The Trail of Tears in Tennessee: A Study of the Routes Used During the Cherokee Removal of 1838

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THE TRAIL OF TEARS IN TENNESSEE: A STUDY OF THE ROUTES USED DURING THE CHEROKEE REMOVAL OF 1838

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INTRODUCTION

The Term Trail of Tears has come to encompass the overall process of the removal of Indian tribes from their ancestral homes to territories west of the Mississippi River. Over the course of several decades beginning in the 1790s, the United States Government pursued a policy aimed at obtaining land from the Indian tribes that then lived east of the Mississippi River. The policy ultimately resulted in the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which had been strongly advocated by President Andrew Jackson. During the next five years the government sought treaties with the individual tribes to finalize the process of removing the Indians. The smaller, less organized tribes of the north gave little resistance, but the five large southern tribes, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole, strenuously resisted removal. The Cherokees were the last to sign a treaty of removal, and that treaty, signed in 1835, was signed by a minority faction whose authority was questionable. The Cherokees continued to resist until 1837, when the United States Army began to round them up and place them in stockades and camps to prepare them for a forced removal. John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, came to an agreement with General Winfield Scott, commander of the removal forces, that the Cherokees would remove themselves under Ross's supervision. In 1838 the Cherokee people began their journey to the west.

The Trail of Tears is often thought of as one specific trail or road on which thousands of Cherokees walked to their new home in what is now Oklahoma, but the reality is much more complex. Approximately 16,000 Cherokee people, with a handful of Creek Indians and black slaves, traveled in 17 different detachments using three main land routes, several route variations, and a river route. Traveling by foot, wagon, and horse, some of the Cherokees were on the road for more than three months, most traveling in winter. Although there are no accurate records for the number of deaths resulting from the removal, the estimate of 4,000 deaths during the process of internment and removal is widely accepted.

The focus of the Tennessee Division of Archaeology's study of the Cherokee removal was to identify the routes used by the various Cherokee detachments in 1838 and to look for surviving segments of the road system that was then in place. Once identified, the routes were marked on U. S. G. S. topographic quad maps, and surviving segments of road along these routes were identified on the maps. A state archaeological site number was assigned to each route within a specific county, a concept different than the traditional recording of specific archaeological sites with distinct boundaries. This recording process will allow future researchers to conduct more detailed research on specific segments of the route.

This report presents the results of the Tennessee Division of Archaeology's study of the Trail of Tears in Tennessee. Though it is a completion report for the project, it should by no means be seen as an ending point for research on the

routes. The results of the project are a beginning point from which more detailed analysis can be conducted. Individual researchers have already looked into segments of the roads used during the 1838 removal. Their research into deed records, plat maps, and other archival resources has allowed them to pinpoint the location of the roads present in 1838. Such specific and detailed research is time consuming, thus it was not possible to do this level of analysis for all the routes across the state. The overview presented by the recorded sites of the removal routes will serve as a starting point for ongoing research concerning the Trail of Tears. The large volume of site maps generated by this project precludes their inclusion in this report, but they are available in the Tennessee Division of Archaeology's permanent site file for researchers of the trail.

This report is divided into two main sections. The first presents on overview of historical events leading to the removal of the Cherokees. The second presents information on the routes used during the removal and the detachments that made the journey. The report concludes with suggestions for areas for future research.

AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL EVENTS LEADING TO THE REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES

The Cherokees called themselves Ani'-Yun'wiya, the Principal People or sometimes Ani'-Kitu'hwagi, people of Kitu-hwa (an ancient settlement). The name Cherokee may have originated from a 1557 Portuguese narrative of De Soto's journey in which they were called Chalaque, and put in English as Cherokee as early as 1708. The Cherokees' ancient tradition said that they had sprung from the Center of the earth, and the first man and woman were Kana'ti and Selu. According to a Delaware Indian tradition, the Cherokees, called Talligewi by the Delaware, were expelled from their home north of the Ohio River by the advancing Delaware tribe, aided by the Iroquois. The Iroquois took possession of the land around the Great Lakes while the Delaware took the portion to the south and east (Mooney 1972:15-19; Royce 1975:8-9).

Hernando De Soto was probably the first white man to encounter the Cherokees on his 1540 expedition through the country. The Cherokees met the English in the early 17th Century and conflicts began immediately. The Cherokees defeated men of the Virginia Colony in 1634 near what is now Richmond, Virginia, forcing the Englishmen to seek a treaty with the Cherokees (Hoig 1996:4). The Cherokees once controlled a large expanse of land encompassing what is now Middle and Eastern Tennessee, most of Kentucky, northern Alabama and Georgia, and parts of North and South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia (Royce 1884: Map of the Cherokee Nation). Trade with the Indian tribes could be prosperous for the Europeans, particularly when they were supplying warring tribal factions that needed weapons and supplies. When James Needham and Gabriel Arthur began trading with the Cherokees in 1673, there were three principal groups of towns. The Overhill Cherokees lived on the western side of the Appalachian Mountains concentrated along the Little Tennessee River. The Middle Cherokees occupied the mountainous regions of East Tennessee and western North Carolina. The Lower Cherokees lived in northern Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. The Cherokee system of government, which was composed of many individual town chiefs, was frustrating for the English, and in 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming demanded that the Cherokees provide one Principal Chief, modeled on the English monarchy, to negotiate treaties and trade agreements (Hoig 1996:4-6; Malone 1956:5-7; Satz 1979:58-60).

European powers were soon at war, fighting for control of the North American continent, and the Cherokees, like other Indian tribes, were caught in the middle of the fighting. During the Seven Years' War, known on the North American Continent as the French and Indian War, the British promised to build a fort to help protect the Cherokees from a possible invasion from the west by the French and their Indian allies. Fort Loudon was constructed in 1756-57 on the south side of the Little

Tennessee River. Relations between the British and the Cherokees worsened throughout the war. In 1759 the Governor of South Carolina held a Cherokee delegation hostage at Fort Prince George, though the Cherokees had been assured of safe passage. Several Cherokees were killed during an attempt to rescue the delegates, and the incident sparked an uprising. The Cherokees laid siege to Fort Loudon in March 1760 and forced Captain Paul Demere to surrender. The Cherokees granted the garrison safe conduct as they abandoned the fort. Upon learning that Demere had hidden weapons that he had promised to turn over, the Cherokees attacked the retreating garrison, killing 23 and capturing the remainder. British retaliation was swift, and the Cherokees were forced to sue for peace (West 1998:326-327; Hoig 1996:6-10; Satz 1979:60-61).

Chief Corn Tassel came to power in the early 1770s and tried to maintain peace between the Cherokees and white settlers who were moving into Cherokee territory. Settlement west of the mountains was forbidden by the Proclamation of 1763, but white settlers largely ignored this decree. Colonial officials were obliged to seek land grants from the Cherokees, and large areas of the Cherokee Nation began to be ceded to the whites. In 1775 war erupted between the American Colonists and the British. The Cherokees were again forced to choose sides, and they chose to back the British, hoping to regain some of their lost territory. The decision proved to be disastrous, as North Carolina and Virginia troops attacked and destroyed several Cherokee towns. The greatest resistance came from the warriors of the Lower Cherokee towns, known as the Chickamaugans. The American Revolution ended in 1783, and in 1785 the Cherokees signed the Treaty of Hopewell, taking a step toward peace (Hoig 1996:7-12; Malone 1956:9-19).

North Carolinians led by John Sevier formed the State of Franklin in 1784. The act was an intrusion of the Cherokee territory and conflict ensued. Sevier led a militia group in raids against Cherokee towns. In 1791 William Blount, territorial governor of what would become the State of Tennessee, led a delegation to negotiate the Treaty of the Holston. In return for land cessions the Cherokees were promised an annual payment from the Federal Government. Conflicts continued until 1794 when the settlers organized what has become known as the Nickajack Expedition, which destroyed the Lower Chickamaugan towns, forcing them to sign a peace treaty (Caldwell 1968:67-71).

There was now a relative peace between the Cherokees and the settlers. Tennessee became a state in 1796, and the Cherokees continued to make land cessions in order to preserve the peace. It was inevitable to some, however, that eventually the entire Cherokee Nation must be consumed to satisfy the white man's hunger for land. It was the same for other tribes as well. The United States government policy for the removal of Indian tribes began during the administration of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson wanted to "civilize" Indians by teaching them agriculture then assimilate them into white society. Those who did not want to accept this civilization could go to new land out west. When the Indians resisted,

Jefferson encouraged the government traders to keep the Cherokees in debt, so that eventually they would be forced to sell the land to settle the debt. He stepped up this effort when it seemed inevitable that Napoleon Bonaparte was going to send an expedition to Louisiana, which France had obtained from Spain. Jefferson wanted to encourage white settlements as far west as possible to defend against possible French attacks. The French expedition to Louisiana never materialized because France and Britain went to war, and French troops were needed at home. France, strapped for cash, was forced to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803 (Tucker and Hendrickson 1990:125-135; Perdue 1989:50-51).

The vast expanse of the Louisiana Territory gave Thomas Jefferson the territory necessary to provide new homes for the eastern tribes, and he still hoped that these eastern Indians would voluntarily remove themselves. The government appointed agents to circulate amongst the Indian tribes and promote the idea of voluntary removal (Hoig 1996:17-18). Henry Dearborn, President Jefferson's Secretary of War, appointed Return Jonathan Meigs to the dual post of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Cherokee Nation and Agent for the War Department in the State of Tennessee. Meigs replaced current Cherokee Agent Thomas Lewis and established an office at Fort Southwest Point, located in present day Kingston at the confluence of the Tennessee and Clinch Rivers (Smith 1993:51; Meigs 1981:201-202).

In 1809 the Cherokees held a national council in which they appointed a committee of chiefs to direct land dealings for the nation. This move was to prevent individuals from trading Cherokee lands on their own. The decision stemmed from land cessions made in 1805 and 1806 by Chief Doublehead, a prominent Chief in the Lower Cherokee towns, in which the United States secretly gave Doublehead a tract of land near Muscle Shoals, Alabama. When news of the deal was learned, Ridge, a prominent Cherokee warrior from the Upper Towns, assassinated Doublehead. The assassination caused great tension within the Cherokee Nation (Hoig 1996:18).

The Cherokees continued to give up land through 1819. Figure 1 shows the approximate extent of land controlled by the Cherokees as early as 1721, with modern state boundaries also shown. In 37 different treaties between 1721 and 1819, the Cherokee Nation was reduced to an area that occupied southeastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, northeastern Alabama, and southwestern North Carolina (Figure 2). Minority factions of the Cherokees, mostly wealthy landowners, signed Treaties in 1817 and 1819, having been bribed by the promise of compensation for their land and all improvements in exchange for emigration to the west. The poor Cherokees were compensated with a rifle, blanket, and kettle or beaver trap. Constant pressure was kept on the Cherokees to give up this last vestige of their once large nation (Perdue 1989: 52-53).

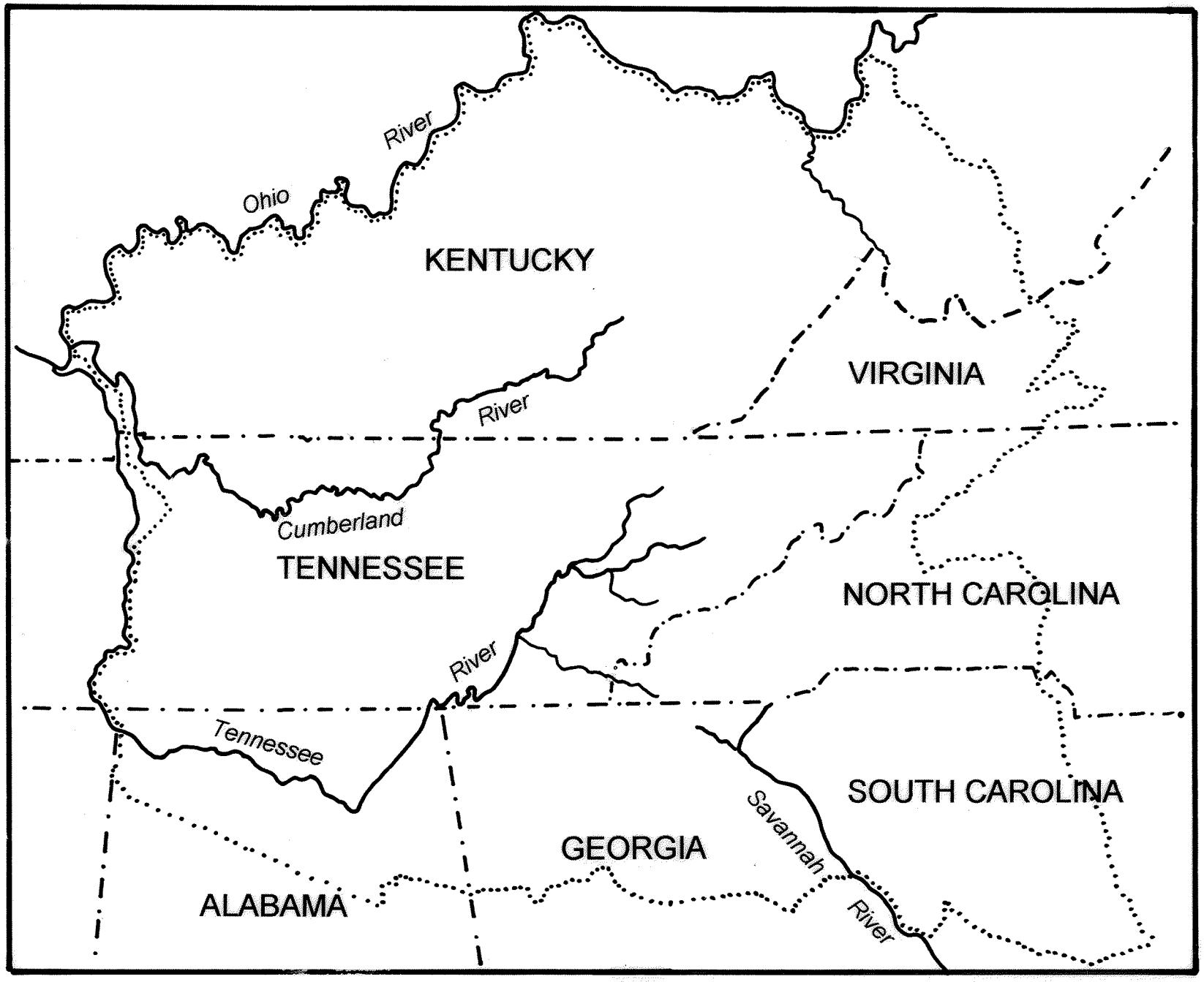


Figure 1. Map of the Cherokee Nation in 1721 (adapted from C. C. Royce, 1884).

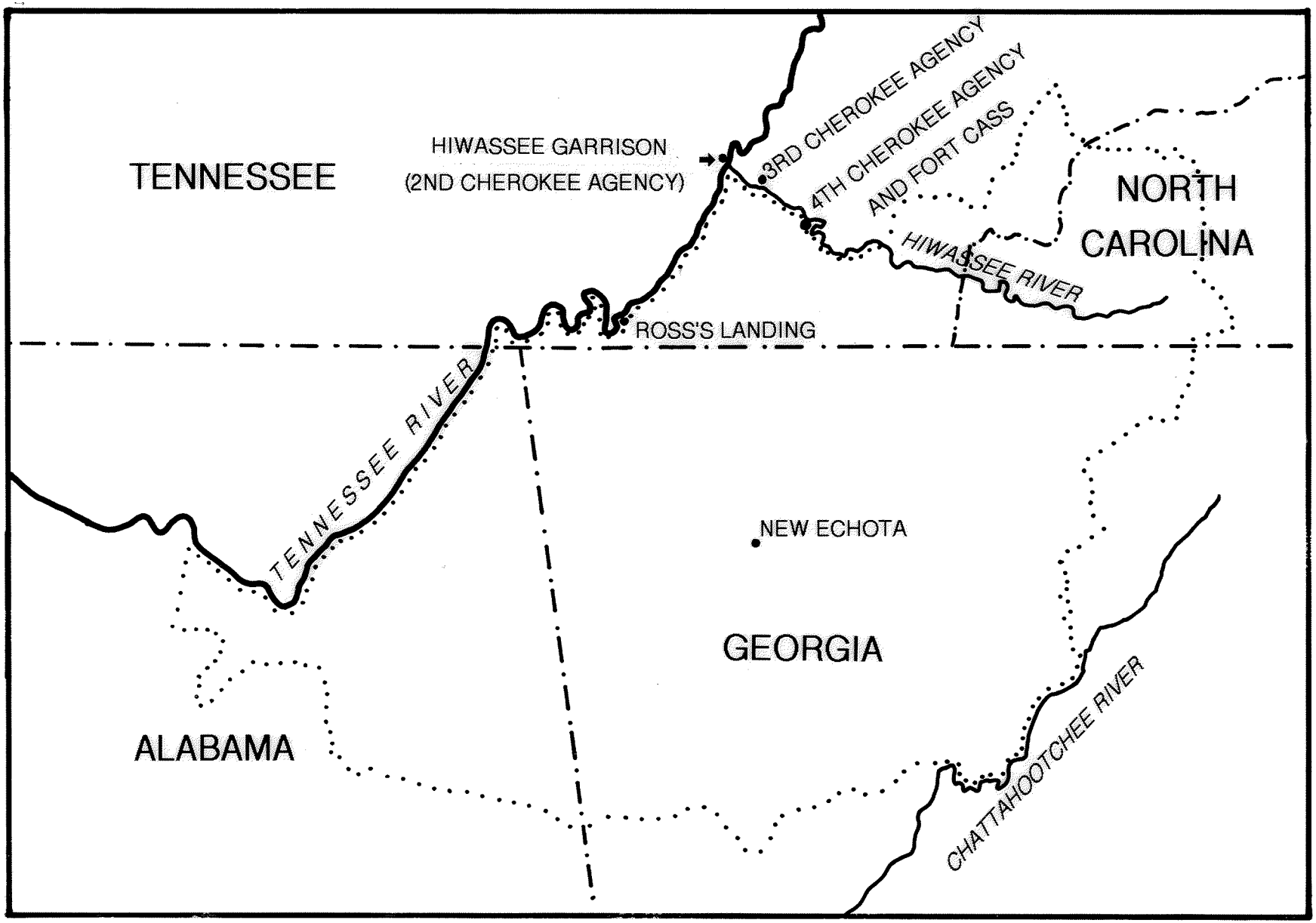


Figure 2. Map of the Cherokee Nation, 1819-1835.

The State of Georgia had ceded its western lands, those comprising what is now Alabama and Mississippi, to the Federal Government in 1802. This was done with a promise that the Federal Government would take away all Cherokee titles to land in Georgia, even though this act would be a violation of treaties made between the United States and the Cherokees. This extinguishing of land titles was to be done when it could be achieved peacefully and inexpensively. The Georgia State government felt that the 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory provided an opportunity for the government to carry out its promise.

The situation for Georgia Cherokees worsened in 1829 when gold was discovered in northern Georgia. Gold fever gripped the white Georgians, and the State Legislature passed several anti-Indian laws. Among the measures taken by the state, Cherokees could not dig for gold, a Cherokee could not testify against a white man, and contracts between a Cherokee and a white man had to be witnessed by two whites. Worse yet, Cherokee lands were subdivided and offered for sale to whites through a lottery system. White settlers and the Georgia State Guard drove many Cherokees from their homes, and some of the homes were looted and burned. Alabama soon passed similar laws to restrict Cherokees (Hoig 1996:33-35; Perdue 1989:55).

Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828, and in a speech to Congress the following year he initiated a bill to remove all eastern tribes to land west of the Mississippi. The Cherokees were well acquainted with Jackson, and Cherokee warriors had fought under the General's command against the Creek Indians in the 1812-1814 Creek War. His Cherokee allies played a crucial role in Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend. Despite the aid that the Cherokees had given Jackson, he was adamant about removing them along with the other eastern tribes (Hoig 1996: 36-38).

Jackson's Indian Removal Bill became law in 1830, passing the House of Representatives by just five votes. In the following year the Cherokees filed suit against the State of Georgia for the unjust laws passed by that state. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, decreed that the Supreme Court had no right to control the Georgia State Legislature. Justice Smith Thompson gave a dissenting opinion, stating that the treaties made between the United States and the Cherokees were being violated by Georgia law.

Benjamin Currey, a former Congressman, accepted the post of Superintendent of Indian Removal in the fall of 1831. Currey, a friend of Andrew Jackson, began recruiting Cherokees for removal to the west. Despite the passage of the Indian Removal Act, the government still needed a treaty with each tribe in order to remove them and gain possession of their lands. The Indian Removal Act did not allow the use of force to remove the Indians. Among the southern tribes the Cherokees were the last to sign such a treaty. The Choctaws signed one in 1830

and the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles signed in 1832. Principal Chief John Ross led strong opposition among the Cherokees.

John Ross, born in 1790 in Turkey Town on the Coosa River in Alabama, was the son of Daniel Ross and Mollie McDonald. His ancestry was more Scottish than Cherokee. John Ross's great grandfather was William Shorey, a Scotsman who had once served as an interpreter at Fort Loudon. Shorey married a Cherokee woman named Ghigooie, and they had two children, William and Anne. Anne married John McDonald, a Scottish trader who had served in the British Army during the Revolutionary War. As a commissary agent McDonald had supplied the Cherokees during the conflict. Following the war McDonald became an agent for the Spanish Government in negotiations with the Cherokees. He received $500 per year for his services. In 1793, William Blount, governor of the Southwest Territory that would become Tennessee, offered McDonald the position of United States agent to the Lower Cherokees. McDonald accepted the post though he still drew his annual fee from the Spanish until 1798 (Moulton 1978:1-5).

In 1785 McDonald used his influence with the Cherokees to help save a fellow Scotsman, Daniel Ross. Ross and a partner traded regularly with the Chickasaw Indians. The Cherokees captured Ross and other members of his party during one of his trading excursions, and it was only through the intervention of John McDonald that bloodshed did not ensue. Ross then established trade with the Cherokees and married Mollie McDonald. Their third child was John Ross (Moulton 1978:5-8).

John Ross grew up among the Cherokees, and his father made sure that John and his siblings received a good education. John Ross became a merchant and also served in a company of mounted Cherokees During the Creek War. He later married Elizabeth Henley, known to the Cherokees as Quatie. Though he was surrounded by the Cherokee people throughout his life, his physical stature and educational background made John Ross very different from them. Despite the differences, however, he won the respect of the Cherokee nation. Ross became Principal Chief in 1828 after developing a Cherokee Constitution modeled on the United States Constitution. In his roll as chief, he led the fight to resist removal (Glass 1998: 811; Moulton 1978:8-14).

Ross had been on a diplomatic trip to Washington in 1833 to argue against removal, and upon returning home, he found that his plantation in Georgia had been given away by the lottery. His wife and children had been turned out, and he had to pay to stay the night. He found his family on the road to Tennessee, walking in a rainstorm. Ross moved his family to Tennessee where he settled near the Tennessee - Georgia State line (Hoig 1996: 41-42).

Ross continued to frustrate the efforts of Andrew Jackson to remove the Cherokees, and his Cherokee following was strong. Ross had refused to send

delegates to meet with Jackson in Nashville in 1830. After Choctaw chiefs were bribed to sign away Choctaw lands later that same year, Ross was cautious about any dealings with the government. To help spread dissension within the Cherokee ranks, Jackson ordered that annuity payments that were paid to the Cherokees as stipulated in past treaties would now be paid to individual Cherokees instead of the Cherokee governing body. This deprived Ross and his supporters of funds with which to employ legal services to fight Georgia and the Federal government (Hoig 1996:44-46).

A small faction within the Cherokee Nation was in favor of signing a new treaty with the Federal Government and moving to the west away from the intimidation of the white man. Benjamin Currey claimed that most Cherokees supported Ross because they had been intimidated. The opposition to Ross was led by Major Ridge, his son John Ridge who was president of the Cherokee Council, Elias Boudinot, who was the editor of the Cherokee newspaper Cherokee Phoenix, and Andrew Ross who was John Ross's brother.

Ross removed Boudinot as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix because he did not want pro-removal sentiments printed. The paper's last publication came in 1834. As Ross continued to fight removal, the Ridges, Boudinot, and others formed the Cherokee Treaty Party. They met with Benjamin Currey in 1834 and discussed removing Ross as Principal Chief so that a treaty could be signed. They met with Jackson in Washington, and the President paid $3,000 for their travel expenses. Jackson later met with John Ross and offered the sum of 4.5 million dollars for the Cherokee lands, but Ross demanded 20 million, thus stalling for more time.

On March 29, 1835, Reverend John Schermerhorn, appointed by Jackson to be a special commissioner to the Cherokees, met with the Treaty Party at New Echota, Georgia to discuss details of a treaty with the Cherokees. Throughout the remainder of 1835 the rift between the Cherokee factions deepened. John Ridge asked Governor Wilson Lumpkin of Georgia for help, Lumpkin responded by having the Georgia Guard arrest several of Ross's supporters to intimidate them. Finally on December 5, 1835, the Georgia Guard crossed the border into Tennessee and arrested John Ross and his friend John Howard Payne, a playwright famous for writing the song "Home Sweet Home." Ross and Payne were taken to Georgia and detained at Camp Benton for nearly two weeks. This gave Schermerhorn time to assemble 300 to 500 Cherokees who would support the treaty. Having worked out the details at this council, the Cherokee Treaty Party signed the Treaty of New Echota on December 29, 1835. Fewer than 100 Cherokees attended when the treaty was signed. The agreement stipulated that the government would pay the Cherokees $5 million dollars for their lands, and the Cherokees would agree to move to the western territories (Hoig 1996: 49-55; Ehle 1988:273, 290-296; Jahoda 1975:221-223)

Ross immediately organized a formal protest of the treaty and obtained the signatures of 14,910 Cherokees opposed to the treaty. Threats were made against the pro-treaty Cherokees, and Schermerhorn was criticized for the manner in which he conducted treaty negotiations. Ross traveled to Washington to convince the senate not to ratify the treaty, but his delegation was ignored as was public outcry against the questionable treaty. The Senate approved the treaty by one vote, and on May 23, 1836, President Jackson signed it into law. The fate of the Cherokee Nation was now sealed.

Although most Cherokees had fought against removal for many years, there were others who had accepted the inevitability of the move and went west in the years preceding the Treaty of New Echota. As early as 1782 a group of Cherokees sought the permission of Don Estevan Miro, governor of the then Spanish held Louisiana Territory, to settle west of the Mississippi. The first Cherokees to actually move probably left around 1790, dissatisfied with the Treaty of Hopewell. They settled in what is now Arkansas where several conflicts ensued with the other tribes in the area, particularly the Osage, Sac and Fox tribes. Other groups arrived in the west from the "Old Nation " and some of these were conducted out west by the government. A group under Chief Tahlonteskee arrived in 1810, and the government conducted Jolly Party arrived in 1819. The Jolly Party traveled by boat, but other groups moved overland. Some used a road across Tennessee and Kentucky into Missouri and then to Arkansas. This was the route that the main body of Cherokees would use in 1838. Others went by a southern route across Tennessee, crossing the Mississippi River at Memphis. Groups with livestock favored this more direct route, which passed through the Chickasaw Country. The Western Cherokee Nation occupied an area of Arkansas from 1810 to 1828, then under a treaty with the United States, they moved farther west into what is now Oklahoma (Hoig 1996:16-17,56-57).

Newspapers occasionally mentioned groups of Cherokees moving westward over the years. Many of these traveled by riverboat, sometimes a few families and sometimes several hundred Cherokees at a time. In 1832 Benjamin Currey led 626 Cherokees by boat starting at Hiwassee Garrison on the Tennessee River near the mouth of the Hiwassee River. Another group of 457 left in 1834. These represent but a few of the Cherokees who immigrated to the western territory, and the records of these early removals are sparse. The first group to be removed under the Treaty of New Echota was a group of approximately 600 pro-treaty Cherokees who left from New Echota in January 1837. This group was composed of wealthy Cherokees, many of whom were compensated for the loss of their lands in Georgia. In March of the same year, 466 Cherokees left from Ross's Landing in what is now Chattanooga. This group, led by General Nathaniel Smith, included Major Ridge, Stand Watie (Elias Boudinot's brother), and other treaty supporters.

An overland party led by Lieutenant B. B. Cannon left the Cherokee Agency area in what is now Charleston, on October 14, 1837. The majority of emigrating

Cherokees would follow much of the Cannon route in 1838. Cannon's party suffered from exposure to harsh weather, and several Cherokees died along the way. Another party left Creek Path, Alabama in mid-October and passed through Nashville. John Ridge and Elias Boudinot and their families were among the members of this contingent. In Nashville, Ridge stopped at the Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, to pay his respects to the now ex-president. Their route from Nashville is unknown, but they arrived in Indian Territory one month before the Cannon Party. It is possible that because the Ridge/Boudinot party was smaller than the Cannon party and better outfitted for travel, having more horses, carriages, wagons, and better winter clothing, they traveled faster and got ahead of the poor weather conditions that plagued Cannon (Hoig 1996:56-67; Foreman 1956:280-281).

Even before the Treaty of New Echota was signed, John Ross admitted to the inevitability of removal. In a March 22, 1835 letter to Joaquin Maria Del Castillo y Lanzas, charge d'affaires of Mexico, Ross stated, "...it does appear to me that the Cherokees will be compelled by the force of circumstances to remove from *the land of their Fathers* and to seek a home elsewhere" (Moulton 1985a:334). Ross further stated in this letter that the Cherokees did not want to move to another area of the United States where "they would be exposed to a similar treatment in the future," so he was requesting and arrangement with the Mexican Government by which the Cherokees could obtain land and rights of citizenship. His belief was that once established, they would be joined by the Western Cherokees, and soon the Chickasaws, Creeks, Choctaws, and other tribes that had been similarly treated would come to Mexico where all would live peacefully (Moulton 1985a:330, 334-336).

The treaty of New Echota set a deadline of May 23, 1838 for the removal of the Cherokees, and at this time the Government would no longer recognize the Cherokee Nation. U. S. officials continued to pressure the Cherokees to move by rewarding those who enrolled for removal with food and supplies. Meanwhile John Ross continued his fight to have the treaty nullified. He pleaded with Congress in June 1836, citing several incidents in which Cherokees were coerced into signing up for removal and also describing Benjamin Currey's indifference to the Cherokees' well being. Ross also sought help from the Western Cherokees. They supported Ross by sending Congress a petition in which they requested that the treaty be voided. Ross further sent a petition protesting the Treaty of New Echota, and 15,665 Cherokees signed this document. In 1837 Martin Van Buren took office as president, and having been convinced by Georgia officials that the Cherokees were ready to take arms against removal, he became determined to enforce the treaty (Hoig 1996:68-73).

Even as Ross continued to protest the Treaty of New Echota, the War Department had already taken steps toward forcing the Cherokees out of their homeland. General John Ellis Wool went to the Cherokee Nation to begin the

process of disarming the Cherokees and preparing them for departure. He met with them and attempted to persuade them to cooperate peacefully with the United States Government, but during his discussions with Cherokee leaders, he began to see things from their perspective. Wool reported to the War Department in February 1837 that almost all the Cherokees were opposed to the treaty and that they were so determined to resist they would not accept rations, though many were starving. Wool carried out his orders to disarm the Cherokees, but while doing so, he also tried to protect Cherokees from incursions by whites. The State of Alabama brought charges against General Wool in a military court, stating that he had interfered in Alabama on behalf of Cherokees there, but Wool was acquitted. Wool resigned shortly after, being thoroughly disgusted with the whole process of removal. Similarly, Brigadier General R. Dunlap, commander of Tennessee volunteer forces, threatened to resign because he felt that the forced roundup and imprisonment of the Cherokees dishonored the arms of Tennessee. Dunlap and his men had been building stockades in the area of the Cherokee Agency, and became personally acquainted with many Cherokees in the area (Hoig 1996:73-74; Ehle 1988:308-311; Foreman 1956:279-280).

Benjamin Currey, who had filled the role of Superintendent of Cherokee Removal, died in 1837, and Tennessean General Nathaniel Smith replaced him. Smith went to the Cherokee Nation to begin removing the Cherokees who had expressed a willingness to leave. Smith's first order of business was the construction of large keelboats with which to remove the Cherokees by river, and also the construction of additional stockades where the Indians would be interned until removal. Nearly 4,000 Cherokees were removed in 1837 and the early part of 1838, but 15,000 remained in the Old Nation. The government continued efforts to convince the Cherokees that the removal was for their own benefit and that President Van Buren was a true friend. They failed to mention that the land out west that had been set aside for the Eastern Cherokees had been partly given to the Western Cherokees when they were moved from Arkansas to the Indian Territory under an 1828 treaty. Some Creeks had also been settled on the land (Hoig 1996:74,77; Ehle 1988:322-323).

General Winfield Scott took command of the removal after General Wool's resignation. His force of 2,200 regular troops plus militia from Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Alabama would give him a force of 7,380 men. Scott divided the Cherokee Nation into three military districts and established 31 military posts throughout the nation. The Cherokees were to be rounded up at these posts then sent to one of eleven camps located in Tennessee and Alabama. From these eleven camps the Cherokees would be assembled for their journey west. On May 10, 1838 General Scott issued an ultimatum to the Cherokees, stating that they had delayed too long and he was now here to move them along. He urged them to cooperate and warned them against any armed opposition. One week later Scott issued orders to his troops that all Cherokees were to be disarmed, anyone who could walk would march to their confinement points, Cherokee horses would be

used to transport the sick and old, and only light personal items could be taken. Vouchers would be given for other possessions, and arms would be returned when the Indian Territory was reached (Hoig 1996:78-81; Foreman 1956:286-287).

Scott ordered his men not to harm the Cherokees or treat them harshly, but by some accounts the soldiers were often brutal in the execution of their duties. Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary living among the Cherokees, noted that the Cherokees were forced to leave their possessions behind, and the whites in the area quickly looted these (Hoig 1996:81-83). Reverend Daniel S. Butrick wrote in his journal that the Cherokees "have been dragged from their houses" and their property plundered (Butrick 1839). John Burnett was a private in the 2nd Regiment of Mounted Infantry during the removal, and having grown up in East Tennessee among the Cherokees, he served as an interpreter. When he was 80 years old, Burnett wrote an account of the removal in which he said that he:

> ...witnessed the execution of the most brutal order in the History of American Warfare. I saw the helpless Cherokees arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven at the bayonet point into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into six hundred and forty-five wagons and started toward the west (Burnett 1890:50-51).

Three other missionaries, J. Renatus Schmidt, Miles Vogler, and Gottlieg Rude, also stated that the roundup was harshly executed, and the Cherokees were not given time to take their possessions. Winfield Scott wrote in his memoirs in 1864 that the Georgians had rounded up the Cherokees with humane tenderness and that many of the soldiers had flowing tears (Hoig 1996:87).

By the end of June 1838, all Cherokees had been driven from Georgia, and in August the Hamilton Gazette, printed at Ross's Landing in present day Chattanooga, reported that all the Cherokees had been collected. By this time three detachments with military escorts had already departed, two by river from Ross's Landing, and one by land from Ross's Landing to Waterloo, Alabama where they boarded boats and completed the journey by river. The last of these three groups was composed of Georgia Cherokees who were uncooperative with the military. General Nathaniel Smith reported that there were many desertions from this group along the way (Hoig 1996:84-87; Foreman 1956 291-295).

A severe drought gripped the country in the summer of 1838, and by mid-June the Tennessee and Hiwassee Rivers were unnavigable. The heat also made conditions for travel unfavorable, so the Cherokees requested a postponement of the removal until autumn. Scott consented to postponing the removal until September 1, 1838, but that meant the Cherokees would have to live in inadequate facilities for a longer time. This would be the cause of many deaths. Rev. Daniel Butrick (1839:5) noted in his journal on June 11, 1838 that "many of the Cherokees

are sick, especially at Calhoun, where we understand that from four to ten die in a day."

John Ross returned from yet another trip to Washington in July 1838 and found conditions in the Cherokee camps to be deplorable. The stockades were overcrowded, there was an inadequate supply of good water, the camps were unsanitary, and food was in short supply and usually of poor quality. The Cherokees had been forced from their homes with only meager possessions, if any at all, and the summer heat was almost unbearable in the inadequate shelters. Dysentery and other diseases took their toll on the incarcerated Cherokees, and whites often came to the camps to sell whiskey. Ross appealed to General Scott, and the two worked out a deal by which the Cherokees agreed to manage their own removal under the supervision of John Ross. Ross's brother Lewis Ross was given the contract to supply the Cherokees who would be divided into detachments each led by a Cherokee "conductor." Further, the government would supply one wagon with ox team and six riding horses for every 15 people, and $65.88 would be paid for each person to cover the cost of food, clothing, medicine, necessary supplies, and fees for ferries and toll roads. More money was allocated to pay conductors and their assistants, doctors, wagon masters, interpreters, and other essential personnel. Arrangements were made to have contractors supply the detachment at depots along the road (Hoig 1996:91-96; Anderson 1991:80-81; Moulton 1985b:43-53).

After Ross and Scott agreed on the terms for the Cherokees removing themselves, Ross turned his attention to a group of Cherokees who lived in the mountains in North Carolina and had avoided being rounded up by the troops. Ross sent a message to them in which he pleaded for them to turn themselves in, and he also assured them that this would not indicate any approval of the Treaty of New Echota. About 1,600 joined Ross and the rest of the Cherokees, but nearly 350 later escaped back to the mountains and had to be recaptured by troops. Still an estimated 1,400 Cherokees evaded the troops and remained in the mountains where their descendants still live today.

General Scott was pleased with the agreement he had made with John Ross because it freed troops for service elsewhere. The militia troops were discharged, and Scott sent some of his regular troops to Canada and Florida. Former President Andrew Jackson was furious at the deal and said in a letter to Attorney General Felix Grundy that Ross should not be dealt with by the Van Buren administration. Despite his objection the deal was approved.

