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INDIAN TRAILS OF THE SOUTHEAST

By WILLIAM E. MYER

PREFACE

By John R. Swanton

William Edward Myer, the author of this paper, was born near Fountain Run, Barren County, Ky., October 5, 1862, but when he was about 6 years old his family moved to Carthage, Tenn., and there he spent most of the remainder of his life. He was educated in the public schools of Carthage and at 16 entered Vanderbilt University, spending the usual four years. On graduating he was offered the principalship of a large school in Michigan, but his parents would not allow him to accept it, believing him too young. In consequence he returned to Carthage, where he entered upon an active business career. He organized the first bank in Smith County, and his interest in local transportation eventuated in bridges over Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers. He was connected with the Highway Commission for two years, during which he worked untiringly for the development of the road system of the State. He also took an active part in the development of navigation on Cumberland River and was for many years president of the Cumberland River Improvement Society. In 1915 he retired from active business, but during the World War, from the autumn of 1917 until the end of the conflict, he served as fuel administrator for his State.

Mr. Myer's interest in archeology began while he was still at school. He devoted all of his vacations to research work, and later, while engaged in business, spent a portion of each day in archeological studies. When he was 28 he encamped with his family for two weeks on an Indian mound at Castalian Springs, where he obtained many aboriginal relics. In course of time he carried his investigations, in person or by correspondence, over the larger part of his State. In 1919, in order to give his work a more thorough scientific foundation, he moved to the National Capital, where he pursued his researches in the Smithsonian Institution, with the help and advice of Dr. J. W. Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and other investigators. A paper by him, entitled "Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee," has appeared in the Forty-first Annual Report of the Bureau. Meanwhile Mr. Myer found his interests broaden progressively and his major project, which was to have been a work on "Stone Age Man in Tennessee," became enlarged in idea into "Stone Age Man in the Middle South." Side by side with this undertaking, though somewhat posterior to

it in the period of its inception, had arisen another centering on the aboriginal trail system, and this expanded along with the first, so that from a record of "Indian Trails and Remains in Tennessee" it developed into a study of trails in all of those States south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Mississippi and even transcended those limits.

In the midst of these investigations, Mr. Myer was suddenly stricken with heart disease, and passed away on December 2, 1923. In him archeology has lost an enthusiastic disciple, a wide circle of acquaintances a devoted friend, and his community and country an unselfish servant.

At the time of his death Mr. Myer had worked out and committed to paper a very complete and accurate archeological and trail map of Tennessee, but the trail systems of the other southeastern States were by no means carried to the same point of elaboration. The information regarding them which he had collected was committed to a number of large-scale Geological Survey maps, and the entries varied in proportion to the distance of the State in question from his own special field.

In editing Mr. Myer's material, his Tennessee map has been reproduced substantially as he left it, but all of his trail data have been combined into a general chart indicating the system of communications in the Southeast. The Tennessee map is relatively complete and thorough. New remains will, of course, be discovered from time to time and new aboriginal lines of communication will be located, but it is safe to say that Mr. Myer's map will remain the authority on this subject. The status of the second map is altogether different. In the first place it is confined to the one subject of trails. Secondly, it professes to be final in no sense of the term. It is included for two sufficiently cogent reasons: (1) In order to illustrate and make more intelligible the trail system of Tennessee; and (2) to place at the disposal of future students material which Mr. Myer had laboriously and painstakingly brought together.

The preparation for publication of a work so suddenly cut off has naturally made necessary a number of changes. Mr. Myer had numbered practically all of the Tennessee trails and nearly all of those in the States to the southward, but comparatively few numbers had been assigned to the trails in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, except those which were extensions of trails beginning farther south. As far as possible, the editor has adopted Mr. Myer's number system, but he has amplified it and introduced changes in some cases where the author had inadvertently repeated numbers. In the case of some branch trails it has been thought best to indicate their subordination to the main trail by letters placed after the main trail numbers, as 36A, 36B, etc. The Mississippi trail numbered 65A has

been inserted on the basis of information furnished by Mr. Charles W. Clark, of Clarksdale, Miss., a correspondent of Mr. Myer, whose information came in after the latter had passed away. There is no doubt that this trail anciently extended eastward of Charleston to connect with trail No. 65 near Coffeeville.

In addition to the lines of travel used wholly by the Indians before white colonists appeared, Mr. Myer has introduced some which are positively known to have been employed only by the early colonists or early colonial military expeditions. These have considerable intrinsic interest and also suggest possible aboriginal routes, for the white settlers usually found it easier to follow Indian trails already opened than to break new ones for themselves. Therefore it is probable that some of these trails will ultimately be placed in the category of aboriginal roads, while, on the other hand, it must be admitted that there is some doubt as to the original nature of certain traces which Mr. Myer has classed as Indian. The white men's trails, or those about which there is considerable doubt, have been indicated by means of broken lines.

Our author's text did not keep pace with his cartography, and he omits mention of many trails, particularly, of course, such as lay entirely outside of the State of Tennessee. Even a few Tennessee routes are not noted in the text or are noted only incidentally. A few minor and connecting trails were not numbered, and it has been thought as well to leave them so.

It should be remembered that there is, and always must be, considerable artificiality in the determination of what constitutes a trail, and where a trail begins and ends. Some aboriginal roads may be regarded as trunk lines and are traceable almost from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Others, although given one number, might equally well be defined as so many separate trails tied together. It is also largely a matter of convention which of two branches of a trail should be considered as the fork and which as the main trail. Fuller knowledge would no doubt suggest the shortening or breaking up of certain trails here treated as units and the splicing together of others which have been given independent status.

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INTRODUCTION

More or less well-established trails made by wild animals in search of food or drink existed upon the earth for long ages before the appearance of man, changing very slowly as local conditions were altered by erosion, climatic shifts, or other causes. Man found the lands already covered with them and began using them because they led him to water and to salt licks and other places where the primal necessities—water, food, and materials for clothing—could be obtained. Later they became media of friendly or hostile communication between the people themselves.

There was far more travel among Indians than is usually supposed. This was sometimes for barter-commerce, sometimes for visits of a social, friendly, or religious character, and sometimes for war or adventure.

There are well-authenticated cases of Indians having gone on visits to a series of distant friendly tribes, covering from 1,000 to 2,000 miles, and being absent from home for two months or more. A friendly visitor with a new sacred or social dance was always welcome in any Indian village, and great pains were taken to learn it.

In times of war or when on special missions they went much farther. For example, Tecumseh, or his agents, covered the entire country from the Seminole of Florida to the tribes on the headwaters of the Missouri River. "The Iroquois of central New York were familiar with the country as far west as the Black Hills of Dakota, whence they returned with prisoners; the same Indians went from New York to South Carolina to attack the Catawba and into Florida against the Creeks. Western Indians traveled hundreds of miles to obtain blankets from the Pueblos and some Plains Indians are known to have traveled 2,000 miles on raids. . . . They [the Indians] had covered the entire continent with a network of trails, over which they ran long distances with phenomenal speed and endurance; the Tarahumare mail carrier from Chihuahua to Batopilas, Mexico, runs regularly more than 500 miles a week; a Hopi messenger has been known to run 120 miles in 15 hours."[1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 2, pp. 800, 802.

Gabriel Arthur, who was captured by some Indians of upper East Tennessee, probably somewhere on the French Broad River, claimed to have accompanied them in a raid on the Spaniards in Florida. After their return and a short rest they raided an Indian town near the present site of Port Royal, S. C., and after another short rest they went on a visit to a friendly tribe on the Great Kanawha, about a day's march from the place where it empties into the Ohio. When they started on their return trip they could not resist the temptation to go out of their way to attack a Shawnee village near the present site of Portsmouth, Ohio. Thus, from December, 1673, to May, 1674, or a little over five months, they went from the French Broad to Florida, a distance of about 450 miles; from the French Broad to Port Royal, a distance of about 350 miles; and from the French Broad to Portsmouth, Ohio, a distance of about 200 miles. They also made a long hunting trip of about 200 miles by canoe during this period. Nothing in the story of these forays indicates that the Indians regarded them as extraordinary.

Less conspicuous historically, but probably of greater importance in the long run were trading expeditions. In prehistoric America, as now, each section produced some desirable products which the others did not have. In the mounds in Ohio, Tennessee, and elsewhere objects from the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, and from nearly every section of the interior of the United States have been found obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region, pipestone from the great red pipestone quarries of Minnesota or Wisconsin, steatite and mica from the Appalachians, copper from the region of the Great Lakes and elsewhere, shells from the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic, dentalium and abalone shells from the Pacific coast, and now and then artifacts which at least hint at some remote contact with Mexican Indian culture.

The Cherokee region of the Appalachians yielded steatite admirably suited to the manufacture of fine pipes. There are many authentic records of Cherokee carrying quantities of pipes to distant regions for sale or barter, and these are found at many points in the middle southern United States.

In the long intervals of peace a small barter-commerce was widespread. Objects of trade and exchange often passed from hand to hand and from tribe to tribe, ultimately covering long distances and reaching regions far remote.

Before the Indians obtained horses from the Spaniards the prehistoric trader, when traveling by land, was forced to carry his stock in trade on his back, a laborious process which necessarily limited the amount. Some tribes, notably the Plains Indians, used the dog as a pack animal and also worked him to the travois, and elsewhere he was worked to sleds; but the Indians of the Southeast do not appear to have used the dog for any of these purposes.

Certain materials were in universal and constant demand for ornaments, pipes, weapons, or household implements. Among them were conch shells from the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, copper from the Great Lakes, abalone and dentalium shells from the Pacific, obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region, steatite and mica from the Appalachians, catlinite from Minnesota or Wisconsin, and certain especially fine varieties of flint from quarries in Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, and other places.

In ancient times, even as now, where there is an active and lucrative demand there would always be found commerce to supply it, so along countless land trails and water routes, passing from hand to hand and from tribe to tribe, these desired materials moved. Some of them were passed on until they reached points fully 3,000 miles from the place of origin.

It was the wide commercial-barter travels which gave the Iroquois their close acquaintance with the northern central United States; and when they received firearms from the Dutch about 1620 they quickly conquered a large portion of what had once been their commercial territory, extending from the Great Lakes to northern Tennessee on the south, and to the Mississippi River on the west. As we have seen, some of their war parties reached the Black Hills in South Dakota.

Some Indians sold their captives to other tribes. Father Marquette,[2] writing of the Illinois, says: "The Illinois are warriors and trade slaves with Outuouaks for muskets, powder, kettles, hatchets, and knives."

