between the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge, and passed outward, through the great southwestern gateway opening through the Cumberlands, in to the vast land beyond.

#### ULSTER.

The province of Ulster lies in the extreme northeastern corner of Ireland, and is washed by the waters of the North Channel. Ulster is a country of dense woods and ferny glens; of old plantation-houses with towered gates and walls; of plain, bare churches of the Covenanters, surrounded by moss-grown stones bearing the arms and histories of those lying beneath them; of Irish ruins, wild legends and heroic memories. A place, too, of interest to many men and women of the South as the cradle of their lives. The cradle, not the birthplace, for that must be sought in Scotland, which lies so near across the narrow channel that the lowlands of Ayr can be seen, white in winter and blue in summer.

Rebellion in the Province of Ulster gave unceasing trouble to the last Tudor monarchs. The gallant, hopeless struggle culminated in the reign of Elizabeth in a series of fierce uprisings, with the result that immense estates belonging to the Irish nobles reverted to the English Crown. A plan attempted by Elizabeth for colonizing Protestants upon the conquered lands had no permanent result, and is chiefly known to us as the occasion of Edmund Spencer's residence in Ireland.

James Stuart, as the descendant of one of their own Milesian kings, and believed by them to be, though a professed



Protestant, at heart a Catholic, was the first king of Great Britain acknowledged by the Irish as their lawful sovereign. In response to this feeling, James, upon his accession, wiped out all old scores by publishing his "Act of Oblivion and Indemnity," and for the first time gave Ireland the protection and benefit of English law. But the extension of this very privilege became the source of new misunderstandings, and about the year 1610 another great revolt broke out in Ulster, the old battle ground. The earls implicated fled beyond seas, and their estates, embracing some six counties, were declared forfeited to the Crown.

#### SCOTS SETTLE IN ULSTER.

The escheated Irish lands were opened to Scotch and English colonists, under the terms of the following plan drawn up by King James, with the aid of his legal adviser, Francis Bacon:

The attainted land was to be divided into tracts of two thousand, fifteen hundred and one thousand acres, each, only Scotch and English being eligible for the larger grants. The grantee of a two-thousand-acre tract was required, within four years from the date of his entry into possession, to build a stone castle, or plantation house, with surrounding bawn; he who received a grant of fifteen hundred acres must, within two years after entry upon his land, build either a stone or brick house and bawn. Armed, able-bodied Scotch or English tenants, twenty-four to each thousand acres, must be maintained perpetually, to build up and protect the estate. Bond was required and an annual report by the grantee; and every fourth year deputies of the Crown made rounds of inspection.<sup>1</sup>

For the grants of a thousand acres, the Irish, upon fulfilling certain conditions, were made eligible as well as English and Scotch.

The "bawns" were strong stone walls with towered gates and angles, surrounding the dwelling-houses and enclosing sufficient space to receive tenants and cattle in times of stress. That such times would come soon and often, James well knew, and he wished to have in Ulster the aid of a people, living within the law, yet tenacious and warlike as the Irish themselves. Having given the colonists a legal right to possession of the attainted lands, James left them in many a fierce encounter to defend that right at the point of the sword.

To the "Corporation of the City of London" was assigned the County of Coleraine, upon condition that the corporation would build the fortified cities of Coleraine and Londonderry; and county Coleraine became county Londonderry.

<sup>1</sup> Foote's Sketches of North Carolina."



The counties of Down and Antrim, most fertile and beautiful of all the Ulster counties, were so near Scotland that, even in those days of steamless vessels, Ayrshire, Argyle and Wigtown could be reached within five hours. Many Scotchmen came to Down and Antrim in response to the land offer of James. The very terms of this offer excluded all but men of fortune and influence, and the records show that most of those who came were younger sons or connections of noble families—many of them driven from Scotland by the religious disorders of the time.

Sir Arthur Chichester, the English deputy of King James in Ulster, in his first report to the Crown, says:

The Scotchmen are come with better port, are better attended and accompanied, than even the English themselves. From the best parts of Lowland Scotland have come these picked men to Ulster to become Britain's colonists. But these proud and haughty strangers, with their high heads and new ways, are held as aliens and harried by the Irish. The scorn of the Scot is met by the curse of the Celt.

Another authority, writing at a late date, says of the Scotch colonists:

In Lowlander and Ulsterman is the same racial pride, the same hauteur and self-assertion, self-reliance and firm will.

#### PARISH OF RALOO.

One small community of these colonists is of especial interest to us, as the ancestors of many families who came, within the next hundred years, to the southern Valley of Virginia, and at a later time to Tennessee and other states of the South and West. Near Larne, on the eastern coast of Antrim, is the parish of Raloo, and belonging to Raloo Parish are the town-lands of Glenoe, Ballycarry, Ballyvallagh, Bellahill and others; north of Larne is Ballygally bay and the town of Cairncastle—all localities in such proximity that they might be included within one old country "neighborhood." From the vicinity of Larne and Cairncastle came many of those families which emigrated to the Valley of Virginia.

From parish registers and county records, deeds and family papers, the place is known where many of these families made their homes, the graveyards where they are buried and the churches in which they worshipped.<sup>2</sup> From the town of Cairncastle came the Doaks, Shaws and Wilsons; from the

<sup>2</sup>Facts relating to Raloo Parish and Irish pictures contributed by M. Semple, Mount Hill, Larne, Ireland, historian and genealogist.

[NOTE.—A great deal of local Irish-Scotch history concerning this immediate neighborhood in Ireland is furnished by the valuable collection of genealogical data in the volume, the "LYLE FAMILY," by Oscar K. Lyle, New York, 1912. One of the main authorities cited here is the same Miss Mary Semple, whose picture also is given on page 325. This volume also styles the parish mentioned as that



parishes nearer Larne came the Alexanders, Agnews, Adairs, Breckenridges, Brices, Blairs, Buchanans, Blacks, Campbells, Colvilles, Craigs, Crawfords, Donalds, Edmondstones, Havrons, Hays, Houstons, Grahams, Kennedys, Keys, Gordons, Lyles, Pattons, Prestons, Thompsons, Todds, and many others. Edward Brice, one of the first seven ministers sent by the Church of Scotland into Ulster, preached at Ballycarry church. At Bellahill, near Ballycarry, was the home of the Jacksons, where the house still stands that was the birthplace of Andrew Jackson's father. At Gramoney, south of Larne and nearer Carrickfergus, lived the Donelsons. In 1730, Isaac Donelson, the ancestor of Rachel Jackson, "of a venerable age but still a leading man in the parish," signed a call to the Reverend Mr. John Thomson to the Gramoney church.

The McDowells, Irvins, Knoxes and Wylies were living at Glenoe previous to the colonization of Ulster by the Scotch. The mill built by them in 1584, near Glenoe, still grinds the oatmeal of the families living near it; and in one of Glenoe's shady, winding streets stands the house in which Ephraim McDowell, the pioneer of the Virginia Valley, was born. In an adjoining street of the same little village is the home of the Irvins, who accompanied him to America, and standing by the doorway of the house is a great yew tree, planted by one of the Irvins family three hundred years ago.

In Cairncastle was a parish church of the Covenanters; and not far from the place stands one of their "meeting-houses," with an old sun dial over the entrance, "still telling the hours, although unmindful of the passing years." At Ballycarry, in the church where Edward Brice first preached, is the stone which tells that

of Larne and Inver, consisting of four townlands (something similar to our term "township"), viz: Browndodd, Ballyvallagh, Ballpsnoddy, ———

#### THE LYLE HOMESTEAD.

Some two and a half miles southwest of Larne, in the townland of Browndodd, on the road that leads from Larne to Raloo, there branches off a lane to the right on the north side which, after a short distance, leads to the ancestral dwelling place of the large family of Lyles. This ancient homestead is now over three hundred years old and still stands in good repair and continues to give shelter to descendants of this Lyle family, being occupied in 1911 by John Snoddy. The building is a very substantial one of stone, two stories high and plastered on the outside.

In its earliest days it was covered with thatch but as far back as 1750 this gave place to slate. At one end of the building and forming an integral part of it, is the barn or stable, for in the ancient day of robbers and marauding it was as necessary to have the stock near for protection as it was the members of the household. On the ground floor there is a hall dividing the house; on one side of it are two rooms used for kitchen and storeroom, on the other side is a parlor and sitting-room. Upstairs are four bed rooms. In early days the window panes were set in lead frames. These, however, have long since been removed. In front is a yard devoted to flowers, also ornamented with a sun dial. About one-fourth of a mile east of the Lyle homestead is the townland of Ballyvallagh, where lived the Blairs, Houstons and others, who subsequently settled with the Lyles at Timber ridge, in the Valley of Virginia. The Houston homestead was on high ground overlooking the sea, from which, on clear days, there is a beautiful view of the North Channel of Scotland.—EDITOR.]



Neare This lyeth the Body of that Faithful and Eminent Servant of God, Mr. Edward Brice, who Begun preaching the Gospel in this Parish 1618: Continuing with quiet success while 1630 in wh: he Dyed aged 67.

The old silver baptismal bowl of that period still survives; upon it are engraved the Edmondstone arms, together with the inscription:

The gift of Archibald Edmondstone, Senior, to the Presbyterian congregation of Ballycarry.

In the same church is preserved a silver communion cup, bearing the Brice arms and the inscription:

The gift of Captain Edward Brice.

The bare, homely little "meetinghouse" in Cairncastle, and others like it, were undoubtedly the models for many similar structures by riverside and under spreading boughs in the new country.

During the four generations in which the Scotch, who came in the first great migration to America, remained in Ireland, the two races, if both Scotch and Irish writers may be credited, remained wholly separate and distinct.<sup>3</sup> And yet, while the racial purity was remarkably preserved, and intermarriages or change of faith by Catholic or Protestant extremely rare, the unconscious influence of each upon the other must have been incalculable. Climatic differences, a changed environment and alien culture, all reacted in a thousand ways upon the Scotch temper, relaxing, quickening, liberalizing. The Ulsterman who settled in America differed essentially from the Scotchman who had colonized Ulster a hundred years before. He was different, too, from the colonist who came directly from Scotland; and to this difference may perhaps be traced the contrast in the spirit of their worship in after years: "The Scotch-Irish, in ringing, joyful voices, sang the melodious hymns of Watt, while the Scotchman continued sternly to chant the Psalms of David." Students of the causes leading to the separation of Presbyterians into "new school" and "old school," with the final organization of a separate church, have attributed the movement largely to the Scotch-Irish influence.

#### M'DOWELL, LEWIS AND PATTON FAMILIES.

In 1729 Ephraim McDowell, accompanied by his family and two of his brothers-in-law, the Irvins, left the town of

<sup>3</sup>Numerous works, both Scotch and Irish, relating to this period in the history of Ulster, consulted in the Congressional Library, Washington. See also Cooke's "History of Virginia."



Glenoe and sailed in the "George and Anne" for Philadelphia. He soon joined his kinsman, John Lewis, in the Virginia Valley, and settled with him in Borden's Grant. This grant, then just opened to settlement, comprised a tract of more than ninety thousand acres, lying in that part of the Valley which afterwards became the counties of Augusta and Rockbridge. It was as fair a land as mountains, rivers and dense forests could make it. Influenced no doubt by Lewis and McDowell, many of those who sailed from Larne came to make their homes in Borden's Grant. James Patton, of the same Irish parish, was agent for a line of ships sailing from Larne and Belfast, and in his numerous voyages across the Atlantic carried many of his friends and connections to the same locality in the Virginia Valley. Already in 1740, the names cited as belonging to Raloo parish and its neighborhood had, with few exceptions, been transferred to the record books of Augusta. "Virginia Militia before the Revolution" shows scarcely a break in the roll call.<sup>4</sup>

#### INDIAN BORDER WARFARE.

At the time of the Scotch-Irish entry upon the stage of Virginia history, the Indian tribes, though long since driven across the Blue Hidge out of east Virginia, were still securely intrenched in their possession of the Valley between the two great mountain chains, and had not ceased to dream of the opportunity which should enable them again to cross the mountains and regain their old haunts along the James. As blood-thirsty and merciless as their forefathers in the massacre of 1622, but more skilled in warfare and with a better understanding of the white man's purpose, the Indians of the Valley began a war of relentless extermination against the new settlers. Determined that no foothold should be gained by the intruders, they contested every advance with despairing ferocity.

Only men suffered in the horrors of Jamestown; women and children shared in those of the Valley. After nearly two centuries the echo of that time sounds back to us so faintly that it is not possible to conceive the terrors of the "war-path." But we may know at least that the shadow of death was everywhere; that gliding, crouching, painted bodies might lurk in every wood and by each stream and roadside; that brave blood flowed like water, and that the smoke of burning homes rose constantly to join the beauty of cloud and mountain top. Men lived, we are told, "with hand on the trigger

<sup>4</sup>Hening's "Statutes at Large of Virginia."



and foot in stirrup," ready for an instant march to some far-off rendezvous, or for a midnight race to some distant settlement whose beacon fires told that the scalping knife was at work there.

#### A NOTED RIFLE.

At about the time of the coming of the Scotch-Irish to Virginia, a weapon was being made among the Pennsylvania hills that, from its influence upon the history of the Southern and Western states, has been called "the instrument of destiny."<sup>5</sup> A small colony of Swiss, exiles for conscience's sake, and living under the peaceful protection of the Quakers, had begun in 1710 to send out from their shops guns called "rifles," hitherto unknown in America. With the extending use of this gun throughout the Southern colonies, a demand for rifles with longer and lighter barrels was made upon the Swiss gunsmiths, and thus was evolved the "American weapon," that in the hands of the Ulsterman was to become as the instrument under the touch of the skilled musician. By the beginning of the Revolution, shops for the manufacture of rifles had been established throughout North Carolina and southwest Virginia. In the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, not only were the Virginians armed with this weapon, but many of the Indians also fought with rifles supplied by agents of the English government.

#### LORD DUNMORE'S WAR.

The Battle of Point Pleasant was one of the important pre-revolutionary engagements and was a memorable one in the history of the Scotch-Irish race. It heads the roll of great battles won by that people for the country henceforth to be their home; and fought under leaders of their own race, the long line beginning here with Lewis and ending nearly a century later with Stonewall Jackson. This battle may indeed be regarded as a preliminary engagement to the Revolution. For Dunmore, the English governor of Virginia, undoubtedly entrapped the Ulstermen into what would have proved inevitable death or annihilation had they not been saved by their own determined courage and self-reliance. From histories of the battle and from the many published accounts of eye-witnesses, the following is taken:<sup>6</sup>

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, and governor of Virginia, issued an order to General Andrew Lewis to assemble the

<sup>5</sup>Buell's "Life of Andrew Jackson."

<sup>6</sup>Kercheval's "History of the Valley," Cooke's "History of Virginia," Peyton's "History of Augusta," etc.



men of Augusta,<sup>7</sup> together with those from the overmountain stations, and to proceed to the "Point," at the junction of the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers. There he was to join Dunmore and his army and with them march against the Indians, who were gathering in great force along the western frontier. Twelve hundred men answered the call, and with those from Watauga went James Robertson, Isaac Shelby and John Sevier. They rendezvoused at Sampson's Inn in the Valley, where the height of Evan Shelby's "tall Watauga boys," measured the night before departure, was long recorded upon a wall of that historic hostelry.

Twelve hundred horsemen, followed by trains of pack-horses bearing provisions and ammunition and by herdsmen with droves of cattle, set out into the wilderness, crossing unknown forests, and streams whose depth had never before been sounded. The distance covered was several hundred miles, and the time consumed on the march has been variously given as from eleven days to three weeks. It was early in October, 1774, when they reached the Point. Dunmore was not there, and to await his coming, Lewis went into camp upon the narrow strip of land between the two rivers.

Several days passed, only vague rumors reaching the waiting men. One night James Robertson, restless and uneasy from the suspense of waiting, could not sleep, and arising in the early dawn, "persuaded a comrade to go forth with him and stalk a deer." The chill and shadows of the night were still heavy, as they stole among the sleeping men and into the forest. As they advanced—when about a mile from camp—there reached them a faint sound. Peering through the undergrowth down a distant opening among the trees, they soon saw countless savages stealthily approaching, "the woods black with them." Fleeing back to the camp, they roused the sleeping men with the dreaded frontier cry of "Indians!"

By the time the savages had come near, the men—whom they intended to spring upon and murder as they slept—were standing in line, rifles cocked and ready for the command to fire. All day the battle raged.

The golden October sun was just lighting the Virginia wood as the first crack of the rifles rang out; and the purple shadows of twilight were stealing over the mountains before that sound had ceased. Armed with rifles, the Indians, picked warriors of four tribes, fought desperately, and above the noise of the firing and the roar of water could be heard the chant of Cornstalk's "be strong, be strong!" Time after time the Virginians charged the swarming

<sup>7</sup>The whole of Kentucky and West Virginia, as well as almost all the Virginia Valley, were then included in Augusta County.



hordes, and each time "out of every five men one was left dead or dying, and they were the flower of the youth of West Augusta."

Night was approaching and the situation becoming at each moment more critical. Lewis sent Isaac Shelby with the overmountain men "to steal through the underwood along the river" and break upon Cornstalk's rear. He himself made a simultaneous attack upon the front. Shelby's charge was so furious and unexpected and accompanied by so terrific a yell the Indians were seized with a wild panic, which Cornstalk sought in vain to control. They were soon fleeing to their canoes on the Ohio, leaving the river by which they had fought filled with the bodies of their dead and dying.

Dunmore, from Chillicothe, sent Lewis an order to disband his troops and return home.<sup>9</sup> This Lewis peremptorily refused to do, and his soldiers, demanding to confront Dunmore, he marched to Chillicothe. One account says: "A furious scene followed, and if Lewis had not restrained his men, they would have put Dunmore to death." The Battle of Point Pleasant made possible the Treaty of Chillicothe, by the terms of which the Indians were finally excluded from Virginia.

#### OPENING OF THE HOLSTON COUNTRY.

In 1765 the Holston country was opened, and then began the great migration of the Scotch-Irish people into the South and West, that ended only when the waters of the Gulf and the Pacific had been reached. "Our way lies across the continent" must have been the slogan of the race, for certainly no other people have so felt the lure of the unexplored lands and vast distances.

Wherever the Ulster folk have gone, the breath of the North has followed them. Masterful and independent from the beginning, masterful and independent they remained; inflexible in purpose, impatient of injustice, and staunch in their ideals.<sup>10</sup>

From a wide study of the sources of Virginia history, made in preparation for writing his "life" of Stonewall Jackson, Henderson, the English historian, was led to the conclusion that the greatness of that state was not all due, as sometimes has been assumed, to the Cavaliers and their de-

<sup>9</sup>Cooke's "History of Virginia."