The drought lingered on into September of 1838, and two detachments that had tried to leave had to be recalled. The move was again postponed until the first of October. Finally the drought broke and the rain came. Cooler temperatures were a harbinger of the winter weather with which Cherokees would have to contend on their westward trek. The Cherokees, organized into 14 detachments (Table 1),

TABLE 1. REMOVAL DETACHMENTS, THEIR CONDUCTORS, ASSISTANT CONDUCTORS, AND PROBABLE POINTS OF DEPARTURE

Detachment #	Conductor	Assistant	Departure Point
1.	Hair Conrad	Daniel Colston (Colston replaced Conrad on October 1st)	Agency Area
2.	Elijah Hicks	White Path (died in route) replaced by William Arnold	Gunstocker Creek
3.	Jesse Bushyhead	Roman Nose	Chatata Creek
4.	John Benge	George Lowery	8 mi. S. of Ft. Payne
5.	Situwakee (replaced by Evan Jones)	Peter	Savannah Branch
6.	Old Field	Stephen Foreman	Candies Creek
7.	Moses Daniel	George Still	Agency Area
8.	Choowalooka (replaced by Thomas Clark)	J.D. Wofford	Mouse Creek
9.	James Brown	?	Vann's Plantation-Ooltewah Creek
10.	George Hicks	Collins McDonald	Mouse Creek
11.	Richard Taylor	Red Watt Adair	Vann's Plantation-Ooltewah Creek
12.	Peter Hildebrand	James Hildebrand	Agency Area
13.	John Drew (the Drew Detachment traveled by river)	John Golden Ross	Agency Area
14.	John Bell and Lieutenant Edward Deas (the Bell detachment was not under the supervision of John Ross)		Agency Area

Three other groups left Ross's Landing by river under military escort April-June 1838.

(sources: King 1999: Section 1, p. 15; Moulton 1985a:670, 672, 674, 687; Moulton 1985b:43-53)

began their trek on October 1, 1838. All but one of these detachments was under the supervision of John Ross, and that one, led by John Bell, was composed of people who supported the treaty. The Bell contingent, about 650-700 in number, supported the removal treaty of 1835, so they were at odds with the rest of the Cherokee nation and wished to avoid the others during the trek westward. The Bell party also had a military escort commanded by Lieutenant Edward Deas who had earlier led a party by river (Hoig 1996:83,102). Starting at the Cherokee Agency area in what is now Charleston in Bradley County, the Bell party moved through Chattanooga, crossing the Tennessee River first at Ross's Landing then at Brown's Ferry and again at Kelly's Ferry. They then moved westward through Jasper, across the Cumberland Mountain, through Hillsboro, Winchester, Fayetteville, Pulaski, Lawrenceburg, Waynesboro, Savannah, Bolivar and Memphis. Evidence for this route comes from pay vouchers issued by Lieutenant Deas for supplies that he purchased along the way. At Memphis the Cherokees were ferried across the Mississippi River and continued the journey westward (King 1999:Section 1, 113-116; Foreman 1956:301).

Among the Ross-allied detachments, nine would depart from the agency area traveling overland across Tennessee, Kentucky, southern Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas to the Indian Territory. One detachment, composed mainly of elderly and sick Cherokees, would travel by river departing from the Agency on the Hiwassee River. Two more would begin from camps near Ross's Landing and travel northward to join the main route. The last would leave from its camps south of Fort Payne, Alabama and cross Tennessee into Kentucky and on to the west. Figure 3 shows the general routes of removal (King 1999:Section 1, 21-25; Foreman 1956:301-312). [The details of the routes are given in the next section of this report.]

The last detachment, led by Peter Hildebrand, departed on November 7, 1838, and John Ross and his family left with this group. The detachments were plagued with high tolls and whites bent on selling whiskey to the Cherokees and swindling them out of their money. There were large numbers of sick among the detachments and constant wagon breakdowns. Morale was low and many Cherokees deserted. The Cherokees had organized their own light horse police force to keep order, but there were not enough of them to deal with the many problems that arose daily. The wagon master for the Elijah Hicks (Second) Detachment died at Woodbury, Tennessee on October 21. Elderly Chief White Path also died near Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Rain made travel on the road difficult, and the thousands of Cherokees traveling the roads caused severe damage and erosion, making travel more difficult for those behind. Severe winter weather came early, and Winfield Scott, traveling northward on military business, commented that he found much snow on Walden's Ridge and the Cumberland Mountain as early as November 17. Icy conditions on the Mississippi River trapped seven detachments for nearly a month, unable to cross. At Paducah Kentucky, John Ross, traveling with Hildebrand's (Eleventh) Detachment, met the John Drew Detachment traveling

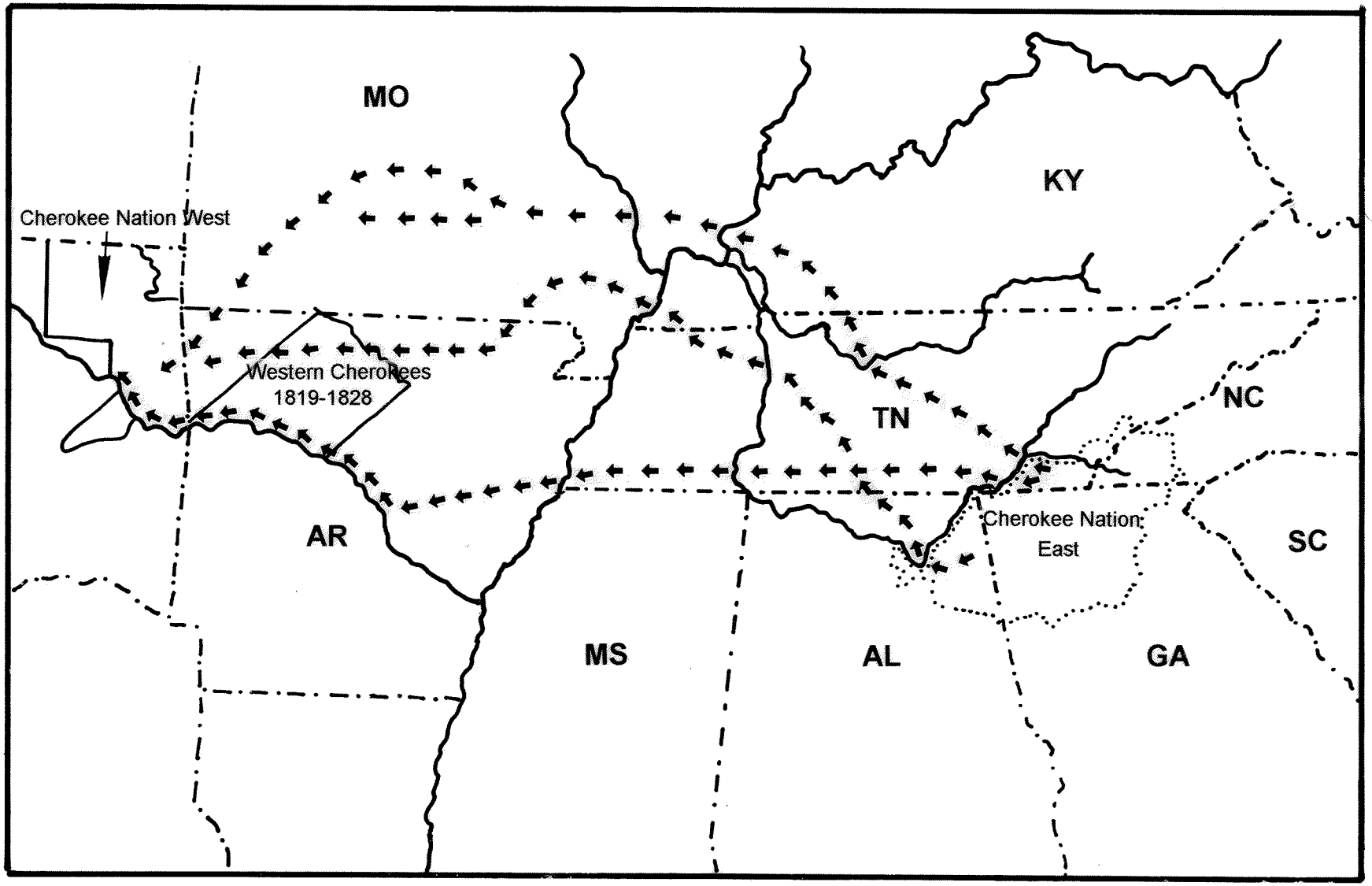


Figure 3. General Map of the Land Routes Used During the Cherokee Removal.

by river. Ross boarded the steamboat *Victoria* with his family because his wife Quatie was severely ill. Quatie later died on the journey (Moulton 1978:99-100) .

The Cherokees finally arrived in the new land after a long and arduous journey. Many died as a result of the process of roundup from their homes, their long internment in the stockades during the hot summer, and their difficult journey through severe weather. The most commonly accepted estimate of the number of Cherokee deaths is approximately 4,000. This number may also include those who died during the first year in the west as a result of disease and starvation (Thornton 1991:83-84).

The end of the journey was not the end of the strife that had divided the Cherokees, for the factionalism that had developed before the removal still remained in the new nation. Additionally, the subsistence that was promised to the Cherokees to help them through the initial period in the new land was inadequate and often of inferior quality. John Ross appealed to both Monfort Stokes, the Cherokee Agent in the new territory, and General Matthew Arbuckle, commander of Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Territory, but neither was able to render assistance. Ross was forced to use funds allocated by General Scott so that the Cherokees could buy food and essential supplies (Carter 1976:268).

The Western Cherokees welcomed the Easterners to their new home but informed them that they were expected to conform to the established government of the Western Cherokee Nation. Chief John Ross and his assistant George Lowrey insisted that the now re-united bands of Cherokees call a council to form a new government. At a council held at Takatokah in June 1839, Cherokee leaders decided to meet in the following month to form a new government, uniting the Eastern and Western Cherokees (Carter 1976:268-269).

On June 22, 1839 a group of Cherokees, bent on revenge against those who supported the Treaty of New Echota, assassinated John Ridge, Major Ridge, and Elias Boudinot. General Arbuckle, believing that Ross knew of the killings beforehand and might even be harboring the murderers, asked Ross to come to Fort Gibson to discuss the incident. Ross refused Arbuckle's request and hundreds of supporters surrounded Ross's home for their Chief's protection (Carter 1976:270-272).

Eventually a new government was formed with its capital at Talequah. John Ross was elected Principal Chief with David Vann, a western Cherokee, as assistant chief. President Martin Van Buren's administration refused to recognize the Ross government, and former President Andrew Jackson encouraged John Bell and Stand Watie, pro-removal Cherokees, to "lay the tyrant low." Ross held on to power through trying times during which the Cherokee nation was on the brink of a civil war. Finally in 1846, the U. S. government met with the Western Cherokees, the pro-treaty Eastern Cherokees, and the Ross supporters to sign a treaty of unity.

Under this treaty, the United States finally paid the $5 million owed to the Cherokees under the Treaty of New Echota. There was now relative peace in the Cherokee Nation, and that peace would last until the outbreak of the American Civil War (Carter 1976:272-275).

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF ROUTES USED BY THE CHEROKEES DURING THEIR 1838 REMOVAL FROM TENNESSEE

During the 1838 removal of the Cherokee Indians to the western territory, the Cherokees, most under the general direction of Principal Chief John Ross, were divided into 17 detachments listed in Table 1. Four of these detachments traveled by water, while the other 13 used three major land routes with several variations within the routes. The survey project conducted by the Tennessee Division of Archaeology was concerned primarily with determining the routes used by the various land contingents and examining the existing road segments that might be remnants of the 1838 road system.

Evidence for the routes comes from various sources that will be described in greater detail in the sections concerning each individual route. Briefly these sources include the journal of B. B. Cannon, conductor of a voluntary removal party in 1837, and the diary of Reverend Daniel Butrick, a missionary who accompanied Taylor's detachment. These journals reveal details of the routes used. Letters to and from John Ross give information concerning the routes of the detachments. Lieutenant Edward Deas, who commanded the military escort for Bell's detachment, issued pay vouchers for supplies purchased in route. These vouchers give the location where they were issued, and this is an excellent source of information concerning the route of the Bell detachment.

Once the routes were determined, historic maps were consulted to ascertain the road system that was in place during the removal period. One map used was the Matthew Rhea map of Tennessee in 1832 (Rhea 1832). This map shows the main roads in use in 1832 as well as rivers, towns, and county boundaries. A second map used was a map of postal routes in Tennessee in 1839 (Burr 1839). This map shows rivers, towns with post offices, and the routes connecting the post offices. The gap between these two maps and the modern topographic maps was bridged by consulting Civil War period maps, early USGS topographic quad maps (on microfilm at the State Library and Archives), and some early county maps. The Tennessee Division of Archaeology also maintains a collection of topographic maps dating primarily from the 1940s and 50s.

The next step in the survey was to field check the routes. Division staff logged hundreds of miles while driving the probable routes used by the Cherokees. Old road segments that no longer appear on maps were noted and marked on topographic quads. In some cases there were well-preserved segments of sunken dirt roads, while other segments are still used as light duty farm roads (photographs of some of these road segment appear in Appendix B). Other road segments have been abandoned and obliterated by urban growth. Most of the road, however, is still in use as improved roads and highways. In most cases it is impossible to say with complete accuracy that a road segment is indeed a part of the very road

trodden by the Cherokees on their forced trek. Roads evolve over time, being shifted and realigned or completely abandoned, but in some cases the constraints of topography make it impossible to change the course of a road.

Upon the conclusion of the field checking of each route, the information was entered into the Division's statewide archaeological site file. Each route within a specific county was assigned a site number, and surviving road segments were described in each site form and marked on accompanying maps. The volume of maps produced during the survey precludes their inclusion in this report, but they are available for research purposes at the Tennessee Division of Archaeology in Nashville. Figure 3 is a map of the general removal routes, and more detailed maps of the individual route are included in Appendix C.

One of the earliest maps to show the removal routes was that drawn by Grant Foreman in 1932 (Foreman 1956). Forman, using information available to him at the time, showed only two routes for the Cherokees: the river route and the Northern route. The water route, used by four detachments, followed the Tennessee River to the Ohio, thence the Mississippi, and finally the Arkansas River. The Northern Route, used by the majority of the Cherokees, started near the Cherokee Agency in what is now Charleston and passed over Walden's Ridge, through the Sequatchie Valley, over the Cumberland Mountain, and through McMinnville, Murfreesboro, Nashville, and Port Royal, then into Kentucky. It is now known that other routes were also used. A pro-treaty detachment led by John Bell departed from the Agency area with a military escort commanded by Lieutenant Edward Deas. From the Agency this detachment traveled across the southern part of Tennessee through Ross's Landing (now Chattanooga), and across the southern tier of Tennessee counties toward Memphis where the detachment crossed the Mississippi River. A Ross allied detachment led by John Benge started its journey from south of Fort Payne, Alabama and traveled northward through Tennessee, crossing the Tennessee River at Reynoldsburg Landing (north of Johnsonville) and going toward Columbus, Kentucky. Additionally there were variations in the main routes. Richard Taylor and John Brown led their detachments from the Chattanooga area, northward to join the Northern Route. There may also have been a variation in Rutherford County where some detachments may have traveled from Readyville to Jefferson, thus avoiding Murfreesboro. Each of these routes is described below.

In 1992 the National Park Service published a Comprehensive Management and Use Plan for the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. This was accompanied by a supplement showing a driving tour of the removal routes. By necessity the driving tour uses existing roads that can be easily accessed by the public, so it often strays far from the actual routes. Dr. Duane H. King has done extensive research into the Cherokee removal, and in 1999 he compiled an unpublished manuscript to correct the 1992 Park Service Supplement. A copy of this manuscript was made available to the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. King's work is the most

detailed compilation of source material concerning the removal routes currently available.

Departure Points

When the U. S. Military came to the Cherokee Nation to begin the process of rounding up the Cherokees for removal, they forced the Indians from their homes and concentrated them at military posts that had been established for that purpose. The Cherokees were further concentrated in three general areas for departure. These were the Cherokee Agency area (present day Charleston), Ross's Landing (present day Chattanooga), and near Fort Payne, Alabama. For the purposes of this survey, these three areas are considered to be the starting points for the routes. King (1999:Section 1, p. 4) recommends that the National Park Service update its Trail of Tears Map Supplement to show the various military establishments and the roads connecting them as part of the trail system. Each individual camp of the detachments could also be considered a starting point, but the exact location of each of these is not known at this time. Table 1 lists the conductors and assistant conductors of each detachment as well as the general area of departure.

The "Agency area" in which most of the Cherokees were concentrated is actually a four mile by twelve mile area stretching from the Cherokee Agency and Fort Cass, which were located on the Hiwassee River at present day Charleston, southward to Cleveland. Concentrated within this area were the majority of the Cherokees that would be removed, most by the Northern Land Route. Letters written to and from John Ross give clues to the locations of the detachments' camps (Moulton 1985a). Figure 4 is a map of the "Fort Cass Emigrating Depot" (Prince 1838) showing some encampments (though these are not labeled). Situwakee, conductor of the Fifth detachment [he heads the letter as Fourth Detachment] and his assistant Peter wrote to Ross from their camp on Savannah Branch on September 18, 1838 (Moulton 1985a:670). Elijah Hicks (Second) Detachment was camped at Gunstocker Spring on the 23rd of September, 1838 (Moulton 1985a:672), having moved here from Camp Ross in Cleveland (King 1999:Section 1, p. 13). The Sixth Detachment under Old Field and Stephen Foreman was at Candy's [Candies] Creek (Moulton 1985a:672). The Eighth Detachment, under Choowalooka and J. D. Wofford were at the Taquach Camps on Mouse Creek (Moulton 1985a:674). George Hicks (Tenth) Detachment was camped on Mouse Creek (Moulton 1985a:687)

A Captain Page reported on July 25, 1838 that more than 2,000 Cherokees were encamped at Camp Ross. King (1999:Section 1, p.14) says that Camp Ross was located thirteen miles south of Fort Cass, which would put it in present-day Cleveland. There is a recorded site of a Cherokee internment camp in Cleveland at Fort Hill Cemetery (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY32). The site recorded in the state-wide archaeological site file as "Camp Ross" (40HA119) is in Hamilton County near the northern end of Lookout Mountain. Evan

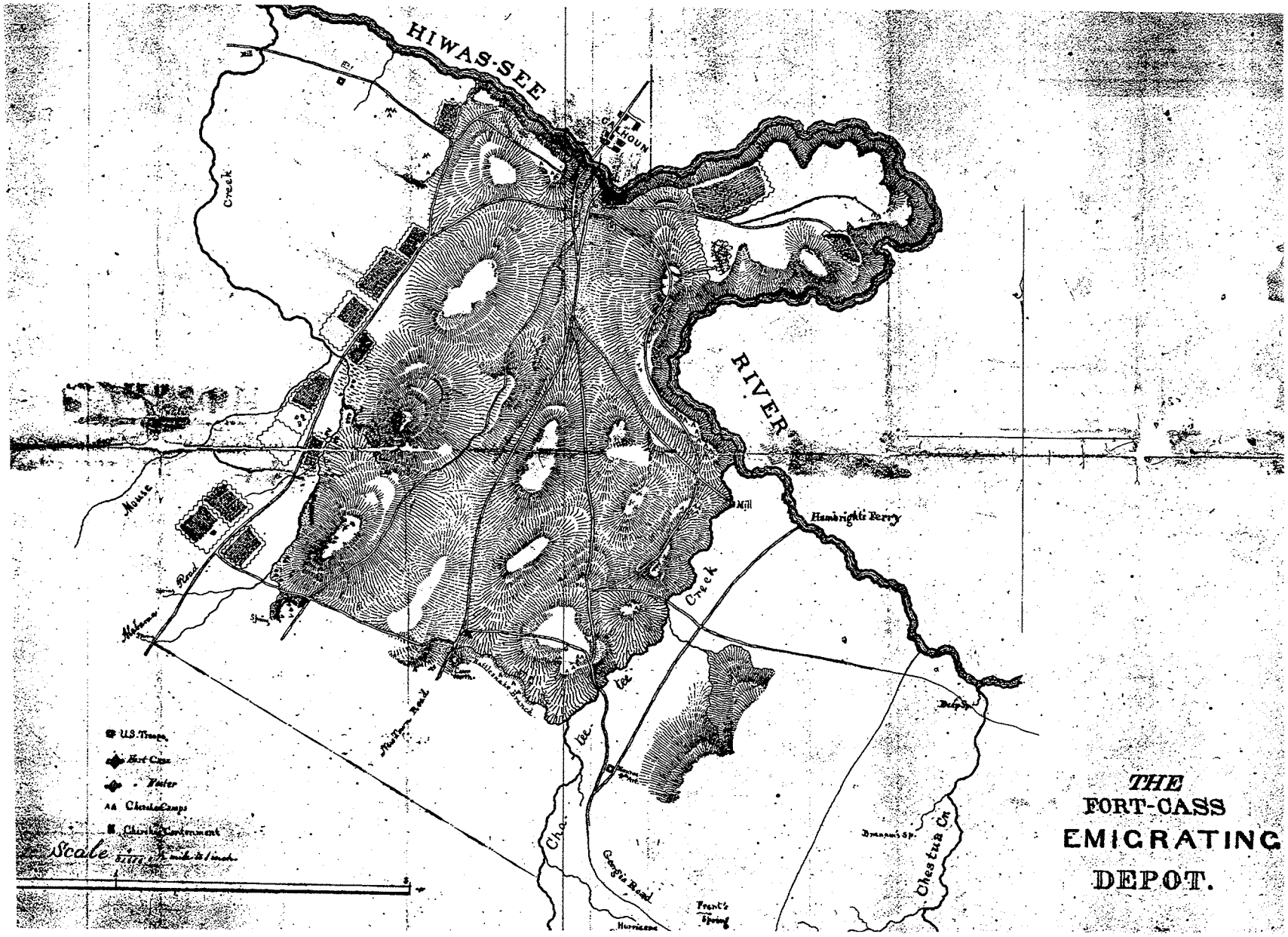


Figure 4. Map of the Fort Cass Emigrating Depot (Prince 1838).