Lafitau, the Jesuit father, thus described the barter-commerce he saw among the Indians shortly after 1710:

"The savage nations always trade with one another. Their commerce is, like that of the ancients, a simple exchange of wares against wares. Each has something particular which the others have not, and the traffic makes these things circulate among them. Their wares are grain, porcelain (wampum), furs, robes, tobacco, mats, canoes, work made of moose or buffalo hair and of porcupine quills, cotton-beds, domestic utensils—in a word, all sorts of necessaries of life required by them." [3]

Lawson [4] relates the following in regard to barter-commerce in the Carolinas:

"The women make baskets and mats to lie upon, and those that are not extraordinary hunters, make bowls, dishes, and spoons, of gumwood, and the tulip tree; others, where they find a vein of white clay, fit for their purpose, make tobacco-pipes, all which are often

[2] Thwaites, Jesuit Relations (1669–70), vol. LIV, p. 191.
[3] Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains, vol. II, p. 332.
[4] History of Carolina, p. 338.

transported to other Indians, that perhaps have greater plenty of deer and other game."

Cabeza de Vaca,[5] in relating his experiences as a barter trader among the Indians along the Gulf coast about 1535, doubtless gives a reasonably accurate picture of the life of native Indian merchants in that region. He was practically a prisoner, defenseless and without European articles of barter, and had only such objects as any Indian trader might have carried. He says:

"I was obliged to remain with the people belonging to the island more than a year, and because of the hard work they put upon me and the harsh treatment, I resolved to flee from them and go to those of Charruco, who inhabit the forests and country of the main, the life I led being insupportable. Besides much other labor, I had to get out roots from below the water, and from among the cane where they grew in the ground. From this employment I had my fingers so worn that did a straw but touch them they would bleed. Many of the canes are broken, so that they often tore my flesh, and I had to go in the midst of them with only the clothing on I have mentioned.

"Accordingly, I put myself to contriving how I might get over to the other Indians, among whom matters turned somewhat more favorably for me. I set to trafficking, and strove to make my employment profitable in the ways I could best contrive, and by that means I got food and good treatment. The Indians would beg me to go from one quarter to another for things of which they have need; for in consequence of incessant hostilities, they cannot traverse the country, nor make many exchanges. With my merchandise and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased, and travelled along the coast forty or fifty leagues. The principal wares were cones and other pieces of sea-snail, conchs used for cutting, and fruit like a bean of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine and employ in their dances and festivities. Among other matters were sea-beads. Such were what I carried into the interior; and in barter I got and brought back skins, ochre with which they rub and color the face, hard canes of which to make arrows, sinews, cement and flint for the heads, and tassels of the hair of deer that by dyeing they make red. This occupation suited me well; for the travel allowed me liberty to go where I wished, I was not obliged to work, and was not a slave. Wherever I went I received fair treatment, and the Indians gave me to eat out of regard to my commodities. My leading object, while journeying in this business, was to find out the way by which I should go forward, and I became well known. The inhabitants were pleased when they saw me, and I had brought them what they wanted; and those who did not know me sought and desired the acquaintance, for my reputation. The hardships that I

[5] "Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca," in Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, pp. 55–57.

underwent in this were long to tell, as well of peril and privation as of storms and cold. Oftentimes they overtook me alone and in the wilderness; but I came forth from them all by the great mercy of God our Lord. Because of them I avoided pursuing the business in winter, a season in which the natives themselves retire to their huts and ranches, torpid and incapable of exertion.

"I was in this country nearly six years, alone among the Indians, and naked like them."

Farther on he thus refers to barter in bows: [6]

"These people speak a different language, and are called Avavares. They are the same that carried bows to those with whom we formerly lived, going to traffic with them, and although they are of a different nation and tongue, they understand the other language."

And still farther on he says: [7]

"I bartered with these Indians in combs that I made for them and in bows, arrows, and nets. We made mats, which are their houses, that they have great necessity for; and although they know how to make them, they wish to give their full time to getting food, since when otherwise employed they are pinched with hunger. Sometimes the Indians would set me to scraping and softening skins; and the days of my greatest prosperity there, were those in which they gave me skins to dress. I would scrape them a very great deal and eat the scraps, which would sustain me two or three days. When it happened among these people, as it had likewise among others whom we left behind, that a piece of meat was given us, we ate it raw; for if we had put it to roast, the first native that should come along would have taken it off and devoured it; and it appeared to us not well to expose it to this risk; besides we were in such condition it would have given us pain to eat it roasted, and we could not have digested it so well as raw. Such was the life we spent there; and the meagre subsistence we earned by the matters of traffic which were the work of our hands."

The following quotation from a manuscript in the Lowery collection, in the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress, was given the author by Dr. John R. Swanton.

"The Indians describe the river Jordan [the Santee] as big and from up it come Indians in canoes to get fish and salt and they bring to them from inland cloaks [huapieles or huepieles] and many other things, also copper and *plata blanca.*"

Pearls were found in "a town called Xoada (Cheraw) near the mountains." [8]

Some authorities seem to believe that those engaged in barter-commerce were given free passage among the tribes, possibly even

[6] "Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca," in Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p. 73.

[7] Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

[8] Ecija's narrative of his first expedition, 1605.

in times of war. C. C. Jones [9] records such a report, but qualifies it with an "if."

"It is said that, among the Cherokee Indians of Georgia, in ancient times, were men who devoted their attention to the manufacture of spear and arrow heads, and other stone implements. As from time to time they accumulated a supply, they would leave their mountain-homes and visit the seaboard and intermediate regions for the purpose of exchanging these implements for shells and various articles not readily obtainable in the localities where they resided. These were usually old men, or persons who mingled not in the excitements of war and the chase. To them, while engaged in these commercial pursuits, free passage was at all times granted. Their avocation was deemed honorable, and they themselves were welcomed wherever they appeared. If such was the case, we have here an interesting proof both of the trade relations existing among the aboriginal tribes and of the marked recognition, by an uncivilized race, of the claims of the manufacturer."

Prof. O. T. Mason [10] says: "In ancient times there were intertribal laws of commerce, and its agents were guaranteed freedom and safety." We can find no authentic instance of immunity granted to Indians engaged in commerce who belonged to a hostile tribe, unless from considerations having no relation to their occupation.

The following quotations from James Mooney and J. N. B. Hewitt, in writing of the Ottawa, [11] throw some additional light on Indian trade:

"Ottawa (from ădāwe, 'to trade,' 'to buy and sell,' a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Ottawa, and Chippewa, and applied to the Ottawa because in early traditional times and also during the historic period they were noted among their neighbors as intertribal traders and barterers, dealing chiefly in corn-meal, sunflower oil, furs and skins, rugs or mats, tobacco, and medicinal roots and herbs). . . .

"They went into many regions 400 or 500 leagues away to trade."

In "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas," [12] we read that De Soto found natives around the saline springs making salt which they carried elsewhere to exchange for skins and shawls. There are many accounts of a similar aboriginal barter in salt in many portions of the United States. The salt springs and licks were highly valued and much resorted to.

The oldest traditions of our Indians on this continent mention trails, of great antiquity even then, and the narratives of the earliest white explorers show that they found a network of aboriginal roads

[9] Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 243–244.
[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 1, p. 332.
[11] Ibid., pt. 2, pp. 167–168.
[12] Spanish Explorers, p. 218.

by means of which the natives were enabled to reach all important points. In many cases animals, Indians, and whites used them conjointly. Thus Dr. Thomas Walker, a viewer-out of land for the Loyal Land Co., on his way to look over the region now called Kentucky, records of the section around Cumberland Gap:

"April 12th (1750). We kept down the Creek 2 miles further, where it meets with a large Branch coming from the Southwest, and thence runs through the East Ridge, making a very good pass; and a large Buffaloe Road goes from that Fork to the Creek over the West Ridge, which we took, and found the Ascent and Descent tollerably easie." [13]

Hundreds of similar references to the joint use of trails by man and beast are scattered throughout the records of the early settlers. It is well known that the Murfreesboro and Franklin Turnpike now leading into Nashville followed substantially the animal trails to the salt licks in Sulphur Spring Bottom at Nashville, the old French Lick. Haywood [14] says:

"The land adjacent to the French Lick, which Mr. Mansco in 1769 called an old field, was a large, open piece frequented and trodden by buffalos, whose large paths led to it from all parts of the country, and there concentrated."

Referring to the South Road, which the present Franklin Pike approximately follows, Haywood [15] remarks:

"This South Fork Road, as it was called, was a broad beaten path made by the buffalos which came from the south to the French Lick and apparently had been used by them for ages. It was worn into the earth one or two feet or more in many places. In some places three or four feet wide. This South Road extended from the French Lick to Duck River (about 40 miles) and how much further the writer has not yet ascertained."

Of Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Ky., and its ancient salt-making trails, Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston [16] discourses as follows:

"'Salt was manufactured at Big Bone Lick by the Indians before 1756, and by the whites as late as 1812. It required five or six hundred gallons of the water to make a bushel of salt.'

"The Indians from North of the Ohio came to Big Bone Lick in the dry months of summer and fall to make salt, when the water, free from the dilution of rain water, was most strongly impregnated. It was here that in the fall of 1755 the Shawnees from the mouth of the Scioto came for that purpose, and brought with them Mrs. Mary Ingles, wife of William Ingles, of Ingles' Ferry, on the New River, Virginia, near the present crossing of the East Tennessee &

[13] Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky (Journals of Walker and Oist), p. 47.
[14] Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 108.
[15] Ibid., p. 217.
[16] Explorations of Kentucky, p. 183 et seq.

Virginia Railroad in Montgomery County. They had captured her July 8th of that year, with others, at the massacre of Draper's Meadows, and she had endured the terrible journey down the New and Kanawha rivers to the old Shawnee town in Ohio, and thence to the Lick. She was said to have been the first white woman in Kentucky. . . .

"In Volume III, Kentucky Geological Report, 1877, Professor N. S. Shaler, Director of the Geological Survey, speaking of the mineral springs of Kentucky 'as being but the brines of the early seas in which, millions of years ago, our rocks were laid down,' says on page 18: 'Moreover, the swampy grounds about these springs are filled with successive layers of buried animals belonging to the extinct life of the country. Elephants, mastodons, and many other animals which no longer live on our land lie buried by the thousand around the waters where they resorted for salt. Big Bone Lick, a territory of forty acres or more, is crowded with these remains, as interesting in their way as the ruins of Egypt. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to science of a thorough study of these great burial-places; through such work we may be able to understand the nature of the great changes that swept away the vast creatures which occupied the earth before the time of man.'

"From Big Bone Lick buffalo roads led to Blue Licks, and also southwest to Drennon's Lick, in Henry County, thence to the crossing of the Kentucky just below Frankfort. From the valley of the river they then passed to the high ground east of Frankfort by a deeply worn road visible yet, known as the Buffalo Trace, to the Stamping Ground, in Scott County, a town named from the fact that the animals in vast herds would tread or stamp the earth while crowded together and moving around in the effort of those on the outside to get inside and thus secure protection from the flies. Thence they passed by the Great Crossing, so called from its being the place where they crossed Elkhorn, two miles west of Georgetown, and thence eastward to Blue Lick, May's Lick, and across the river into Ohio. Their roads formed in the comparatively level country the routes of the immigrants through the dense forests, impenetrable from the heavy cane, peavines, and other undergrowth. They also determined in many portions of the State not only the lines of travel and transportation, but also of settlement, as particularly shown between Maysville and Frankfort, a distance of about eighty miles, where the settlements were first made along the Buffalo road, and later the turnpike and railroad followed in close proximity to the route surveyed by this sagacious animal, which Mr. Benton said blazed the way for the railroad to the Pacific. The same idea is embodied in the vernacular of the unlettered Kentuckian who said that the then great road makers were 'the buffler, the Ingin, and the Ingineer.'"