<sup>10</sup>The Virginians were so convinced of the treachery of Dunmore and determined to bring him to trial many participants in the battle were summoned as witnesses. This testimony, in which many dramatic details of the battle are given, is preserved in the records of the Congressional Library. Notably the stealthy approach, in the gathering twilight, by Shelby and his men upon the Indian rear, and his charge upon them, accompanied by those blood-curdling yells which apparently accomplished what the rifles had not.

<sup>10</sup>Henderson's "Life of Thomas Jonathan Jackson."



scendants. The Virginians of the Valley also had a share in her greatness and glory.

Their sons fought the Battle of King's Mountain, and were in truth "the rear guard of the Revolution." For while serving valiantly as soldiers against the English armies, they defended also the whole exposed western frontier from the attacks of Indians. It was during Sevier's long struggle with the Cherokees that the men who afterward were known as Kentuckians and Tennesseans, lineal descendants of those who fought at Point Pleasant, attained such matchless skill in the use of the rifle. "Upon those unerring old rifles," said Jackson a few years later, "must fall the duty of defending the nation's integrity."<sup>11</sup> These words seem prophetic when it is recalled that the only land engagement of the War of 1812 reflecting credit upon American arms was the victory of New Orleans. This victory, "winding up in a blaze of glory a disastrous and humiliating war,"<sup>12</sup> was due in part to the indomitable energy of General Jackson himself, and for the rest to the wonderful marksmanship of the Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen.

BLANCHE BENTLEY.

<sup>11</sup>Jackson's proclamation to the Tennessee militia.

<sup>12</sup>Words of Henry Clay. "The Truth About the War of 1812, American Review."



## THE CONQUEST OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST

The recording of the history of the Mississippi Valley has engaged the efforts of a number of writers who have specialized in that field. One of the earliest to undertake a comprehensive narration of American colonization west of the Alleghanies was Monette, who in 1846 brought out his two-volume work, *The History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, to be followed a year later by Perkins with his *Annals of the West*. Even at that date Tennessee was a part of what was denominated the Southwest. These two writers did work that was deserving of more appreciation than has been accorded. They had not the benefit of the wealth of material in the archives of foreign governments that is made accessible to students of our day; they wrote long before the historical materials in the archives of the colonies and states of the Atlantic seaboard had been given publication; and they were, in large part, dependent upon books of travel, fragmentary sketches, such as those of Hall, Flint and Doddridge, the few local histories and government publications, such as American State Papers and Force's Tracts. It was not until after their day that Draper, Durrett and others made their collections of documents and data that are so helpful to modern writers on the history of the West.

Coming later into the field and drawing on such ampler stores and sources were Roosevelt in his *The Winning of the West*, Turner, Winsor, Alden and Alvord, each of whom has done notable work in further rescuing and recording the deeds of pioneers who led the advance of civilization to the "Western Waters."

Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, in recent years has made a number of brilliant contributions to historical reviews and magazines, on western expansion; and he has drawn upon the material in these papers, expanding, eliding and skilfully coordinating, in the preparation of a volume entitled *The Conquest of the Old Southwest*.<sup>1</sup> By a sub-title it is indicated that his treatment is not of the history of the entire Mississippi Valley, but is "the romantic story of the early pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, 1740-1790."

The author easily demonstrates that, so far as concerns the lesser field set for his cultivation, the earlier writers named above had left much to be garnered. Many phases of early western history have been rescued as a result of painstaking

<sup>1</sup>The Conquest of the Old Southwest, by Archibald Henderson, Ph.D., D.C.L., New York Century Co., 1920, \$2.50.



search, while other phases the reader is enabled to see from a new angle or the better to appreciate because of some sidelight for the first time afforded.

The author has invested his subject with a literary charm. Always thrilling, the story is here told with dramatic power.

To those interested in the history of Tennessee the volume will have a particular appeal, since many of its pages are given to accounts of the exploration and settlement of this commonwealth. Dr. Henderson is a native of North Carolina, and quite naturally he has not withheld emphasis on the part played by the people of his state in the civilization of the Old Southwest. That part is closely related to the history of Kentucky, and yet more closely related to the history of Tennessee; and for the first time with fair adequacy has been traced in this work.

The predominance of North Carolinians in the vanguard of the pioneers who swept as a great tide into northeastern Tennessee and later into the Cumberland regions has been commented on by historians of our state, but nothing like due emphasis has been given to the fact, the significance of which may be gathered from a statement of Henderson (page 190):

"After the defeat of the Regulators, thousands of the oppressed, seeing no hope of the redress of their grievances, moved into and settled East Tennessee. A large proportion of these were of the Baptist population. Sandy Creek Church, which some time previous to 1771, numbered 606, was afterwards reduced to fourteen in numbers."<sup>2</sup>

The contribution by North Carolina to Tennessee pioneer population continued in generous proportions for several generations. Interesting chapters remain to be written of what may be termed the "second great migration" from the Old North State, in the years 1820 to 1840, when the mother state gave of her best sons and daughters to settle the plains of West Tennessee, following the clearance of the Indian claim to that region, by Jackson and Shelby's treaty of purchase, entered into with the Chickasaws in 1819. The centennials of a number of West Tennessee counties are to be celebrated within the next few years, and some son of that section of the state should set for himself the worthy and graceful task of writing those chapters. It will be found that long before the negotiation of the Chickasaw Treaty, and years before the dawn of the nineteenth century, North Carolinians were laying land grants on the best lands between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, which they were solicitous to sell or improve when the country was open to settlement after the treaty.

<sup>2</sup>Quoting Purefoy, History of Sandy Creek Baptist Association (1859).



One of the best-sustained parts of Dr. Henderson's book is that which traces the migration of the peoples from the seaboard into the Trans-Alleghany region. One tide of immigration, consisting in most part of Scotch-Irish, was that coming from Pennsylvania to the valley of Virginia, whence it began as early as 1740 to trickle into the valley of the Yadkin and into the Piedmont country of North Carolina, cheap lands being the lure. To the same regions came also many of the more democratic element of the eastern and lowland counties of the colony of North Carolina, drawing apart from the planter aristocracy which was in possession of a large part of the land.

Into the uplands of North Carolina a third, though minor, tide of restless land-hunters worked their way from South Carolina. Here was formed the reservoir from which, in later years, was to be poured the steady stream of settlers across the Blue Ridge and through the passes and water-breaks of the Great Smokies into the valley of East Tennessee, and later into West Tennessee.

Another drift of population came southward down the valley of Virginia until it merged with the Carolinians in the Watauga and Holston country, which in turn itself became a "cradle of western expansion," furnishing as it did hundreds of frontiersmen to invade the wildernesses beyond, there to found colonies on the Cumberland and in Kentucky.

Chapters of the volume are devoted to accounts of the Watauga Settlement, the Transylvania Company, the colonizing of the Cumberland country, King's Mountain Campaign, the State of Franklin, and the Spanish Conspiracy.

The interesting fact is noted that George Rogers Clark was the enterer, in the Virginia Land Office, of several thousand acres of land at French Lick on the Cumberland river. This detail is not referred to by Putnam or Roosevelt in their accounts of the Cumberland Colony. Roosevelt follows Putnam in mentioning the visit of James Robertson to Clark in Illinois during the spring of 1779, and in ascribing the purpose to be the purchase of "cabin-rights" from or through Clark. Roosevelt states that "Robertson went up to see Clark, because it was rumored that the latter had the disposal of Virginia 'cabin-rights,' under which each man could, for a small sum, purchase a thousand acres, on condition of building a cabin and raising a crop."<sup>3</sup> This, at a time when it was thought that the French Lick might be within the limits of Virginia.

It is more probable that the object of the visit was to pur-

<sup>3</sup>The Winning of the West, III, 231.



chase of Clark his 3,000-acre entry, or to consult with him respecting lands on the Cumberland thought to be reserved for soldiers. On March 9, 1779, we find Clark writing to Gov. Patrick Henry from Post Vincent (Vincennes, Indiana):

"I thank you for your remembrance of my situation respecting lands on the frontiers. I learn that government has reserves of lands on the Cumberland for soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

"If I should be deprived of a certain tract of land on that river which I purchased three years ago and have been at a considerable expense to improve, I shall in a manner lose my all. It is known by the name of the great French Lick on the south or west side containing three thousand acres; if you can do anything for me in saving it, I shall forever remember it with gratitude."<sup>5</sup>

It is thus shown that Clark was three years ahead of Robertson in acquiring lands at French Lick, which lands he had improved, doubtless with a view to locating there. Was the purchase made from the Transylvania Company? It is interesting to speculate on what would have been his influence in the development of the Old Southwest had this stalwart figure of a purposeful age settled on the Cumberland, instead of remaining in Kentucky and turning his endeavors so successfully toward the rescue of the Northwest from the British.

SAM'L C. WILLIAMS.

<sup>4</sup>In December, 1778, the Virginia Assembly had set apart a reservation of bounty lands in Kentucky for soldiers, a part of which lands, however, was later found to lie within the limits of North Carolina (now Tennessee). To make good this loss, in November, 1781, there was substituted a tract bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Tennessee rivers and by the North Carolina state line. Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 247.

<sup>5</sup>Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 304; reprinted *I Am. Historical Review*, 94.



## SOME EARLY ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS IN TENNESSEE

The official birthday of American archeology was October 12, 1812. On that date there was presented to the legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a petition for the incorporation of the American Antiquarian Society. It reads as follows:

### PETITION TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

October, 1812.

*To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled.*

THE subscribers, influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the Arts and Sciences, and to aid, by their individual and united efforts, in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in marking their progress, not only in the United States, but in other parts of the globe, and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country, respectfully represent to the Legislature that, in their opinion, the establishment of an Antiquarian Society, within this Commonwealth, would conduce essentially to the attainment of these objects. At present there is no public association for such purpose within the United States. The rapid progress of science, and of the useful and ornamental arts in our country, may be ascribed in a great degree to the numerous publick institutions originated by patriotick individuals, but deriving their countenance and support from legislative authority. Such a society as is now contemplated, as its objects are distinct from any other in the country, it is believed, may advantageously cooperate with, without in the slightest degree impairing the utility of other institutions. Its immediate and peculiar design is to discover the antiquities of our continent; and, by providing a fixed and permanent place of deposit, to preserve such relics of American antiquity as are portable, as well as to collect and preserve those of other parts of the globe. By the long and successful labors of the College of Antiquaries in Ireland, their historians, it is said, have been enabled to trace the history of that country to an earlier period than that of any other nation of Europe. The researches of a similar society in England, established at a later period, at times discouraged, but now aided and fostered by the patronage of the government, have not merely furnished food for curiosity, but have provided many valuable materials for the benefit of history, the improvement of science, and the advancement of the arts of life. Almost every nation of the European world bear witness to the utility of similar institutions.

To the enlightened Legislature of Massachusetts the Subscribers do not deem it necessary to exhibit more in detail the advantages which may be expected from such an establishment within this Commonwealth. They ask for no other aid from the Commonwealth, than the facilities which, in the pursuit of their objects, may accrue from an Act of Incorporation. As an inducement to the grant of these privileges, they beg leave to state that one of their number is, at



this time, in possession of a valuable collection of books obtained with great labor and expense, the value of which may be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than are to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he intends to transfer to the proposed Society should their project receive the sanction and encouragement of the Legislature. This grant, which is designed as the foundation of a superstructure to be hereafter erected, with other conditions as may be reasonably expected, the subscribers believe will ensure the future growth and prosperity of the Institution.

As no injury can at any rate be apprehended from such an experiment, even if it should prove unsuccessful, and as it may be productive of much public advantage, the petitioners flatter themselves their project will not be discountenanced by the Government of Massachusetts.

They therefore respectfully pray for leave to bring in a bill for the incorporation of themselves, and such persons as may hereafter associate with them, into a Society by the name of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, with the privilege of holding real estate in perpetuity of the annual value of fifteen hundred dollars, and with such other privileges and immunities as are usually granted by acts of incorporation to other publick societies established within this Commonwealth.

ISAIAH THOMAS,  
NATH'L. PAINE,  
WM. PAINE,  
LEVI LINCOLN,  
AARON BANCROFT,  
EDW'D BANGS.

The charter was duly granted October 24, 1812, and provided that Isaiah Thomas should be the convenor of the society for its first meeting, at which time it should be duly organized. Accordingly official notice was served on the incorporators:

He hereby notifies and warns each and every of the persons above named to meet at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday the 19th day of November instant, at 11 o'clock, in the forenoon, then and there to take such measures as shall be necessary for organizing said Society.

It was specially set forth that the new society was to be national in character, and for fear that the public might conclude that in taking out a local charter in the commonwealth of Massachusetts it was intended to narrow its influence to that state, it is recorded that at first the intention was to apply to Congress for the charter to give it nation-wide scope, but that legally it was questioned as to whether the general government had a right to issue a charter that reached beyond the District of Columbia. Invitations were sent forth for interested ones everywhere to contribute to the library and museum which was to be provided. Among the articles for deposit sought were:



Books of every description, including pamphlets and magazines, especially those which were early printed either in South or North America, files of Newspapers of former times, or of the present day, are particularly desirable—as are specimens, with written accounts respecting them, of fossils, handicrafts of the Aborigines, etc., manuscripts, ancient and modern, on interesting subjects, particularly those which give accounts of remarkable events, discoveries, or a description of any part of the continent, or the islands in the American seas; maps, charts, etc.

It is of further interest to note the care promised in the way of preserving these deposits from loss or damage, the very location of the proposed museum was to be selected to this end:

For the better preservation from destruction so often experienced in large towns and cities by fire, as well as from the ravages of an enemy, to which seaports are in particular so much exposed in times of war, it is universally agreed, that for a place of deposit for articles intended to be preserved for ages, and of which many, if destroyed, or carried away, could never be replaced by others of like kind, an inland situation is to be preferred; this consideration alone was judged sufficient for placing the Library and Museum of this Society forty miles distant from the nearest branch of the sea, in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, on the great road from all the southern and western states to Boston, the capital of Newengland.

It is probable that our present large city of Worcester does not appreciate the prophetic isolation set forth in this early document, and it hardly anticipated a day when protection on such grounds can no longer be guaranteed, since “Big Berthas” now throw their projectiles further from the sea than “forty miles,” and the airplane drops its bombs over the most interior situations.

The society, on February 1, 1819, issued an address to the public, giving an account of the progress made to that date in the work of collecting and the permanent provision for a building to house it. The report said:

Although the Society is in its infancy, we are happy to announce, that it is expanding into manly growth; and, with due patronage and exertion, will become preeminently useful. The Cabinet is not yet extensive; but the Members, we trust, will soon make it highly respectable and useful, by their occasional contributions. Funds are about to be procured, from the interest of which a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper may be supported. . . . The catalogue of our Books is already respectable. Our Library, of about 5000 volumes, consists principally of books printed in the three last and present centuries. Some are of the *fifteenth* centurp. We also have files of the first Newspapers printed in British North America, which, probably are the earliest printed in the Western world. . . . By the liberality of the President, a suitable building will soon be erected in Worcester.



Thus was set going an inspiration that kindled kindred spirits far and near over America, and a new interest was awakened throughout our country in exploration and research of its historic remains, the largest field of which really lay west of the Appalachians.

#### INVESTIGATIONS OF JOHN D. CLIFFORD, ESQ.

Mention has been made of the inspiration furnished by the organization of the American Antiquarian Society and the encouragement it gave many individuals here and there over America to prosecute their studies relative to the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent. One of the choicest spirits that gave much time and devotion to this subject was John D. Clifford, Esq., of Lexington, Kentucky. About this period there had been gathered in this refined center of the then West, a number of men who are familiarly known in the cultural annals of the Mississippi Valley. Most prominent of all were those first assembled in that interesting center and well-known venture at New Harmony, Indiana.

A number of personalities from this center later became heads of departments in colleges and universities of the West and South, among them C. F. Rafinesque, the noted professor of Botany and Natural Science in the University of Transylvania, located at Lexington, Kentucky. Under the leadership of Mr. Clifford, Rafinesque and others, quite a collection was gathered together of aboriginal and other specimens and displayed in a room of the Atheneum in that little city. About this time a group of kindred spirits commenced a monthly publication at Lexington called the "Western Review," edited by William Gibbes Hunt, a most worthy magazine in its day and widely read even in the cultured centers of the East.<sup>1</sup>

To this Review, commencing with its earliest numbers in 1819 and continuing through eight issues, Mr. Clifford contributed a series of articles on *Indian Antiquities*. Later these were followed by a number of articles on the *Geology of the Mississippi Valley*—one being founded on a journey made by him over the "Old Wilderness Road" from Central Kentucky southeast, to eastern Tennessee and on to Washington City. Mr. Clifford was an honored member of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia and of the American

<sup>1</sup>"The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine, a monthly publication devoted to literature and science, Lexington, Kentucky. Published by William Gibbes Hunt. Vol. I., No. 1, August, 1819.



Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts. A short, but interesting biographical sketch appeared in the *Western Review*, Vol. II., pp. 309 and 322, from which we quote:

"On the eighth of May, 1820, departed this life, Mr. John D. Clifford, in the 42nd year of his age. This enterprising, intelligent, and useful man was an ornament to our town and one of its most valuable inhabitants. He was at once a man of business and a student, a citizen of the world and a Christian. Having been to a considerable extent successful in his mercantile pursuits, he was the friend and patron of the industrious young man, the public-spirited promoter of every useful enterprise, the liberal contributor to every charitable object. His mind, too, was stored with valuable learning. Natural science was his favorite pursuit, and he was ardently devoted to the investigations of the curiosities which abound in our country. . . ."

Another inspiration of the parent American Antiquarian Society was a similar local organization launched at Cincinnati, whose museum was opened with an address by Daniel Drake, M.D., June 10, 1820. In commenting on this event and the published address, a contributor in the *Western Review* for July, 1820, says:

"This society (at Cincinnati) has existed for two years. Its object is to form a collection of rare and valuable specimens in these several departments of natural science. It has at length so far succeeded as to be able to open its museum, which will no doubt constitute the germ of an important institution. It is time that something of a similar nature was commenced in Lexington. *The enterprise and zeal of a lamented individual*, aided by the generous contributions of others, have formed a collection of curiosities, now deposited in one of the rooms of the Lexington Athenaeum."

A worthy tribute in memory of Mr. Clifford, in the way of a poem in Italian, signed by "Dargo," appears in the same issue of this magazine.

This extensive notice of Mr. Clifford is of interest to students of aboriginal remains in Tennessee because there came into the hands of Mr. Clifford at an early date some very remarkable specimens originally discovered in Middle Tennessee. His original contributions in print were worked over and commented upon by contemporary writers, and that the full detail of these records may be preserved, the added matter is put upon our permanent printed record.