Jones wrote a letter on June 16, 1838 headed "Camp Hetzel, near Cleveland" (Perdue and Green 1995:165). It is not known how or if this "camp" relates to the recorded internment camp or "Camp Ross." Part of the 2,000 Cherokees from Camp Ross (Cleveland area) was the Elijah Hicks Detachment that later moved to Gunstocker Creek in preparation for departure. Page also reported on Cherokees camped in the Agency area including 700 at the Agency post, 600 at Rattlesnake Springs, more than 870 at the first Mouse Creek encampment, 1,600 at the second Mouse Creek Encampment, 900 at Bedwell Springs, 1,300 on Chestuee Creek, 700 on the ridge east of the Agency, and 600 on the upper Chatata Creek (King 1999:Section 1, p. 14).

The U. S. Army established several military posts during the Cherokee removal period and used some posts previously existing. The Cherokee Agency in 1838 (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY36) was located on the south side of the Hiwassee River in what is now Charleston. This was actually the fourth site for the agency. The first site of the Cherokee Agency was Fort Southwest Point (Tennessee archaeological site number 40RE119) in what is now Kingston, Tennessee. Return Jonathan Meigs established the agency here in 1801 after he had been appointed as Cherokee Indian Agent and Military Agent for the U. S. War Department. The U. S. Government also established a subsidiary agency and factory at Tellico Blockhouse (Tennessee archaeological site number 40MR50), located in Monroe County at the confluence of the Little Tennessee River and Nine Mile Creek. In 1807 the agency and factory were consolidated at Hiwassee Garrison (Tennessee archaeological site number 40RH35), a newly established post on the west bank of the Tennessee River, above the mouth of the Hiwassee River. In 1815 the agency moved up the Hiwassee River to the mouth of what is now called Agency Creek (Tennessee archaeological site number 40MG286). Within a few years it moved again farther up the Hiwassee River to a point on the south bank of the river opposite Calhoun (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY36). This location is in present day Charleston (Smith 1993:50-51). The exact date of this move is not known, but various sources put it between 1817 (Meigs 1981:266) and 1821 (Parker 1993:3; Townsend and Townsend 1998:5).

Fort Cass (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY44), which became General Winfield Scott's headquarters, was located beside the final Agency location in present day Charleston. Fort Cass is shown on a map of the Agency Area (Figure 4). This site was later the location of a Civil War blockhouse built by Union forces. A Civil War period sketch of the defenses of Charleston shows the blockhouse with a stockade surrounding it. It is possible that part of the Fort Cass structure was still standing in the 1860s.

Fort Foster (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY37) was located near Rattlesnake Springs approximately three miles south of Fort Cass, and on the south side of the springs was the military post, Camp Worth (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY40). The location of these sites is based on the

1838 map of the Fort Cass Emigrating Depot (Figure 4). On that map, Fort Foster is located north of Rattlesnake Springs. Camp Worth is located in the vicinity of the Rattlesnake Springs, and there is a strong local tradition that Cherokees camped around the springs prior to their removal. An approximately 40-acre area around Rattlesnake Springs is currently on the National Register of Historic Places.

The map of the Fort Cass Emigrating Depot (Figure 4) shows Forts Cass and Foster, several troop camps including one labeled "Munroe 4th Art[illery]", and Cherokee camps. The Munroe site is recorded in the Division's site files as "Camp Konrad/Monroe" (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY38).

Fort Morrow, or Fort Marr, was used during the initial roundup of Cherokees, but when they were sent on to the agency area, the fort was abandoned. This post was located about one mile south of the town of Oldfort in Polk County. It appears that Fort Morrow was originally a post called Fort Marr, which predates the removal of the Cherokees. The earliest suggested construction date for Fort Marr is about 1805 or 1806, permitted by the Cherokees under an 1803 treaty. This treaty allowed a road to be built from East Tennessee to Georgia (Smith 1993:1740-176). The date more widely accepted for the construction of the fort is 1814. It is possible that the post was established in connection with the construction of a military road, and was named for George Washington Lent Marr who served under Andrew Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-1814 (Evans 1977:256). There is no known description of the fort. The name "Old Fort" may have been used to distinguish the earlier fortification from the 1838 construction (Clemmer 1915b; Polk County Historical and Genealogical Society 1996:17).

A sketch map of military posts in the Cherokee Nation in 1838 (Townsend 1975) shows "Fort Morrow" located 20 miles south-southwest of Fort Cass on the Hiwassee River. This is the approximate location of Oldfort. The Fort Morrow name also appears on an 1838 list prepared by Captain John MacKay, adjutant for Colonel William Lindsay. Colonel Lindsay was an interim commander after General Wool resigned and before General Scott arrived. MacKay's list of 23 posts in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina includes "Fort Morrow Tennessee" located 20 miles from the Cherokee Agency. The Fort Morrow garrison consisted of one mounted company and two infantry companies (King 1999:Section 2, p. 3). On June 4, 1838 Captain John Morrow of the Tennessee Militia reported to General Winfield Scott from Fort Morrow that he had 256 Cherokees at "this fort" ready for emigration (King 1999:Section 2, p. 13). On July 2, 1838 Colonel Lindsay issued an order stating "Capt. Morrow will proceed with his comp. to the Agency at which point he will be mustered out of service" (quoted in King 1999:Section 2, p. 20).

The best evidence for the overall configuration of the fort comes from a series of articles written by J .D. Clemmer (1915), a banker and historian. These are discussed in detail in the site report for the Fort Marr/Fort Morrow site (40PK586). Clemmer and others traveled to the site of the fort and met with the

landowner who showed him the outline of the fortifications still visible as a depression in the ground. It was suggested that there had been a total of four blockhouses connected by palisade walls, and that the overall fort measured 225' by 480'. It is possible that the remains of whatever constituted the earlier Fort Marr post were incorporated into the removal period Fort Morrow. Following the abandonment of Fort Morrow, all but one of the blockhouses was removed. This blockhouse saw later use as a farm smokehouse and was moved a short distance in 1860. The structure, which is now referred to as the "Fort Marr Blockhouse," was disassembled and moved in 1922 and again in 1965 to its present location in Benton.

Northern Route

The Northern Route was the main removal route used by the Cherokees in 1838. Nine detachments under the general supervision of Chief John Ross traveled overland from the Cherokee Agency area by way of this route. A voluntary removal party conducted by B. B. Cannon used much of this route in 1837. It should be noted however that B. B. Cannon's detachment crossed the Hiwassee at Calhoun and proceeded to Kelly's Ferry on the Tennessee River opposite Washington (Cannon 1837:36). The Ross allied detachments moved westward from the Agency area, staying south of the Hiwassee River, and crossed the Tennessee River at Blythe's Ferry.

Mooney (1972:132) suggests that the Cherokees crossed to the north side of the Hiwassee River at Gunstocker Creek and crossed the Tennessee River at Tucker's Ferry. This is repeated in Eaton (1914:123), who cites Mooney, and in Foreman (1956:302), who directly quotes Mooney. Despite this assertion, the preponderance of evidence indicates that the Ross allied detachments that started in the agency area and the Cleveland area in 1838 stayed on the south side of the Hiwassee River, crossing the Tennessee River at Blythe's Ferry (King 1999:Section 1, p. 18-19). The evidence for use of Blythe's Ferry comes from some of the letters written by persons involved with the removal. On October 16, 1838 J. Powell, physician for the Third Detachment conducted by Jesse Bushyhead, wrote to John Ross from Blythe's Ferry (Moulton 1985a: 682; King 1999:Section 1, p. 13). Powell reported that the ferry proprietors were trying to retard the efforts of the conductors to proceed with their detachments, and he suggested "the propriety, if practicable to [farm?] the use of the Ferry until your people have all crossed" (Moulton 1985a: 682). Powell seems to indicate that Colston's and Hicks' detachments, having preceded Powell, had also been impeded by the ferry operators. Furthermore, his reference to "your people" probably refers to all the Ross allied detachments departing from the agency area. John Ross wrote to General Winfield Scott on November 12, 1838 stating that he had reached Blythe's Ferry on November 10 and found Hildebrand's (Twelfth) Detachment camped on the south side with a portion having already crossed to the north side. He further stated

that some of the sick left behind at Blythe's Ferry by Wofford's detachment were proceeding with Hildebrand (Moulton 1985a:691-692).

Evidence from historic maps indicates that the road from the Cherokee Agency took a southward dip to Georgetown, intersecting with the direct road from Cleveland to Blythe's Ferry (now called the Georgetown Road). It is possible that a road along the Hiwassee River directly from the agency to the ferry existed in 1838, but no evidence was found during this survey for such a road. The 1838 map of the Fort Cass Emigrating Depot (Prince 1838) shows a road starting near Fort Cass and running westward along the Hiwassee River as far as South Mouse Creek. Today State Route 308 (Lower River Road) follows this same route and runs along the Hiwassee River into Meigs County and eventually to Blythe's Ferry, becoming what is now State Route 306. An 1862 map of the area (U.S. Topographical Engineers), on file at the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, shows the road coming out of Charleston and crossing Mouse Creek, then dipping southward toward Georgetown. It intersects with a road that runs between "Walker's" (probably John Walker's farmstead [Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY39] near what is now the Burlington Heights subdivision of Cleveland) and Blythe's Ferry. The present day Georgetown road follows the same approximate course. The Civil War period map does not show a direct road from Charleston to Blythe's Ferry along the Hiwassee River. Neither the 1832 Matthew Rhea map nor the 1839 postal route map shows a direct road from the agency area to Blythe's Ferry. The Cherokees camped in the vicinity of the ferry, but lack of specific locational data precludes the recording of an encampment site. The Blythe's Ferry landings are recorded as Tennessee archaeological site numbers 40MG48 and 40RH130.

From Blythe's Ferry the Northern Route went northwestward following what is today the Blythe Ferry Road (State Route 60). A newer road has cut off parts of this earlier road. The route went through Dayton and Morgantown. "Morganton Cross Roads" is shown on the 1832 Matthew Rhea map in this same area, and the 1839 postal route map shows "Smith's Cross Roads." From Morgantown the route went south and west of Dutchman's Knob toward Cumberland Spring as it ascended Walden's Ridge. An early 20th century version of this road is shown on a 1909 15' series Sequatchie Valley quad map (USGS, 1909). The route followed part of what is now the Ogden Road then what is now a private farm access road over to what is now Manning Road. Manning Road goes westward to the county line. The road becomes a gravel road and continues westward becoming a private farm road and ending above Lloyd Gap.

The old road through Lloyd Gap is shown on the 1909 Sequatchie Valley quad map (USGS, 1909), though the more recent version of the quad map shows the road as simply a trail. The route crossed the Sequatchie Valley about four miles south of Pikeville, crossing the Sequatchie River at what is shown as Hembree Mill on the 1909 quad. Little archival information concerning this mill has been found, but remains of the millrace and buildings are still visible. It is not known if there was

a mill at this location in 1838, but mills often became crossing places on rivers. Hembree Mill is not shown on the 1895 Pikeville quad (USGS, 1895) but there is a road leading to the river at this point on the west side of the river (the mill being on the east side). The 1935 Pikeville quad (USGS, 1935) shows "Hembree Ford" at the mill location. The route continued through Lee's Station where it ascended the escarpment to the Cumberland Plateau on what was Higgenbotham's Trace. The route passed to the south side of Tucker Knob and passed Rainey Cemetery. At Old Cumberland the road is close to Hill's Trace to the south, an alternate route that may have been used by some of the detachments. This may have been a place where travelers could cross from one road to the other. From here the route of Higgenbothem's Trace went to the northwest, crossing Fox Thicket Creek south of Wright Mountain. The route passed into Van Buren County just north of Hitchcox Cemetery.

In Van Buren County the route passed south of Smartt Mountain and north of Hillis Mountain. Today there are trails and unimproved roads that are segments of the Higgenbotham Turnpike. The route continued to the west crossing State Route 111 and then crossing the Rocky River and passing Pleasant Hill Cemetery. Staying south of the Harper Branch of Rocky River, the route entered Warren County and crossed Dyer Gulch Creek. The old road just north of State Route 8 approaching the Collins River is probably a remnant of the Higgenbotham Turnpike. After crossing the Collins River the route stayed north of State Route 8, passing the Higgenbothom Cemetery before crossing the Barren Fork into McMinnville.

A possible alternate route to the Higgenbotham Trace was Hill's/Savage Turnpike. The two roads across the Cumberland Plateau had apparently been established well before the 1838 removal of the Cherokees. An 1813 deed for Aaron Higganbothem's land on the Collins River near McMinnville (Warren County) mentions a "Sequatchie Road" and a road from McMinnville to Sequatchie valley is mentioned in an 1814 land grant on the Rocky River (Van Buren County). William Rainey and Peter Hoodenpyle received a charter in 1817 for a turnpike road from Pikeville to McMinnville, and the western portion of this road was called Higganbothem's Trace. An 1820 Legislative act indicates that there were two roads from Sequatchie Valley in Bledsoe County to McMinnville in Warren County and that they met on Cumberland Mountain. In 1821 William Rainey established what became known as Hill's Road when he was authorized to create a road from his turnpike at Brush Creek to the foot of the mountain near Benjamin Hill's in Warren County. Another charter was granted in 1824 for part of Rainey's Road From Cumberland Mountain to Sequatchie Valley, thus releasing Rainey from his obligation to that section of the road. In 1826 a charter was granted to Jesse Savage and Benjamin Cannon for a turnpike on Hill's Road from Benjamin Hill's (Warren County) to the foot of the mountain in Bledsoe County, and Hill's Road became Savage's Turnpike. In the following year they altered the road from the headwaters of Hill's Creek in Warren County to what was called the "Big Opening"

near the present boundary of Van Buren and Sequatchie County (Medley 1987:113-114).

From McMinnville the route followed the basic route of Highway 70S. On the west side of McMinnville, the State Route 55 bypass has severely impacted the roads. Just beyond the town there is an older section of road on the north side of Highway 70S. Part of this road is still in use as a secondary road, but much of it is closed off. The route was close to present-day Highway 70S through the rest of Warren County and into Cannon County. There is a well-preserved segment of road on the north side of the highway in the Community of Leoni. This section, shown in Figure 5 (Appendix B), is a shallow sunken road lined with large cedar trees. A property line fence runs down the center of this road segment. It is very close to the modern road. As Highway 70 descends into the valley of the East Fork of the Stones River, it winds along a ridge on the northeast side of Hill Creek. The road has been straightened over the years leaving several cutoff sections. Some of these are now used to access houses, churches, farms, or microwave/cell towers, while other sections are simply abandoned. A 1909 (1939 reprint) edition of the 15' series Woodbury quad (USGS, 1939) shows the McMinnville Road that predates Highway 70. From Woodbury the route again followed the present course of Highway 70 to Readyville.

Reverend Daniel Butrick states in his journal that he and his wife rode ahead of the detachment (Taylor's [Eleventh] Detachment) on November 14, 1838 and went to a store in Woodbury to buy oilcloth for the top of his carryall. They returned to the camps, which were apparently near Woodbury, as Butrick stated that on the 15th the detachment went six miles and "camped near the Stones River, having crossed that river four times" (Butrick 1839:45). The road today still crosses the river four times between Woodbury and Readyville, and this next encampment was apparently on the west side of the Stones River at Readyville. Cannon's party in 1837 camped at the Stone's River "near Woodbury" (Cannon 1837:37).

From Readyville there may have been two routes through Rutherford County. One of these went westward through Murfreesboro then northward towards Nashville, while the other may have bypassed Murfreesboro by going through Jefferson.

An examination of the 1832 Matthew Rhea map leads to the conclusion that the route through Murfreesboro began by going from Readyville around the north side of Pilot Knob on what is now Wilson Hill Road. On the west side of Pilot Knob, the route probably went west to the Kittrell Community. From Kittrell the route appears to have followed the present day alignment of the Woodbury Road, which becomes East Main Street in Murfreesboro. Having passed through Murfreesboro the route turned to the northwest following what is today called Old Nashville Pike. Old Nashville Pike merges with Highway 70 (Murfreesboro Road) in La Vergne just

south of Hurricane Creek. This creek is the boundary between Rutherford and Davidson Counties at this point.