John Filson, describing the salt licks of Kentucky in 1784, states:

"Many fine salt springs constantly emit water, which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine salt. . . . The Noblick, and many others, do not produce water, but consist of clay mixed with salt particles: To these the cattle repair, and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing herds of Buffalo which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the lands near those springs are chiefly hilly. These are truly curiosities, and the eye can scarcely be satisfied with admiring them." [17]

In considering the ancient Indian trails we should bear in mind the life, habits and surroundings of the Indian. These trails followed the lines of least resistance; they avoided rough, stony ground, briars, and close undergrowth such as is formed by laurel. This was to prevent undue wear on clothing or footgear and to save time.

During peace, or while in friendly territory, the Indians used the well-known trails such as we have mentioned. In enemy country they often avoided the customary trails purposely and took such courses as would render it hardest for the enemy to detect their presence. As opportunity offered they sought bare rocks or similar surfaces on which little or no impression was left, or the beds of streams where their tracks were soon obliterated.

In the wooded or mountainous regions of the central southern United States the Indians were forced to go in single file, and the paths were usually from 18 to 24 inches in width. On the open, grassy prairies of the Middle West, however, where there were no special obstacles, they proceeded en masse in such formation as suited their pleasure, and thus often made wide trails.

In the mountains, trails often led along the higher grounds and ridges where the undergrowth was not so dense and where there were fewer and smaller streams to cross. There, too, the road rose and fell less and the outlook for game and for enemies was wider. Where possible, trails passed through the lower gaps in the mountain ranges.

While the peoples who inhabited Tennessee undoubtedly changed from age to age, the topography of the State during the same period has remained substantially unaltered. The great settlements have always been in the richer valleys or on certain sites possessing other natural advantages: therefore the paths found and used by one people were, through a large portion of their length, followed by their successors, even though the terminal towns may have shifted somewhat, and some parts of them had become worn down below the

[17] "The Discovery and Settlement of Kentucky," in Imlay's Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, pp. 304–305.

surface of the soil while other stretches might be almost invisible, save to the practiced eye of the Indian. Later, when the white man came, on foot or on horseback—and the Indians would permit—he used the same trails, and portions of them were later followed successively by the white man's wagon roads and the white man's railroads, so that several of the great State turnpikes and railroads follow substantially the paths of the ancient Indian and his animal predecessors. This is notably true of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway in Tennessee and southern Kentucky, and of the Tennessee Central Railroad from Rockwood to Cookeville, Tenn.

The author has endeavored to locate faithfully on the accompanying maps as many of these ancient trails as possible, though it has not, of course, been within his power to establish clearly every foot of each route. They have been located by means of the numerous reports above mentioned, from traces which even yet can be found here and there in the undisturbed woodlands, from local traditions and ancient deeds, and from the maps of the early explorers. Authorities have been cited for the more important only, but no trail has been placed on the map without good reason therefor.

Few Indian names of trails have been preserved, such as we now possess being, for the most part, those given by the early whites, and usually of local origin. For example, the ancient trace leading from Middle Tennessee, via the junction of Big Bear Creek and Tennessee River, on to the Chickasaw towns in Mississippi, was by the early settlers in Middle Tennessee called, for obvious reasons, "The Chickasaw Trail," while the trail leading to the same towns from what is now Memphis, via Bolivar, was so called by early West Tennesseeans. There were many similar instances.

Over much of the southeast water routes existed alongside of land trails, sometimes supplementing them, sometimes paralleling them, sometimes practically excluding them. The Mississippi River and its branches, the Pascagoula, the Mobile, including the Tombigbee and Alabama, the Apalachicola, the Altamaha, Savannah, Santee, and many minor streams were all utilized, as were the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, especially where there were series of lagoons protected by outside islands or bars, as along the northwest and east coasts of Florida and the coast of Georgia. On some of the more rapid interior streams water transportation was only in one direction, in which case canoes of elm or cypress bark, or even of hickory and other trees, or buffalo skins over a wooden framework, often took the place of the more substantial but heavier dugouts elsewhere almost universal.

A few instances of the last-mentioned type of inland navigation may be mentioned. When a party of Indians moving south on the great Warriors' Trail came to Powell's River, a few miles beyond

Cumberland Gap, they often made rude bark canoes in which they floated down to the Clinch, thence to the Tennessee and as far along the latter as they chose. Similarly Indians coming toward East Tennessee over the West Virginia trails sometimes made bark or hide canoes on the headwaters of the Powell and Clinch Rivers, in southwestern Virginia, on which they floated the entire navigable length of these streams, totalling sometimes 200 or 250 miles, as far as the junction of the Clinch with the Tennessee near Kingston, Tenn. There was so much water transportation past this point that Governor Blount caused Sevier to build a fort there to command the traffic. This fort was at Southwest Point, later known as Kingston, and quickly attained so much importance that it became a formidable candidate for capital of the new State. For further information on travel by water see the chapter on the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail in Tennessee and Kentucky.[18]

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The investigation upon which this paper is based began with an intensive study of the trail system and antiquities of the State of Tennessee. The author does not deem it necessary or expedient to reproduce here the hundreds of reports obtained by him, relating to the trails and Indian remains in this State. These reports have come from well-informed and reliable people in each of the 96 counties. They were made by leading educators, local antiquarians, judges and other officials of the courts, civil engineers employed by the State highway department, and the leading Tennessee railroads. Especial mention must be made of the aid given by Gov. Thomas C. Rye and State Superintendent of Public Instruction S. W. Sherrell, who enabled the author to obtain reports from the superintendent of public instruction in each county. The State geologist, Dr. A. H. Purdue, and his assistants gave much valuable information. Hon. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, sent an elaborate questionnaire to each member of his society, and Hon. Roscoe Nunn, secretary of the Tennessee Academy of Science, sent a similar questionnaire to each member of that body. Judge Robert Ewing, mayor of Nashville, also rendered much assistance.

All of the above reports were carefully studied and compared and the discrepancies investigated, and the author supplemented them with information gained from personal visits to every county, extending over a period of about 35 years. These visits necessitated many hundreds of miles of travel, in all manner of vehicles and in all kinds of weather.

[18] A case of one-way transportation is given by Gabriel Arthur, according to whom bark canoes were used by his captors, the Tomahitan Indians, in a descent on Port Royal, S. C. If his account may be trusted, the river which they descended in this manner must have been the Savannah. See "Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, p. 220.

Later the investigation was carried beyond the boundaries of Tennessee, with the help of early published and unpublished documents, and letters to and personal interviews with numerous citizens of the section.

The results of this work are shown in Plate 14, in which has been employed the scheme of conventions adopted for the Archæologic Cartography of North America, and in Plate 15.

LIST OF TRAILS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

Most of the names in the following list were bestowed by Mr. Myer, and his numbers have been retained as far as possible. For trails left unnamed the editor has selected those designations which appealed to him as most appropriate and the numbers have been filled in so as to make a consecutive series. Occasionally it has been found necessary to introduce alterations in the numbers, and in a very few cases in the names also, but the bulk of these changes are of a kind which it would have been incumbent on the author himself to adopt had he lived long enough to prepare his work for the press. The starred trails are those which Mr. Myer has treated in his text.

The principal authority for trails 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 87, and parts of 19 and 80 was Charles C. Royce's report on "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" and the accompanying maps (18th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 2, Washington, 1902); the principal authority for trails 60, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, and the South Carolina portion of 80 was the Mitchell Map of 1755; the principal authority for trails 62 and 70 was the Melish Map of 1814; the principal authority for trail 69 the De Crenay Map of 1733; and the principal authorities for trail 90 Phelan's History of Tennessee and Lusher's map reproduced by Malone in "The Chickasaw Nation" (Louisville, Ky., 1922). Lusher was also the chief source of information for the trail system of northern Mississippi.

*1. Alanant-o-wamiowee (Buffalo Path).
2. The Big Bone Lick and Little Miami Trail.
*3. The Licking Route.
*4. The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail.
*5. The Wilderness Road.
6. Old Road from Fort Washington to Tennessee.
7. Old Kentucky State Road.
8. Pioneer Road from Harrodsburg to the Falls of the Ohio.
9. Pioneer Road from Lexington to the Falls of the Ohio.
10. Trail between Duck River and Beech River, Tennessee.
*11. The Bolivar and Memphis Trail.
*12. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.
*13. The Cisco and Savannah Trail.
14. The Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail.
*15. The Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail.
*16. The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail.