In the *Western Review*, Vol. II., there is this first account of the

#### NASHVILLE IDOL.

"I have in my possession a small idol found in a tumulus near Nashville, which bears a striking resemblance to some discovered by Professor Pallas in tumuli between the Donetz and Dnieper rivers in Southern Russia. The American idol is only two inches in length,



220'



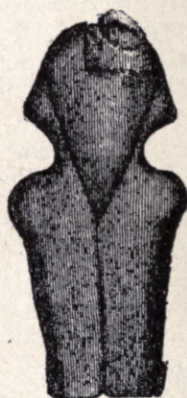
THE NASHVILLE IDOL.



SIDE.



FRONT.



BACK.

(FROM *ARCHAEOLOGIA AMERICANA*, VOLUME I, PAGE —, 1820.)



being a naked half length figure extending to the hips. The contour of the head is not perfect, being too much flattened at the back, and projecting at the lower extremity of the face when viewed in profile; the eyes and mouth are also made by a simple longitudinal depression of the clay, which, however, is so small a figure is sufficiently characteristic. More attention seems to have been paid to minute particulars. The nose is large, and arched or eagle formed; the chace of the hair has been very nicely delineated, and displays, in coincidence with the general figure, a strong resemblance to the idols mentioned by Pallas. The Nashville idol, like those of Dneiper, has no arms, the clay being rounded at the shoulders. The shape of the body is natural. The head dress or mode of forming the hair is, however, as before mentioned, the point of strongest coincidence and ought to be more particularly noticed, as forming one of the characteristic marks by which they designate their various deities. The hair or wig of the America nimage is made perfectly smooth, and extends along the forehead and temples below the ears, which are thereby hid. In the center of the forehead is a small square dependage. The hair extends one-third of the way down the right side of the head, and is formed into a round knot, the parts adjacent being depressed so as to show the apparent gathering up of the same. The back of the head shows this knot of turf, and also a division of the hair from the center of the head down to the level of the top of the ears, extending thence at right angles to the temple. The hair on the other side is in natural shape and formed beneath the division into a large cue terminating below the shoulders. These gentlemen who have the opportunity and will take the trouble of referring to Vignette No. 11, in Vol. II. of Professor Pallas' Travels in the Southern Part of Russia, will be struck with the general resemblance between these Asiatic and American idols. Such coincidences may possibly be accidental, but when we consider the forms of dress and manner in which all the ancient nations invariably represented their divinities, I am induced to think the design of this American idol ought to be traced to an Asiatic origin, and must be deemed a confirmation of my belief that the original settlers of this country obtained their mythological ideas from the common parent of the Hindoo, Persian, Egyptian and Gothic nations."

(Western Review, Vol. II., No. 1. Letter No. VI., February, 1820. Pp. 29-31.)

By 1820 the American Antiquarian Society had completed its commodious library building and museum and, as it had been the recipient of many valuable manuscripts, etc., decided to issue in print some of its valuable data.

There was accordingly issued from the press under the editorial supervision of William Manning the first volume of the society's transactions, full title being:

#### ARCHAEOLOGIA AMERICANA.

Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Volume I. Worcester, Massachusetts, 1820.

The greater portion of the articles found in this volume



deal with the remains of the aboriginal peoples of America, and consists largely of personal letters, descriptive and otherwise, to the editor, who somewhat changed the forms of the communications before issuing them in print. The largest contributor of information in this volume seems to have been Caleb Atwater, Esq., of Circeville, Ohio. (Pp. 105-308.) Among the numerous specimens, etc., to which he calls attention in his article are three originally found in Tennessee, one an idol discovered near Nashville, a clay vessel, likewise found near Nashville, and a tri-faced vase found on the Caney Fork, in White County. (Pp. 210, 214, 238-241.) Under the head of "Miscellaneous Articles," pages 300-307, is an article from a distinguished citizen of Tennessee, Moses Fisk, Esq., of Hilham, Overton County, bearing the title:

"Conjectures Respecting the Ancient Inhabitants of North America."

As these specimens are included in the data for speculation concerning the early aboriginal history of America, it may be interesting to the student of today to observe the point of view of these early contributors to archeological studies.

#### IDOL FOUND NEAR NASHVILLE.<sup>2</sup>

An idol found in a tumulus near Nashville, Tennessee, and now in the museum of Mr. Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky, will probably assist us in forming some idea as to the origin of the authors of our western antiquities. Like the TRIUNE-VESSEL, hereafter mentioned, it was made of clay peculiar for its fineness and its use, which is quite abundant in some parts of Kentucky. With this clay was mixed a small portion of gypsum, or sulphate of lime. This idol (the original drawing of the three views was made by Miss Sarah Clifford, of Lexington, Ky.) represents in three views, a man in a state of nudity, whose arms have been cut off close to the body, and whose nose and chin have been mutilated; with a fillet and cake upon his head. In all these respects, as well as the peculiar manner of plaiting the hair, it is exactly such an idol as Prof. Pallas found in his travels in the southern part of the Russian Empire. (Pallas' Travels, Vol. II, Vignette, No. 2.) The idol discovered near Nashville shews from whence its worshippers derived their origin and religious rites. The "TRIUNE idol or vessel" shews, in my opinion, that its authors originated in Hindostan, and the one now under consideration induces a belief that some tribes were from countries adjacent.

Those who wish to be acquainted with what the poets have said, concerning human sacrifices among the Greeks, may consult the *Ænid*, Lib. II, v. 116. (Latin quoted.) . . . The poet intends to refer his readers to what had often happened among the Greeks, and to cruel and bloody rites long established. When they sacrificed, the sacred fillets were bound upon the head of the idol, the victim, and the priest.

<sup>2</sup>This description is copied by Atwater from the article in "*Western Review*" that precedes. See page 221.



The salted cake was placed upon the head of the victim. It was called "*mola*," hence immolare, in later times, was used to signify any kind of sacrifice.

The sacred fillets and salted cake may be seen on the head of the idol above described. The Greeks borrowed many things from the Persians, with whom they had many wars and considerable intercourse. The Persians derived many of their ideas from the Hindoos.

The ancestors of our North American Indians were from the northern parts of Tartary, those who worshipped this idol came from a country lying farther to the south, where the population was dense, and where the arts had great progress. While the Tartar of the north was a hunter and a savage, the Hindoos and southern Tartars were well acquainted with most of the useful arts. The former lived in the vicinity of our continent, and probably found their way hither at an early day, while the latter came at a later period, bringing along with them the arts, the idols and religious rites of Hindostan, China and Crimea. The ancestors of our North American Indians were mere hunters, while the authors of our tumuli were shepherds and husbandmen. The temples, altars, and sacred places of the Hindoos were always situated on the bank of some stream of water. The same observation applies to the temples, altars and sacred places of those who erected our tumuli. To the consecrated streams of Hindostan, devotees assembled from all parts of the empire, to worship their gods, and purify themselves by bathing in the sacred water. In this country their sacred places were uniformly on the bank of some river; and who knows but that the Muskingum, the Scioto, the Miami, the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Mississippi, were once deemed as sacred, and their banks as thickly settled, and as well cultivated, as are now the Indus, the Ganges, and the Burampooter? Ablution, from the situation of all the works which appear to have been devoted to sacred uses, was a rite so religiously observed by the authors of our idols, as it was neglected by our North American Indians. If the coincidence between the worship of our people, and that of the Hindoos and southern Tartars, furnish no evidence of a common origin, then I am no judge of the nature and weight of testimony. (Pp. 212-213.)

#### A CLAY VESSEL.

Some years since a clay vessel was discovered about twenty feet below the surface, in alluvial earth, in digging a well near Nashville, Tennessee. This piece of pottery was found standing on a rock, and from whence a spring of water issued. This vessel was taken to Mr. Peale's museum at Philadelphia, where it now is, as I am informed. It contains about one gallon; is circular, with a flat bottom, from which it rises in a somewhat globose form, terminating at the summit with the figure of a female head. The only hole in the vessel is situated towards the summit of the globular part of it. The features of the face of the female are Asiatic. The crown of the head is covered by a cap of a pyramidal figure, with a flattened, circular summit, ending at the apex, with a round button. The ears are large, extending as low as the chin. The features resemble many of those engraved for Raffle's History; and the cap resembles Asiatic head dresses.

The foregoing was taken from an essay in the *Western Review*, written by Mr. John D. Clifford. Here is a further proof of the derivation of these people from Hindostan. The features of the face; the manner of covering the head; the shape of the vessel; the re-



ligious uses to which it was probably put at this primitive, and once clear fountain, in performing ablutions, all tend to confirm us in such a belief. Could all these things have so happened, had the authors originated anywhere else? (P. 214.)

#### THE TRIUNE VESSEL.

In addition to what is already said, under the description of mounds, we will here add, that on the Caney Fork of Cumberland river, a vessel was found in an ancient work, about four feet below the surface, a drawing of which is here given. (The original drawing was by Miss Sarah Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky. It is by some called a "TRIUNE IDOL.")

It is believed by some to be an exact likeness. The object itself may be thus described:

It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle, which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it descends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The face at the eyes is three inches broad, decreasing in breadth all the way to the chin. All the strong marks of the Tartar countenance are distinctly preserved, and expressed with so much skill that even a modern artist might be proud of the performance. The countenances are all different each from the other, and denote an old person and two younger ones. The face of the eldest is painted around the eyes with yellow, shaded with a streak of the same colour, beginning from the top of the ear, running in a semicircular form to the ear on the other side of the head. Another painted line begins at the lower part of the eye and runs down before each ear about one inch. (See Figure 1.)

The second represents a person of a grave countenance, much younger than the preceding one, painted very differently and of a different colour. A streak of reddish brown surrounds each eye. Another line of the same colour, beginning at the top of one ear, passes under the chin, and ends at the top of the other ear. The ears also are slightly tinged with the same colour. (See Figure 2.)

The third (Figure 3) in its characteristic features, resembles the others, representing one of the Tartar family. The whole of the face is slightly tinged with vermillion, or some paint resembling it.

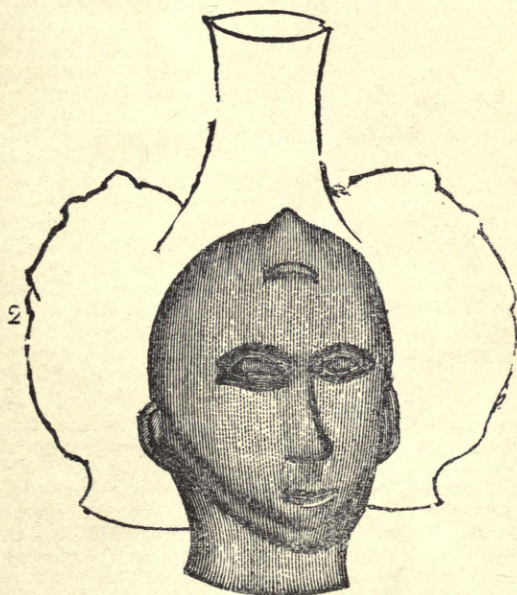
Each cheek has a spot on it, of the size of a quarter of a dollar, brightly tinged with the same paint. On the chin is a similar spot.

One circumstance worthy of remark is, that though these colours must have been exposed to the damp earth for many centuries, they have, notwithstanding, preserved every shade in all its brilliancy.

This "Triune vessel" stands upon three necks, which are about an inch and a half in length. The whole is composed of a fine clay, of a light umber colour, which has been rendered hard by the action of the fire. The heads are hollow, and the vessel contains about one quart. Does it not represent the three chief gods of India—Brahma, Vishnoo and Siva? Let the reader look at the plate representing this vessel, and consult the *Asiatic Researches*, by Sir William Jones; let him also read Buchanan's *Star in the East*, and the accounts there found of the idolatry of the Hindoos; and, unless his mind is formed differently from mine, he will see in this idol one proof at least that the people who raised our ancient works were idolaters; and, that some of them worshipped gods resembling the three principal deities of India. (Pp. 238-241.)



A TRIUNE VESSEL.



(FROM ARCHAEOLOGIA AMERICANA, VOLUME I, PAGE —, 1820.)







It is well known that the above contributions to the "*Western Review*" and the Antiquarian Society also formed the basis largely of much that the Hon. John Haywood afterwards embraced in his *Aboriginal History of Tennessee* (viz., Nashville, 1823), for which reason his comments and deductions are also presented in this article.

## HAYWOOD'S DISCUSSION OF ABORIGINAL RELIGION BASED ON THESE SAME ILLUSTRATIONS.

### THEORY OF ABORIGINAL RELIGION.

We shall now proceed to consult these fragments of ancient days, which alone are able to instruct us in the history of the aboriginal settlers of Tennessee.

After it shall have been finished we shall be enabled to say that the primitive inhabitants of the countries watered by the Ohio and its branches, like the Peruvians, Mexicans and Natchez, and the Hindoos and Persians, were worshippers of the sun, and built *high places*, facing to the *cardinal points*, with *flattened tops*, and *steps on the outside* to ascend to those tops. That they erected *houses* upon them for their *idols*, and placed those idols within them. That they enclosed those *high places in open courts* and *entrenchments*; and burnt *incense* upon them, unto the image, to the sun and to the moon, and to the planets, and to the host of heaven. They placed altars upon them, and on those altars they sacrificed human beings. That in worshipping they stood towards the east, and lifted up their hands and eyes towards heaven and towards their idols. That they venerated the number three, and worshipped *triune idols*. That they deemed the cross a sacred symbol, and worshipped idols, as did the Phenicians, Hindoos and other nations of Asia. That some of them were lingomites, and some of the Hindoo sectaries are, and as were the Phenicians. That they used the conch shell as emblematic of the properties of their god of the ocean, as the Hindoos did, and like them and the Peruvians and Mexicans, made deep, and wide, and long entrenchments. That, like the people of India, Arabia, Phenicia and Mesopotamia, they made *tanks*, in which water is perpetually preserved in abundance, and in a pure state. They made wells also, walled up with stone from the bottom. They had swords of iron and steel, and steel bows and mirrors with iron backs, knives of iron, with ferules of silver; tools also of iron and steel, and chisels with which they neatly sculptured stone, and made engravings upon it; and spades, with which they sunk their wide and deep ditches.

With unfading dyes they painted the sun and moon upon high rocks, in handsome style, and in some instances we perceive that they, or their exterminators, had stone axes, stone balls, and other lapideous instruments. They had marble and copper and excellent dyes. Like the Mexicans and peoples of the Sandwich Islands in the Pacific, they made feathered mantles, and caps, and fans of various colours. Like the Mexicans and Hindoos, they buried their sacred animals, and placed their dead under mounds raised over the body and over the remains not consumed on the funeral pile. Like the Mexicans, they made brick and burned them, and used both them and stone in their buildings.

Their complexion, hair and eyes were like those of the Baroans of Chili, their statue was of the common size, but that of their ex-



terminators, a new and modern race, like the Gauls in the time of Lucullus, was frightfully gigantic. These and many other instances of conformity, we shall perceive enough, it is believed, to prove that the aborigines of Kentucky and Tennessee came from the South, and had intimate connections with the people of Mexico, and some intercourse with the Peruvians and the people of Chili. But at length came a chilling frost, from the frozen regions of the north, and nipped the blossoms of prosperity. Those same marauders, who from the 7th to the 11th century of the Christian era converted the cultivated fields of Italy into a wilderness, and filled it with lakes and stagnant ponds, and made the dark ages to reign in gloomy ignorance, came hither also, searching through all the corners of the world, for plunder and subsistence; and acted over again the same scenes which had formerly been acted in Palestine, between the worshippers of a spiritual God on the one hand, and the idolatrous adorers of the sun and moon on the other. The newcomers into America worshipped a spiritual God without mounds, idols, or human sacrifices, or any of those peculiarities which characterized the southern people, and which have just now passed in review before us.

*Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, pp. 110-112.

#### IDOL FOUND NEAR NASHVILLE.<sup>3</sup>

. . . . Another idol was found near Nashville. It was of clay peculiar for its fineness and its use, which is quite abundant in some parts of Kentucky. With this clay was mixed a small portion of gypsum and sulphate of lime. It represents in three views a woman in a state of nudity, whose arms have been cut off close to the body, and whose nose and chin have been mutilated. . . . This idol near Nashville had a fillet and cake upon his head. It seems to have been the fabrication of some tribe once near Hindostan, where the authors of the triune idol originated. . . . It was found in a tumulus. Pp. 152, 156.

#### A CLAY VESSEL.<sup>4</sup>

Many years ago at Nashville was found a clay vessel about 20 feet under the surface of the earth, in digging a well in a narrow valley between hills liable to wash. The diggers came to a natural spring issuing from a rock, on which this piece of pottery was placed. Its capacity was nearly a gallon. The base was a flat circle, from which rises a somewhat globose form, terminating at the top with a figure of a female head. There is no aperture except a round hole situated toward the summit of the globular part of the vessel. The features of the face are Asiatic. The crown of the head is covered with a cap or ornaments, shaped into a pyramidal figure, with a flattened, circular summit ending at the apex in a round button. The ears are very large, extending down in a line with the chin, which is a Hindoo custom, and an Indian and Egyptian heiroglyphical emblem of wisdom and supernatural knowledge. This head resembles many of those engraved for Mr. Raffle's history.

A certain general resemblance may also be observed, as respects the crown or cap, the Asiatic head dress being somewhat conical, or else pyramidal, with a round or square apex. Had this vessel been sent to Mr. Raffle, says Mr. Cilford, he would have taken it to be of the same origin as the Hindoo statues in the Island of Java. The

<sup>3</sup>See page 222.

<sup>4</sup>See page 223.



small hole in the vessel is round, though in other respects there is no designation of its having been intended as an opening by the fabricator. There is no raised margin, or other means of showing it was thus originally designed, whilst its awkward position must have rendered it unfit either for the ready reception or escape of liquids. There are some marks of paint having formerly existed on the head, though to much worn off to admit of any definite description. P. 150.