King (1999:Section 1, p. 23-26) asserts that it is likely that four detachments used the alternate route through Jefferson to avoid several tolls. Evan Jones wrote to John Ross from McMinnville on October 27th complaining that his detachment had paid high tolls thus far and would "avoid several gates on the road to Nashville" (Moulton 1985a:686). King surmises that Jones' Detachment and probably that of Bushyhead, which was traveling with Jones' Detachment, took the road through Jefferson to bypass several tollbooths in Murfreesboro (King 1999:Section 1, p. 23-26). In a November 12, 1838 letter to Winfield Scott, John Ross says that Theodore Johnson, an employee of Lewis Ross, returned to the Agency area from Nashville. On his way Johnson passed several of the detachments. Johnson met Evan Jones (who had replaced Situakee) [Fifth Detachment] and Jesse Bushyhead [Third Detachment] in Nashville. Their detachments had moved just north of town. Captain Old Fields [Sixth Detachment] was "west of Old Jefferson," and Moses Daniel [Seventh Detachment] was four miles in the rear. James Brown [Ninth Detachment] was eight miles west of Woodbury, J. D. Wofford, assistant to Choowalooka [Eighth Detachment], was at the Collins River six miles from McMinnville, and George Hicks [Tenth Detachment] was on Walden's Ridge (Moulton 1985a:691-693). The proximity of the Sixth and Seventh Detachments to Jefferson may indicate that they had taken this alternate route (King 1999:Section, p. 25)

Those detachments that did use the alternate route through Jefferson would have followed what is now Blevins Hill Road to the northwest staying on the south side of the East Fork of the Stones River. The route probably followed closely to present day Halls Mill Road through Halls Mill and Sharpsville, then followed the Sharpsville Road to Compton. From here the route followed what is now Compton Road (also called Veterans Hospital Road) through the area where the Veterans' Hospital is now located, possibly passing north of the present hospital site. The route probably followed closely to the river passing Providence Church and followed the present course of Central Valley Road to the town of Old Jefferson, now inundated by the J. Percy Priest Lake. The route crossed the river here and went westward through an area impacted by the Smyrna Airport. West of the airport the route followed what is now called Jefferson Pike, joining the main route on the Old Nashville Pike.

The Davidson County portion of the main overland route follows highway 70 (Murfreesboro Road) into Nashville where the road becomes Lafayette Street. The route probably follows Market Street (Second Avenue) to the bridge that was just south of the present day Woodland Street Bridge. B. B. Cannon states that his party crossed the Cumberland River on the Nashville toll bridge on October 27, 1837 (Cannon 1837:37). After crossing the Cumberland River the route turned northward around what is now North First Street to Whites Creek Pike (Highway

431). The route followed Whites Creek Pike northward through the valley of Whites Creek and Earthman's Fork passing through present day Joelton. The route veered westward from White's Creek Pike near the county line and crossed Long Creek into Cheatham County. Cannon's party camped on Long Creek on October 29, 1837 (Cannon 1837:38). At the time of the removal, Cheatham was part of Davidson County.

On November 15, 1838, Thomas Clark wrote to John Ross from Nashville concerning supplies for the detachments (Moulton 1985a:693-694). Clark told Ross that the detachments were too crowded at Nashville and he was trying to supply them quickly and get them moving again. Clark also stated that Moses Daniel's (Seventh Detachment) camp was six miles west of Nashville and that James Brown's (Ninth Detachment) was camped on "Mill Creek 4 miles East" (Moulton 1985a:694). Taylor's (Eleventh) Detachment camped within four miles of Nashville on November 20, 1838, which would put them in the vicinity of Mill Creek. They apparently stayed there until November 26 when they passed through Nashville and made camp four miles past the city (Butrick 1839:46-47).

The portion of the route that passed through what is now Cheatham County started at Long Creek on the county line, and ran about one-half mile to a ford on Sycamore Creek. This creek now forms the boundary between Cheatham and Robertson Counties. In Robertson County the route followed what is now Martin Chapel Road to Coopertown road and passed through Coopertown. From here the route followed the Burgess Gower Road to the northwest to Charlie Maxie Road at Turnersville. Turnersville is at the confluence of Millers Creek and Honey Run Creek. The route from Turnersville followed Ed Ross Road to a point where the route followed what is now a private farm access road, cut off from the main road. This farm road is a well-preserved segment of the older road. The route then followed Toby Darden Road to the Montgomery County line. There is a small preserved segment of road near Harmony Church on Toby Darden Road. A segment of the old road is shown in Figure 6 (Appendix B).

In Montgomery County Toby Darden Road becomes Stroudville Road (State Route 76). An older section of road runs to the northwest along a tree line and merges with the Port Royal Road (State Route 238). The route crossed the Red River at Port Royal. B. B. Cannon's voluntary removal party camped at "Little Red River," having traveled 18 1/2 miles from Long Creek (Cannon 1837:38). Elijah Hicks, conductor of the Second Detachment, wrote to Principal Chief John Ross from Port Royal (on the Red River) on October 24, 1838, stating that they would be leaving in the morning (Moulton 1985a:684). From Port Royal the route followed Port Royal road to the Kentucky State Line west of Guthrie, Kentucky.

Bell's Route

John Bell led one detachment from the Agency area westward across the southern part of Tennessee to Memphis and then to Indian Territory. His party consisted of about 650-700 Cherokees who supported the removal treaty and were therefore opposed to John Ross. Bell's detachment also differed from the Ross allied parties in that it had a military escort. Lieutenant Edward Deas, who had earlier led a party by river, commanded the Bell Detachment's military escort. The Bell Detachment took a more direct route than did the Ross allied parties, possibly to avoid conflict with those groups, since there was great friction between the two factions (Hoig 1996:83,102).

Prior to departure some of the other conductors complained to John Ross that John Bell and his followers were causing discord among Ross's supporters. Several of the conductors and their assistants of the Ross allied detachments wrote to John Ross on October 1, 1838 to inform him that members of the Bell party were "sending Emissaries into our camps for the purpose of retarding the Emigration and if possible to produce division in our ranks" (Moulton 1985a:675). The letter further claimed that the members of the Bell party told the Ross allied detachments that if they joined the Bell Detachment they would receive land in the new territory and money. If they stayed with Ross they would get no land, and Ross would get part of their money. Ross brought the matter to the attention of Winfield Scott in a letter dated October 6, 1838 in which he stated that John Bell, William Boling, and their associates had been causing dissention among the other detachments (Moulton 1985a:678-679). Ross said that he had verbally complained about the matter more than once before, and he wanted clarification as to whether the Bell Party was under the jurisdiction of the Cherokee Nation or the United States government.

One excellent source of information concerning the Bell Detachment comes from the vouchers issued by Lieutenant Edward Deas for supplies and expenses incurred along the route (King 1999: Section 1, 113-118). It is important to note, however, that supply parties could have gone away from the detachment route to buy supplies, so a voucher issued in a specific location may not necessarily indicate that the detachment passed that way. They are good indicators of the approximate route of the party, and in cases where money was issued for ferry crossings, the vouchers do indicate a specific location. It also seems unlikely that those responsible for collecting supplies would have gone too far off the main route.

The Bell detachment left the Cherokee Agency Area on October 11, 1838 and traveled southward. The 1832 Matthew Rhea map shows a road running from the Hiwassee River where the Cherokee Agency was located toward what is now Cleveland. Rhea's map shows "Walker's" in the vicinity of present day Cleveland, and this could refer to the John Walker, Jr. farmstead (Tennessee archaeological site number 40BY39). The road is approximately where the Lee Highway is today, but a possible alternative near the beginning of the route is the Walker Valley Road that runs southward along Little South Mouse Creek. The beginning point of this

route depends on the encampment location for the Bell Detachment, which is currently unknown. Lee Highway becomes Ocoee Street in Cleveland. The route probably followed Highway 64 through Payne Gap in Candies Creek Ridge and through the town of McDonald to Hamilton County.

Highway 64 (Lee Highway) is approximately in the same location as the road probably used by the Bell detachment. The route ran through the Brainerd area of present-day Chattanooga where the Brainerd mission was located. The route passed through what is now downtown Chattanooga to Ross's Landing on the Tennessee River where the Detachment crossed to the north side. Lieutenant Deas issued pay vouchers to Samuel Hamill on October 17 and 18 for ferry crossing fees at Ross's Landing (King 199:Section 1, 114). Deas wrote to General Winfield Scott on October 18 to inform him of the unwillingness of the Cherokees to continue the journey due to the absence of John Bell (King 1999:Section 1, 113). Deas had been ferrying the party for two days, and he stated that unless Bell returned soon to hurry the party along, he might have to use force to get the detachment going again. Scott ordered the 3rd artillery to aid Deas, but Deas wrote from his encampment at Kelley's Ferry on the 21st that assistance would not be needed (King 1999:Section 1, 86). The party paid William Hixon for ferriage across the Tennessee at Brown's Ferry. Though the Matthew Rhea map shows the road going around the toe of Moccasin Bend, it is likely that the detachment traveled straight across the bend to the next ferry. From here the detachment would have followed what is now the Brown's Ferry Road southward, probably to the Tiftonia area where the route probably followed the Kelly's Ferry Road toward Kelly's Ferry. The Kelly's Ferry Road runs back into Highway 64 before passing into Marion County.

The Bell Detachment crossed the Tennessee River a third time at Kelly's Ferry (recorded in the Tennessee Division of Archaeology site file as 40MI222) on October 21, 1838 where Lieutenant Deas issued a voucher to John Kelley for the ferriage (King 1999:Section 1, p. 114). The Matthew Rhea map shows the road from the Kelly's Ferry area (the ferry is not labeled on the map) staying near the river until it reaches Miller's Creek, now called Mullen's Creek. From there the road goes west to Jasper then turns to the southwest. The current road running from Kelly's Ferry to Mullen's Creek has probably not changed location significantly from the 1838 road due to the restriction of the terrain in the area. The road follows the Tennessee River and is at the toe of Hicks Mountain at the end of Walden's Ridge.

The route followed the East Valley Road into Jasper where it again followed present-day Lee Highway (Highway 64) southwestward around the toe of the Cumberland Mountain. Deas issued pay vouchers at the head of Battle Creek on October 23 and 24, then on Cumberland Mountain on October 25, and in Coffee County on the 26th (King 1999: Section 1, p. 114). This suggests that the detachment was traveling up Battle Creek to ascend Cumberland Mountain near Monteagle. The route probably followed near the present Highway 64, but there are several cutoff sections of the older road on the east side of the present highway between the southern end of Cumberland Mountain and Big Fiery Gizzard Creek.

The route splits from Highway 64 at the mouth of Cave Cove. An older road goes up this cove and at one time ascended the mountain on the west side of the cove where it joined what is now Trussell Road on the south side of Monteagle. The pay voucher that Deas issued on Cumberland Mountain was to Benjamin Trussell. There is a Trussell Cemetery near the road.

From Monteagle the route may have followed present-day Highway 41 northward into Coffee County. The older road deviates from Highway 41 just south of Hillsboro then rejoins the main road. Deas issued pay vouchers in Coffee County on October 26, 1838. At that time the boundary between Coffee and Franklin Counties (Grundy was not created until 1844) was just on the south side of the town of Hillsboro. The 1839 map of postal routes in Tennessee shows a main road running from Marion County through Pelham and Pleasant Plains to Hillsboro. There is also a main road from Hillsboro to Winchester. It is possible that the Bell Detachment followed this main road to Hillsboro before turning southward to Winchester in Franklin County. The Matthew Rhea map of 1832 shows these roads also, but at that time Hillsboro was called Pond Spring and Coffee County had not been created.

The route probably followed what is now State Route 127 into Winchester then joined Highway 64 going west. There are several older segments of the road along Highway 64 south of Winchester including the Old Huntsville Road and Crouch Lane. There is an oral tradition in the area that the Cherokees camped at Rattlesnake Springs near Salem. Lieutenant Deas issued a pay voucher at Salem on October 28. Just west of Salem, the road crosses Beans Creek, and there is a wide area in the creek on the north side of the present day highway that would have been a likely location to ford the creek. The Peter Simmons House, listed on the National Register of Historic Places, is located south of the existing road on the east side of Beans Creek. Built in 1820, the Simmons house served as a stagecoach stop, and travelers camped below the house on Bean's Creek (Hammerquist 1976). Up the hill on the west side of the creek, there is a well-preserved segment of road (Figures 7 and 8 in Appendix B). It is a sunken dirt road lined with trees located at the top of a hill at Knoer Lane. From here the road would have joined what is now Lee Road, which is currently used mainly as a farm access road. The route went south to Branchville and followed present day Highway 64 into Lincoln County.

The older road used by the Cherokees may be represented by existing roads south of Highway 64 in Lincoln County. It seems likely that Snow Road and Golden Hollow Road represent fragments of what was once the main road from the Salem area into Fayetteville, shown on the Matthew Rhea map. Comparisons between modern topographic quad maps and the Rhea map show that the road crossed the Elk River on the bend west of where Highway 64 now crosses. The 1982 topographic quad for this area shows an unimproved road leading to the river where Chennault Ford is labeled. There is currently no ford there, but the road is still used as a farm access road. From the river the old road crosses Highway 64 at

Buchanan Crossing and parallels the Highway before entering downtown Fayetteville on Mulberry Ave.

On the west side of Fayetteville, the Boonshill Road is a remnant of the older road. The 1839 Postal Route map shows the Boonshill community on the road from Fayetteville to Pulaski. The Boonshill Road crosses Cane Creek and roughly parallels Highway 64, eventually becoming Hughey Road. At one time the road crossed Swan Creek at about one mile east of Boonshill. An old bridge, no longer in use, still stands at the road crossing, but there is also a broad flat area that was probably an earlier ford about 100 yards east of the bridge at a bend in Swan Creek. It is likely that this ford is where the road crossed the creek during the Removal period. From Boonshill the road, called Red Oak Road veers away from Highway 64 going northwest to the Red Oak Community. There is a well-preserved road segment about one mile west of Boonshill. Beyond Red Oak the road follows the East Fork of Bradshaw Creek to the Center Point Community in Giles County.

From Center Point the Center Point Road, also called Old Highway 15, follows Little Bradshaw Creek through Beech Hill (where the old road goes under Interstate 65). The road continues through the Friendship Community and then down Buchanan Creek for less than two miles. The road turns westward passing Big Henry Hill, Leatherwood Creek, and Abernathy Hill before entering Pulaski on Jefferson Street. It is clear from the early maps that the old road crossed to the south side of Richland Creek at Pulaski somewhere near what is now Mill Street. Vales Mill Road is probably the remnant of this earlier road. The road becomes Agnew Road, crossing Agnew Creek. Here the route appears to have followed Puryear Road along Puryear Creek toward Highway 64 about one mile southwest of Bodenham. Then route followed Choate Creek Road along Choate Creek into Lawrence County. The old road is now broken up into remnants, parts of which include Bonee Road, Norton Road, and Gimlet Road. Gimlet Road then joins Highway 64 entering Lawrenceburg.

The route again diverged from Highway 64 in Lawrenceburg, following the road through the square then crossing Shoal Creek. From here the old route does not appear to deviate from the current course of Highway 64 into Wayne County. There are old segments of "Old Highway 15" beginning about three miles east of Fortyeight Creek. This older road segment dips south of the current highway. There is also an older segment where the road crosses Fortyeight Creek. Two miles west of Fortyeight Creek the route followed State Route 99 through Fourmile Board Hill then along Barlow Branch into Waynesboro.

From Waynesboro the road follows Highway 64 (there have been some recent changes to 64 near Waynesboro) into Hardin County. There are several older segments of the highway from about one mile east of Olivehill. Here the road deviates to the north at Forge Ridge before crossing Indian Creek. The cutoff sections resulting from the straightening of the highway can be seen for the next few miles. The old road deviates to the south at Boon Creek about halfway between

Olivehill and Savannah. Here the route followed Burnt Church Road to Old Town Road. The current road becomes a trail as it crosses Turkey Creek, and much of the road is gone between here and Savannah. The route entered Savannah and again followed Highway 64 through the town. The ferry crossing was north of the current bridge over the Tennessee River. The route then followed closely the current route of Highway 64 through Crump and into Adamsville in McNairy County.

West of Adamsville the route followed Hickory Flats Road to the Old Stage Road then to Purdy. The route went west from Purdy following what is now an unimproved road and trail past the Purdy Cemetery and South of the Chapel Hill Cemetery to join the Bethel-Purdy Road. The road passes through Bethel Springs and follows Joe Kirby Road and Thurman Shelton Road to the Rose Creek Community. It is clear from the Matthew Rhea map that the old road turned westward to cross Rose Creek and run along the north side of Little Hatchie Creek. Some of the roads in the area are probably fragments of the original road. The route crosses into Hardeman County where is follows Powell Chapel Road. A 1916 Tennessee Geological Survey map of McNairy County shows the road as described here (Tennessee Geological Survey, 1916).

The Powell Chapel Road passes the former location of a town called Crainsville. This town is shown on a 1923 Tennessee Division of Geology map (Tennessee Division of Geology, 1923) that shows the road passing through Crainsville and Hornsby. From Hornsby the route followed McClintock Road then fragments of unimproved road to the Hornsby Road. This road runs westward to the Hatchie River. An 1835 District Map of Hardeman County (Crisp 1835) shows this road as the "Stage Road to Purdy," and it crosses the Hatchie River at a bridge (the name of the bridge is illegible-possibly "Mills Ho. Bridge"). The 1923 Division of Geology map shows it as Statlers Bridge. On November 16, 1838 Lieutenant Deas issued a pay voucher to Miller and Borkston for ferriage of the Hatchie River and adjacent swamps. If the bridge shown on the 1835 map was still there in 1838, it may have been inadequate for the passage of the detachment's wagons, thus requiring a ferry. The old road crossed through the swampy areas to connect with what is now Breedon Road and entered Bolivar.

The route followed the Bolivar-Somerville Road westward to about one mile east of the Fayette County line. Here the route followed Stewart Road. Along Stewart Road there is a very well preserved section of old road. This section is a sunken dirt road near the junction of Stewart Road and Old Whiteville Road (Figure 9, Appendix B). The route followed Stewart Road into Fayette County to Herron Drive, then Armour Drive, Then Rehobeth Road until it joined current Highway 64 and entered Somerville. From Somerville there is little variance from Highway 64 into Shelby County through Bartlett on Stage Road, then crossing the Wolf River at Raleigh near what is now State Route 14 into Memphis.

The Bell Detachment reached Memphis on November 22, 1838, and by the 25th they had ferried the Mississippi River to continue their journey through

Arkansas. Their trek through Tennessee had lasted 42 days. The Bell detachment reached the Indian Territory in January 1839.

Benge's Route

The Ross allied detachment led by John Benge began its journey from Wills Valley, eight miles south of Fort Payne, Alabama. Little is known about the route that Benge took, but there are a few references that reveal some of the points along the route. The references will be detailed below, but in short, the Benge party is known to have passed through Huntsville and Gunter's Landing in Alabama and Reynoldsburg Landing on the Tennessee River in Tennessee, and probably Columbia, Missouri. By examining the roads that connected these locations using period maps, it is possible to reconstruct the most likely route that the Benge detachment used to pass through Tennessee.

John Benge, George C. Lowry, and George Lowrey wrote to John Ross on September 29, 1838 from Wills Valley, south of Fort Payne, Alabama (Moulton 1985a:673-674). They estimated that two-thirds of their detachment "are in destitute condition and in want of shoes Clothing and Blankets." The issuing agent at Fort Payne had told them that he would not issue any rations after the first of October. Because of this Benge had started his detachment moving September 29. He requested that supplies or money for supplies be sent to meet the detachment on the road near Huntsville. The detachment contained 1,090 people, and three more families were expected to join them (Moulton 1985a:673-674).

Lieutenant R. Poole reported to General Winfield Scott on October 11th that the Benge detachment had left its camps eight miles below Fort Payne on the 4th and was within 14 miles of Gunter's Landing (on the Tennessee River) on the 7th (King 1999: Section 1, p. 79). After crossing the Tennessee River at Gunter's Landing then passing though Huntsville, the most likely route would have the Benge Detachment entering Tennessee at Ardmore in Giles County. Based on the configuration of the roads on the 1832 Matthew Rhea Map, the old road followed the course of present day Highway 31 (Bee Line Highway). On the south side of the Elk River opposite Elkton, there is a section of "Old Highway 31" on the west side of the current road. The older river crossing is on the east side of the existing bridge, but it is not known if the 1838 crossing would have been at this point. The route passed through Elkton and merged with Highway 31 again, but one-half mile farther the route probably followed what is now called "Old Stage Road." This road is unimproved and very rough, and it goes to the top of the hill where it is on private property. A similar road on the other side of the hill is the continuation of the road. Here the route followed Highway 31 again. There is a small segment of older road at Ephesus Church. The route entered Pulaski and probably crossed to the south side of Richland Creek at what is now Mill Street.