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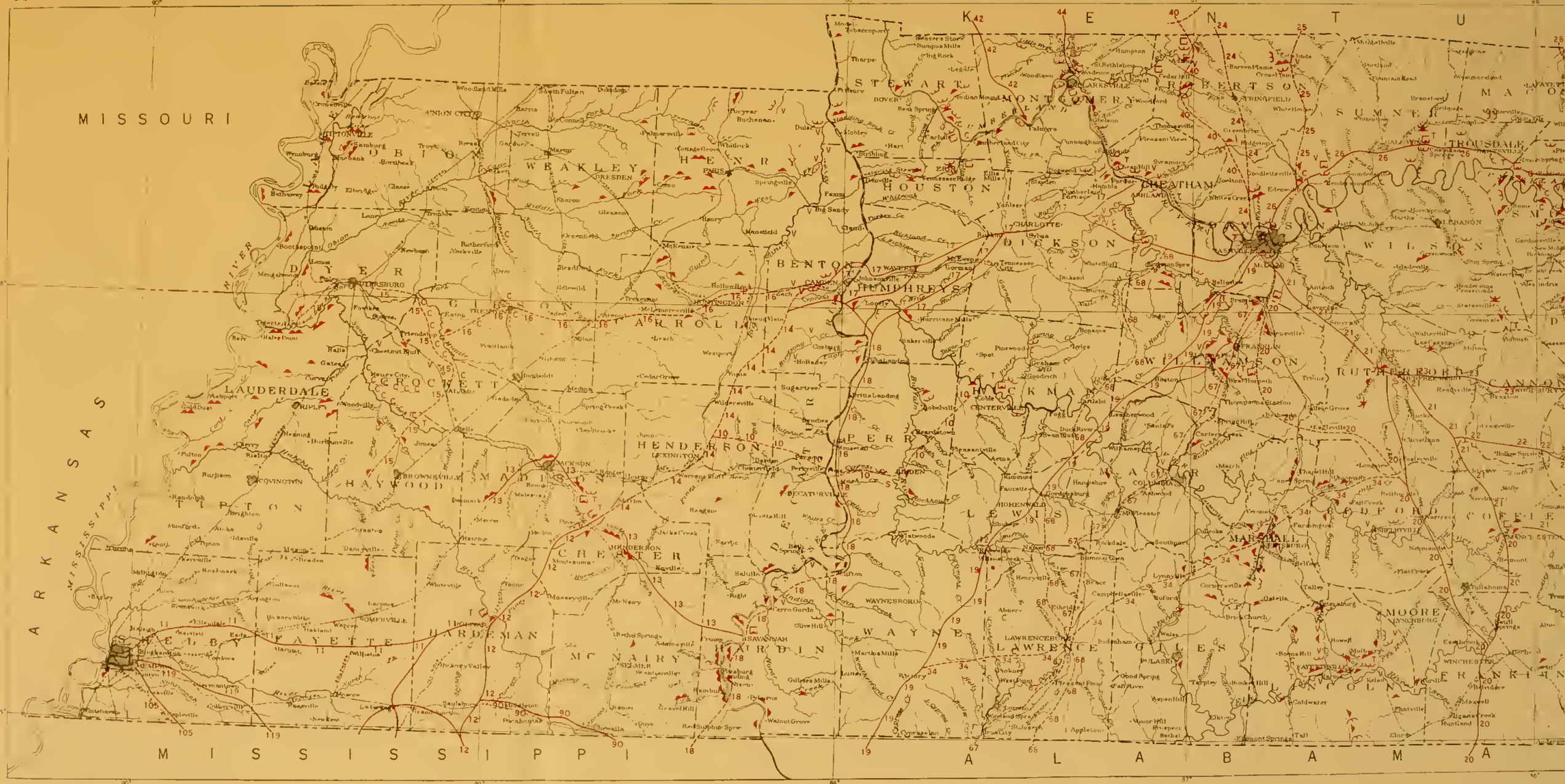
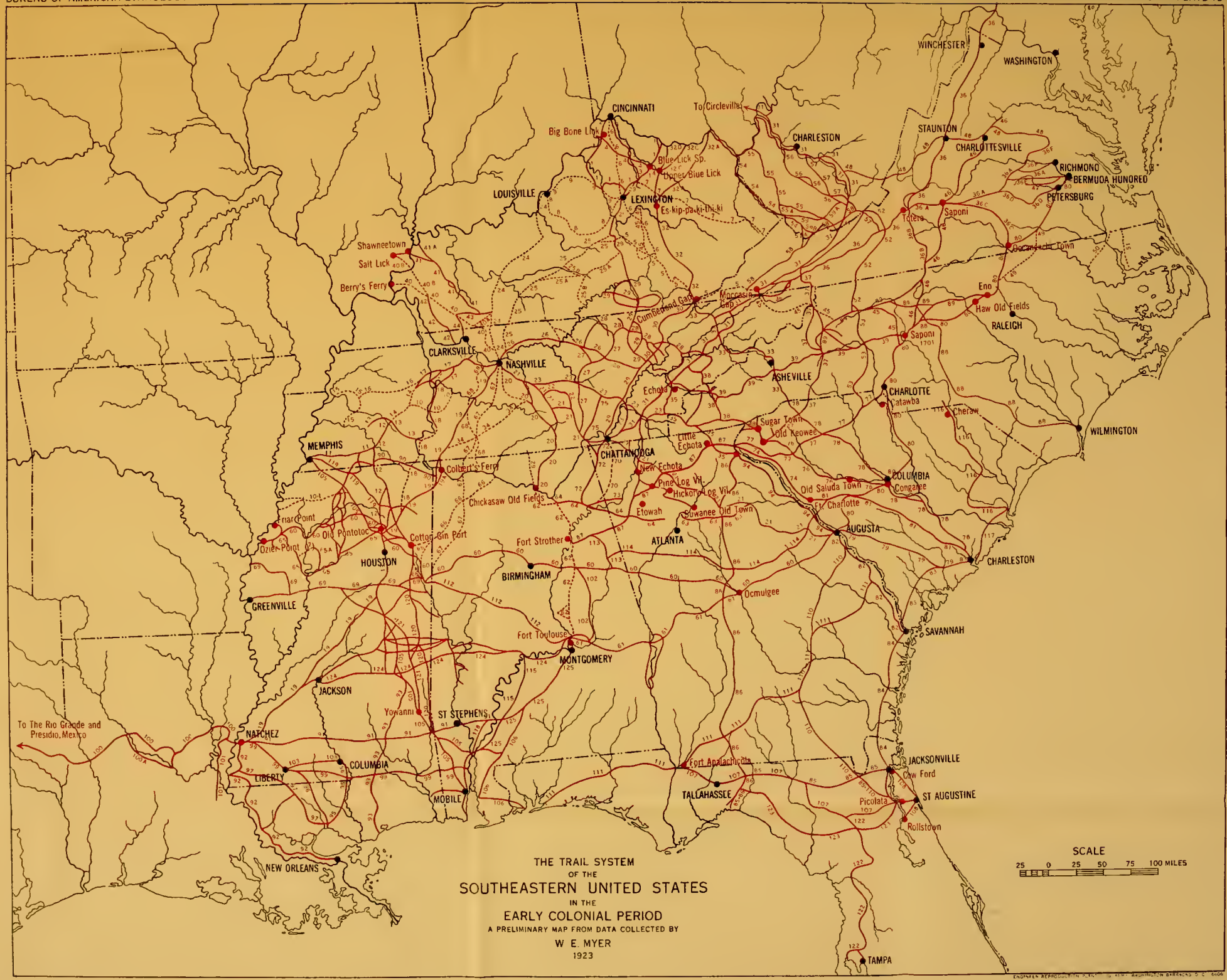



ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP
OF THE
STATE OF TENNESSEE
INCLUDING THE PRINCIPAL ABORIGINAL AND PIONEER TRAILS
BY W E MYER
1923
SCALE
10 0 10 20 30 40 MILES
ARCHAEOLOGIC SYMBOLS
TRAILS
C CAMP SITE
V ANCIENT VILLAGE
S ROCK SHELTER
T ANCIENT TOWN
+ UNDEFINED ANTIQUITIES
MOUND
BURIAL CAVE
CEMETERY
INCLOSURE WITH INTERIOR MOUND
CAIRN
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MACON
SUMNER
TROUSDALE
JACKSON
OVERTON
PUTNAM
WHITE
DE KALB
CANNON
WARREN
VAN BUREN
COFFEE
GRUNDY
SEQUATCHIE
MARION
HAMILTON
BRADLEY
POLK
MONROE
MCMINN
RHEA
ROANE
CUMBERLAND
MORGAN
SCOTT
CAMPBELL
CLAIBORNE
HANCOCK
HAWKINS
SULLIVAN
JOHNSON
CARTER
WASHINGTON
UNICOI
GREENE
HAMBLEN
GRAINGER
UNION
KNOX
JEFFERSON
SEVIER
BLOUNT
LOUDON
MONROE
CHEROKEE
MONTGOMERY
STEWART
HOUSTON
DICKSON
WILSON
SMITH
TROUSDALE
LEBANON
MURFREESBORO
SPARTA
CROSSVILLE
KINGSTON
ROCKWOOD
MARYVILLE
MADISONVILLE
ATHENS
CLEVELAND
CHATTANOOGA
JACKSBORO
JONESBORO
GREENEVILLE
ROGERSVILLE
KINGSPORT
BLUNTVILLE
MOUNTAIN CITY
ERWIN
NEWPORT
SEVIERVILLE
MARYVILLE
LENOIR CITY
ENGINEER REPRODUCTION PLANT

*17. The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail.
*18. The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail.
*19. The Natchez Trace or the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace.
*20. The Great South Trail.
*21. The Cisca and St. Augustine Trail.
*22. The Nickajack Trail.
*23. The Black Fox Trail.
*24. The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail.
*25. The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail.
*26. The Cumberland Trace.
*27. The Chickamauga Path.
28. The East and West Trail.
*29. The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail.
*30. The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
*31. The Great Indian Warpath.
*32, 32A, 32B, 32c. The Warriors' Path in Kentucky.
33. The Catawba Trail.
*34. The Old Waterloo Road.
35. The Unicoi Turnpike.
*36. The Chesapeake Branch of the Great Indian Warpath.
37. The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia.
38. The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail.
*39. Rutherford's War Trace.
*40. The Nashville-Saline River Trail.
*41. The Russellville-Shawneetown Trail.
*42. The Palmyra-Princeton Trail.
*43. The Russellville-Hopkinsville Trail.
44. The Clarksville-Hopkinsville Trail.
*45. Boone's Trail from the Yadkin River to Boonesborough.
46. The Saura-Saponi Trail.
47. Trail from Bermuda Hundred to Amelia.
48. The trail between Pamunkey and New Rivers.
49. Pioneer Road from Petersburg to Tar River.
50. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Roanoke River.
51. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Albemarle Sound.
52. The New River and Southern Trail.
53. The Catawba and Northern Trail.
*54. The Big Sandy Trail.
*55, 55A. The Guyandot Trail.
*56. The Coal River Trail.
*57. The Paint Creek Trail.
*58. The New River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
*59, 59A, 59B. Trail along the North Fork of Tug River.
60. The Lower Creek Trading Path.
61. The Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, and Mobile Trail.
62. Route of Gen. Jackson's army when invading the Creek country.
63. Hightower Path.
64. The Old Road from the Tennessee River to Georgia.
65. The Chakchiuma Trails.
*66. Gaines's Trace (according to Royce).
67. General Jackson's Old Military Road.
68. Route of General Jackson's expedition against the Indians in 1787.
69. Route from Tombigbee River to the mouth of the Arkansas.
70. Route followed by General Cox's Army (Melish map, 1814).
71. Long Island and Trenton (Lookout Mountain Town) Trail.

72. The Chattanooga-Willstown Road.
73. The Old Creek Path.
74. The Old Path from Fort Charlotte to the Cherokee Country.
*75. The Sequatchie Trail.
76. The Old Cherokee Trading Path.
77. The Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775.
78. The Old South Carolina State Road to the North.
79. The trail from Fort Moore (Augusta) to Charleston.
*80. The Occaneechi Path.
81. The trail from Charleston to Fort Charlotte.
82. The trail from Augusta to Savannah.
83. The trail from Charleston to Savannah.
84. The trail from Savannah to Jacksonville.
85. The trail from St. Augustine and Jacksonville to Apalachee Bay.
86. The trail from Tugaloo to Apalachee Bay.
87. The Old Indian Path between Coosa and Tugaloo.
88. The Wilmington, High Point, and Northern Trail.
89. The Oconee Path.
*90. The Cherokee Trace.
*91. The trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks.
92. The trail from Natchez to New Orleans.
93. The trail from Bay St. Louis to the Choctaw.
94. The trail from Augusta to the Cherokee via Fort Charlotte.
95. Trail between Pearl River and Lake Pontchartrain.
96. Trail between Natchez and Lake Pontchartrain.
97. Trail between the Tunica and Lake Pontchartrain.
98. Trail East from Baton Rouge.
*99. The trail from Mobile to Natchez.
*100. The Natchez and Texas Trail.
101. Trail between Natchez and the Atchafalaya.
102. The Tallapoosa Trail.
103. Trail between Columbia and Liberty, Mississippi.
104. The Chickasaw-Tunica Old Fields Trail.
*105. The Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail.
*106. Trail from the Upper Creeks to Pensacola.
*107. Trail from St. Augustine to the mouth of Flint River.
108. Trail from Palatka to Jacksonville.
109. Trail from Picolata to Jacksonville.
110. Trail from Augusta to St. Augustine.
*111. Old Trading Path from the Savannah to Pensacola.
112. The Alabama-Chickasaw Trail.
113. The Okfuskee Trail.
114. The Middle Creek Trading Path.
115. The trail from Selma to Mobile.
116. Trail from Winyah Bay to the Cheraws.
117. Trail from Charleston to Winyah Bay.
118. Trail from Mobile to the Lower Creeks.
*119. The Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail.
120. The Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens, and Mobile Bay Trail.
121. The Choctaw and Mobile Bay Middle Route.
122. Trail from Alachua to Tampa Bay.
123. The Southern St. Augustine-Apalachee Trail.
124. The Alabama, Choctaw, and Natchez Trail.
125. The Alabama and Mobile Trail.