TRIPLICITY.<sup>5</sup>

In White County, in West Tennessee, was dug up, a few years ago, in an open temple, situated on the Caney Fork of Cumberland river, a *flagon*, formed into the shape of three distinct and hollow heads, joined to the central neck of the vessel by short, thick tubes, leading from each respective occiput. It was made of a light, yellow and compact clay, intimately intermixed with small broken fragments, and dust of powdered carbon of lime, and in a state of crystallization. This vessel held a quart. Its workmanship is well executed. The heads are perfectly natural, and display a striking resemblance of the Asiatic countenance. None of the minor parts have been attended to, though a small oval prominence somewhat towards the top of each head is probably meant to represent a knot of hair. In other respects they appear bald. Each face is painted in a different manner, and strongly resembles the modes by which the Hindoos designate their different casts. One of the faces is slightly covered all over with red ochre, having deep blotches of the same paint on the central part of each cheek. The second face has a broad streak of brown ochre across the forehead, and another running parallel with the same, enveloping the eyes and extending as far as the ears. The third face has a streak of yellow ochre, which surrounds and extends across the eyes, running from the center at right angles, down the nose, to the upper lip, whilst another broad streak passes from each ear, along the lower jaw and chin. Upon this image the following remarks suggest themselves: The Hindoos have various marks, by which they paint their faces to designate the different casts, and to distinguish amongst the same casts those who are the peculiar votaries of certain gods. Mr. Dubois says they use only three colours, red, black and yellow. Probably the face which now seems to be covered with brown ochre was originally black, says Mr. Clifford. If it was, says the latter, a metallic paint, as the other colours certainly are, the black having an admixture of iron, would certainly change from the lapse of time, and become what to all appearance it now is, a dark brown ochre. The other two colours, being native minerals, usually found in the earth, are not subject to change. If so, these colours were originally the same as those used in Indostan. Mr. Dubois mentions that the Hindoos draw three or four horizontal lines between the eyebrows, whilst others describe a perpendicular line from the top of the forehead to the root of the nose. Some northern Brahmans *apply the marks to either jaw*, meaning probably the same sort of line above described in the face painted with yellow ochre, as extending from the ears, along the lower jaw to the chin. He further says that the Brahmans draw a horizontal line around the forehead, to denote that they have bathed and are pure. The vessel described, Mr. Clifford thought, was intended for sacred uses. It being found within one of the circumvallatory temples, is an evidence in favour of this supposition. It would certainly not have been a convenient vessel for any domestic

<sup>5</sup>See page 224.



purpose. The angular position of the heads, with respect to the neck of the flagon, must have prevented its being emptied of any liquid by other means than a complete inversion. The contents of two of the heads might be discharged by an inclined position, with some difficulty and much gargling. But to empty the other the neck must become vertical. The ancients were unacquainted with goblets, pitchers and decanters, as intermediate vessels. They used large jars or vases to hold their liquors for safe keeping or carriage, and poured the contents into bowls or horns, from which they drank. Our aborigines were hardly more refined. And whilst the small size of the flagon precludes the idea of its being a vessel for deposit of liquids, its shape plainly indicates that it could not have been used for a drinking vessel. As the ancients always completely inverted the vessels from which they poured their libations, it is reasonable to suppose that this flagon was intended for the same purpose; and that the *three* heads, with the different marks of casts, might designate the various orders of men for which such libations were made. If so, the evidence is almost direct of the identity of religion professed by the Hindoos, and the aborigines of Tennessee. No fabulous circumstance or train of thought could have occasioned such striking similarity in the paints and modes of applying them, in order to distinguish the different orders of men in their respective nations. If, however, the flagon is not a vessel of libation, the fact of its having *three* heads, possessing Asiatic features, and painted as before is stated, is certainly a strong evidence of Asiatic origination. *Brama*, one of the three principal gods of the Hindoos, was represented with a *triple head*, from the remotest antiquity, as is proved from his colossal statue in the cave of Elephanta. Numerous Hindoo idols in the island of Java have *three heads*. This character in the image of their gods was very common, as is proved by a number of them delineated by Mr. Raffle, in the second volume of his history. (Pp. 115-118.)

#### OTHER IMAGES.

... Besides these, an image was found near the base of a mound at Mayfield's station, twelve miles southwardly from Nashville, one near the base of a mound near Clarksville, and another in the neighborhood of the Rev. Mr. Craighead. The first of these images, that found at Mayfield's station, in the county of Davidson, twenty years ago, was of sculptured stone, representing a woman sitting upon her hams, with both hands under her chin, and her elbows upon her knees. It was neatly formed, and well polished and proportioned. Mr. Boyd took and kept it at his tavern in Nashville a long time. Dr. Brown had two images, found by ploughing the ground near a very large mound below Clarksville. These also were sculptured. One represented an old man with his body bent forward, and head inclined downwards, exceedingly well executed. The other represented an old woman. P. 151.

It would be interesting indeed to know if these specimens are still in existence in some of our museums. So far the writer has not been able to locate them.

W. A. PROVINCE.



## WHY THE FIRST SETTLERS OF TENNESSEE WERE FROM VIRGINIA

The first settlement in Tennessee; that is, the North Holston settlement in the present county of Sullivan, and the South Holston settlement, on the Watauga, in the present county of Washington, were effected between the treaty of Hard Labor in 1768, and the experimental survey of the Virginia-North Carolina line in 1771, while all the territory so settled was still believed to be a part of Virginia. There are geographical reasons sufficient to explain why the founders of these settlements should have come, in the main, from Virginia rather than from North Carolina. In the first place, the Blue Ridge that separates Virginia from Tennessee numbers among its range of towering hills Mt. Mitchell, the highest peak east of the Rocky Mountains, and was at that time almost impassable. Even as experienced and able woodsman as James Robertson, when crossing the range in 1770, was lost in the trackless mountains and wandered, without food, for fourteen days; and finally owed his extrication to his good fortune in meeting up with some hunters, who relieved his distress and enabled him to reach his home in safety. On the other hand, the Appalachian Valley was an easy and natural route from Pennsylvania and Virginia to the Southwest. When the watershed changed from the Alleghany Mountains to the Blue Ridge, it left the valley open, like the mouth of a funnel, to empty the population from the eastern watershed in Virginia to the western watershed in North Carolina; whose north line had not yet been located and was still unknown.

The Appalachian Valley from the Potomac River to the state of Alabama is composed of the Shenandoah Valley, the Valley of Southwest Virginia, and the Valley of East Tennessee. Its general direction is from northeast to southwest. On the northwest it is bounded by the Alleghany-Cumberland Escarpment, and on the southeast by the Blue Ridge Range. When the valleys from Harrisburg to Hagertown had been settled, the restless backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania naturally joined the frontiersmen of tidewater Virginia, and pushed their settlements up the Shenandoah Valley.

### KING'S PROCLAMATION OF 1763.

The king's proclamation of 1763 greatly accelerated the flow of immigration up the Shenandoah Valley, and down the Valley of Southwest Virginia into the Valley of East Tennessee. By the treaty of Paris, February 13, 1763, the Mississippi



River was made the boundary between the French and English possessions; everything east of the river, except the town of New Orleans and the island on which it is situated, was ceded to England.<sup>1</sup> But on October 7, of the same year, King George issued his proclamation reserving to the Indians all the lands lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest; and forbidding his subjects from making any purchase or settlement on the lands so reserved.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for this proclamation seems to have been the fear that emigrants to so remote a region would establish manufactures for themselves; and, in the heart of America found a power which distance would emancipate from English control.<sup>3</sup> But, whatever the motive, it restrained western emigration; and those who ignorantly crossed the line, like the settlers on Watauga River, were promptly ordered off by the agents of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

In the meantime emigrants had already passed the headwaters of the Shenandoah River beyond Staunton; then the headwaters of the James River; and finally, the headwaters of the Staunton River, a branch of the Roanoke that empties its waters into Albemarle Sound, and is the last stream in the valley that flows to the east. They knew the Alleghany Escarpment as the Alleghany Mountains, and everywhere, from Harpers Ferry to the headwaters of Holston, they had found it to be the watershed that divides the eastern from the western waters. So firmly were the Alleghanies impressed upon their minds as the watershed that, as late as 1843, the settlers on New River believed the Alleghany Mountains had crossed the Blue Ridge, because the New River takes its rise in the eastern range.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE NORTH AND SOUTH HOLSTON SETTLEMENTS.

Though the New River rises in the Blue Ridge, cuts through the Alleghanies, and finds its way west to the Mississippi; and though the Holston River, rising near the New, flows southwardly across the Virginia line, traverses the whole length of the Valley of East Tennessee, and ultimately reaches the same great river, the frontiersmen still considered the Alleghany Mountains the line of the Indian reservation, and continued to push their settlements down the Valley of Southwest Vir-

<sup>1</sup>Laws of U. S., etc., having operation and respect to the public lands. (Wash., 1817), pp. 27-8.

<sup>2</sup>Same, pp. 28-31.

<sup>3</sup>Bancroft's History of the U. S. (Revised Ed.), Vol. 4, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>Featherstonhaugh's Excursion Through the Slave States, Vol. 1, p. 133.



ginia and into the Valley of East Tennessee. The treaty of Hard Labor, in 1768, ran the east line of the Indian reservation from Chiswell's Mine on the Kanawha to a point thirty-six miles east of the Great Island of Holston. But settlements having already passed this line, in 1770 the treaty of Lochaber moved it back so as to run from the mouth of the Kanawha to a point six miles east of the Great Island of Holston.

This latter line threw nearly all of the present Tennessee counties of Sullivan and Washington east of the Indian reservation, and greatly stimulated the movement of settlers down the Valley of East Tennessee. The first settlement had been made at King's Meadow (Bristol), on the north side of Holston, which was long thought to be in Virginia, and was represented in the Virginia Assembly. But the treaty of 1770 may be assigned as the beginning of the settlement at Watauga, on the south side of Holston. The Watauga River, being east of the Indian line, many pioneers settled on its waters, thinking they were in Virginia.<sup>5</sup> The southern boundary of that state was purely an imaginary line that had never been run or marked. But an experimental survey from Steep Rock to Beaver Creek in the spring of 1771, made it clear that the Virginia line would not fall south of Holston. The Holston River was then for several years considered the southern boundary of Virginia. In 1772 the Indian line from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghany Mountains was made identical with the line between Virginia and North Carolina. This cut the Watauga settlement off in the Indian reservation, and Alexander Cameron, an agent of the Royal Government, ordered its inhabitants to move back across the Holston. But they found means of propitiating the authorities, and so the settlements on both sides of the Holston were permanently founded by emigrants from Virginia.

A. V. GOODPASTURE.

<sup>5</sup>Petition of the Inhabitants of Washington District (1775), Ramsey's *Annals of Tenn.*, p. 134.



## JOURNAL OF GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER (1790-1815)

(Continued from page 194.)

Tues. 21 Fair & warm.

Wed. 22 Fair & very warm began to rain Rained all night with loud thunder.

Th. 23 Rained Heavily in the mornng. & a great part of the day & all night. Wm. Sherrill sit out for home in co with Jno. McAllister.

Fry. 24 became some cooler & clearer the river rose to very great height.

Sat. 25 the river at Stand & though to have rose 35 Feet clear & cool.

Sun. 26 clear & the river began to fall. Let James Lee esqr. have a warrant on the Treasurer for 43 dollars to help pay off a debt due from the Estate of Isaac Taylor, also wrote to A Meek allowing him to let Col. Outlaw pay Lee 60 & a half dollars, which Lee informs me is the amt of his Debt, amounting in the whole to 103 1-2 dolls. pd a Waggoner 15/. for hauling 5 loads of rails from Johnsons.

Mon. 27 a beautiful day myself Capt. Sparks, Wm. Campble & Rutha rode out to Mr. Roads & dined.

Tues. 28 there fell a snow 8 inches deep 12 o'clock at night. Stepson Duncan's house burned down.

March 1797.

Weday. clear & warm, but hailed in the night.

Th. 2 day hailed snowed & rained in the mornng gave 5 dollars to a dutchman who had his effects burned in Duncans house his name Waggoner.

Sat 4 clear & Cool, Tho. Shields on pigeon was killed by Indians.

Sun. 5 dined at Col. Henlys clear & cool day.

Mon. 6th paid Mr. Price twelve dollars for Grubing my four lots of Ground (Clear).

Tues 7 clear & pleasant (some wind).

We. 8 clear & pleasant.

Thur. 9 ditto.

Fry. 10 ditto.

Sat. 11 ditto, pd. Handwicke 11 Dols for to hire a hand 1 month to work.

Sun. 12 cloudy & rained in the morning. pd Doctor Frenier (?) for Alex Cuninghame 13 3-4 dollars . . . £4.2.6. Mrs. Cain came here & tarried here all night. recd yesterday from Crozier & McCrory 100 Dols pd 80 of them to Thos. N. Clark in pay for the waggon & team purchased from him & 120 dols. out of the store being the first



payment - (In Co.) Memo. gave John Rector on order on Col. Harrison for 10 or fifteen Dols., who set out today for Virginia.

Mon. 13 rained in afternoon & evening. Took tea with Mr. Sweetman together with Cap. Wade, Richard Right, Hillis & Nesdnan.

Tues. 14 cloudy in the mornng (cleared off) rode out to Duncans place Loonys (?) &c Sowed a few garden seeds.

Wed. 15 pleasant & warm day set out for Marysville & arrived in evng. Staid all night at Capt. Taylors (rained) paid expenses 3 dollars.

Thur. 16 set out late & lodged at Mr. Simms rained in the night, W. M. Sims.

Fry. 17 cloudy in mornng Came to Knoxville 1 o'clock, dined with the Continental officers & others at Capt. Chisms being a club dinner in memory to the day of St. Patrick.

Sat. 18 (cool) Mr. Sims & Lady came to town & tarried at Mr. Campbles.

Sun. 19 cool—Mr. Sims & Lady wt. home.

Mon. 20 Fair & pleasant.

Tuesday 21 very warm.

Wed. 22 ditto.

Thur. 23 rained & thundered.

Fry. 24 rained.

Sat. 25 Fair pd Seth Johnson 2 D.

Sun. 26 rained.

Mon. 27 cool & Frost at night.

Tues 28 cool, sent Toby home to assist Wm. Sevier down, also sent with him 6 Crowns & four dollars to Mrs. Sevier, a muslin pattern to Joanna & a dimitty one to Polly.

Wes. 29 cool.

Thur. 30 cloudy, a Genl Muster.

Fry. 31 rained.

#### April 1797.

Sat 1 April, cool & Frost at night.

Sun. 2 more pleasant & cool at night.

Mon. 3 cloudy in the mornng.

Tues. 4 rained a little.

Wed. 5 rained a little.

Thur 6 cloudy only, rained in the night.

Fry. 7 recd from Crozier & McCrory 50 Dollars went & lodged at McCains.

Sat. 8 set out from McCains. Caught in heavy rain, lodged all night at Mr. Hains'es.

Sun. 9 about 12 o'clock Mrs. Sevier arrived set out & lodged all night at Magbees Ferry, paid Expenses 16/. Frost at night.



- Mon. 10 Arrived in Knoxville, all safe Frost at night.  
 Tues. 11 Genl. court began.  
 Wed. 12 lent to Joseph Brown brother to Doctor M. Brown 4 dollars.  
 Thu. 13 dry & cold.  
 Fryday 14 cloudy—pd Hancock 2 Dol. to pay for grubing.  
 Sat 15 rained.  
 Sun. 16 cool, Frost at night.  
 Mon. 17 rained.  
 Tues 18 very windy & cool pd John McCain 25 Dolls. pd. Alex Matthews 13.3/4 dollars for 250 ls. Flour. Stevens burnt in hand for larceny<sup>106</sup>. pd. for Balch 8 dollars.  
 Wed. 19 rained.  
 Thur. 20 cool.  
 Fry. 21 ditto.  
 Sat. 22 Superior Court adjd.  
 Sun. 23 cool & windy.  
 Mon. 24 very cool county court of Knox began.  
 Tues. 25 cool.  
 Wed. 26 some frost at night. Pd. Seth Johnson 7 dollars.  
 Thurs. 27. rained a little, the goods came to Whites with Stuart.  
 Fry. 28 Robert Parker was Executed for Burglary. lent Joel Hancock 1 dol.  
 Sat. 29 very warm. Several Frenchmen arrived, sons to the late Duke of Orleans.  
 Sun. 30 Set out for Cumberland<sup>106</sup> first being visited by the 3 sons of Orleans<sup>107</sup>—accompanied by Capt. Crozar Richard, Wright, Stone & no. of others as far as Mr. Clarkes. Lodged all night at Mr. Campbells.<sup>108</sup>

## May 1797.

Monday 1 of may rained in mornng. let our horses graze near Clayville. Recd yesterday from R. Campbell 60 dollars. Dined at So. W. Point<sup>109</sup> lodged all night at Richardsons.—pd Expenses 10/6.

<sup>106</sup>The punishment for larceny of a horse, mare or gelding, for the first offense, was the infliction of not exceeding thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, for not less than six months nor more than two years, being made to sit in the pillory two hours on three different days, being rendered infamous, and being branded with the letters H. T. in such manner and on such part of his person as the court should direct; and, for the second offense, he should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

<sup>106</sup>So far as we have been able to ascertain, this was Sevier's only visit to the Cumberland settlement; and nowhere else than in this diary is it recorded.

<sup>107</sup>See Appendix, page 265.

<sup>108</sup>Campbell's was in the southwestern part of Knox County.

<sup>109</sup>South West Point, the former name for Kingston, the county seat of Roane County, where the Clinch River flows into the Tennessee.



Tues. 2 set out Brak. under the Cumberland Mountain. Dined at Crab Orchard.<sup>110</sup> Lodged all night 2 miles beyond Obas river.

Wed. 3 Set out passed a camp of Indians near Drowning creek. rode 12 miles & Brak—rode 13 miles to a spring 2 miles from the mountain in the barrens. There dined lodged 10 miles from Fort Blount<sup>111</sup> rained in night.

Thur. 4 Rained in the morn'g. Brak. at Andersons. pd Expenses 4/6. Crossed Fort Blount<sup>111</sup> to the Cumberland River pd 1/. Lodged at Peter Turnys.<sup>112</sup> rained much in the night.

Fry. 5 Swam our horses over Goose Creek. Crossed ourselves in a Canoe.<sup>113</sup> got corn at Stubblefields pd. 4/6. Dined at Lyons, Bledsoes Lick.<sup>114</sup> pd. Lodged at Genl. Winchesters.<sup>115</sup>

Sat. 6 cloudy in the morn'g. lodged at Colonel Edwd. Duglass'es.<sup>116</sup>

Sun. 7 arrived in Nashville, Lodged all night at Maj. Lewis.<sup>117</sup> Met with my brother G/ Sevier.

Mon. 8 went to Judge McNairys<sup>118</sup> (Court began).

Tues. 9 tarried at the Judges.

Wed. 10 dined with Mrs. Robersons.

Thur. 11 dined at Mr. Tates.

<sup>110</sup>Crab Orchard, a gap in the Crab Orchard Mountains, Cumberland County, through which came a stream of immigration of the pioneers. Sevier's route here was northwesterly through the present county of Cumberland to the old Wilderness Road and along this road through Overton and Jackson counties.