The route out of Pulaski followed the same path that the Bell Detachment would use a few days later. The route followed Vales Mill Road westward but then

turned to the north following Mt. Moriah Road. The route followed Dry Creek Road along Dry Creek and passed through Campbellsville, then up the valley of Brownlow Creek to the Elk Ridge and into Maury County.

The Matthew Rhea map shows a road following Sugar Creek into Mount Pleasant, and the 1839 Postal Route Map also shows a direct road from Mount Pleasant to Centerville. Rhea shows part of the Mount Pleasant to Centerville Road. State Route 166 follows Sugar Creek into Mount Pleasant. The route probably diverged from the modern road at what is now Arrow Lake, and went northward to Frierson Town. Strip mining has obliterated most of this road. The old road probably turned westward and went through the center of Mount Pleasant and crosses Big Bigby Creek at Needmore. Here the old road turned northward and followed the creek to the mouth of Camp Branch. The remnants of the old road are still visible. The route then followed Gibson Hollow Road northward to Roy Thompson Road in Thompson Hollow. The route then followed Fred Kennedy Road south of Bingham Hill to Isom. An unimproved road and a path mark the route through Kennedy Hollow to the She Boss community where the route crossed the Natchez Trace and passed into Hickman County.

The route follows Blue Buck Creek Road up the valley of Blue Buck Creek to Swan Creek. It then follows Swan Creek Road and crosses Highway 50 to follow "Old Highway 50" into Centerville. The route probably crossed the Duck River on the north side of Centerville where there currently is no means of crossing. The route follows Old State Route 48 from the river northward to where it joins Switch Road. The route then follows Dodd Hollow Road across the Piney River then up Rockfield Road to State route 230. State Route 230 goes westward through Spot, and a straightening of the road has left several small cutoff segments in the area. After Crossing Interstate 40 at Furnace, State Route 230 turns northward following Spence Hollow into Humphreys County.

State Route 230 continues northward in Humphreys County, following Tanyard Branch across Tumbling Creek then through Forsee Hollow and Bissell Hollow. The road crosses Hurricane Creek and continues northward merging with State Route 13 before entering Waverly. From Waverly the route followed Highway 70 westward along Trace Creek then turned north to follow a road running along Dry Creek to Reynoldsburg Landing. A segment of road near Reynoldsburg is shown in Figure 10 (Appendix B).

Chief John Ross wrote to General Winfield Scott on November 12, 1838, and he mentioned in his letter that he had heard from Theodore Johnson who had met Benge's Detachment near Reynoldsburg Landing (Moulton 1985a:691-692). Johnson was on business from Lewis Ross to meet Col. Colburn, the contractor supplying the Benge Party. Ross says that Johnson reported to him that the Benge detachment was crossing the Tennessee River at Reynoldsburg Landing on November 3, 1838. Benge's Party seemed to be suffering more sickness than other detachments.

The site of the town of Reynoldsburg is now covered with factories, and some of the area, including the river landing has been inundated by Kentucky Lake. Both the Matthew Rhea map and the Postal Route map show a road running from opposite Reynoldsburg Landing directly to Paris. This road probably went up Chester Hollow north of Pilot Knob on the Benton County side of the Tennessee River. The road joins Pilot Knob Road and then follows the Eva-Flatwoods road to the northwest. The road becomes the Rushing Creek Road then the Reynoldsburg Road. A 1941 topographic map of the area around Bain (formerly Wyly) shows the older road past Bain on the north side of the current Highway 641. The road crosses the Big Sandy River into Henry County then crosses to the south side of 641. The Reynoldsburg Road merges with State Route 77 and enters Paris. Beyond Paris the route probably follows the Jones Bend Road past the New Boston community and then follows the New Boston Road to Cox Road and into Weakley County. From here the route, though highly speculative, probably follows State Route 190 to the northwest then follows Hope Church road to where it probably once crossed the Obion River. North of the Obion River the route probably went through the town of Dukedom into Kentucky.

Taylor's and Brown's Route

Richard Taylor and James Brown led detachments of Cherokees in 1838, but their beginning point was from camps in the vicinity of Ross's Landing. These camps were located four miles above Ross's Landing in the area south of South Chickamauga Creek. Today this area has been extensively impacted by industrial development. Besides Taylor and Brown's detachments, it is evident that three detachments taking the river route used these camps. On September 16, 1838 Colonel William Gates of the 3rd Artillery stationed at Missionary Hill wrote to Captain Robert Anderson stating that 1,390 Cherokees and 218 Creek Indians (these were Creeks who had been accepted into the Cherokee Nation) had drawn rations on the previous day and had left for a new camp eight miles away (King 1999:Section 1, p. 75). The Creeks were leaving for Blythe's Ferry the next day to join Elijah Hicks Detachment. The new Cherokee camp was in the vicinity of Joseph Vann's plantation near Harrison on the Tennessee River, a town now inundated by Chickamauga Lake, at the mouth of Ooltewah Creek. Reverend Daniel S. Butrick, who accompanied Taylor's Detachment, stated in his journal on October 4, 1838 that he "left Brainerd for the Cherokee Camps, near Mr. Vanns" (Butrick 1839:36). Colonel Gates wrote again to Captain Anderson on September 30 that there were 70 "dog huts...in which the Cherokee have been quartered - near us." He also stated that on November 1, 1838 they would become private property (King 1999:Section 1, p. 75). John Young wrote to General Winfield Scott on October 1, 1838 and informed the general that "the original number of Indians at this Post before Brown and Taylor commenced organizing their camps was 2,000 of this number 300 were Creek Indians" (King 1999:Section 1, p. 75). Young goes on to say that many of the Indians had been dispersed to other detachments leaving 1,100 in Brown's and Taylor's Detachments.

Taylor's Detachment departed from the camps near Vann's Plantation on November 1, 1838 and crossed the Tennessee River. The 1832 Matthew Rhea map does not indicate a ferry in the vicinity, but it does show a road crossing the Tennessee River north of an island in the river near Dallas, a town on the west side of the river. An 1862 Civil War map (U. S. Topographical Engineers 1862) shows a Nelson's Ferry on the north side of Harrison at Ooltewah Creek (now called Wolftever Creek). This map also shows a ford on the north side of the island at Dallas, a ford at Harrison, and one below Harrison. Taylor's Detachment was using a ferry, and Butrick (1839:42) states that "one waggon (sic) with five horses, came within a hairs breadth, almost, of sinking, the water coming within about an inch of the top of the gunnels at one corner." The gunnel, also called gunwale or gunwhale, is the part of a boat where the topsides meet the upper deck, or on a small boat the gunnel is the upper edge of the side of the boat. Butrick stated that the road "ran on a side hill" (Butrick 1839:42). He explained that this narrow road was formerly located at the foot of the hill, but the land owner had "turned it on the side." This road is probably what is today the Gold Point Circle Road that runs along Big Ridge. The Rhea map show a road going from Dallas to the north - south road running along Walden's Ridge probably intersecting with that road in the area that is now Soddy. The map shows "Sauda" Creek now known as Soddy Creek. The 1862 Civil War map shows this same road as well as one going from opposite Harrison to just south of Poe's Tavern where the town of Daisy is today. Butrick (1893:42) stated that when they left their camps before crossing the river, they had 10 miles to go to reach Walden's Ridge, and the next morning they still had six miles to go. The four miles traveled after crossing the river may indicate that the detachment camped near Dallas. Dallas is no longer a town, and the presumed route goes through the site of Dallas on Hixson Road and Dallas Hollow Road, then went to Daisy on Ridge Trail Road. From Daisy the route ascended Walden's Ridge on what is now Daisy Mountain Road. Butrick (1839:42) wrote in his journal the detachment ascended Walden's Ridge on November 5, 1839 and that they traveled eight miles and camped near a farmhouse on the mountain. They obtained provisions from this farm, and the farmer also sold whiskey to the Cherokees after promising Taylor and Butrick that he would not. The route follows Mowbray Road to The Huckleberry Community where it then follows Poe Road. This was once Poe's Trace, which led across the ridge. Poe Road becomes Henson Gap Road at the Sequatchie County Line (Sequatchie County was created in 1857 from Hamilton County).

From the county line the route follows Henson Gap Road, where Poe Road and Mowbray Road converge, to Henson Gap where the road descends from the ridge into Sequatchie Valley. Reverend Daniel Butrick, a missionary who accompanied Taylor's Detachment, referred to the Sequatchie Valley as "the Vale of Sodom" (Butrick 1839:43). he felt that the people here were "wicked exceedingly" as they gathered around the Cherokee camps to sell liquor to the Indians. The route crosses the Sequatchie Valley near Dunlap and ascends the Cumberland Plateau on Fredonia Road, which then proceed northwestward to an intersection

with Artillery Road (State Route 399). The route proceeds northwestward and follows what are now fragments of trails and unimproved roads until the route intersects with what was Savage Turnpike at the Van Buren County line. From here the detachment probably followed the Savage Turnpike into Warren County and then turned northward toward McMinnville where they followed the Northern Route described above.

Drane's Route

Of the four detachments that traveled by river, three began from Cherokee encampments four miles up river from Ross's Landing. These three detachments were composed mainly of Georgia Cherokees, and military escorts accompanied them. The commanders of these three detachments, in order of their departure, were Lieutenant Edward Deas, Lieutenant R. H. K. Whitely, and Captain G. S. Drane (King 1999:Section 1, p. 58,71). Due to a drought the Tennessee River was low, so Captain Drane's detachment traveled overland to Waterloo, Alabama to board boats for the remainder of their journey. The group left the camps above Ross's Landing on June 17, 1838. A large portion of this detachment's route is the same as that later used by the Bell Party, which departed from the Cherokee Agency area. The general area in which the Cherokees were concentrated after their expulsion from Georgia is located four miles above Ross's Landing. This area is south of South Chickamauga Creek and has been extensively altered by industrial development. Neither the 1832 Matthew Rhea map or the 1839 Postal Routes map show a road in the vicinity. The only road shown on these two maps is the road from Brainerd to Ross's Landing. The 1862 map drawn for the U. S. Army during the Civil War shows a road from Chattanooga to Harrison, and this road would have passed through the area that had been used in 1838 for the Cherokee camps. The modern day ancestor of this early road may be Riverside Drive. This relatively short segment of road is the presumed route of Drane's detachment from its camps to where it crossed the Tennessee River at Ross's Landing.

The Drane Detachment probably followed part of the course that the Bell Detachment would later use (described in an earlier section) from Ross's Landing to west of Jasper. Near the community of Kimball, the Drane party turned southward following what is now the route of Highway 72. They continued southward to the state line and into Alabama. This road is shown on the 1832 Matthew Rhea map, the 1839 Postal Route map, and the 1862 Civil War map.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS RELATED TO THE TRAIL OF TEARS

The Tennessee Division of Archaeology approached the project concerning the Trail of Tears from an archaeological perspective, including a desire to evaluate the archaeological potential of various types of sites related to the removal. Examples of sites related to the Cherokee Removal include the military posts in which the Cherokees were held prior to removal, the forts and camps for military personnel, the sites of the Cherokee Agency, the road segments that represent surviving portions of the routes used for removal, encampment sites along the routes, and burial places of those who died during the removal process. The archaeological potential varies with each of these types of sites.

The Cherokee camps and military posts occupied during the roundup and detainment period in 1838 probably have the highest potential for archaeological remains. Recorded sites of military posts include Fort Cass, Fort Foster, and Fort Marr/Morrow. Though the site of Fort Cass in Charleston has been impacted by modern growth and shows little archaeological potential, the sites of Fort Foster and Fort Marr/Morrow are located in more rural areas and may still retain intact subsurface features that would yield information on those posts. The general location of the Cherokee camps is known, but not enough specific locational information was found during the survey to record these sites. Several are in rural areas, and the sites may retain archaeological information. The potential archaeological information for both the military posts and Cherokee camps could include remnants or outlines of structures related to the sites (buildings, palisade walls), buried trash pits and latrines, and some artifacts. Presumably Cherokee artifacts from these sites would be common domestic items dating to the removal period, while military sites might yield artifacts specific to the U. S. military at this time. It is important to remember, however, that some of the posts were garrisoned by state militia whose accoutrements were largely civilian in nature.

As discussed earlier, the Cherokee Agency had four different locations throughout its history. The first location, Fort Southwest Point, has been extensively investigated, and the results reported (Smith 1993). The second location of the Agency was Hiwassee Garrison, which has had no formal archaeological investigation. The third site, recorded during this survey project, appears to be partially submerged by the inundation of the Hiwassee River, but there may be some potential for archaeological remains at the site. The fourth and final site adjoins the site for Fort Cass in Charleston. Like Fort Cass, the final Cherokee Agency location has been impacted by urban growth and has little potential for archaeological remains.

No burials were recorded by this survey. Many Cherokees died as a result of the removal process, both during their detainment in the camps prior to removal and during the long journey westward. Many of these graves were probably hastily dug and left without permanent markers. Isolated burials along the removal route would

be virtually impossible to locate, but there may be cemeteries related to the camps used prior to removal.

Road segments present a difficult case for archaeological investigation. The Cherokee detachments traveled on existing roads that were used for many years before and after the removal. The Cherokee removal is but one part of the history of the respective roads, though it adds a significant chapter to that history. Artifacts would probably be very rare in any excavation of old road segments, but archaeological testing could show the profile of the road and possibly reveal some information on the use of that road segment. Richard Stearns study of a portion of the Chickasaw Path and Old Natchez Trace (Stearns 1997) describes how various types of traffic as well as erosion affect road segments. Citing Sheets and Sever (1991), Stearns (1997:70-71) states that human wear creates a "U" shaped path with steep sides whereas erosion creates more of a "V" shaped cross section with sides at a lesser angle. The steeper sides of the human wear pattern are not stable and erode producing a combination of the "U" and "V" shapes. This profile has a somewhat flattened or rounded bottom with low angle sides. Wagon traffic on a road creates ruts, roughly parallel grooves about five to six feet apart. Erosion would fill in these ruts over time, but they could be revealed through an archaeological examination of the road's cross section. According to Stearns (1997:72) the geology of an area also affects the wear patterns of roads. In his study of the Chickasaw Trace and the Old Natchez Trace, Stearns found that roads on the soils formed by the softer shale bedrock tended to be deeper than those on soils from more resistant formations such as chert.

Excavations of road segments might reveal something about the overall use and history of that road, but it would not likely provide any greater insight into the Cherokee Removal. The military posts and Cherokee camps would be better sites for future archaeological work. These sites are more likely to have archaeological remains that would provide information related to the Cherokee removal.

CONCLUSIONS

The Tennessee Division of Archaeology study of routes used by the Cherokees during the 1838 removal examined the major land routes traveled by the thirteen land detachments and field checked the remains of the roads. The modern descendants of the roads that existed in 1838 were identified by comparing historic maps, such as the Matthew Rhea map from 1832 and the Postal Routes map from 1839, with modern maps and bridging the gap with other sources. These roads were then field checked to determine their current conditions. Thus an overview of the removal routes was formed. This report should not be seen as the end of a process but a beginning point for further refining the routes and identifying existing road segments.

There is a great potential for further research to be conducted on the subject of the removal routes. Perhaps further archival research will reveal sources that help define the actual routes used by the various detachments, such as conductors' journals, diaries, letters, etc. The route of the Benge Detachments seems to be in the greatest need of further research. Defining the precise locations for the 1838 roads is another area for further study. Primary source documents such as deed records can be used to help define the location of a road at a specific point in time. However, trying to define hundreds of miles of road through deeds is a daunting task that would require the efforts of many researchers.

The Tennessee Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association has several members dedicated to such research, and their efforts have helped define the routes in certain areas of the state. There is a need for more such research in areas of the state where there has been little or no study of the roads, and it would be helpful to recruit researchers who live in these areas. Efforts must be made to increase public awareness of the Trail of Tears to entice researchers to take an interest in the Trail in their area.

The National Park Service published a Management and Use Plan for the Trail of Tears and a Map Supplement showing the various routes. The work has been refined through the efforts of Duane King (cited in this report), and there are efforts underway by the Long Distance Trails Group Office of the National Park Service to further refine the routes and identify existing road segments.

There is a need for a central location of information from which researchers can draw and to which they can post their findings. To a certain extent the Tennessee Division of Archaeology acts as such a repository by virtue of its permanent state site file. An archaeological site number was assigned to the routes within each county, and the site form for each section contains copies of the topographic quad maps showing routes and preserved road segments in detail. Further, the historic maps and archival data used to define the routes is cited in each form. The forms can be amended in the future to reflect new information.

Aaron Mahr of the Long Distance Trails Group Office of the National Park Service has also expressed interest in digitizing maps of the routes so that they can be easily manipulated in the future. Such a database would be highly desirable as maps in this form could be changed more readily than could paper copies.

As with all research there are bound to be disagreements in the interpretation of information, but there are suitable forums for the discussion of information. The National Trail of Tears Association holds an annual meeting at which research can be presented. Other issues are discussed also, such as preservation of existing roads. The Tennessee Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association holds monthly meetings for its members and prints a newsletter in which members can publish their research.

Preservation of historic road segments is also a concern. Well-preserved segments of the road could possibly be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, but this is not a guarantee of protection. The National Park Service also has a designation for historic trails and some portions of the Trail of Tears in Tennessee have been so marked. Again, public awareness is an important first step in the process of preservation, and further research to refine the routes is needed.

Appendix A is a list of recorded archaeological sites in Tennessee that have a Cherokee association. As explained in the appendix, many of these sites need to be reviewed and further researched. Such work will help to better define site boundaries for some of the sites and will provide a better understanding of the significance of those sites to Cherokee history.

APPENDIX A

Table 2: Recorded Tennessee Archaeological Sites Pertaining to the Cherokees

The following table lists recorded archaeological sites in Tennessee that have a Cherokee association. The table lists the Site Number, the Site Name (if any), and the archaeological component that pertains to the Cherokee association with that site. The table also lists the year that the site form was recoded or significantly updated. The final column indicates whether or not the site has had controlled archaeological testing ranging from shovel testing to full excavation. Surface collections are not counted as archaeological testing in this table.

Many of the sites listed were recorded in 1979 as a result of a Tennessee Division of Archaeology survey of Cherokee sites. Most of these were recorded on the basis of archival evidence, but often that evidence is not clearly stated in the site forms. A few of these sites were reviewed during the Trail of Tears survey and the site forms updated. There is a need for further review of other Cherokee sites and updating of the site forms.

Many of the recorded sites list "Open Habitation" (listed as "Habitation" on this table) as the archaeological component for that site. These sites often have a Cherokee affiliation listed along with several periods of prehistoric occupation. Few of the forms state the evidence for listing the Cherokee component. The terms "Town" and "Village" seem to be used almost interchangeably on the forms, perhaps indicating a need for a better definition of the terms.