THE TRAIL SYSTEM
OF THE
SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES
IN THE
EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD
A PRELIMINARY MAP FROM DATA COLLECTED BY
W E. MYER
1923

THE GREAT INDIAN WARPATH

(Trail No. 31)

The Great Indian Warpath ran from the Creek country in Alabama and Georgia, through the East Tennessee Cherokee settlements, to Long Island in the Holston River, dividing near what is now Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tenn. Here the fork which we have called the Chesapeake branch (Trail No. 36) led off to the northeast through Virginia, into Pennsylvania and beyond. The other, which we have called the Ohio branch, led up the Holston Valley to the north fork of the Holston by what is now Saltville, Va., to the New River, and thence down the New and Kanawha Rivers to the Indian settlements in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

This trail is often mentioned by early white visitors to the Cherokee country. It is shown on the "Map of Cumberland and Franklin" in Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee," opposite page 376, and on Royce's "Map of the former territorial limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians," etc.[19] It was one of the great trading and war paths between the northern and southern tribes, was intimately connected with the prehistoric migrations of the aborigines, and in later times saw the passage of those men and armies which made history for the Indians and for the whites.[20]

The course of the Great Indian Warpath in Tennessee.—This warpath of necessity had many branches, as it passed through a maze of local trails among the numerous Cherokee towns in Tennessee, and this accounts for many apparent discrepancies in the narratives of early visitors as to its location, the visitor often giving his local branch as the main route. The route through Tennessee laid down in Royce's map is reasonably correct but does not show all of the local branches.[21] It continued on from the junction of Moccasin Creek

[19] In the Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

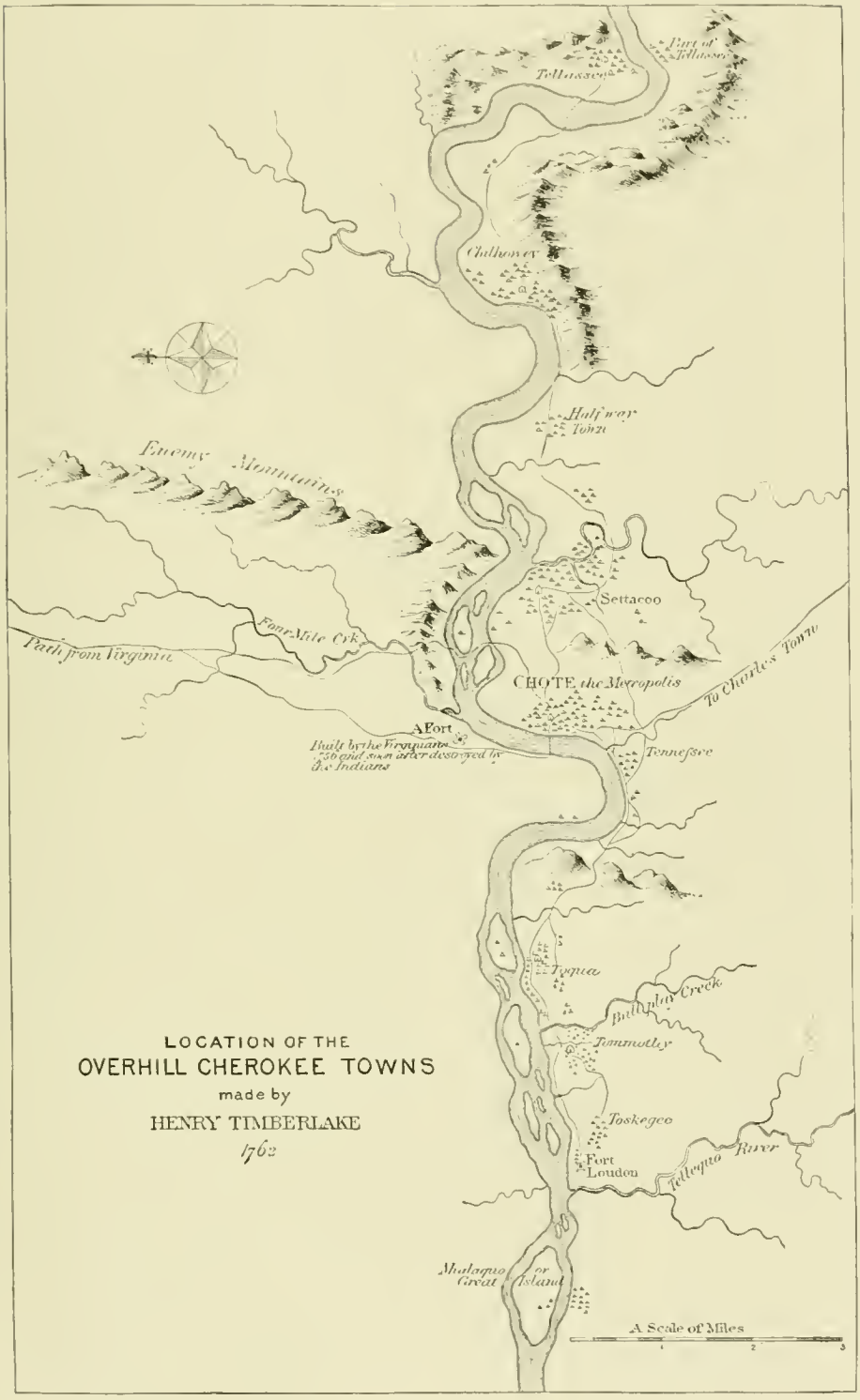
[20] See Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee, pp. 63–65. For an account of the wars between the Iroquois and Cherokee, see Mooney, in Nineteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pt. 1, pp. 351–352.

[21] "When the pioneers of Tennessee settled in the south-western part of Virginia, and the coterminous portions of North-Carolina, the country had ceased to be, perhaps had never been, the settled residence of any of the more modern aboriginal tribes. At this time it was the common hunting grounds of the Shawnees, Cherokees and other southern Indians. But east and north of the Tennessee river, there was not a single Indian hut. Still, along the vallies of what is now East Tennessee and Southwestern Virginia, lay the great route and thoroughfare between the northern and southern Indians, in their intercourse with distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their embassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion. Besides its central position and its direct bearing, the great Apalachian chain could no where else be so easily ascended and crossed. Abundance of game, water and fuel, a healthful and moderate climate, an unoccupied territory, no impracticable swamps, or deep and wide streams to retard their journeyings, were all considerations which led to the selection of this path. One branch of it was nearly the same as the present stage route passing the Big Lick, in Bottetourt county, Virginia; crossing New River at old Fort Chissel, near Inglis' Ferry, Holston at the Seven Mile Ford, thence to the left of the present stage road and near to the river, to the North Fork, crossing as at present; thence to Big Creek and crossing the Holston at Dodson's Ford, to the Grassy Springs, near the residence of the late Micajah Lea; thence down the waters of Nollichuky to Long Creek, ascending that stream to its source, and descending Dumpling Creek to a point a few miles from its mouth, where the path deflected to the left and crossed French Broad near Buckingham's Island. Near this, the path divided. One branch of it [Trail No. 38] went up the west fork of Little Pigeon, and

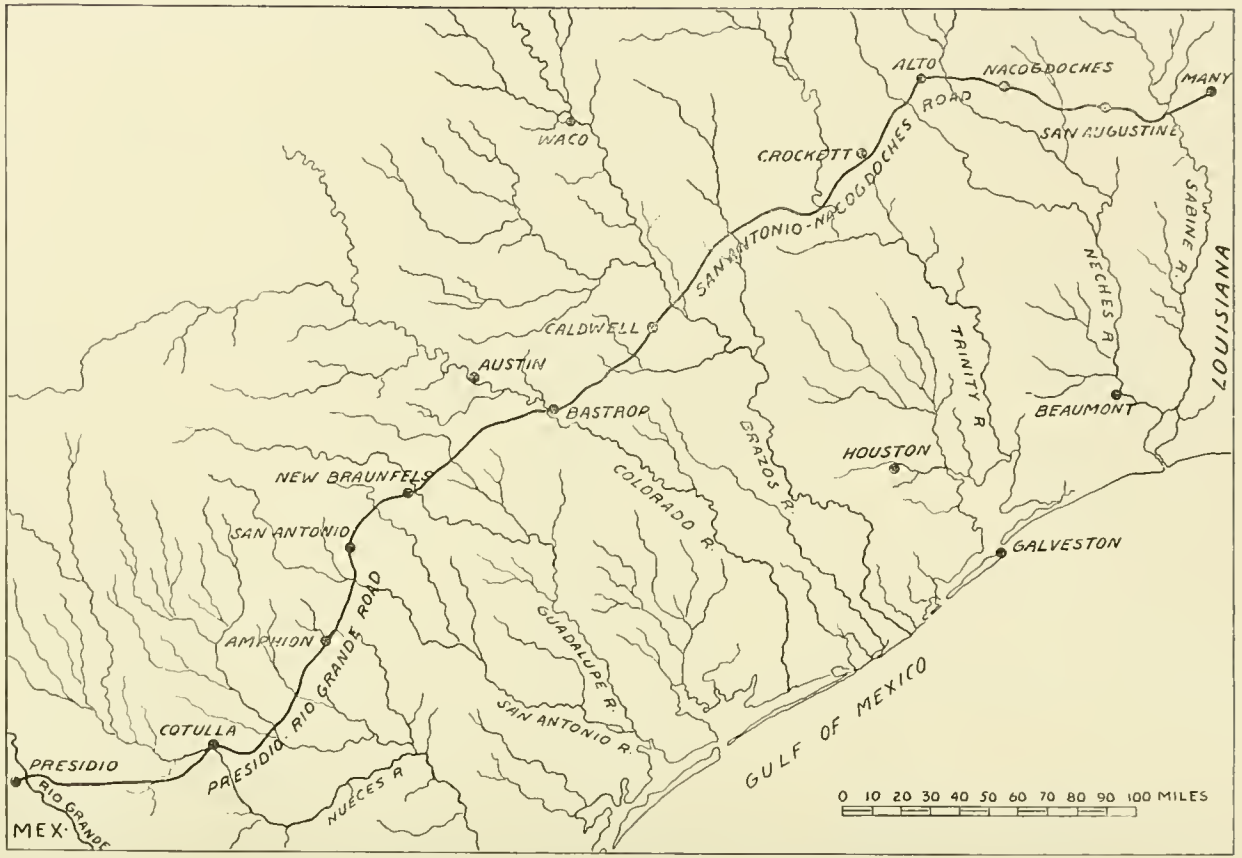
with the north fork of the Holston just above the Tennessee line, passed the junction of the north and south forks of the Holston at Long Island, and went down the west side of the Holston, crossing Big Creek at its mouth and the Holston to its east side at Dodson's Creek. Thence it continued up along the east side of Dodson's Creek and across Big Gap Creek, which it followed for a short distance and, going on toward the southwest, just touching Nolechuky River, it passed up the west side of Long Creek, went down Dumpling Creek, and crossed French Broad just below the mouth of Dumpling.