<sup>111</sup>Fort Blount stood on the northern bank of the Cumberland, in Jackson County, on the old Wilderness Road leading to the settlement at Nashville. It was established in 1794 for protection of travelers against the Indians, who disputed the right of the white people to use this thoroughfare without compensation to them. (See "The Old Road," by W. E. McElwee, American Historical Magazine, October, 1903.)

<sup>112</sup>Peter Turney was a brother of Hopkins L. Turney, who was United States Senator from Tennessee, 1845-1851, and father of Chief Justice and Governor Peter Turney.

<sup>113</sup>The route from Fort Blount to Nashville was the old road, begun in 1787. It ran westwardly through Jackson County, the northern part of Smith County, the present county of Trousdale, Sumner County, past the site of Gallatin, then followed closely the present Nashville and Gallatin turnpike to Nashville. Goose Creek rises in Macon County and flows southwardly through Trousdale into the Cumberland River.

<sup>114</sup>Bledsoe's Lick, now Castalian Springs, the site of a prehistoric village and graveyard, near sulphur springs, the rendezvous of wild animals and Indians. Here, in 1779, Thomas Sharp Spencer raised the first crop of corn in Middle Tennessee and lived for one winter in a large hollow sycamore. Here in 1784 Anthony Bledsoe settled upon his famous "Greenfield grant" of 6,280 acres. He was killed there by Indians on July 20, 1788. About the same year, 1784, his brother, Isaac Bledsoe, settled near by. He was killed there by Indians on April 9, 1793. Both were distinguished and heroic. Their descendants include many illustrious people. (See Cisco's "Historic Sumner County.")

<sup>115</sup>General James Winchester (1752-1826), a native of Maryland and a Revolutionary officer, moved to Sumner County in 1785; lived at "Cragfont," on Bledsoe's Creek, two miles west of Bledsoe's Lick. He was a colleague of Sevier in the Territorial Council, 1794-96. He was speaker of the senate of the first General Assembly, commander of the left wing, Army of the Northwest, War of 1812-15, and was one of the founders of Memphis.

<sup>116</sup>Col. Edward Douglass, a native of Virginia, and an officer in the Revolution, settled in 1785 on Station Camp Creek, a few miles from Gallatin. He was at this time a member of the state senate.

<sup>117</sup>William Terrel Lewis, a native of North Carolina. He was father-in-law of Major Wm. B. Lewis, the devoted friend of Andrew Jackson. Their home was "Fairfield," now in the southeastern part of Nashville. The residence was destroyed for the building of the Lipscomb Public School.

<sup>118</sup>Judge John McNairy was then United States District Judge. His home was near the present corner of Jefferson Street and Ninth Avenue, North.



Fry. 12 nothing extraordinary.

Sat. 13 nothing extraordinary.

Sun. 14 dined at Col. Joel Lewis.<sup>119</sup>

Mon. 15 dined at Mr. Maclins. went home with Gen. Robertson.<sup>120</sup>  
Tarried all night.

Tues. 16 returned to Nashville & dined at Mr. Fosters.<sup>121</sup>

Wed. 17 a handsome & Elegant Ball, at Judge McNairys in the evening.

Thur. 18 rained, I accompanying Mrs. Tate home & dined with her then returned to Judge McNairys in the evening was visited by Colo. Hawkins & Genl. Pickens.<sup>122</sup>

Fry. 19 rained in the mornng.

Sat. 20 dined at Maj. Lewis with a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen. a violent storm in the night blowed down several houses lodged all night with Mr. Lewis.

Sun. 21 went out to the Commiss. camp, dined there & returned to Judge McNairys.

Mon. 22 dined at Colonel Joel Lewis, & returned to Ju. McNairys.

Tues. 23 dined at Maj. Lewis & left Nashville 3 o'clock Lodged at Col. Hays.<sup>123</sup>

Wed. 24 Set out after Brakfust, rained arrived at Genl. Smith<sup>124</sup> in evening staid all night.

Thu. 25 set out in the mornng. arrived at Genl. Winchesters in evening. tarried all night.

Fry. 26 Set out 10 o'clock, fed at Stubblefields & arrived at Capt. Turnys in the eveng. staid all night.

Sat. 27 Set out in the mornng Dined at Anderson & lodged 12 miles from thence.

Sun. 28 Set out very early rode 10 miles to the Foot of the moun-

<sup>119</sup>Joel Lewis was senator from Davidson County in the first and third general assemblies. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1796.

<sup>120</sup>It thrills one to imagine that evening—May 15, 1797— spent with James Robertson. Together in Robertson's home near the Cumberland, Sevier and Robertson must have recalled many heroic events in which they took part. The prophecy uttered by Robertson in 1779 to Sevier, upon his departure from Watauga, had been fulfilled, "We are the advance guard of civilization and our way is across the continent."

<sup>121</sup>James Foster was one of the signers of the Cumberland Compact; but this host to the Governor was probably Robert C. Foster, father of Ephraim H. Foster a great lawyer and United States senator.

<sup>122</sup>Benjamin Hawkins and Andrew Pickens were two of the commissioners who in 1785, at Hopewell, S. C., negotiated in behalf of the Federal government the Treaty of Hopewell. Under this and a subsequent treaty of confirmation the Cherokees and Chickasaws ceded all claim to all the land in Tennessee south of the Cumberland River for many miles.

<sup>123</sup>Col. Robert Hays, at old Haysborough on the Cumberland, about eight miles northeast of Nashville. The wife of Col. Hays was a daughter of Col. John Donelson and a sister of Mrs. Andrew Jackson.

<sup>124</sup>General Daniel Smith (1748-1818) whose famous home, "Rock Castle," still stands near Hendersonville, in Sumner County— an accomplished civil engineer; commissioner for Virginia in running the northern boundary line of Tennessee; secretary of the Southwest Territory; United States Senator, 1798-99, 1805-09; author of a geography of Tennessee, containing the first map of the State made from actual surveys.



tain & Brakfirsted—Lodged at night within 8 miles of the Crab orchard.

Mon. 29 Set out very early rode 20 miles across to the foot of the mountain & Brak. with Mr. Sweelman (?) on his way to Cumberland with his waggon, then set out and arrived at So. Wt. Point 3 o'clock rained heavily in the night.

Tues. 30 rained in the mornng. our horses missing, tho found toward evening.

Wed. 31 Set out & arrived early at Judge Campbells, tarried all night.

### June 1797.

Thursday 1 day of June 1797. Set out in the morning and arrived at Knoxville in the evening. Dined at Mr. Parks<sup>125</sup> on the way Found all well at Mr. Campbells.

Fry. 2 rained in the mornng. Nothing Extraordinary.

Sat. 3 Mr. & Mrs. Campbell set out for Tellicos B.<sup>126</sup> house in Company with Mr. & Mrs. Crozier, Capt. Sparks, Davidson & some others. Cloudy in mornng.

Su. 4 very warm.

Mon. 5 ditto.

Tues. 6 Mr. Campbell & wife returned shower.

Wed. 7 Some cooler.

Thur. 8 warm pd. unto Mr. Dunlop Farmwalls acct. per order at \$11.14.8 V. M.

Fryday 9 very warm.

Sat. 10. very warm, pd. Rob. Wyly 30 dollars in part of his acct. Vs.me.

Sun 11 very warm & Dry.

Mon. 12 ditto. ditto.

Tues. 13 ditto—

Wed. 14 ditto.

Thurs. 15 Sent a Dragoon up to Plumb Grove with letters to Mrs. Sevier, & Miss Rutha. Continues very warm.

Fry. 16 very warm.

Sat. 17 very warm & cloud.

Sun. 18 cool in the morning & some rain.

Mon. 19 cool.

Tues. 20 ditto.

Wed. 21 ditto.—pd. Mr. Bowen five dollars for Alex. Cunningham.

Thurs. 22 Lent Capt. Blue 10 Dols. Cloudy. Sit out for P. Grove in Comp with Mrs. & Mr. Campbell, Capt. Sparks, & some Dragons,

<sup>125</sup>James Park. He was mayor of Knoxville, 1818-'21; 1824-'26.

<sup>126</sup>Tellico Block House, in Blount County, a noted place for making of treaties with Cherokees. Here was the council house of the nation.



red from D. Henly. Agent 40 dolls. in pay for a house built at So. W. P. Lodged at Mr. Brazittons at night.

Fry. 23 Lodged at Col. Outlaws,<sup>127</sup> rained in the afternoon.

Sat. 24, dined at Greenville rained in afternoon, arrived at home in the evening—pd. a merchant in Greenville 49/3. for wine a hat &c had by Mrs. Sevier. pd Rob Wyly 28/10 for L. sugar.

Sun. 25 rained Majr. McIntosh & Cap. Blue dined here—

Mon. 26 rained. Mr. Sherril reaped.

Tues. 27 cloudy in mornng. Self & Cap. Sparks went to Jonesboro ret. in evng.

Wed. 28 began to reap.

Thurs. 29 Capt. Richd. Sparks & Rutha Sevier married by Mr. Doake.<sup>128</sup>

Fry. 30 rained.—pd. Isaac Embree 2 dollars for plank—2/6. yet due to him, in full of all accounts.

#### JULY 1797.

Sat. 1 Went self, Mrs. Sevier Capt. Sparks & Mrs. Sparks to Jonesbro. rained.

Sun. 2 staid at Jonesboro rained—lodged with Mrs. Sevier &c at Waddles.

Mon. 3 came home rained.

Tues. 4 went & Dined with Jas. Sevier—rained.

Wed. 5 clear & warm finished reaping wheat—

Thurs. 6 rained.

Fry. 7 ditto.

Sat. 8 ditto.

Sun. Fair & very hot, Capt. Sparks sit out for Knoxville.

Mon. 10 light rain in mornng.

Tues. 11 self Mrs. Sevier wt to Jonesbro.

Wed. 12 staid at Jonesbro (dry).

Thurs. 13 ditto—(dry dry).

Fry. 14 ditto—ditto.

Sat. 15 came home (dry).

Sun. 16 cloudy in mornng.

Mon. 17 very hot.

<sup>127</sup>Probably Alexander Outlaw, 1738-1825, characterized by Caldwell (p. 65) as "one of the best and purest, as well as one of the ablest men of his time in Tennessee"; a native of Duplin County, North Carolina, well educated; took an active part in the formation of the State of Franklin; member from Jefferson County in the Constitutional Convention of 1796; representative in first general assembly; state senator, 1799, 1801; speaker of the senate, 1799. He was the father-in-law of four well-known men of that time—Judge Joseph Anderson, Joseph Hamilton, Paul McDermott, and Judge David Campbell.

<sup>128</sup>Marriage of Ruth Sevier, the sixth daughter, to Capt. Richard Sparks, June 29, 1797. Her second husband was Daniel Vertner. An interesting sketch of her and Capt. Sparks is found on page 204 of Heiskell's "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History."



Tues. 18, ditto, some little rain. Genl. McDowell came<sup>129</sup> here.

Wed. 19 Cloudy but no rain.

Thur. 20 Genl. McDowell left here.

Fry. 21 clear & hot.

Sat. 22 ditto.

Sun. 23 Mr. May & wife came here from Maj. Seviars—staid all night.

Monday 24 cloudy Memo. let Walter King have a warrant on the Treasurer for 100 Dollars some time ago.—Also paid Geo. Gillaspie sheriff for Walter King 49 dollars. Mr. King recd pay for the 100 dols warrant from John Shelby sheriff of Sullivan.

Tuesday 25 myself & son Washington went to Walter Kings & I left him Mr. King have 100 Dollars cash. staid all night at Mr. Kings.

Wed 26 tarried at Mr. Kings.

Thurs. 27 ditto.

Fry, 28 ditto—C. See, S. B.

Sat. 29 came home in Co. with Col. S. Weir, Whorton rector & a son of Col. Arthurs. rained a little in the night.

Sun. 30 light shower in the morning. Memo. purchase yesterday from Wharton Rector this good in Knoxville—for which I am to give him 25 pct. in advance. Samuel Weir, James Paine & a young Arthur Wittens (?).

Mon. 31 Fair & hot.

#### August 1797.

Tues. 1 day of August 1797. self Mrs. Sevier & children went to Jas. Seviars to hear Revd. Bukton preach.

Wed. 2 light shower.

Thurs. 3 went to the election<sup>130</sup>—a very fine rain.

Fry. 4 rained.

Sat. 5 Colonel Heard & Mr. Dardin came here, (my house).

Sunday 6 clear day.

Mon. 7 Herd & Dardin went away.

Tues. 8 Settled with Jacob Embree my own acct. & John Richmonds 12/3. John Fickees acct. 12/9. for myself 4 chairs 12./—37/. Gave an order for 37/ to Colo. Harrisons store—Lent to Wm. Greene 2 Dollars.

Wed. 9 dry & warm.

Thurs. 10 set out for Knoxville in Co. with Judge Claiborne Lodged that night at Greeneville, at which place the Synod had that day convened.

<sup>129</sup>General Charles McDowell commanded the one hundred and sixty men from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, North Carolina, in the Battle of King's Mountain.

<sup>130</sup>Sevier does not mention his election on this day—August 3, 1797—as governor for the second time.



Fry. 11, lodged that night in Greeneville.

Sat. 12 left Greeneville lodged that night at Col. Roddy's, where I left my beast lance.

Sun. 13 I borrowed a mair from a Mr. Majers—shower of rain Lodged at Mr. Hains—pd. him 1 dollar to defray the expenses in the tavern.

Mon. 14 Brakfird at Mr. Meeks Dined at Mr. McCains, & arrived in the evening in Knoxville & lodged at Cap. Stones.

Tues. 15 dined in camp with Cpts. Butler & Sparks.

Wed. 16 very warm.

Thur. 17 rained a fine shower.

Fry. 18 ditto.

Sat. 19 ditto.

Sun. 20 visited the camp a Fair day.

Mon. 21 some light showers. The waggons set out to pactolus (?) Iron Works loaded with goods I set out in the evening for plumb Grove. lodged at Mr. Cains & gave him 30 dolls.

Tues. 22 I purchased 2 negro fellars from Isham Brown, one named Ned a cook, the other Jack, a laborer price 215. Set out about 10 o'clock fed horses at Haines Iron works, & got one shod, pd/ expenses 4/. Lodged that night at Colo. Roddys.

Wed. 23 pd. Mr. Majors 2 dollars for the lend of his mair—pd 2 dollars to a negro fellar for taking care of my mair left lame at Colo. Roddys. Set out early & Brak. at Purdoms the blue spring, pd. expenses 2/s fed at Carricks in Greeneville, pd 1/. then set out & arrived at home at Dark. Memo I pd John Stone 9 dollars on Monday last for one weeks board of myself & expenses of feeding horses wine &c &c.

Thur. 24—very hot & Dry day M. E. John McCollister came here & Tarryed all night.—Mrs. Wm. Clarke & Mrs. Massingail dined at my house.

Fry. 25 very Dry & hot, rain in the evening.

Sat. 26th Mr. Rector & Mr. Kenedy came here & tarryied all night set out in the morning.

Sun. 27 very warm.

Mon. 28 ditto, began to take fodder.

Tues 29 very hot.

Wed. 30 ditto Col. Craig came here on his way to Philadelphia tarryied all night & set out in morning.

Thurs. 31 myself & Mrs. Sevier went to Jonesboro. From thence I went to Walter Kings Iron works—Mr. Campbell & Mrs. Campbell came to my house from Virginia. I tarried at Walter Kings all night.

#### September, 1797.

Fry. 1st day of September 1797 Tarried at Walter Kings (Dry).

Sat. 2 Staid at Kings.

Sun. 3 came to P. Grove. fine rain.



Mon. 4 nothing extraordinary.

Tues. 5 Set out with the family in the evening for Knoxville. Lodged that night at Col. Gillaspys—

Wed. 6 Set out early Dined at Greene. pd. Expenses 17/6. Lodged that night at Blue Springs. (Expenses 16/6).

Thur. 7 Set out Early, dined at Colo. Roddies, pd. Expenses 6/. Give to Col. Roddie to give Mr. Major for attending my Mair Lodged that night at Wm. Murphys pd Expenses 12/. Memo. pd King & Deckson 45/. in full of my store acct. as pr. receipt taken 6th instant.

Fry. 8 Lodged that night at Adam Meeks esqr.

Sat. 9 Set out early—dined at Jno Cains—Arrived in Knoxville in the evening—the waggon & Cattle also.

Sun. 10 Very warm, staid at Cap. Sparks.

Mon. 11, ditto.—some rain.

Tues. 12 came to Major McClungs house, for which am to pay 10 dollars pr. month to Arthur Crozier.<sup>131</sup>

Wed. 13 pd. Richard Cavit 50 dollars, in part pay of a note of 100 due Walter King—some little rain. Give Rutha Sparks 5 Dollars.

Thurs. 14 cloudy—Mr. Richd Campbles waggon with goods arrived—Judge McNairy & his lady took tea.

Fry. 15 paid Jesse Willson pr order of Joel Hancocke 4 & a half dollars for grubing 1 acre & half of Ground at the plantation. pd. Joel Hancocke 2 dollars for Grubing done by Jesse Willsons brother some time ago. Pd. Thomas Hope 5 dolls. towards work done by himself in making sash lights, doors &c.

Sat. 16 Very warm.

Sun. 17 a very fine rain in the eveng.

Mon. 18th the assembly convened, a cool night.

Tues. 19 cool nothing extraordinary.

Wed. 20 rained.

Tues. 21 informed by a Committee that I was unanimously elected by Gov. and that they would await on me next day to conduct me to the house to be qualified into office.

Fry. 22, The Committee accordingly attended—I was qualified &c. pd. Tho. N. Clarke 50 dollars.

Sat. 23 heavy rain.

Sun. 24 cool & clear.

Mon. 25 Cloudy & cool, lent Richard Campbell 10 dollars.

Tues. 20 Dry & cool.

Wed. 27 ditto—pd. Vol. Sevier for S. May 250 Dols. which I owed May.

<sup>131</sup>Arthur Crozier. Later, 1851-1855, an Arthur Crozier was comptroller of the State of Tennessee. The Croziers were prominent people at Knoxville. John Crozier was a leading pro-Southern man at Knoxville in 1860, violently hostile to W. G. Brownlow. D.



Thur. 28 ditto Abraham Joab set in for a month at 12 dollars (3 only to be pd. in money).

Fry. 29 dry & cool.

Sat. 30 ditto pd. Hawkins 20 dollars for work at the kitchen.

October 1797.

Sun. 1 day of October 1797 (dry & cool) all the prisoners in Jail except a negro, made their escape in the night.

Monday 2 very dry & clear weather—Memo. that my negro Jack has staid at Manwells since I moved down to this place two whole weeks & 4 days of the first two weeks, for which I charge half a dollar a day, being 16 working days what time he staid there before was on an agreement made with Windle.