Table 2. Recorded Tennessee Archaeological Sites Pertaining to the Cherokees

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
BENTON COUNTY				
40BN340	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
BLEDSOE COUNTY				
40BS95	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40BS96	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
BLOUNT COUNTY				
40BT08	Talassee (Hardin Farm)	Habitation	1970s	Y
40BT09	Ellijay	Undetermined	?	?
40BT10	Chewohe	?	?	?
40BT89	none	Camp, village	1998	Y
40BT90	Townsend/Apple Barn Site	Village ?	1999	Y
40BT91	Townsend/Pony Ride Site	Village ?	1999	Y
BRADLEY COUNTY				
40BY19	Chestochee/Mouse Place	Cherokee town	1979	N
40BY20	Red Clay Council Grounds/ Cantonment Wool	Cherokee council grounds/ military encampment	1979	Y
40BY29	Lewis Ross farmstead/ Charleston Manor	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY30	Hair Conrad Farmstead	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY31	Andrew Taylor Farmstead	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY32	Cherokee Internment Center	Internment Camp	1979	N
40BY33	John Ross house	Home site	1979	N
40BY34	Red Clay Mission	Mission/school	1979	N
40BY35	Walker's Ferry	Ferry	1979	N
40BY36	Charleston Agency (4th)	US Gov't agency	1979	N
40BY37	Fort Foster	US military fort	2000	N
40BY38	Camp Konrad (Monroe)	US military encampment	1979	N
40BY39	John Walker, Jr. farmstead	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY40	Camp Worth	US military encampment	1979	N
40BY41	Rattlesnake Springs	Cherokee encampment	1979	N
40BY42	Chestoe/Rabbit Place	Village (see 40PK02)	1979	?
40BY43	Chatata	Village	1979	N
40BY44	Fort Cass	US military fort	1997	N
40BY45	George Fields House	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY46	Amohee Courthouse	Courthouse	1979	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
40BY47	Jesse Bushyhead farm	Farmstead	1979	N
40BY48	Candy's Creek Mission	Mission/school	1979	N
40BY65	None	Village	1986	?
40BY165	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40BY166	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40BY167	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
COFFEE COUNTY				
40CF279	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
CHEATHAM COUNTY				
40CH186	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
COCKE COUNTY				
40CK04	Dutch Bottom	Village	1953	N
40CK20	Wolf Creek	Encampment	1977	?
40CK161	Paint Rock Blockhouse	Blockhouse (1793)	1977	Y
CANNON COUNTY				
40CN92	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40CN102	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
CAMPBELL COUNTY				
40CP05	Irvin Village	Village	1934	Y
CARTER COUNTY				
40CR01	Watauga Old Fields	Village	1966	N
DAVIDSON COUNTY				
40DV571	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
FRANKLIN COUNTY				
40FR461	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
FAYETTE COUNTY				
40FY442	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
GILES COUNTY				
40GL94	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40GL95	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
GREENE COUNTY				
40GN02	Cooper Mound	Habitation	1966	?
40GN17	None	Habitation	1977	N
40GN197	Bowman's Grave	Grave-man killed by Indians	1994	N
GRUNDY COUNTY				
40GY108	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
HAMILTON COUNTY				
40HA50	None	"historic Indian site"	1936	Y
40HA60	Talimico	Habitation	1985	Y
40HA65	Citico	Town	1979	Y
40HA66	None	Town	1979	N
40HA67	Chickamauga	Town	1979	N
40HA69	Ooltewah	Town	1979	N
40HA103	None	Town	1979	N
40HA104	Tuskegee	Town	1979	?
40HA105	Brown Town	Town	1979	N
40HA106	Glass Town	Town	1979	N
40HA107	Chattanooga	Town	1979	N
40HA108	Vann's Town	Town	1979	N
40HA109	Long Savannah Town	Town	1979	N
40HA110	Sale Creek Town	Town	1979	N
40HA111	David Field's	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA112	John Brown Complex	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA113	Daniel Ross	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA114	James Brown (I)	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA115	William Brown	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA116	Richard Timberlake	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA118	Fox Taylor	Farmstead	1979	N
40HA119	Camp Ross	Military blockhouse	1979	N
40HA120	Camp Cherokee	Internment camp	1979	N
40HA121	Daniel Ross's Store	Store	1979	N
40HA122	Ross's Landing (I)	Boat landing	1979	N
40HA123	Ross's Landing (II)	Boat landing/ferry	1979	N
40HA124	Vann's Gin	Cotton gin	1979	N
40HA125	Brown's Tavern	Tavern/Ferry	1979	N
40HA126	Ross's Tannery	Tannery	1979	N
40HA127	Chickamauga Landing	Boat landing	1979	N
40HA128	Brainerd Mission	Mission/school	1979	N
40HA129	Olee-quah	Town	1979	N
40HA394	Moccasin Bend/Ft Whitaker	Habitation	1993	N
40HA395	Moccasin Bend/Ft Whitaker	Habitation	1993	N
40HA437	None	Habitation	1997	N
40HA452	None	Habitation	1999	Y
40HA463	None	Habitation	1999	Y
40HA469	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
40HA475	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40HA476	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
HAMBLEN COUNTY				
40HB07	Cobb Island	Habitation	1966	Y
40HB08	Three Springs	Habitation	1966	Y
HICKMAN COUNTY				
40HI187	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
HANCOCK COUNTY				
40HK09	None	Cemetery	1995	Y
HARDEMAN COUNTY				
40HM145	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
HARDIN COUNTY				
40HR312	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
HUMPHREYS COUNTY				
40HS337	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
HAWKINS COUNTY				
40HW04	Anderson Bend	Habitation	1960s	N
HENRY COUNTY				
40HY144	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
JEFFERSON COUNTY				
40JE09	Indian Walk Shoals	Habitation	1965	Y
KNOX COUNTY				
40KN14	None	Habitation	?	Y
LOUDON COUNTY				
40LD74	Ben Jackson Estate	Habitation	1976	Y
40LD107	Wear Bend Site	Habitation	1979	Y
LINCOLN COUNTY				
40LN176	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
LAWRENCE COUNTY				
40LR39	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
MEIGS COUNTY				
40MG48	Blythe Ferry (also 40RH130)	Farmstead/ferry	1979	N
40MG49	Cayoka	Town	1979	N
40MG172	None	Habitation	1992	N
40MG187	Hiwassee Campground	Religious meeting ground	1992	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
40MG285	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40MG286	Cherokee Agency (3rd)	Government agency	2000	N
MARION COUNTY				
40MI06	Running Water	Town	1979	N
40MI10	Long Island	Town	1979	N
40MI99	Nickajack	Town	1979	N
40MI100	James Lowry farmstead	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI101	Susannah Lowry farmstead	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI102	Robert McLemore	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI103	George Lowrey	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI104	Peggy Shory	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI105	John and Elizabeth Lowry	Farmstead/ferry	1979	N
40MI106	Elizabeth Lowry Pack	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI107	John Walker, Jr. (I)	Farmstead	1979	N
40MI108	Nickajack Cave	Habitation	1979	N
40MI242	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40MI243	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
MCMINN COUNTY				
40MN04	Canasauga	Town		N
MONROE COUNTY				
40MR01	Fort Loudon	Fort	1966	Y
40MR02	Chote	Town	1966	Y
40MR03	Mialaquo	Town	1966	N
40MR04	Tuskeege	Town	1966	N
40MR05	Tomotley	Town	1966	Y
40MR06	Toqua	Town	1966	Y
40MR07	Citico	Town	1980	Y
40MR08	Halfway Town	Habitation	1981	N
40MR20	Martin Farm	Habitation	1967	Y
40MR32	Starnes Site	Village	?	Y
40MR48	Starritt Place	Habitation	1976	Y
40MR64	None	Habitation	1975	Y
40MR67	Perry I	Habitation	1976	Y
40MR68	Perry II	Habitation	1976	Y
40MR70	W. Peery Site	Habitation	1976	N
40MR75	Great Tellico	Habitation	1984	Y
40MR78	W.B. Starnes Place	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR82	A. T. Perry, Jr. Place	Habitation	1976	Y

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
40MR101	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR161	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR162	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR165	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR168	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR170	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR171	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR174	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR177	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR178	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR183	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40MR186	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR195	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR200	None	Habitation	1977	N
40MR202	None	Habitation	1978	N
40MR204	None	Habitation	1983	N
40MR211	Bell Rattle's Cabin	Farmstead	1981	Y
40MR225	None	Habitation	1981	N
40MR230	Willie Maw's Reservation	House site	1982	N
40MR357	None	Habitation	1985	N
40MR543	None	Farmstead	1997	N
MONTGOMERY COUNTY				
40MT637	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
MAURY COUNTY				
40MU563	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
MCNAIRY COUNTY				
40MY144	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
POLK COUNTY				
40PK01	Ocoee Site	Habitation	1985	Y
40PK02	Chestuee	Habitation	1967	N
40PK03	Hiwassee Old Town	Town	1979	Y
40PK04	Duck Town	Town	1979	N
40PK05	Tennessee Town	Habitation	1986	N
40PK11	Five Killer (Nancy Ward)	Dwelling site/cemetery	1977	N
40PK14	None	Habitation	1977	N
40PK17	Amohee Mission	Mission/school	1979	N
40PK18	David McNair Complex	Farmstead/boatyard/tavern	1979	N
40PK19	Michael Hildebrand	Farmstead/boat landing	1979	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
40PK21	Turtle Town	Town	1979	N
40PK25	None	Habitation	1981	N
40PK34	None	Dwelling site	1986	Y
40PK260	None	Habitation	1985	N
40PK274	None	Habitation	1985	N
40PK297	None	Habitation	1985	N
40PK303	None	Habitation	1985	N
40PK318	None	Habitation	1986	N
40PK586	Fort Marr/Fort Morrow	Fort/Internment camp	2000	N
ROBERTSON COUNTY				
40RB130	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
RUTHERFORD COUNTY				
40RD250	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40RD251	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
ROANE COUNTY				
40RE74	None	Cemetery	1941	N
40RE192	None	Habitation	1992	Y
RHEA COUNTY				
40RH35	Hiwassee Garrison	Fort/gov't agency/cemetery	1971	N
40RH278	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40RH279	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
SULLIVAN COUNTY				
40SL34	Big Rock/Council Bluff	Rockshelter/cemetery	1979	N
40SL252	None	Habitation	1986	Y
SEQUATCHIE COUNTY				
40SQ106	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40SQ107	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
SULLIVAN COUNTY				
40SV01	McMahan Mound	Habitation	1976	Y
SHELBY COUNTY				
40SY639	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
UNICOI COUNTY				
40UC05	Price Site	Habitation	1982	N
40UC06	None	Habitation	1982	N
40UC08	Davis Site/Bean Home	Habitation	1990	N
40UC10	Flint Creek Battle Site	Battle	1982	N
40UC47	None	Cemetery	1994	N

Site Number	Site Name	Archaeological Components	Year Recorded	TEST
VAN BUREN COUNTY				
40VB123	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40VB124	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
WASHINGTON COUNTY				
40WG02	Nanatlugunyi	Habitation/village?	1964	N
40WG03	None	Habitation	1997	N
40WG06	None	Habitation	2000	
40WG07	Nelson Site	Habitation	1978	N
40WG11	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40WG13	None	Habitation	1977	N
40WG32	Willis farm	Habitation	1977	Y
40WG37	None	Habitation	1977	Y
40WG58	None	Habitation	1984	Y
WEAKLEY COUNTY				
40WK115	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
WARREN COUNTY				
40WR115	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
40WR116	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N
WAYNE COUNTY				
40WY106	Trail of Tears Route	Removal Route	2000	N

APPENDIX B

Selected Photographs Of Road Segments

Figure 5. Cannon County. Road segment beside Highway 70S in Leoni.

Figure 6: Robertson County. Road Segment near Harmony Church Road.

Figure 7: Franklin County. Road Segment West of Winchester (facing east).

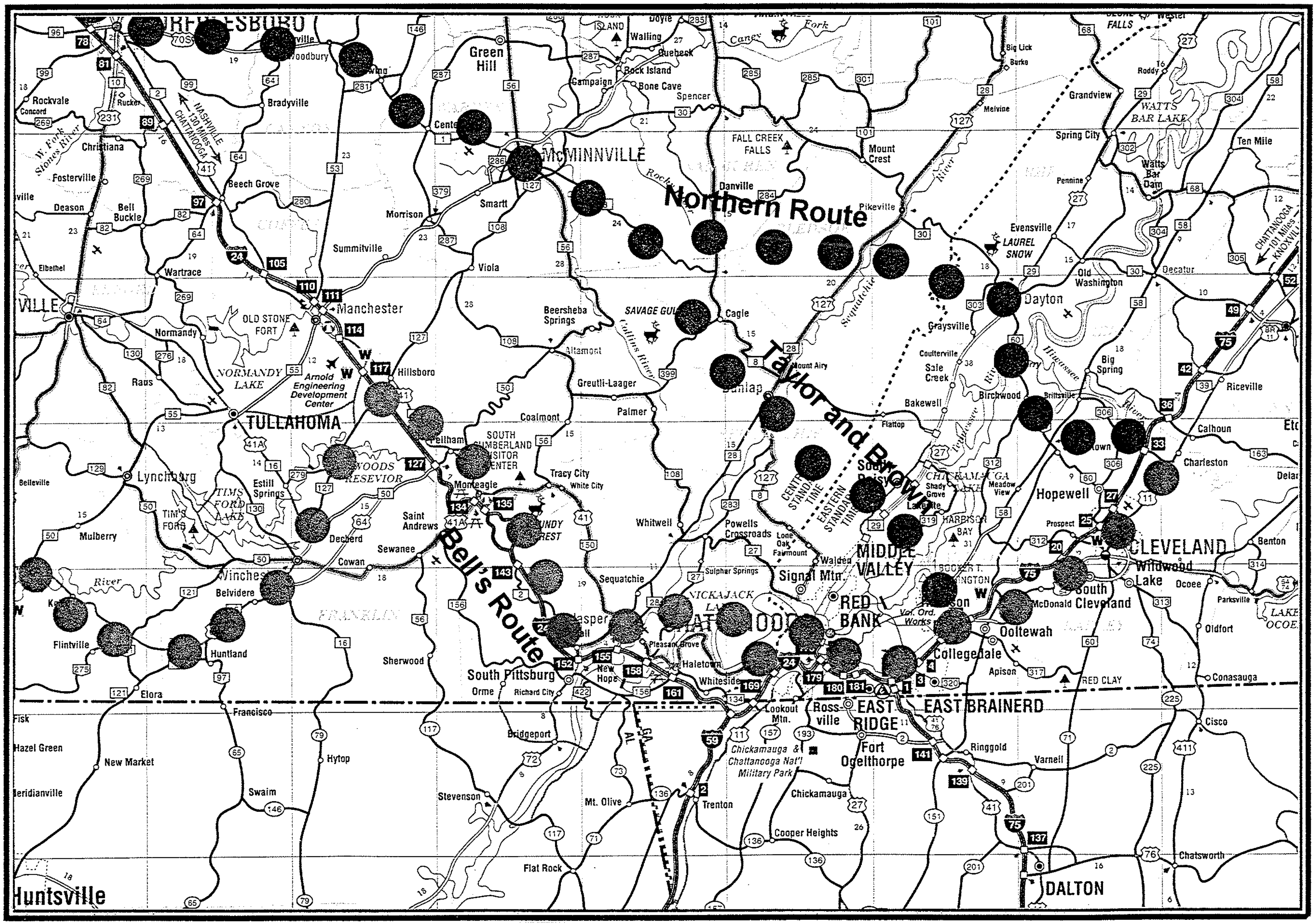
Figure 8: Franklin County. Road Segment West of Winchester (facing west).

Figure 9. Hardeman County. Road Segment Near Stewart Road.

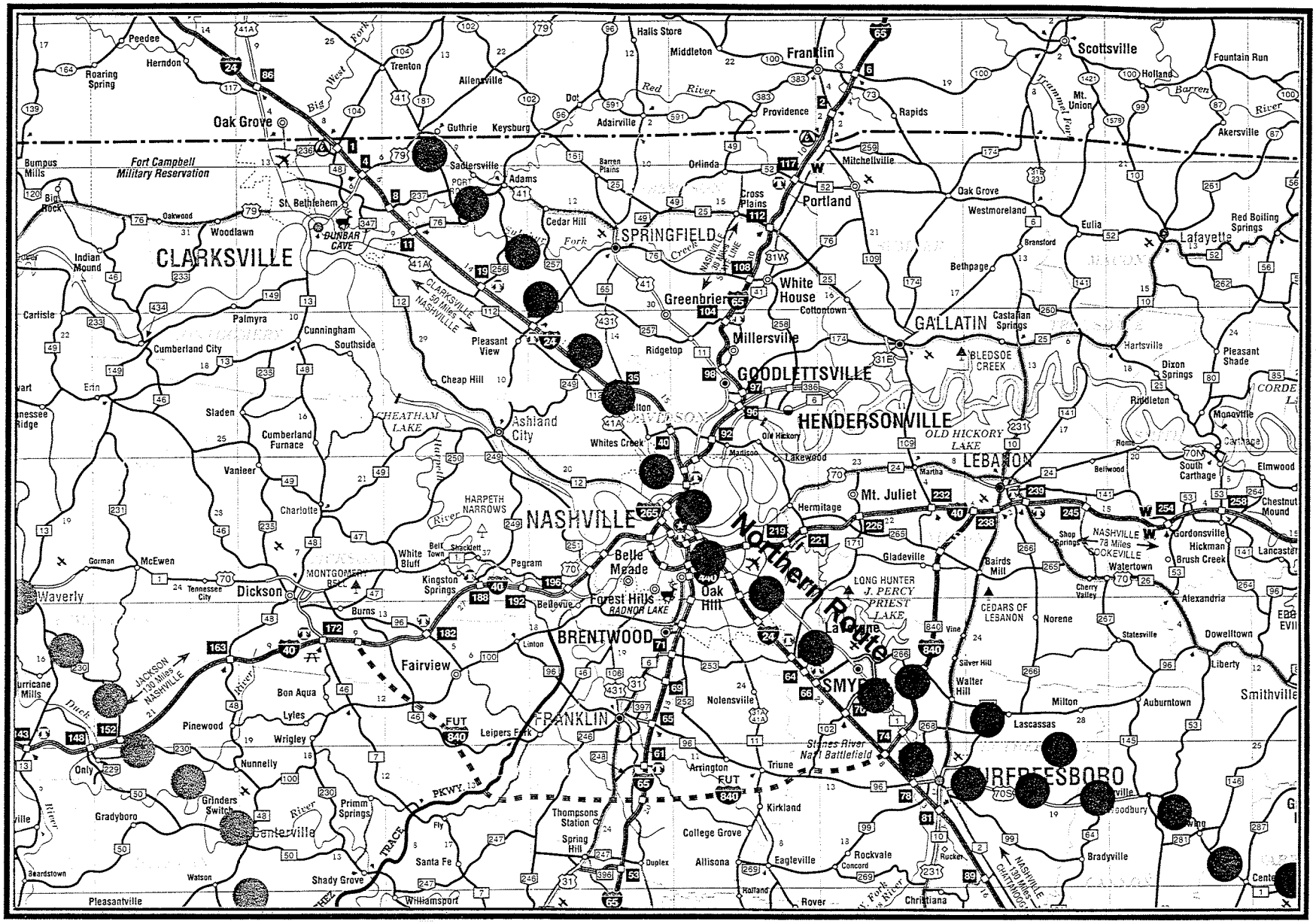
Figure 10. Humphrey's County. Portion of Old Road Near Conalco Road.