Here branched off the Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38) which led off to the southeast through Tuckaleechee Cove, and on through the passes in the Great Smoky Mountains to the middle and lower Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina. From the crossing just below the mouth of Dumpling the main trail went along the west side of Boyd's Creek to its head and down the west side of Ellijay Creek to and across Little River, then through what is now Maryville, and from there southwestward to the Little Tennessee River at the mouth of Tellico Creek, near the site of Old Fort Loudon. From the latter place it passed up along the south side of Little Tennessee River, through numerous Cherokee towns and fields, to Echota, the ancient capital and peace town of the Cherokee, after which it continued southwest across Tellico Creek, passed along the ridge between Chestua and Canasauga Creeks, crossing the Canasauga near its mouth, and Hiwassee River at the old Cherokee town of Hiwassee. It now continued southwest across the Ocoee River near its mouth, passing south of what is now Cleveland, through the present Ooltewah, southwest to Old Chickamauga Town, on Chickamauga Creek, and thence on to the old Indian town of Citico, at the mouth of Citico Creek, in the suburbs of Chattanooga. Farther on it connected the Cherokee towns and settlements of Running Water and Nickajack with that at the Great Creek Crossing at Long Island (now Bridgeport Island) in Tennessee River, near Bridgeport, Ala. At Bridgeport Island it met several important trails leading to numerous

crossed some small mountains to the Tuckalechee towns, and so on to the Over-hill villages of the Cherokees. The other and main fork, went up Boyd's Creek to its source, and falling upon the head branches of Allejay, descended its valley to Little River, and crossing near Henry's, went by the present town of Maryville, to the mouth of Tellico, and passing through the Indian towns and villages of Tellico, Chota and Hiwassee, descended the Coosa, where it connected with the Great War Path of the Creeks. Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the earlier English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Rockcastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston."—Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, pp. 87–88.



LOCATION OF THE
OVERHILL CHEROKEE TOWNS
made by
HENRY TIMBERLAKE
1762



THE CAMINO REAL IN TEXAS (AFTER ZIVELY)

points in Georgia and Alabama and others which went into Middle Tennessee and the country beyond.[22]

We reproduce in Plate 16 Timberlake's map of the Over-hill Cherokee towns in 1762,[23] which shows the Great Warpath ("Path from Virginia") entering ancient Echota ("Chote, the Metropolis"). It also gives the well-known path leading from Echota to the sea at Charleston and Savannah (Trail No. 35). Timberlake's map illustrates the large number of paths which were found in all thickly settled Indian regions, and among other things shows that just before this warpath crossed the river to enter Chote it came to "A Fort built by the Virginians [in] 1756 and soon after destroyed by the Indians." It also shows Fort Loudon at the mouth of "Tellequo River" where the massacre occurred in 1760 which has taken such deep hold on the imagination of our people.

The Ohio Branch

The main or Ohio prong of the Great Indian Warpath led from the forks of the trail at Long Island, Sullivan County, Tenn., up the valley of the north fork of Holston River, and past the recently discovered site of an ancient Indian town on the east side of the Holston Valley, about 6 miles northeast of the present village of Abram's Falls, in Washington County, Va.

This town was evidently deserted long before historic times, for no hint of its former existence reached the early white visitors. That it was a place of some importance and inhabited for many years is shown by the great number of skeletons of its one-time

[22] The Indian crossing place at Long Island (also called Bridgeport Island) on Tennessee River near Bridgeport, Ala., known to the early whites in Middle Tennessee as the "Old Creek Crossing," was a natural gateway for aboriginal travel. The Cisca and St. Augustine trail, the Nickajack trail, the Chickamauga path, all crossed the Tennessee River at this point. Several other great paths leading through Georgia to Middle Tennessee and the North used it, as does the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Rail way to-day.

Its importance as a trading point was quickly grasped by all early white visitors to this region. On the French map of Guillaume De l'Isle, published in 1722, an island is shown at about the location of Long Island or the Old Creek Crossing, on one end of which a village of "Casquinampo" Indians is located, on the other a village of "Caskighi" (Tuskegee). This information De l'Isle probably obtained from those French traders who began passing up the Tennessee River as early as 1701.

There is an old manuscript map of this region in the British Archives, a copy of which was given to the Historical Society of South Carolina. It is undated but experts think it belongs to about the year 1715. An island on this also corresponds in location to the Long Island at Old Creek Crossing. In its center a French fort is located, with the words: "Since ye Warre a French Fort." It shows a village of "Cusatees" (probably Koasati) at either end. The author finds on another old map in the Library of Congress, "Carte de la Louisiane par N. Bellin," published in Paris in 1744, a "Fort et Poste Anglois" at what appears to be the same location, showing that about that time the English had a fort and trading post here. On account of its importance as a trading point and the command it assured of the river, it is evident that its possession was eagerly sought by both the French and the English.

The Cherokee came to Long Island after its successive occupations by the Casquinampo, "Caskighi," and Cusatees, probably after 1740.

Explorations by Mr. Clarence B. Moore in 1914 (Aborignal Sites on the Tennessee River, p. 331) show that there was a village site on the lower end of the island. He found three mounds there, one on the Tennessee side of the Tennessee-Alabama State line and two in Alabama. The owner was unwilling to permit digging on the island, and consequently we do not know whether vestiges of a village on the upper end could be unearthed.

[23] Timberlake, Memoirs.

inhabitants which were found in two burial caves or cavern shelters in the adjoining mountain side. These burial caves were discovered in January, 1922, and announcement was immediately made by telegraph to the writer and Dr. A. Hrdlička by Col. Samuel L. King, of Bristol, Tenn. Colonel King states: "The caves were discovered by an enterprising moonshiner looking for a suitable location for a still [fact]." In his search, a round, well-like opening was found in the bottom of a small depression, and, descending by means of a rope, the searcher found at the bottom of the "well" a cave, where, immediately underneath the "well" opening, to his utter astonishment, he came upon an irregular mound of earth and stones with which some human bones were indiscriminately mingled. Doctor Hrdlička visited this site in February, and reported that this mound-like pile was an irregular oval, approximately 8 feet high, about 80 feet long, and 30 feet in width. The bodies appeared to have been brought down the well-like crevice and placed near the walls of the cave. The mound of earth had gradually accumulated by washings from the surface above and the stones had fallen from the roof of the cavern-shelter. The human bones had in some way become moved from their original positions near the side of the cave, probably by animals, and were mingled with this gradually accumulating mound, which appeared to contain the badly scattered fragments of several hundred human skeletons. Most of the bones were more or less broken.

Another near-by burial cave was also reported to contain a large number of fragments of human bones, and Colonel King was told later of still other burial caves in the neighborhood.

This skeletal material seems to suggest the Cherokee type.

From this ancient village site the trail continued on up the valley of the Holston about 25 miles until it reached the great salt lick at what was known to the early whites as King's Salt Works, from a settler who began the manufacture of salt at this point about 1810. As the place grew in importance it became known as Saltville, and, although the deposit has been worked for over 100 years, it continues to furnish great quantities of salt and is the site of a large manufacturing establishment in the products of which salt plays an important part.

The first white men who came to this salt lick found a small shallow lake covering a portion of the little valley, a great resort for waterfowl, and on or near its marshy edge in the trail-cut valley they discovered several bones which proved to belong to the mastodon, *Megalonyx* and other large extinct animals of the Pleistocene period. Some of the bones of these animals the reader may see, if he so desire, at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.

The old Cherokee path to Virginia (No. 37).—At Saltville the Ohio prong was joined by the old Cherokee path to Virginia, in existence

before 1775, which passed through the Carolinas and the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee before reaching this point.

Route of the Ohio prong from Saltville to Kanawha Falls (No. 31 continued).—Although we have made diligent inquiry, we have been unable to locate the course of the Ohio prong between Saltville and the falls of the Kanawha with any degree of certainty. The existence of such a trail is well known, but it ran through a wild country with a poor soil and one that did not attract the aborigines; nor did it lie in such a position as to be used and thus emphasized by the oncoming wave of early white immigration. Probably this portion of the trail led from Saltville via the North Holston Valley along the west side of Lick Creek, up the Hunting Camp Creek Fork of Clear Fork, through Rocky Gap, and thence along the ridges between the Bluestone and New Rivers to the mouth of the former stream. The evidence for that portion of the route near the Bluestone is strengthened by the fact that there are some ancient Indian remains in Mercer County, where the trail crosses the eighty-first meridian, about 5 miles in a straight line southwest of Elgood. There it crossed New River, and probably went 1 or 2 miles to the east of Hinton, passing along the ridge about 3 miles east of Ramp, 2 miles west of Grassy Meadows and 3 miles west of Rainelle. About 4 miles west of Rainelle it was joined by a trail (No. 48) which led up from central Virginia, through White Sulphur Springs, Lewisburg, and Rainelle. From this point the Ohio prong followed the course of the old turnpike from Virginia which led along the Flat Top Mountain to the falls of the Kanawha. Local tradition affirms that this portion of the old road to Virginia followed an Indian trail. The fact that it left the valley for the ridge is confirmed by the following quotation from George Washington's "Tour to the Ohio."[24] Speaking of the Kanawha River he says:

"The river is easily passed with canoes to the falls, which can not be less than one hundred miles, but further it is not possible to go with them; that there is but one ridge from thence to the settlements upon the river above, on which it is possible for a man to travel, the country between being so much broken with steep hills and precipices."

From Saltville another fork of the Ohio prong led up the narrowing valley of the north fork of the Holston to its head northeast of Ceres in Bland County, Va. Thence it passed to the head of Walker Creek, a distance of less than 2 miles, and on down Walker Creek to its junction with New River.[25] It is probable that many travelers bound north from Saltville took this Walker Creek route, made canoes at the junction of Walker Creek and New River and floated down the swift New River to Kanawha Falls. Southbound travelers,

[24] Sparks, The Writings of George Washington, vol. II, p. 529.