Tues. 3 cool & dry, rained in the night.

Wed. 4 Frost at night.

Thur. 5 cool day—the children went to the dancing school.

Fry. 6 cloudy in mornng. Memo. Let Ginerale Carter have two drafts on the Treasurer for 375 dollars each, in part payment of my bond in his hands. Memo. pd. for James Sevier to the Treasurer 61 dollars & 80 Cents over & above what I owed him which balance he is to pay me in cash—Memo. pd. for Wharton Rector 120 dollars Whorton Rector Dr. to 120 dollars I paid James Sevier.

Sat. 7 very dry.

Sun. 8 ditto.

Mon. 9 ditto.

Tues. 10 ditto Superior Court began.

Wed. 11 very dry & warm.

Thur. 12 ditto. Election for representative.

Fry. 13 ditto. election continued & closed pd. John Lynch 40 dollars, for T. N. Clark.

Sat. 14 very dry & warm.

Sun. 15 ditto. pd. for Alex Cunningham 3 dolls.

Mon. 16 cool.

Tues. 17 cool nothing extraordinary.

Wed. 18 pd. Roberts who lives at Cains 2 dollars towards his last load of corn.

Thur. 19 cool & some rain in the evening.

Fry. 20 ditto cool & light frost.

Sat. 21 cold & light Frost.

Sun. 22 Myself, Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Sparks and Betsy went to Majr. Peters camp.

Mon. 23 staid at camp (rained in night).

Tues. 24 returned to Knoxville all well.

Wed. 25 cool & dry.



Thurs. 25 self & Mrs. Seviars went to Mr. Sims's to visit Mrs. Sims who was sick.

Fry. 27 Returned home rained at night.

Sat. 28 cool & clear Assembly adjourned.

Sun. 29 cold & hard frost at night which killed vines in the garden.

Mon. 30 Lent to Dr. Franier (?) Linds essays, division of Pulses  
3 small French volums Knox Court began.

Tues. 31 Frost at night.

November 1797.

Wed. 1 day of November 1797.

Thur. 2 cool & clear.

Fry. 3 ditto.

Sat. 4th ditto pd. Tho. N. Clarke 15 Dolls rained at night.

Sun. 5 cloudy Mrs. Simms came to town.

Mon. 6 dry weather.

Tues. 7 ditto. Tiptons & Gibsons studs run Gibsons beat 18 inches.

Wed. 8 dry & clear, Sims & wife wt home.

Thurs. 9 clear & cool.

Fry. 10 ditto.

Sat. 11 rained in the day & after night.

Sun. 12 cloudy in mornng. Col. Harrison Toby & my two horses  
wt home. Memo. on Wed. 8th Paddy Gynnan set in as waggoner for  
1 month for 10 dolls.

Mon. 13 clear &c.

Tues. 14 ditto.

Wed. 15 pd Matthew 70 dollars. for Isaac Taylor (?).

Thur. 16 rained.

Fry. 17 Cloud.

Sat. 18 cloudy & cool .

Sun. 19 rained a little in the night.

Mon. 20 pd. Joseph Hardin Junr. for Isaac Taylor (?) 25/8.

Tues. 21 cold.

Wed. 22 rained in the day & night.

Thurs. 23 Rained river raised 6 Feet.

Fry. 24 cloudy.

Sat. 25 cloudy pd. P. Grinnon a Diffit times 6 dolls.

Sun. 26 cloudy. & like for snow.

Mon. 27 cloudy & some Flying snow.

Tues. 28 hard frost.

Wed. 29 Fine pleasant day.

Thurs. 30 very fine day.



December 1797.

Fry. 1 december Majr. Phelen (?) arvd.

Sat. 2 Fair patrick Grinan 1 dollar.

Sun. 3 rained in day & snowed at night David Stuart began to boar.

Mon. 4 very cold, & cloudy waggon set off to P. Grove.

Tues 5 ditto very cold Cloudy. pd. Farmwault & Co. 144 dollars & due yet 143. 5/6 dollars.

Wed. 6 very cold.

Thur. 7 some more moderate a general muster Memo. pd. William out of a settlement with A. Cunningham 6 dols. Mr. D. Stuart & negro Jack set out for Jonesbro.

\*Fry. 8 more moderate, rained in the day & snowed in the night.

Sat. 9 snowed in the morning (Very cold).

Sun. 10th more moderate.

Mon. 11 very cloudy a little rain in night.

Tues. 12 granted a pardon for Wm. Sutherland who was condemned for stealing 2 negroes the property of Cap. Dannahoo. Cloudy & some rain.

Wed. 13 was at a dance at Mr. Gordons.

Thur. 14 very warm day, heavy rain at night.

Fry. 15 rained in the morning. (warm) Mr. & Mrs. Campble set out for Tellico & Daughter Polly went with them.

Sat. 16 cold.

Sun. 17 ditto.

Mon. 18 ditto.

Tues. 19 ditto.

Wed. 20 ditto.

Thur. 21 cloudy.

Fry. 22 rained.

Sat. 23 cold & clear.

Sun. 24 cold—myself Mrs. Sevier Joana & Betsy & Majr. Elholm set out for Tellico—lodged all night at Bartletts mill.

Mon. 25 (cold) set out early Brak. at Mariesville & arrived at Tellico in the eveng & rained in the night .

Tues. 26 rained & cold.

Wed. 27 clear & cold.

Thur. 28 we set out for home tarried all night in Mariesville.

Fry. 29 cold—We came home in the evening.

Sat. 30 Some more moderate killed fated Hoggs.

Sun. 31 rained & warm.



## January 1798.

Mon. 1 day of January 1798. a fine warm day—Genl. White & Major Elholm set out for Georgia.

Tues. 2 warm & pleasant. pd. Wm. Ritchee towards Oats 12/.

Wed. 3 pleasant pd. P. Grinen 3/.

Thurs. 4 a rainy fore part of the day. wt. to Mr. McCains & staid all night.

Fry. 5 cloudy & cold—came home hard frost at night.

Sat. 6 Fair & pleasant day.

Sun. 7 ditto.

Mon. 8 ditto.

Tues. 9 ditto. P. Grinen 2/9.

Wed. 10 ditto.

Thur. 11 snowed in the night.

Fry. 12 clear & cold.

Sat. 13 warm pd. Wm. Ritchey 2 dols. 14. & Tho. N. Clarke 20 pr Washington.

Sun. 14 pleasant Chatty Sevier set out for his fathers.

Mond. 15 rained.

Tues. 16 fair & pleasant.

Wed. 17 ditto Pat Grinen 1 dollar.

Thur. 18 ditto.

Fry. 19 ditto.

Sat. 20 rained Jo Sevier set out for the nation.

Sun. 21 very cold & snowed.

Mon. 22 very cold & river very high.

Tues. 23 very cold.

Wed. 24 very cold.

Thur. 25 ditto.

Fry. 26 some more moderate.

Sat. 27 warm.

Sun. 28 warm.

Mon. 29 ditto. Sent the negroes to work plantation.

Tues. 30 ditto.

Wed. 31 ditto.

## February 1798.

Thurs. 1 day of February 1798. Warm & pleasant.

Fry. 2nd. ditto. pd. Wm. Seawell 7 dols. Lent Colo. Seawell one dollar some time ago (paid since).

Sat. 3d. very pleasant pd. Wm. Ritchee 3 dollars 18/. for oats recd. some time ago.



Sun. 4 ditto.  
 Mon. 5 ditto.  
 Tues. 6 rained.  
 Wed. 7 rained a little.  
 Thurs. 8 cloudy & cold.  
 Fry. 9 cloudy—Pat Grinen 2 dollars.  
 Sat. 10 clear.  
 Sun. 11 ditto.  
 Mon. 12 ditto Pat Grinen 1/6.  
 Tues. 13 rained at night took tea at Mr. Duncans.  
 Med. 14 cloudy & cool at night. pd. Wm. Ritchee 2 dollars 12/.  
 Thur. 15 rained & snowed in the night paid Delany the butcher  
 5 dols Give Joel Hancocke an order to Millers store for half bushel  
 salt.  
 Fry. 16 snowed in morngr.  
 Sat. 17 Cloudy & cold.  
 Sun. 18 rained & snowed in the night.  
 Mon. 19 rained in the morngr. Set out in Co. with Mr. Davenport  
 for Jonesbro.—Lodged at Mr. Hains that night—pd. expenses \$4/6.  
 Tues. 20 Set out early lodged that night in Greenville—paid Alex.  
 Purdom 6 dollars towards an old acct.  
 Wed. 21 rained in morngr. Staid in Greenville till 22nd. pd. 22/.  
 Thur. 22 Went to Capt. Gest's & from there Salt Lick—staid all  
 night at Capt. Gest's.  
 Fry. 23 Went to plum Grove & staid all night.  
 Sat. 24 Went to Jonesbro. Staid all night. Rained in night.  
 Sun. 25 Went to Walter Kings.  
 Mon. 26 Staid at ditto.  
 Tues. 27 ditto—pleasant.  
 Wed. 28 ditto—ditto.

#### March 1798.

March 1 Thursday. Rained.—Said at ditto.  
 Fry. 2 rained. Staid at ditto.  
 Sat. 3 Cold & clear staid.  
 Sun. 4 clear went to Jonesbro & staid at Mr. Mays.  
 Mon. 5 Staid at Mr. Mays. Supr. Court began—Memo. furnished  
 Walter King on Fryday last with 130 dollars for the use of the Iron  
 Works (in silver dollars).  
 Tues. 6 Staid at Jonesbro—clear.  
 Wed. 7 ditto. Pleasant.  
 Thur. 8 ditto—ditto. See Fords C.  
 Fry. 9 ditto—ditto. See ditto.



Sat. 10 ditto See ditto rained.

Sun. 11 ditto—clear.

Mon. 12 clear Staid at Jonesbro.

Tues. 13 ditto—ditto.

Wed. 14 ditto—ditto.

Thur. 15 ditto—ditto—Went to plum Grove in Co. with Gen. Conway.—Staid all night—fine weather.

Fry. 16 Traveled to Greenville, staid all night—pd. 9/6. Fair weather.

Sat. 17 Travelled that day to Clarks staid all night. pd. 10/6.

Sun. 18 arrived at Knoxville in Co. with James Pain—fine weather.

Mon. rained & stormy.

Tues. 20 clear & cool.

Wed. 21 recd from H. Windle 665 dollars—clear.

Thur. 22 Went to Colo. Butlers camp Staid all night.

Fry. 23 rained Staid all night at Camp, with Colo. Butler.

Sat. 24, rained & snowed & very stormy. Came back to Knoxville in Co. with D. Claiborne & James pain.

Sun. 25 rained & snowed.

Mon. 26 clear & cool for the season. Memo. pd. for 41 Gallons of whiskee 30 doll. 75 Cts. at 75 cents pr. Gallon. Received from L. P. Sims 15 dollars. Recd. from Wm. Ritchee some time ago 100 dozen oats at 1/10. equal 9.1.8. 1 load of Hay. 1.10 To cash 15 dollars \$4.10.

Tues. 27 fine day.

Wed. 28 ditto.

Thur. 29 cool.

Fry. 30 very warm polly Sherrill (?) a ball at Gordons.

Sat. 31 very warm Mrs. Sevier went to her brother Johns.

#### April 1798.

Sun. 1 day of April warm rained great part of the night My negro boy bobb returned by A. Crozier.

Mon. 2 rained in mornng. cleared up Mrs. Sevier returned.

Tues. 3 cool & light frost at night.

Wed. 4 cool & cloudy.

Thurs. 5 cool cloudy.

Fry. 6 very warm.

Sat. 7 very warm.

Mon. 9 I went to plantation very warm.—Knox county court began & Supr adjd.

Tues. 10 rained & very cool & windy.

Wed. 11 cleared up—cool. pd. David Stuart 60 dollars for 66



Gals. wihskee had some time ago & sent to camp. pd. Charles McCoy for R. Campble 100 dollars.

Thur. 12 rained & very cool.

Fry. 13 very cold & snowed in the morning.

Sat. 14 cloudy & cold.

Sun. 15 cold & frost at night brother Joseph came to Knoxville.

Mon. 16 cold & light frost in night. James Sevier came to Knoxville.

Tues. 17 cool day.

Wed. 18 moved to Mr. Greenes lot.

Thurs. 19 more warm & pleasant.

Fry. 20 rained & hail.

Sat. 21 fair.

Sun. 22 clear & cool.

Mon. 23 warm.

Tues. 24 warm.

Wed. 25 fine rain.

Thur. 26 rained.

Fry. 27 light shower.

Sat. 28 some rain in mornng.

Sun. 29 fine day.

Mon. 30 ditto—Jo Sevier J Campble Windle & McCoy set out for the Cherokee nation.

#### May 1798.

Tuesday the 1st day of May 1798 rained in mornng. pd. Tho. N. Clarke ten dollars.

Wed. 2 warm & windy Memo. Let Joseph Seveir have 10 dols. Recd. from H Windle 30 dols. Sent to L. P. Sims 35 Gals. wiske in one cask & 24 in another, by Joseph Sevier—but Jo. was to have some out of the 24 gallon cask.

Thur. 3 very hot & dry.

Fry. 4 ditto.

Sat. 5 rained in the morning pd. Mrs. Ritchee 2 dollars. pd. Alex Cunningham for Ben Willson 2 dolls.

Sun. 6 dry & warm.

Mon. 7 rained.

Tues. 8 John Steele Colo. arrived escorted into the town by the light horse.

Wed. 9 very warm.

Thur. 10 Doctor Claiborne, Judge Campble & Major McIntosh Dined with us rained in the evening & great part of the night.

Fry. 11 rained in the morning.

Sat. 12 very cool day for time of the year.



Sun. 13 very cool also & cloudy.

Mon. 14 ditto.

Tues. 15 More warmer.

Wed. 16 warm a ball at Gordons. rained at night.

Thur. 17 very warm rained in evening.

Fry. 18 some light rain in the mornng. Colo. Walton arrived escorted into town by the light horse.

Saturday 19 very warm.

Sun. 20 ditto (escorted the commissrs out of town on their way to Belleanton (?).

Mon. 21 very warm ditto.

Tues. 22 ditto.

Wed. 23 ditto.

Thurs. 24 cloudy & some light rain.

Fry. 25 cloudy & cool.

Saturday 26 cool.

Sun. 27 cool & some rain.

Mon. 28 very cool for the Season.

Tues. 29 some warmer.

Wed. 30 warm.

Thurs. 31 very warm.

#### June 1798.

Fryday the first day of June V. warm.

Sat. 2 a fine rain in the afternoon. Memo. pd. Delaney the Butcher 4 dollars today 5 F. Crowns my amount he says is some more than £3 a fine day.

Sun. 3 Memo. pd. Beverly 2 Crowns towards payment for hauling a load of bacon from the point with Emmersons waggon.

Mon. 4 rained.

Tues. 5 ditto.

Wed. 6 rained in the night.

Thur. 7 rained received from Mr. Windle 36 dols.

Fry. 8 rained.

Sat. 9 rained Mr. R. Campble came to town.

Sun. 10 rained HeAVILY in morning & evening.

Mon. 11 rained in the morning.

Tues. 12 very warm.

Wed. 13 Sent to the post 100 dollar warrant for my services to John Gass of Greene dated March 14, 1797. the same was enclosed in a letter of this day, to be left in the post office in Greenville. This day it rained.

Thurs. 14 rained.

Fry. 15 rained.



Sat. 16 rained.

Sun. 17 rained.

Mon. 18 rained.

Tues. 19 fair & very warm.

Wed. 20 went down the river to view Coxes boat, Mrs. Sevier, Mrs. Campble & Joanna went along—also Mr. G. Gordon his wife & sisters patsy & polly—returned & took tea at Mr. Gordons, and had a little hop—some rain in the evening.

Thur. 21 cloudy & foggy in the mornng.

Fry. 22 clear, went to the plantatn. reaped early wheat yesterday.

Sat. 23 rained in afternoon.

Sun. 24 rained, went to meeting.

Mon. 25 rained in mornng. Joseph Kitty & Washington set out for Tellico, Mr. Danl. Windle in Co.

Tues. 26 rained—reaped wheate.

Wed. 27 heavy rain.

Thur. 28 do. do. Washington & Windle ret'd. from Tellico.

Fry. 29 Danl. Windle set out for home—rained Settled with Butcher Delaney due him 4.12.4 pd. him 7 Crowns, 2. 6. 1. he owes 181s. Bacon.

Sat. 30 Mr. & Mrs. Campble arrived fair day & very warm.

#### July 1798.

Sun. 1 day. very warm.

Mon. 2 ditto.

Tues. 3 ditto.

Wed. 4 a ball at Gordons, a Frenchman robbed at night of large sum.

Thurs. 5 some rain.

Fry. 6 very warm, Fogg mornng.

Sat. 7 Foggy mornng.

Sun. 8 rained very heavy.

Mon. 9 clear & warm Knox county court began.

Tues. 10 very warm—myself Mrs. Sevier, & Miss Joanna took tea at Mr. Blounts.

Wed. 11 Myself Washington & toby set out for Tellico blockhouse to the treaty—staid that night at Maryville pd. expenses 12/.

Thu. 12 Arrived at Tellico 11 o'clock that day the treaty was adjourned until 3rd of September.

Fry. 13 Staid at Tellico—See, N.-cy.

Sat 14 set out for Knoxville, dined at Maryville pd. 6/. Came home after (?) (?)

Sun. 15th rained part of the day.

Mon. 16 rained—pd. Alex Purdem 5 dols.



Tues. 17 Some light showers.

Wed. 18 very warm.

Thurs. -9 cool & windy—Joseph Sevier set out from this place for Sullivan—carried a letter to W. King Colo. Harrison, Capt. Gest, & Majr. Sevier.

Fry. 20 warm & dry.

Sat. 21 ditto.

Sun. 22 ditto.

Mon. 23 ditto Gen. Sevier Colo. Sevier set for Springs I recd. a snuff box as compliment from (?)

Tues. 24 very warm Governor Blount his Lady, Miss Mary & Wm. took tea.

Wed. 25 Sent into the post office a letter from James White esq. to Gabriel Debrutz—Musht. (?) in Fayetteville No. Carolina Myself, Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Sparks & Miss Joanna took tea at Capt. Simerals—a very warm day.

Thur. 26 Foggy morning in this book a letter from Robertson.

Fry. 27 very warm & dry.

Sat. 28 very hot & dry in the day a light Shower in the night.

Sun. 29 warm in the day a heavy rain in the night.

Mon. 30 rained in the morning & cleared up.

Tues. 31 clear & some cooler.

August 1798.

Wed. 1 day of August clear & warm.

Thurs. 2 clear & some warmer Mrs. Sparks & Washington wt. to Mr. Kings.