APPENDIX C

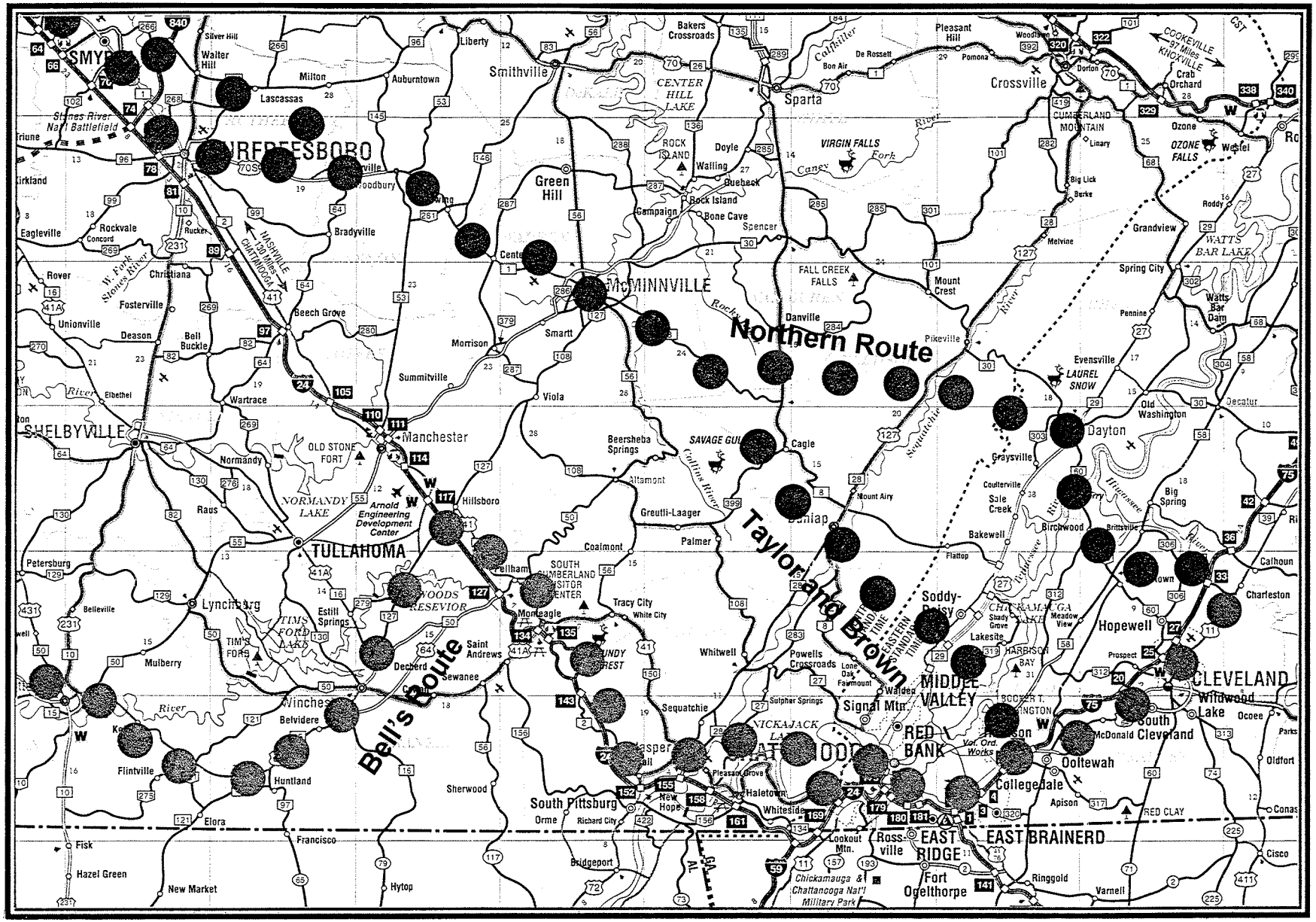
Maps Of The Removal Routes In Tennessee



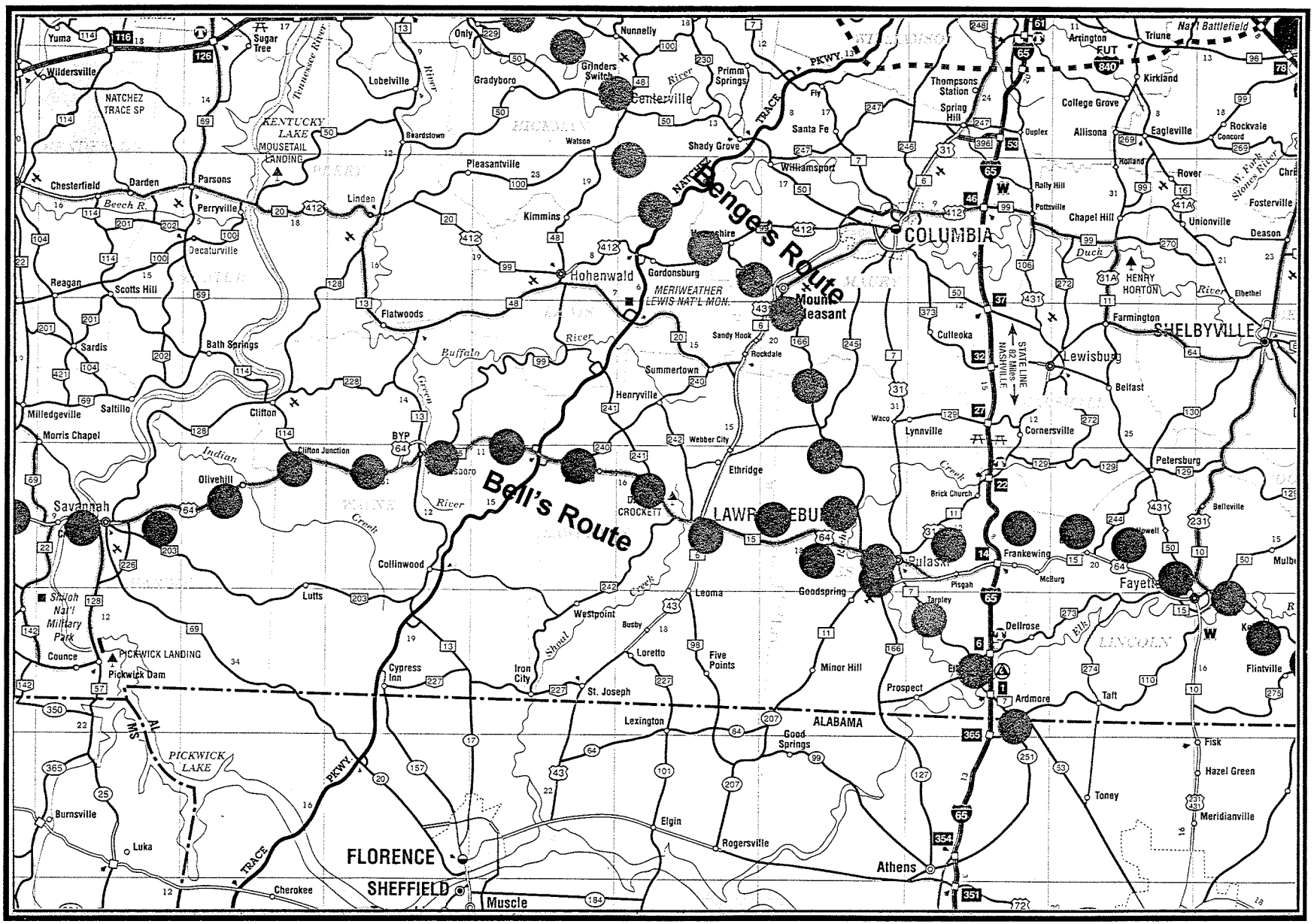
Northern Route, Map 1. Shows Taylor's and Brown's Route.



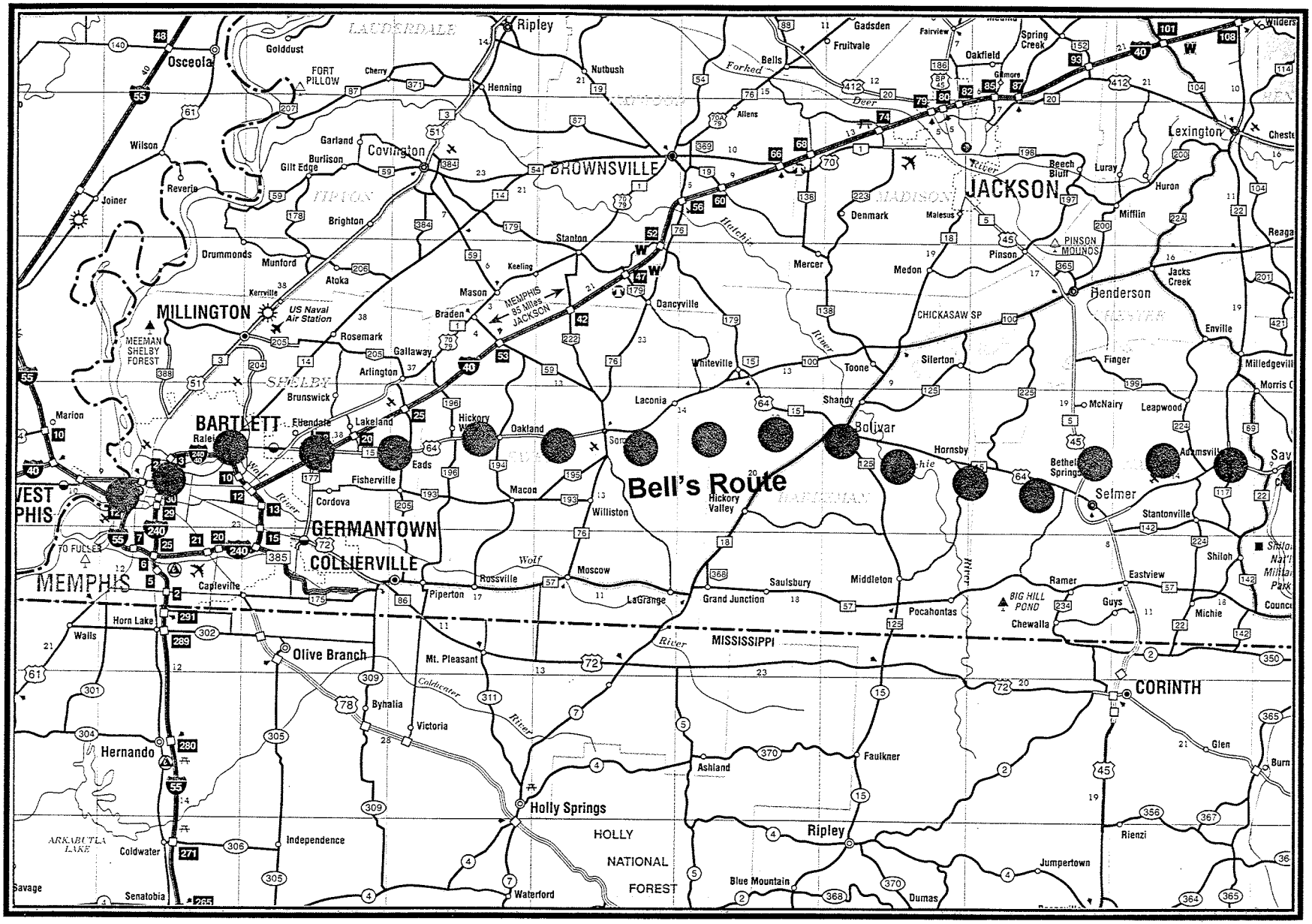
Northern Route, Map 2. Shows Alternate Murfreesboro Bypass Route.



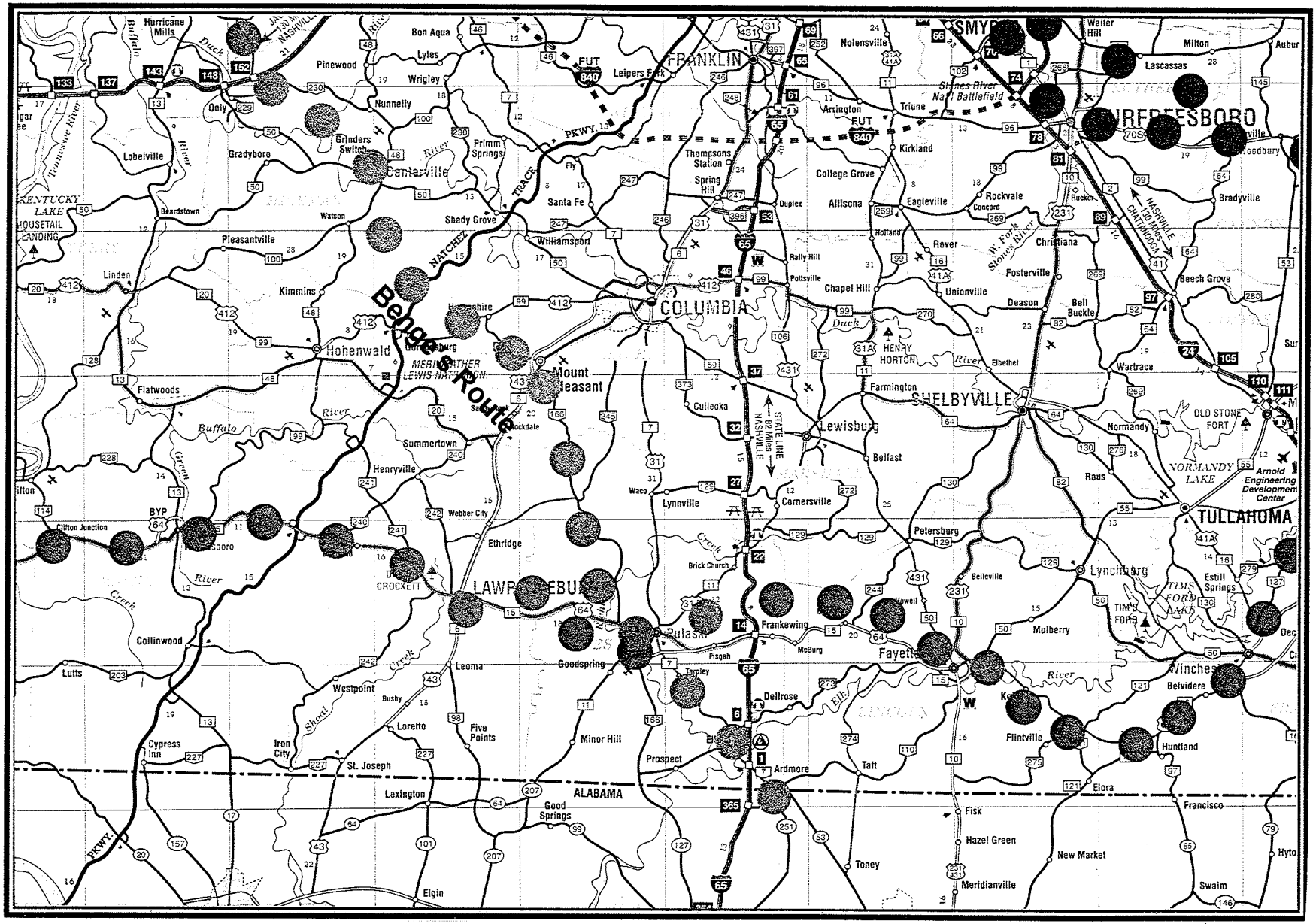
Bell's Route, Map 1.



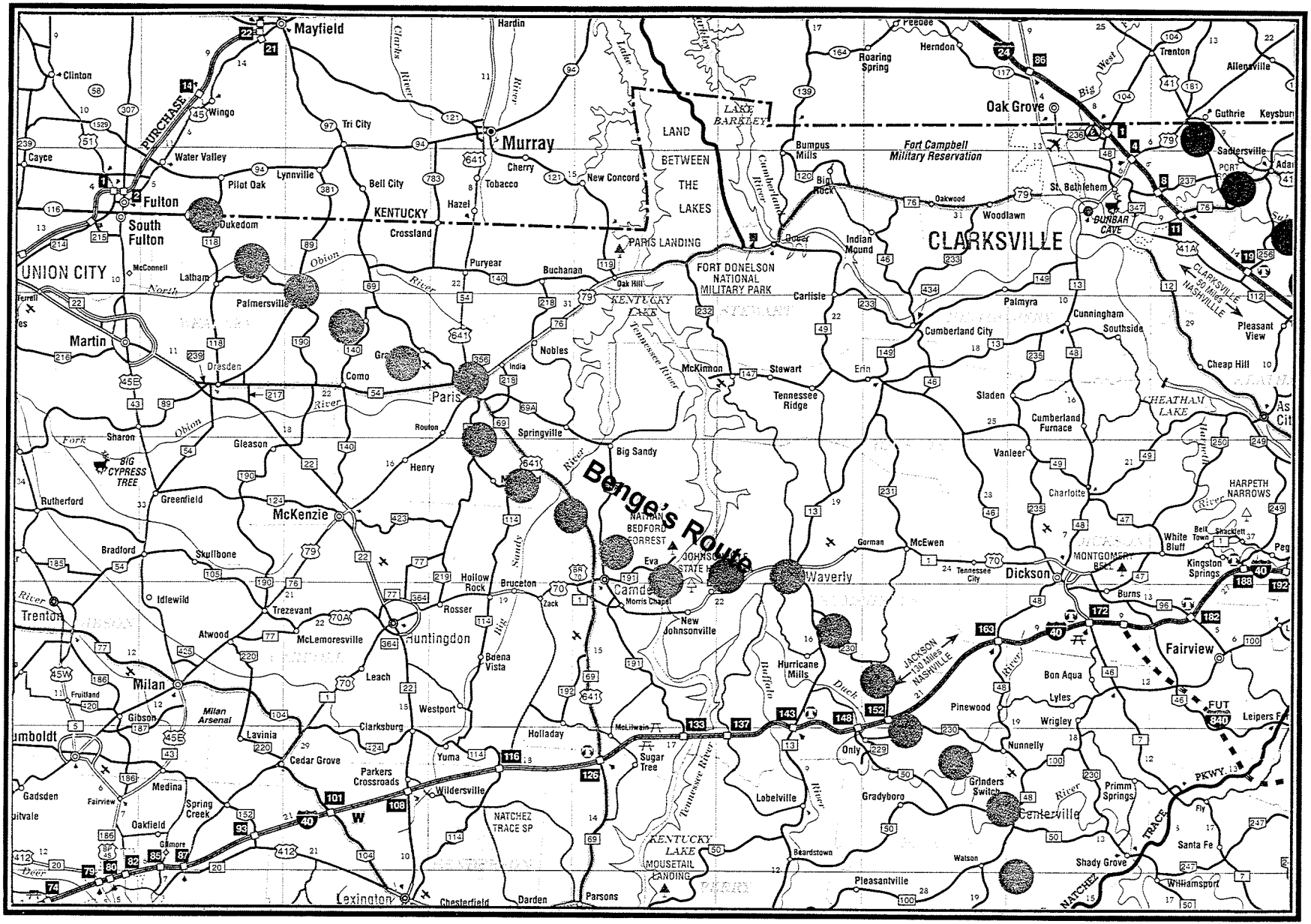
Bell's Route, Map 2.



Bell's Route, Map 3.



Benge's Route, Map 1.



Benge's Route, Map 2.

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