Fry. 3 cloudy in the morning & a light shower about 12 o'clock Mrs. Sparks & Washington ret'd. from Kings.

Sat. 4 very hot.

Sun. 5 Mrs. Sparks set out for So. W. point My self & Mrs. Sevier accompanied her & Mrs. Blount part of the way as far as the sign of the Cross keys.

Mon. 6 very warm.

Tues. 7 ditto. a small shower in evening.

Wed. 8 very warm.

Fry. 9 Foggy in the morning & some clouds Went to Mrs. Gordons Quilting.

Fry. 10 a fine shower in the evening.

Sat. 11 cloudy & rainy day—Messrs. John Waddle & Doctor May arrived from Cumberland.

Sun. 12 some rain.

Mon. 13 Fair & very warm.

Tues. 14 rain.

Wed. 15 ditto.



Thur. 16 ditto. Very heavy gusts Recd. from Wm. Claiborne  
20 Dolls.

Fry. 17 light shower Major Elholm arrived.

Sat. 18 warm & dry.

Sun. 19 ditto.

Mon. 20 ditto.

Tues. 21st began to make brick.

Wed. 22 very hot & dry.

Thur. 23 ditto.

Fry. 24 pd. Delaney butcher 4 Crowns.

Sat. 25 very hot & dry.

Sun. 26 ditto.

Mon. 27 some light clouds & little rain in mornng & very heavy in night.

Tues. 28 cloudy in mornng Rained little in even.

Wed. 29 clear & windy.

Thur. 30 ditto.

Fry. 31 ditto.

#### September 1798.

Sat. 1 day of Sept. 1798 warm Myself, Mrs. Sevier, Joanna, Mrs. Campble & Betsy set out for So. W. pt. Dined at Mr. Millers & lodged that night at Mr. Sims.

Sun. 2 arrived early at the point Heavy rain about 12 o'clock.

Mon. 3 very cool for the season rained in the night.

Tues. 4 very cool for the season.

Wed. 5 cool & frost on the Cumberland Mts.

Thu. 6 ditto—ditto.

Fry. 7 ditto—ditto This day we all set out except Miss Joanna for Knoxville in Colo. Wm. Donaldson & Mrs. J. Donaldson—We tarried all night at Millers the others wt. on to Colo. McClellans.—We lost our horses that night also Izzna. (?) Chism lost 3 of his.

Sat. 8 tarried all day & night at Mr. Millers. in the night our horses were sent back to us from Maj. G. Campbles cost a Crown.

Sun. 9 We set out for Knoxville Arrived three o'clock some rain that night & evening.

Mon. 10 very warm & some rain rained heavy in the night. Mrs. S. Donaldson arrived & tarried all night. (Recd. from my plana. 181s. Bacon.

Tues. 11 rained in the mornng. very warm.

Wed. 12 Sultry & dry.

Thur. 13 ditto.

Fry. 14 ditto.

Sat. 15 ditto.



Sun. 16 ditto Foggy morning.  
 Mon. 17 took tea at Claibornes.  
 Tues. 18 cloudy in morning & very warm.  
 Wed. 19 ditto.  
 Thurs. 20 ditto—Self & Majr. Claiborne set out for the treaty—  
 some thunder & rain Lodged at Mary ville pd. Exp. 4/6.  
 Fry. 21 arrived at Tellico & dined with Colo. Butler.  
 Sat. 22 attended the treaty.<sup>132</sup>  
 Sun. 23 ditto.  
 Mon. ditto.  
 Tues. 25 ditto.  
 Wed. 26 very cold & frost at night.  
 Thurs. 27 ditto—ditto.  
 Fry. 28 ditto—ditto.  
 Sat. 29 ditto—ditto.  
 Sun. 30 ditto—ditto Set uot in Co with Genl. White & Lodged at  
 Bartlets on our way for Knoxville.

## October 1798.

Mon. October 1, day we arrived in the morning at Knoxville.  
 Tues. 2 more warmer & some clouds.  
 Wed. 3 dry & cool nights.  
 Thu. 4 ditto.  
 Fry 5 ditto.  
 Sat. 6 ditto.  
 Su. 7 ditto.  
 Mon. 8 ditto lent Wal. King 1 dollar County court of Knox began.  
 Tues. 9 cool & very dry.  
 Wed. cool & some cloudy. Lent Mr. Sherrill 2 dollars He set out  
 for home.  
 Thurs. 11 ditto. Yesterday my bro. Valentine came to Knox-  
 ville.<sup>133</sup>  
 Fry. 12th cool & cloudy in morning. Memo. Wm. Nelson went to  
 on my plantation & Joel Hancocks time ceased in my employ.

<sup>132</sup>First Treaty of Tellico, or Walton's Treaty, made by George Walton and Thomas Butler, for the United States, with the Cherokees. This treaty contained stipulations for peace and friendship, with regulations for intercourse between the whites and Cherokees. It provided for cession by the Indians of lands just north of the Tennessee and Little Tennessee rivers and north and west of the Clinch River.

<sup>133</sup>Col. Valentine Sevier was born in 1747 in Rockingham County, Virginia. He was a sergeant at the Battle of Point Pleasant, and commande da company in the Revolution, at Thicketty Fort, Cedar Springs, Musgrove's Mill, and King's Mountain. He moved to Red River, where Clarksville now stands. In 1792 three of his sons were killed by Indians. Col. Sevier died at Clarksville, Tenn., February 23, 1800. (See Heiskell's "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History, pp. 206-208.)



Sat. 13 Went to a ball at Mr. Gordons.

Sun. 14 clear & warm.

Mon. 15 cloudy day.

Tues. 16 Fair & warm.

Wed. 17 warm, set out to Tennessee river lodged at Millers.

Thur. 18 Went to see a piece of my land on Tennessee river & returned that night & staid at Millers.

Fry. 19 rained in morning wt. down to S. W. point, tarried all night.

Sat. 20 clear day & staid at point.

Sun. 21 staid at point clear day.

Mon. 22 Staid at the point, rained heavy gust in the evening frost at night.

Tues. 23 clear & cool, set out with Son Washington, & lodged that night at Millers—light frost.

Wed. 24 Sit out early eat Brak. at Col. McClellan & arrived in Knoxville in evening (clear).

Thurs. 25 clear & cool.

Fry. 26 some rain frost at night.

Sat. 27 cool & cloudy frost at night.

Sun. 28 cloudy & very cool. Memo. recd from James Paine at So. W. point 4 dollars towards pay of thirty-three gallons of whiskee.

Mon. 29 cool & dry hard frost.

Tues. 30 cloudy & cold snowed a little in the night—dined at Colo. Henlys with Capt. Henly & others.

Wed. 31. clear & cold, put a number of letters on the office for sundry persons at Boston & New York.

#### November 1798.

Thurs. 1 rained greater part of the day.

Fry. 2 rained chiefly all day. Sent Jim & Ned to the farm.

Sat. 3 cleared up & hard frost at night.

Sun. 4 hard frost at night.

Mon. 5 ditto. (Washington took ill).

Tues. 6 ditto.

Wed. 7 ditto pd. Ben Willson 6/.

Thurs. 8 clear & frost night.

Fry. 9 ditto.

Sat. 10 clear day & frost night.

Sun. 11 warm day & cloudy evening. Memo. Pd. Ben Willson 15 dollars for 6 head of hogs—(5 barrows & 1 sow).

Mon. 12 very warm.

Tues. 13 ditto.



Wed. 14 ditto—Memo. Sold to Mrs. Hanging Mawd a negro wench Sall at 333 1/3 dollars. Cr. by cas. 198 dollars 1 bay horse 70 dollars B. due—65 1/3 dollars. Memo. Paid butcher Delaney 15 dollars—15 dols. to Buckker Miller 4 dollars Lent to Thos. Brown 8 dollars.

Thur. 15 warm & dry.

Fry. 16 ditto.

Sat. 17 ditto—ditto.

Sun. 18 rained in the night.

Mon. 19 clear & cloudy frost.

Tues. 20 clear & cool day (Let Bacon have nice bay horse to work & Tho. N. Clark 9 Dollars) Lent Mrs. Linn 1 dollar. Memo. Recd. from Wm. Ritchee a steer, Butchered by Miller (the Wright). one Quater 62 one ditto 65 one ditto 65 one ditto 62. 524 ls. at 20/ pr. Hd. Wm. Harilson of Granger Hunted many years ago on Obias River, in the Co. with Jack & Will Bleavens. Hunted on Spring Creek & give it the name—It is a fork of Wolf river & empties into the same about 20 miles above a mouth & at it or near, there is a lick surveyed by Ro. King & sold by him to D. Ross.

Wed. 21 cool & clear.

Thur. 22 cloudy & cool.

Fry. 23 very cloudy & cold Memo. Sold unto Frans. Cuningham 150 acres of land on obias river, to be of the 1s 2d & 3r rate lands, (if better) he is to pay more in proportion—for which land I have recd. 2 horses, to wit a dun Stud 6 years old & a dark gray gelding the same age. Mrs. Linn Dr. to 3 1/2 yds. at 18/ £3.3 1 doz buttons 4/6 . . . 4/6. 2 skeins thread 4 (Total £3.7.6.) 1 yd linen 4/4 Carried over £3.11.10 Credit by Washing 5 dozen pieces of linen at 4/ . . . £1.0.0.

Nov. Saturday 24th 1798 Cloudy in the morning.

Sun. 25 clear & pleasant.

Mon. 26 ditto.

Tues. 27 ditto.

Wed. 28 ditto—pd. Butcher Millers son 9/.

Thur. 29 ry & pleasant.

Fry. 30 ditto.

#### December 1798.

Sat. 1 day of december (pleasant).

Sun. 2 rained & high winds.

Mon. 3 the Assembly met very cold.

Tues. 4 cold & hard frost.

Wed. 5 cold & likely to snow pd. Roddy the ferryman 15s. 4d Snowed in the night 6 Inches deep.

Thur. 6 cloudy & cold.

Fry. 7 began to thaw & rain. Rained all night on Fryday.

Sat. 8th rained all day moderately—Memo. Brown took my bay horse to work in his waggon on Tues. the 20th of last month.



Sun. 9 cloudy & cool.

Mon. 10 turned cold & like for snow.

Tues. 11 clear & cold day.

Wed. 12 cloudy & more pleasant Cocke & Anderson elected Senators by the Assembly.<sup>134</sup> .....

Thurs. 13 cold.

Fry. 14 ditto.

Sat. 15 ditto.

Sun. 16 more moderate.

Mon. 17 pleasant for the season.

Tues. 18 rained.

Wed. 19 cloudy.

Thur. 20 cleared up.

Fry. 21 cool.

Sat. 22 ditto.

Sun. 23 snowed at night 6 In. deep.

Mon. 24 some rain & hard freeze.

Tues. 25 more moderate a Great Ball at the House of Mr. Willson.

Wed. 26 some rain cleared in the evening. Recd. from Tho. Brown an order from Butcher Miller for 8 dols.

Thurs. 27 Pleasant weather.

Fry. 28 ditto.

Sat. 29 rained.

Sun. 30 cloudy.

Mon. 31 cloudy & rained in the eveng.

#### January 1799.

Tues. January 1 day 1799 a Fine morning, & pleasant day rained in the night a ball in the eveng. at Mr. Gordons paid S. D. Carrick 4 dols. pr. White & Wilkinson.

Wed. 2 Cloudy & some light rain.

Thurs. 3 Cloudy & cool, went myself & family to Capt. Croziers wedg. held at Mr. Arthur Croziers.

Fry. 4 rained & snowed in the nigh.

Sat. 5 very cold.

Sun. 6 very cold the Assembly adjourned. Capt. Sparks arrived in evng.

Mon. 7 very cold—the federal Court began W. King arrived.

Tues. 8 Cloudy & more moderate. Lent to Colo. Hubbert two dollars.

Wed. 9th cloudy & light rain. Myself & Capt. Sparks brak. at D. Claberns.

<sup>134</sup>William Cocke and Joseph Anderson. Both served as senators until 1805.



Thur. 10 clear.

Fry. 11 ditto.

Sat. 12 Cloudy some rain & warm.

Sun. 13 some cooler & clear. Walter King set out for home.

Mon. 14 cloudy & warm Knox court began.

Tues. 15 rained a little.

Wed. 16 cloudy & like for rain.

Thur. 17 cloudy & warm for the season.

Fry. 18 some rain in the evening Capt Sparks went to the point.

Sat. 19 clear & cool p. Antony the tailor 6 dollars.

Sun. 20 clear & little cooler.

Mon. 21 clear & cool Took tea at Campbles.

Tues. 22 Cloudy & some rain.

Wed. 23 rainy day. Mr. Campble set out for Kentucky.

Thur. 24 rained & thundered.

F. 25 rained & thundered.

Sat. 26 very heavy rain & some thunder. Wm. Nelson & Tobee arrived with 19 fat hogs & 1 beef from my plantation in Washington.

Sun. 27 rained.

Mon. 28 cleared up.

Tues. 29 cold & hard frost Took supper at Mrs. Campbells.

Wed. 30 Fair & Pleasant.

Thur. 31 ditto.

#### February 1799.

Fry. 1 day February rained & I went to Carters mill in Co. with Doctor Claiborne. Recd. on 31 January a Gray & bay horses from Seth Mansfield for which I am to give him 1 Hundred of Land. Memo. I am to convey unto Peter Ernay 100 acres of Land when he pays me 197 dollars for which I have his two notes one for 97 & one for 100, dated 31 January 1799. the 97 payable the first day of May next, the other in 18 mo. from that day. Memo. Tho. Brown bought from (me) a bay horse on the 19th January at 90 dollars, 20 to be pd. in one month, and 20 in one after & the rest in work.

Sat. 2 Rained, heavily all day. Cowans negro got drowned.

Sun. 3 clear & cool Dined at Doct. Claibornes.

Mon. 4 clear & pleasant.

Tues. 5 Hard frost at night & clear day.

Wed. 6 pleasant, I went to the plantation. Staid all night & returned next day had a violent too & ear ache.

Thur. 7 Went to a Ball given Genl. Smith at Somervilles. It rained in then ight.

Fryday 8 rained in the morning. Memo. Recd. from Doctor Powell the West Indian mango. it is to bep lanted in the ground, & covered



in the winter it may be eaten like cucumber & makes an excellent pickle—it will last after being planted some years.—recd. from Anderson Ashburn as a present, a peper tree, it requires 12 or 14 years age before it bears Memo. Bought from Barkley 50 Bushls. of corn paid him the 14th 1/2 in Mr. Nichols store, the rest in cash.

Sat. 9 cloudy.

Sun. 10 Fair & cool.

Mon. 11 ditto.

Tues. 12 ditto.

Wed. 13 ditto.

Thur. 14 ditto.

Fry. 15 ditto.

Sat. 16 rained & snowed in eveng. Capt. Sparks set out in Canoe for the point.

Sun. 17 cloudy & cold in the mornng.

Mon. 18 more pleasant.

Tues. 19 hard frost at night.

Wed. 20 some warmer.

Thurs. 21 cloudy & cool.

Fry. 22 cloudy & snowed at night 2 Inches deep.

Sat. 23 Judge Jackson,<sup>185</sup> Denizen, Grant & several others spent the eveng. at my house. D. Barry among others—very cold.

Sun. 24 very cold.

Mon. 25 some warmer snowed in night. Doctor Hampstead came to town.

Tues. 26 cold rainy day, (yesterday I paid John Crozier 10 dollars & Bradley the Bricklayer 5). Memo. I am to let John Erwin have one acres of land near So. W. point, to be laid off by Capt. Sparks & Alexander Erwin, and to fix the price I have received 60 dollars in part payment & he is to pay me two Hundred the ensuing fall.

Wed. 27 Cloudy in morning & windy, some warmer. Memo. Give Mrs. Judah Miller an order to Capt. Croziers store for 8 dollars.

Thurs. 28 rained heavily all day & thundered & lightened.

#### March 1799.

Fryday 1 of March 1799 Cloudy & windy & also cool Hung up our meat to smooke.

Sat. 2 very cold.

Sun. 3 ditto.

Mon. 4 ditto.

Tues. 5 ditto hard frost.

Wed. 6 cloudy in the evening & Some light rain in the night.

<sup>185</sup>Andrew Jackson was then a judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity. He had resigned from the United States Senate in October, 1798, being succeeded by Daniel Smith.



Thur. 7 fine mornng.  
Fry. 8th ditto.  
Sat. 9 Wm. Sherrill & James Paine arrived (rained).  
Sun. 10 clear & cold.  
Mon. 11 clear & cold.  
Tues. 12 very cold & windy.  
Wed. 13 rained a little in the day.  
Fry. 15 rained some in mornng. Cleared up in the night (& Frost).  
Sat. 16 clear & cold.  
Sun. 17 ditto.  
Mon. 18 more moderate wt. to a ball at Loves tavern.  
Tues. 19 pleasant day.  
Wed. 20 cloudy & rained heavily in the evening & night, Capt. Butler arrived from Philadelphia & also the Indians.  
Thurs. 21 Cloudy & warm—paid Delaney the Butcher 2 dollars 12/.  
(The son of Colo. Ramsey died).  
Fry. 22 a snowy mornng. & turned colder than yesterday.  
Sat. 23 hard frost & cold that night.  
Sun. 24 cool & dry.  
Mon. 25 Supr. Court began, (Fair).  
Tues. 26 more pleasant.  
Wed. 27 warmer & clear pd. Mr. Purdom 5 dollars.  
Thurs. 28 pleasant day.  
Fry. 29 ditto.  
Sat. 30 pleasant day.  
Sun. 31 ditto.

## April 1799.

Mon. 1 day of April some rain.  
Tues. 2 cool & frost at night.  
Wed. 3 ditto—ditto—ditto.  
Thurs. 4 cloudy & cool in mornng. & like for snow.  
Fry. 5 clear & cool.  
Sat. 6 ditto.  
Sun. 7 ditto.  
Mon. 8 rained I took sick in afternoon.  
Tues. 9 Snowed in the mornng. & frost at night.  
Wed. 10 & frost at night. Cont. to be sick.  
Thurs. 11 cloudy morning. Let Adam Meek esquire have a sorrel Horse at 100 dollars £30 in part pay of the mills seat on flat Creek,—also let him have a warrant on the treasurer payable 1st Sep. next for 67 dollars.



Fry. 12 warm & pleasant.

Sat. 13 ditto.

Sun. 14 ditto some light rain Mrs. Sparks came to town.

Mon. 15 warm day.

Tues. 16 warm & some rain at night.

Wed. 17 a rainy day. I went to Tho. Browns.

Thurs. 18 clear & cooler.

Fry. 19 warm began to make brick mortar.

Sat. 20 warm & fair.

Sun. 21 rained.

Mon. 22 cloudy.

Tues. 23 began to make Bricks pd. butcher Delaney 3 dollrs.

Wed. 24 clear & warm.

Thurs. 25 Give Mrs. Field an order to Capt. Croziers for 19/ on acct. of John Miller. Let John Miller have 30 ls. of bacon at Sundry times. Let him have Cr. with James Pain at Simerals store for 30/. Messrs. Miller have had bacon at Sundry times also Cr. in Capt. John Croziers store—had a middling of bacon at one time. Memo. Robert Reynolds red. of Walter King pr. my order some time ago 1136 ls. Castings.

Fry. 26 rained about 1 o'clock moderately.

Sat. 27 rained.

Sun. 28 rained.

Mon. 29 clear in the day & rained at night.

Tues. 30 rained.

#### May 1799.

Wed. 1 day of May rained.

Thurs. 2 cleared up & light frost.

Fry. 3 very cool & light frost.

Sat. 4 cool & light frost Anderson the B. layer set off home.

Sun. 5 some warmer—B. Brown set out for Cumberland.

Mon. 6th warm day James Anderson Dr. To cash some time ago to purchase powder & brimstone 4/6; To cash when going home 7/3. pd. Mrs. Thompson in Arthur Croziers store for you 18/. To an order on Wm. Joab for 25 or 30 dollars if paid. Memo. paid Mr. Pery the mason 2 dollars—12/. Paid Mr. Roddy ferryman let Wm. Nelson have 1 dollar to purchase seed corn Memo. Let Mr. Joseph Greer have a Wart. on the Treasurer of 150 dollars at 10 pr. Ct. discount, the same is for payment of last years rent.

Tues. 7 warm & like for rain & did in the night.

Wed. 8 rained in the morning.

Thur. 9 very warm & cloudy in the morning. Memo. paid for James Anderson B. Layer 3 dollars to Young the tavern keeper (some time ago) Negro Jack wt. today to help plant corn at the plantation.



Fry. 10 rained.  
Sat. 11 ditto.  
Sun. 12 clear & hott.  
Mon. 13 ditto.  
Tues. 14 ditto.  
Wed. 15 rained.  
Thur. 16 very cool.  
Fry. 17 rained.  
Sat. 18 very cool & light frost at night.  
Sun. 19 cool.  
Mon. 20 clear & cool.  
Tues. 21 ditto. Went to the farm in Co. with Doctor Claiborne.<sup>156</sup>  
Wed. 22 very warm.  
Thur. 23 ditto.  
Fry. 24 rained & some hail with loud thunder & lightning.  
Sat. 25 clear, let Mr. Pery the mason have an order on John Crozier for 10 dollars £3.  
Sun. 26 very warm.  
Mon. 27 ditto.  
Tues. 28 ditto.  
Wed. 29 ditto.  
Thur. 30 a hard hail, gust, the stones as large as hen eggs.  
Fry. 31 very cool mornng.

## June 1799.

Sat. 1 day of June—fair weather.  
Sun. 2 warm & little rain in evening.  
Mon. 3 clear & warm.  
Tues. 4 ditto.  
Wed. 5 rained early in the morning. Cleared up warm.  
Thur. 6 clear & cool.  
Fry. 7 ditto.  
Sat. 8 ditto (Gen. Gordon ret'd. from obias river Mrs. Donaldson).  
Sun. 9 very cool mornng. for the season.  
Mon. 10 very warm.  
Tues. 11 ditto.  
Wed. 12 warm & dry.  
Thurs. 13 ditto.  
Fry. 14 ditto.

<sup>156</sup>Doctor Claiborne was a brother of Hon. W. C. C. Claiborne.



Sat. 15 ditto.

Sun. 16 ditto.

Mon. 17 I recd. a sprain in my back, & caused me to be E. M. (?). very dry, began to burn bricks. Memo. Gave an order to Mr. Sperry (the mason) to John Crozier for 4 dollars, also let him have 17 1/2 ls. bacon at 9d.

Tues. 18 very dry & hot myself very ill but some better.

Wed. 19 ditto—ditto.

Thurs. 20 myself some better still warm & dry.

Fry. 21 ditto—ditto. B. Brown ret'd. from Mero.

Sat. 22 ditto—ditto B. Brown set off for home.

Sun. 23 Some thunder & some clouds—very hot & dry. Memo. Let John Miller have 37 ls flour a few days ago.

Mon. 24 very warm & a little shower in the eveng.

Tues. 25 very hot & dry.

Wed. 26 ditto.

Thurs. 27 Fine shower.

Fry. 28 very warm.

Sat. 29 ditto.

Sun. 30 ditto.

#### July 1799.

Mon. 1 day of July very warm Federal Court began.

Tues. 2 ditto.

Wed. 3 ditto.

Thur. 4 ditto, went to public diner at Somervilles.

Fry. 5 very hot.

Sat. 6 ditto—let Mr. Sperry have 1 dollar (The mason).

Sun. 7 Small shower in the day & good rain in the night.

Mon. 8 rained, began to cradle Oats<sup>187</sup> at the farm. County Court of Knox began.

Tues. 9 warm & dry. Myself unwell & kept my bed part of the day. let James Anderson have 22 ls. beef, & at sundry times 46 ls. flour.

Wed. 10 very hot & dry.

Thur. 11 ditto.

Fry. 12 ditto.

Sat. 13 ditto.

<sup>187</sup>"Cradle oats." Probably the earliest mention of the cradle for reaping grain to be found. The cradle was used with oats because it was left on the ground to dry before binding. It was laid on the ground by the fingers and blade of the cradle, called "swathing." From 1850 to 1860 the cradle was used for wheat also, the heel of the cradle being brought up to the left hip and the "cut" of wheat "gripped," as it was called, by the fingers and laid on the ground for binders just behind the cradlers. D.



Sun. 14 very warm & dry.  
 Mon. 15 fine shower in the morning.  
 Tues. 16 cloudy & sultry day.  
 Wed. 17 a light shower in eveng.  
 Thurs. 18 ditto fine rain.  
 Fry. 19 dry & hot.  
 Sat. 20 rained in the night.  
 Sun. 21 cloudy & sultry.  
 Mon. 22 clear & sultry.  
 Tues. 23 ditto, went to a hop<sup>128</sup> at Mrs. Millers.  
 Wed. 24 went to The Browns a light rain.  
 Thur. 25 Very warm & dry.  
 Fry. 26 ditto. A light shower in the eveng.—Mrs. Judge Campble  
 & Mrs. Vandyek &c. took tea.  
 Sat. 27 Cloudy morning—Give Jas. Amderson an order Jno. Crozier  
 for 15/.  
 Sun. 28 very hot & dry.  
 Mon. 29 ditto.  
 Tues. 30 ditto.  
 Wed. 31 ditto.

## August 1799.

Thurs. 1 day of August, the day of the General elections.<sup>129</sup> A fine  
 Shower & gust of rain.  
 Fry. 2 day a fine rain.  
 Sat. 3 a light rain.  
 Sun. 4 much cooler (Red. of Dr. Fronier (?) 14 dollars).  
 Mon. 5 a little rain. Pd. Wm. Nelson pr wife 27/ in Captain  
 Croziers store, (a little rain) John Miller 1 dollar paid Vol. Sevier.  
 Tues. 6 very warm went with the family to a ball at Mr. Loves  
 tavern.  
 Wed. 7 ditto.  
 Thur. 8th ditto.  
 Fry. 9 rained.  
 Sat. 10 Light shower.  
 Sun. 11 Fair.  
 Mon. 12 ditto.  
 Tues. 13 cloudy & rained in the night.

<sup>128</sup>Calling a dance a "hop" shows Gov. Sevier to have been socially "up to snuff."

<sup>129</sup>At this election—August 1, 1799—Sevier was elected governor for the third time.



Wed. 14 cloudy morning. Memo. Thomas Robbins set in for a month 3rd August with himself & three horses at 28 dolls. has since lost two days to the above date.

Thurs. 15 rained, Mrs. Sevier wt. to the plantation.

Fry. 16 went to the plantation. Rained.

Sat. 17 rained.

Sun. 18 rained.

Mon. 19 came home from the plantation.

Tues. 20 rained.

Wed. 21 cloudy & light rain.

Th. 22 light rain.

Fry. 23 very hot.

Sat. 24 ditto & dry.

Sun. 25 wt to the plantation. Very hot. Mrs. Sevier & the girls ret'd.

Mon. 20 very warm. Attended at Loves tavern to give in depot between Love & Hodgson Donilson.

Tues. 27 very hot. sit out for obias river. Recd. from Theopiles Campble 10 dolls. Lodged that night at Lows. Mill 12 miles.

Wed. 28, sit out & lodged at Little Emmery 24 miles.

Thurs. 29 Lodged 10 miles beyond Bigg emmery—25 miles.

Fry. 30 Lodged in Donilson Cove 25 miles.

(To be continued.)

JOHN H. DEWITT.



## APPENDIX

### "THREE SONS OF ORLEANS."

The "three sons of Orleans" mentioned in Sevier's journal were Louis Philippe and his younger brothers, Count de Montpensier and Count de Beaujolais. They were descendants of Philip of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. Upon the extinction or removal of the house of Bourbon the Duke of Orleans would be entitled to the throne of France. Louis Philippe and his brothers were sons of Philip Egalite, duke of Orleans, who was guillotined in 1793, during the Terror, by the Jacobins, although as a member of the assembly he had voted for the death of Louis XVI. When very young, Louis Philippe had commanded one of the wings of the army of Dumouriez and was the hero of Jemappes. His brothers were imprisoned with their father in Fort St. Jean at Marseilles. They remained in prison forty-three months. Louis Philippe escaped from France with Dumouriez. Disguised as a lawyer interested in geology and botany, he wandered over many countries of Europe. As "Professor Chabaud," he taught mathematics, French, geography and history at Reichenau, Switzerland, for eight months. Afterward he wandered in Denmark and Norway.

In 1796 the French Directory proposed to the widowed Duchess of Orleans to liberate her two younger sons and give the family their property if they would go to the United States. After much difficulty Louis Philippe was found. A loan was arranged by Gouverneur Morris, United States minister to France, and it was finally repaid.

The three brothers took residence at Philadelphia, where they heard Washington's farewell address and witnessed the inauguration of John Adams. Washington planned their itinerary through the United States. They spent four days with him at Mount Vernon. Thence they came by horseback along the Shenandoah Valley, thence to Abingdon; stopped with James Campbell at the state line, then at Rogersville with Mr. Mitchell; stopped with Joel Dyer on the Holston. On April 28, 1797, they were at Col. Orr's, "in a rugged country," had dinner at Mr. Bunch's and beds at the home of Mr. Parkins. On April 29 they arrived in Knoxville. The next day they called on Governor Sevier and went to Maryville, an outpost on the Cherokee frontier. At Tellico Blockhouse they were guests of the commander, Col. Strother, and ate wild turkey for the first time. There the Duke of Orleans began his studies of Indian character and customs. They were guests of the chief, John Watts, at dinner. The Indians played a game of ball for them and the princes offered a prize of six gallons of brandy to the winning side. (The annual game of ball of the Cherokees gave to that region of the country west of Tellico River, where it empties into the Little Tennessee, the name of "Ball Play." It was the site of old Fort Loudon.) They visited the Cherokee village of Tokona, where they saw in the temple the war shields of the three tribes, on which were painted a serpent, a turtle and a lizard. They smoked a great diversity of tobacco and pipes and ate of many queer dishes.

On May 3, 1797, with Major George Colbert, a Chickasaw half breed, as guide, the princes set out for Nashville. At the junction of the Holston and the Tennessee they were entertained by Judge Campbell. At Southwest Point (now Kingston) they visited the proposed site of a fort and studied the remains of a prehistoric breastwork between the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers. They met a squad of soldiers



under General Higgins and were urged to travel under protection, but declined. They crossed the Cumberland Mountains into a country teaming with game. They had to swim their horses across Obey River. On May 8 they reached Cumberland River, lined by swamp and cane jungles, near Fort Blount, then about to be rebuilt. They had to eat smoked bear's grease and Indian corn. At Dixon Springs they had coffee and two beds for four—theirselfs and their servant, Baudoin—at the home of Major Tillman Dixon. On May 9 they reached Bledsoe's Lick. Near the site of Gallatin they stopped with Edward Douglas. The next day they arrived in Nashville for dinner, put up at Capt. Jesse Maxwell's house and dined at the home of Dr. Henning, an Englishman. It was court week and one bed had to do for three. They stayed in Nashville two days to write their journals and buy a horse. In his journal the Duke mentions Nashville as a little town, much smaller than Knoxville, which had about one hundred houses.

On May 13 they left for Louisville. Learning that it would be well nigh impossible to get good liquors on the road between Nashville and Louisville, they strapped to the neck of the prince of the Bourbons a tin canteen filled with the best of whiskey. They spent the first night at Mr. Britton's, keeping to the high ground, noting the conically shaped small depressions in the earth's surface, the rich pasture lands and innumerable flowers. They arrived finally at Bardstown, where the Duke was taken seriously ill. His journal closes there. When Citizen King he sent a clock to the Roman Catholic Church at Bardstown.

In June the princes arrived in Philadelphia, the younger ones in ill health. After many wanderings on land and sea, they landed at Falmouth, England, in February, 1800, and settled in a home, Orleans House, Twickenham. Montpensier died in 1807 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Beaujolais died soon afterward in Malta. In 1830, upon the abdication of Charles X, Louis Philippe became the "citizen king" of France. In 1848 he was compelled to abdicate as a result of his endeavor to render the government independent of the nation. He died in England in 1850.

(See article by Jane Marsh Parker, "Louis Philippe in the United States," *Century*, September, 1901; Ramsey's *Annals*, p. 686, quoting from *Knoxville Gazette*, May 1, 1797.)



## HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

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*Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida.* By Clarita Dogett. The Drew Press, Jacksonville, Fla. Price \$1.75.

There is no more quaint and weird place on the sea coasts of the South than New Smyrna, on the east Florida coast. Next to St. Augustine, it shares largest in historic memories and interest of all Florida locations. The volume just published shows up this old place in a most romantic way and is quite worth while because of the good historic work done in its preparation.

Largely based on the ancient archives in the British Colonial Office, it is both authentic and discriminating in its valuable research.

Few of the thousands of tourists that each year pass through New Smyrna, "doing Florida," ever know the interesting story that lies hidden behind the veil of the old canal and the ruins near by the town.

While seated under a wide-spread water oak dreaming of "ye olden time" in New Smyrna some months ago, the writer accented a passing citizen with the inquiry of, "Why it was called *New Smyrna*?" when the immediate reply was, "*Old Smyrna* was the name of an old settlement once near by, but later it was moved to the present site and called *New Smyrna*!"

The story of the planting of this colony by the London physician, of the naming of it from the home town of his Grecian wife, Smyrna, of his gathering of settlers in 1767 from Greece, Italy and Minorca and planting them on the east coast of Florida, is a study that has not been exhausted even by this worthy contribution.

The *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* have now reached Volume LII., and in keeping with former issues, is finely printed and bound, beautifully illustrated. In fact, all that is to be desired in historic printing.

*Historic Papers*, published by Trinity College, Durham, N. C., Series XIII., 1919, has creditable articles that were prize winners in the rewards offered by that institution in the study of history—viz.: Religious Defense of Slavery in the North, Militia of North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, Life and Public Service of Hugh Williamson, and His Unpublished Letters.

The *Twenty-First Report* of the Board of Directors of the Kansas Historical Society, 1917-1919, gives the records of the 42nd annual meeting of the society, the report of the secretary, necrology and the report of Geo. P. Moorehouse of the Commission of Archaeology, on pre-historic remains.

*Bulletin* 70 of the Bureau of Ethnology, edited by J. Walter Fewkes, is devoted to Pre-Historic Villages, Castles and Towns of Southwestern Colorado—the Mesa Verde National Park.

*Negro Yearbook*, 1918-1919, is an annual encyclopedia concerning the progress and status of the Negro race. Monroe N. Work of the Tuskegee Normal and Collegiate Institute is the compiler. This unique work is a standard and worthy authority in its field.



*Cumberland Alumnus* is a new periodical launched by Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee. Under the editorship of Dr. W. P. Bone, the Secretary of the Alumni Association, the first issue has appeared in a most attractive form, embracing representation of all such departments usual in similar periodicals. The alumni list of this famous institution is unusually large, covering the schools of Arts, Engineering, Law and Divinity.

#### ITEMS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

##### NOVEMBER MEETING, 1919.

At the regular meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society Tuesday night Judge Robert Ewing read an interesting paper bearing upon the purchase of the capitol site by the city of Nashville for the purpose of tendering it to Tennessee as a location for a state house. An incident in connection with the meeting was the delivery to the society by William E. Beard and Douglas Wright, secretary and treasurer, respectively, of the Gleaves sword committee of the society's copy of the Gleaves book, together with various documents connected with the presentation last April of the sword to Admiral Gleaves and of the commemorative book to Mrs. Gleaves. The Gleaves book, which was printed by the Brandon Printing Company, and is one of the handsomest pieces of work ever published in the country, contains a sketch of the admiral's life, account of his great work in the world war, and the names of the contributors to the sword fund and the men in the military or naval service in whose honor their contributions were made. But two copies of the book, it will be remembered, were made—the original for Mrs. Gleaves, and the fac-simile copy for the Tennessee Historical Society.

The paper of the evening read by Judge Ewing concerned the former leading citizens of Nashville. When the city of Nashville purchased the site of the present capitol in 1843 from George W. Campbell, the consideration was \$30,000, of which \$10,000 was paid in cash, with the remaining \$20,000 to be paid in one and two years. To guarantee this payment by the city seventy citizens of Nashville bound themselves, and it was these patriotic residents that Judge Ewing discussed, going into their business and public achievements and their family connections. Heading the list was Samuel D. Morgan, who became the president of the commission which built the capitol. Others among the seventy men, especially mentioned were Anthony Van Leer, V. K. Stevenson, Andrew Ewing, Edwin H. Ewing, Francis B. Fogg and Return J. Meigs. The reminiscences of the leading citizens of other days were very interesting.

W. B. Southgate was elected a member of the society. "A History of the Sweetwater Valley," by W. B. Lenoir, was presented the society by Dr. J. T. McGill. The gift of a handsome picture of Gen. Jackson, mounted upon Sam Patch, by S. G. Heiskell, was announced by President John H. DeWitt.

No meetings of the Society were held in December, 1919, or January, 1920

(Title page, table of contents and index pages to Vol. V. will be printed with the next issue of the Magazine.—Ed.)



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[Prepared by J. Tyree Fain Indexer of Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee]

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