[25] The author questions this sentence, evidently feeling doubtful of its complete accuracy.

who would have been compelled to force canoes up New River, probably used the land route via Rainelle.

Route down the Kanawha.—From Kanawha Falls the Ohio prong proceeded down Kanawha Valley. Some travelers probably went in canoes while others took the land trail as far as some Indian settlements along the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Kanawha. George Washington visited this region in 1770, and he relates [26] that at that time the Ohio prong crossed the Ohio at the mouth of what is now Mill Creek, in the Great Bend.

"At this place begins what they call the Great Bend. Two miles below, on the east side, comes in another creek, just below an island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white-bodied sycamores; in the mouth of this creek lies a sycamore blown down by the wind. From hence an east line may be run three or four miles; thence a north line till it strikes the river, which I apprehend would include about three or four thousand acres of valuable land. At the mouth of this creek is the warriors' path to the Cherokee country. For two miles and a half below this the Ohio runs a north-east course, and finishes what they call the Great Bend."

Washington makes no mention of the crossing at the site of the old abandoned Shawnee town on the Ohio 3 miles upstream from the mouth of the Kanawha. The local branch of the Ohio prong, which formerly reached this Shawnee town, was probably so little used at that time as not to be noticeable. On page 527 of the work quoted Washington records:

"November 1st.—Before eight o'clock we set off with our canoe up the river, to discover what kind of lands lay upon the Kanawha. The land on both sides this river just at the mouth is very fine; but on the east side, when you get toward the hills, which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river, it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek."

The ancient Kanawha River settlements reached by this trail.—From Kanawha Falls to the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers this Ohio prong passed through a region which was occupied in succession by several different Indian tribes. Most of these occupancies were so old that the Indians of the period of 1750 appear not to have had even a tradition regarding them.

[26] Sparks, Writings of George Washington, vol. II, p. 526.

The remains left by some of these peoples were to be seen in the year 1890 at many places, but here we have space to enumerate only a few.

Fayette County.—Peculiar stone heaps and stone walls on both sides of the Kanawha at Mount Carbon.

Kanawha County.—The Clifton works, on which the present village of Clifton is located.

A rock wall fortification commanding the only easy approach to a natural fortress on top of the bluffs at the junction of Paint Creek and the Kanawha.

The ancient works at Brownstown.

The peculiar mounds in the deep valley of Len's Creek.

An interesting circular inclosure, 200 feet in diameter, on Elk River, 1 mile north of Charleston.

A series of mounds and other evidences of ancient inhabitants, for a distance of several miles up the Elk.

In a low gap, 5 miles up Elk River from Charleston, the trace of an ancient trail leading from these old Indian sites to the Ohio prong running along the Kanawha at Charleston.

The works and mounds near St. Albin, on Coal River, 2 miles above its mouth.

Traces of what was once a very large town, if indeed it should not be called a city, are to be found along the Kanawha, extending below Charleston from 3 to 8 miles. Late in the seventeenth century a Siouan town occupied by the Moneton tribe is thought to have been located near this site.[27] For a lengthy description of the remains here see Thomas in Twelfth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, pages 414 to 428.

Putnam County.—Continuing down the Kanawha, the Ohio prong touched the settlements of which the mounds and inclosure on the southern side of the Kanawha just below Winfield are the remains.

Mason County.—Farther down the Kanawha the trail struck settlements marked by the fine mounds on the land of Gen. John McCausland,[28] of which the following is a description:

"On the high bottom land of Gen. John McCausland, on the south side of the river, near the Putnam County line, are five mounds, from 30 to 90 feet in diameter and 4 to 8 feet high. In one of these were found the fragments of a large pot. Like nearly all the mound pottery of this section it was composed of pounded stone and clay. The pottery from the kitchen-middens nearly always contains pulverized shells instead of stone."

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[27] See Alvord and Bidgood, First Expl. of the Trans-Allegheny Region, pp. 221–222. The name has sometimes been spelled erroneously Mohetan, and Mooney has unfortunately copied this error in Bulletin 22, Bur. Ethn.

[28] Thomas, Report on Mound Explorations, p. 435.

There are large numbers of mounds and large burial rock heaps on this trail in other parts of the county.

"From Kanawha falls to the mouth of the river are abundant evidences that the valley has been occupied by the builders of the hard-cored mounds, and subsequently by a people who accumulated kitchen-middens and buried in them or in low mounds which shovel like ashes or alluvial soil. The hard-cored, conical mounds and the large ones having vaults are invariably on the high bottoms not subject to overflow; while the refuse heaps are upon either the first or second terrace. Though the different works are often near together, with the single exception of those on the Goshorn place they never intermingle, as though the later comers were careful not to intrude upon the grounds occupied by the more ancient works.

"Five miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, on the south side, on the farm of Charles E. McCulloch, is the largest mound in this section. Unlike most of the large mounds, it is not on the river bottom, but on a sloping terrace nearly a hundred feet higher, and after long cultivation is still 20 feet high and fully 300 feet in circumference. The old war trail [the Ohio prong (W. E. M.)] is said to have crossed the spur upon which it stands just below it. . . .

* * * * * * *

"Numerous rock etchings were formerly to be found along this part of the Kanawha valley, but most of these have been destroyed; yet enough remain to show their rude character.

"On the Miller farm, 3 miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, is a rock which has rolled down from the cliffs and lodged near the ancient trail. The face of this detached fragment, some 20 feet long by 4 wide, is covered with figures of animals, birds (one double-headed), serpents, etc.[29]

"Immediately south of the Kanawha river, in West Virginia and extending southward into Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, the pecked or sculptured petroglyphs are replaced by painted figures of a style differing from the Algonquian," etc.[30]

It is as yet impossible to identify all of the earlier tribes whose remains are found on the Ohio prong along Kanawha River, but archeologists and ethnologists are gradually uncovering facts which will solve some of the problems. Some of the copper gorgets from these early remains closely resemble gorgets found around Nashville, Tennessee, and on the Tennessee River in northern Alabama. Certain of the curious works resemble those found in Ohio. The remains show clearly the influence of a location of this kind on an important trail.

Junction of trails at the mouth of the Kanawha.—At the Ohio crossing at the mouth of the Kanawha the Ohio prong met several im-

[29] Thomas, Report on Mound Explorations, pp. 436–437.
[30] Mallery in 10th Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 46; see also p. 124.

portant trails in both West Virginia and Ohio, which led along the Ohio River to the many ancient settlements in the immediate Ohio Valley. The main trail went in a northwestwardly direction to the thickly populated Indian region around Circleville, in Pickaway County, Ohio, and from there lines of communication radiated in all directions. One of the most important was the Great Warriors' Trail which the continuation of the Ohio prong here met. This Great Warriors' Trail, coming up from the South through Tennessee and Kentucky, continued on via old Mingo Town (now Columbus), Wyandot Old Town (near the upper Sandusky in Wyandot County), and thence down the Sandusky River valley to Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie, where it connected with numerous land and water routes. Thus ended a great through trail running from the east around Charleston and Sandusky to Lake Erie at Sandusky Bay.

Migrations along the Great Indian Warpath.—The Great Indian Warpath with its various prongs has been the route of many migrations of people as well as many bands of warriors. Possibly it was by this trail that the Cherokee reached their later homes in the southern Appalachians. Many war parties of Iroquois passed along it to strike as far south as northern Alabama, and typical examples of its use by them may be found in George Washington's journals of his visits to the Ohio. In 1753, when he was at an Indian town on that river near the present site of Pittsburgh, he says:

". . . We met here with 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War: But coming to a Place upon the Head of the great *Kunnaway*, where they found seven People killed and scalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for Fear the Inhabitants should rise and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the House, and some of them much torn and eaten by Hogs: By the Marks which were left, they say they were *French* Indians of the *Ottoway* Nation, &c. who did it."[31]

When Washington visited the Ohio in 1770, 17 years later, and stopped at the Mingo town a few miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, his party "found and left more than 60 warriors of the Six Nations, going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbas."[32]

Thus along this trail the red warriors passed to and fro. From the North the Iroquois sallied forth against the Cherokee, Catawba, or other southern tribes, and from the South again and again went war parties of the latter nations to surprise and harass their northern enemies.

The Ohio prong an Indian Mason and Dixon's line.—The Ohio prong in West Virginia and its extension through Circleville to

[31] Journal of Maj. George Washington, p. 38.

[32] Sparks, in Writings of George Washington, vol. II, p. 521.

Sandusky Bay in Ohio was not only a pathway but it was what might be called an Indian Mason and Dixon's line. The linguistic map shows that it was the dividing line, roughly speaking, except at its northern end, between the Algonkians and the northern section of the Iroquoian stock.[32a]

The immediate vicinity of the mouth of Walker Creek, in Giles County, Va., where one branch of the Ohio prong started down New River, was a connecting point between aboriginal tribes and linguistic stocks—Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Siouan—and later became such for the white man's States.

Near this point the first corner of the short-lived State of Franklin was also laid down.[33]

That the Indians realized it was such a boundary is brought out by the fact that the route of the Ohio prong through West Virginia and the route of "The Cherokee path to Virginia before 1775" in North Carolina, constituted the extreme limit of the Cherokee claim on the east and northeast,[34] and the route down the New and the Kanawha was the eastern boundary of the great tract conveyed by the same tribe to the English in the treaty of October 18, 1770, at Lochaber, South Carolina.[35]

The Chesapeake Branch

(Trail No. 36)

We have designated the second prong of the Great Indian Warpath the Chesapeake Branch because its various ramifications led through Virginia to the Chesapeake Bay and beyond. We have been unable to discover the name given this trail by the Indians, though there is abundant evidence that it was one of great importance. The earliest unknown white traders and hunters, and later the first permanent settlers coming into this region, followed this trail and its several branches.

We are fortunate in having the written records of several of these first settlers, which clearly and fully establish the route. The trail and its ramifications were later widened and opened into permanent roads which continue to this day as the main highways of the region.

In the Abingdon, Bristol, and Kingsport (Long Island) region there were Indian trails running along each of the river valley floors. The various pioneers on reaching Moccasin Gap gateway used such of these valley routes as were best suited to their individual needs, each depending on the one in most direct line with the place from which he came.

The valley route most in use between Abingdon and the Block House at Moccasin Gap led from Abingdon westwardly until it struck

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[32a] See map in Bull. 30, part 1, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[33] Johnston, History of Middle New River Settlements, pp. 91–92.

[34] See James Mooney's "Map of the Cherokee Country," Plate III, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn

[35] See Royce's Map, "Cherokee Cession No. 4," Plate VIII, 5th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

the North Fork of the Holston near the present site of Mendota, and passed down to the Block House near Moccasin Gap. The whites going to Kentucky used this route constantly, but the Indians from the north bound for the prehistoric Bristol settlements or those in East Tennessee or farther south availed themselves of the trail leading from Abingdon down Beaver Creek to ancient Bristol.

"Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the early English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Rockeastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston." [36]

The Chesapeake branch led from Long Island up Reedy Creek to the point where it crosses into Virginia, about 3 miles west of Bristol.[37] At the State line the trail split. One prong led to the northeast, passing near Three Springs (north of Bristol), and, farther on, Maple Grove Church, and joined the Bristol prong 1 mile west of Wyndale.[38] The other prong led eastward from the State line crossing of Reedy Creek to the old Indian settlement around King's Spring, which the early whites called Sapling Grove but later Bristol. Doubtless the Indians were drawn thither by the great spring and the immense number of waterfowl at certain seasons.

From King's Spring the trail led to the junction near Wyndale, and thence via Abingdon [39] to Glade Spring, and near there it was joined by the "Old Cherokee Path to Virginia prior to 1775" (Trail No. 37), coming from the Cherokee settlements on the Keeowee and Tugaloo rivers and from the middle Cherokee towns in northwestern South Carolina and southwestern North Carolina.

From this junction a trail led off to the northwest to the salt lick at what is now the great salt and gypsum works at Saltville, Va., where it joined the Great Indian Warpath.

From Glade Spring the main trail continued by Sevenmile Ford, Marion, Rural Retreat, Fort Chiswell (about 2 miles southwest of Max Meadows), Draper, and Inglis' Ferry and across New River (about 1½ miles upstream from Radford).[40] From Inglis' Ferry the

[36] Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, p. 88.

[37] Mr. Myer's original trail map of Tennessee carries this trail up Beaver Creek instead of Reedy Creek. There were no doubt trails along both streams and therefore they have been so indicated on our present map.

[38] Given on the authority of L. P. Summers.

[39] "Abingdon was originally called Wolf Hills. Some of the early travelers called it Black's Station, because Black built a station near by. At a later date it was called Washington Court House, and finally Abingdon."—Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, p. 159.

[40] We are especially indebted to Col. Samuel L. King, Bristol, Tenn.; Hon. L. P. Summers, Abingdon, Va.; and Hon. J. Williamson McGavock, Max Meadows, Va., for valuable aid in locating this portion of the trail.

main branch continued via Salem, Roanoke, Amsterdam, Lexington, Staunton, and Martinsburg to Wadkin's Ferry, where it crossed the Potomac and went on into points in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and States farther north.

Mr. John L. Baer informed me that the course of this trail from Wadkin's Ferry north lay through Pen Mar, Jack Mountain (where there was a well-known quarry from which the Indians obtained large quantities of rhyolite for their stone implements), near Gettysburg, near York, and through Lancaster, to Philadelphia and regions beyond that point. The present great highway passing through Hagerstown, Gettysburg, York, and Lancaster to Philadelphia follows this ancient trail to a considerable extent.

This trail was taken by many early white emigrants who began removing from Maryland and Pennsylvania into the newly opened Kentucky and Tennessee regions about 1780. John Filson, in his "History of the Discovery and Settlement of Kentucky," published in 1784, gives the following itinerary of the journey from Philadelphia to the Falls of the Ohio, at what is now Louisville, Ky., over this route:

PHILADELPHIA TO FALLS OF THE OHIO

	Miles		Miles
From Philadelphia to Lancaster	66	To Washington C. H	45
To Wright's on the Susquehanna	10	To the Block-house	35
To Yorktown	12	To Powell Mountain	33
To Abbottstown	15	To Walden's Ridge	3
To Hunterstown	10	To Valley Station	4
To mountain at Black's Gap	3	To Martin's Cabin	25
To other side the mountain	7	To Cumberland Mountain	20
To Stone-house Tavern	25	To Cumberland River	13
To Wadkin's Ferry on Potomac	14	To Flat Lick	9
To Martinsburg	13	To Stinking Creek	2
To Winchester	13	To Richland Creek	7
To Newtown	8	Down Richland Creek	8
To Stoverstown	10	To Raccoon Spring	6
To Woodstock	12	To Laurel River	2
To Shenandoah River	15	To Hazel Patch	15
To North Branch Shenandoah	29	To Rockcastle River	10
To Staunton	15	To English Station	25
To North Fork James River	37	To Col. Edwards', Crab Orchard	3
To Botetourt C. H	12	To Whitley's Station	5
To Woods on Catawba River	21	To Logan's Station	5
To Paterson's on Roanoke	9	To Clark's Station	7
To Alleghany Mountain	8	To Crow's Station	4
To New River	12	To Harrod's Station	3
To Forks of Road	16	To Harlands'	4
To Fort Chissel	12	To Harbisons	10
To Stone Mill	11	To Bardstown	25
To Boyds	8	To Salt Works	25
To Head of Holstein	5	To Falls of the Ohio	20

A total distance of 826 miles.[41]

[41] Speed, The Wilderness Road, p. 17.

"The distance from Philadelphia to the interior of Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap was nearly eight hundred miles. The line of travel was through Lancaster, Yorktown, and Abbottstown to the Potomac River at Wadkin's Ferry; thence through Martinsburg and Winchester, up the Shenandoah Valley through Staunton, and, following the great trough between the mountain ranges, it passed over the high ground known as the 'divide:' there it left the waters which 'run toward sunrise,' and reached an important station at the waters of New River, which run to the west. At that point another road, which led out from Richmond through the central parts of Virginia, intersected or rather came into the one just described. Thus were brought together two tides of immigrants. Near the 'forks of the road' stood Fort Chissel [Chiswell], a rude block-house, built in 1758 by Colonel Bird immediately after the British and Americans captured Fort Duquesne from the French, and called it Fort Pitt. Fort Chissel [Chiswell] was intended as a menace to the Cherokee Indians; it was an outpost in the wilderness of the West, yet from the point where it stood to Cumberland Gap was nearly two hundred miles. It is a point of great interest in studying the Kentucky immigration. It was there the immigrants reached the 'borders of the great wilderness.' From the Potomac to New River, along the valley, travel was not attended with difficulty or danger of any consequence. The wild, rough, and dangerous part of the journey commenced when New River was crossed at Inglis' Ferry, and the travelers turned squarely toward the setting sun to make their way across the mountains and streams through the 'uninhabited country.' " [42]

Dr. Thomas Walker on his historic first visit to what is now Kentucky, when he passed through the great gap in the mountain wall and crossed the river beyond, giving to both the name of Cumberland, followed the course of this old trail.

The Richmond Branch

(Trail No. 36A)

At the town of the Tutelo, near what is now Roanoke, an important branch trail led to central and eastern Virginia. It was discovered by the first whites who explored the region and was even then regarded as old. The topography of the region made it the logical route between the sections mentioned. We are able to trace the history of this trail for over 250 years. The first white expedition to pass along this branch and leave a written record was sent out by Major General Wood, under the leadership of Batts and Fallam, in 1671.[43]

[42] Speed, The Wilderness Road, pp. 12–13.

[43] The manuscript journal of this exploration is now in the British Museum, included with many others in vol. 4,432, entitled "Papers Relating to the Royal Society." Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., edited a transcript of this journal for the American Anthropologist (n. s.), vol. IX, pp. 45–56; and it was also reproduced by Alvord and Bidgood in First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, pp. 186 et seq.

Several portions of this trail are shown on "A map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc.," in "A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina" (Thomas L. Hutchins, 1778. Reprinted, Cleveland, 1904). There are numerous accounts of its use by the Indians and the whites.

Richmond prong itinerary.—The following itinerary of William Brown, dated 1782, enables us to locate the Richmond branch, from near Richmond, Va., to English's Ferry. His "Observations and Occurrences" picture the trail and the region through which it passed as it appeared to the eyes of a new settler eagerly watching for a good location in which to take up land and build a home in the wilderness. It can be found in William Brown's Journal, which is contained in a small manuscript book which also contains the journal of his journey to Kentucky by Braddock's Road and the Ohio River in 1790. "The journals are written in ink in his hand, and they may have been transcribed from earlier copies. The other contents of the book are interesting as throwing light upon the character of some of these pioneers. They consist of classical poems, memoranda upon inventions and scientific facts, and prescriptions for various ailments. The whole [book] is the work of a serious minded, intelligent man with a bent for [the acquirement of] knowledge."[44]

WILLIAM BROWN'S ROUTE TO KENTUCKY IN 1782

	Miles		Miles
To Richmond, Henrico Co	18	To Big Flat Lick	10
To Widow Simpson's, Chesterford	14	To Fort Lewis, Botetourt	12
To Powhatan Co. House	16	To Hans Meadows'	20
To Joseph Thompson's, at the forks of the road	8	To English's Ferry, New River	12
To Long's Ordinary, Buckingham	9	To Fort Chiswell	30
To Hoolen's, on Willis Creek	8	To Atkins' Ordinary	19
To Mrs. Sanders, Cumberland	3	To Mid Fork Holstein	—
To Widow Thompson's, passing Hood's and Swiney's	27	To Cross White's, Montgomery	3
To Captain Hunter's	5	To Col. Arthur Campbell's	3
To Thompson's, on the Long Mo., Campbell	5	To 7-mile Ford of Holstein	6
To Dupriest	6	To Maj. Dysart's Mill	12
To New London	10	To Washington Co. House	10
To Liberty Town	16	To Head of Reedy Creek, Sullivan Co., North Carolina	20
To Yearley's, at Goose Creek, Bedford	12	To Block House	13
To M. Loland, at the Blue Ridge Gap	6	To North Fork Holstein	2
		To Moccasin Gap	5
		To Clinch River	11
		To Ford of Stock Creek	2
		To Little Flat Lick	5
		To North Fork of Clinch	1
		To Powell's Mountain	1

[44] Pusey, The Wilderness Road to Kentucky, pp. 40–41. Brown's Journal is now in the library of the University of Chicago.

	Miles
To Wallan Ridge	5
To Valley Station	5
To Powell's River	2
To Glade Spring	4
To Martin's Station	19
To Big Spring	12
To Cumberland Mountain Gap	8
To Yellow Creek	2
To Cumberland River	13
To Big Flat Lick	9
To Little Richland Creek	10
To Big Richland Creek	1
To Robinson Creek	10
To Raccoon Spring	1
To Laurel River	2
To Little Laurel River	5
To Raccoon Creek	8
To Hazel Patch	4
To Rockcastle Creek	6
To Rockcastle River	7
To Scaggs' Creek	5
To Head of Dicks River	15
To English Station	8
To Crab Orchard	3
To Logan's Old Fort	11
To Dochurty's Station	8
To Harrod's Station	6
To Harrodsburg	6

From Hanover to Harrodsburg is 555 miles.

"*Observations and Occurrences:* Set out from Hanover Monday, 27th May, 1782; arrived at the Block-house about the first week in July. The road from Hanover to this place is generally very good; crossing the Blue Ridge is not bad; there is not more than a small hill with some winding to go over. Neither is the Alleghany Mountain by any means difficult at this gap. There are one or two high hills about New River and Fort Chiswell. The ford of New River is rather bad; therefore we thought it advisable to cross in the ferry-boat. This is generally a good-watered road as far as the Block-house. We waited hereabouts near two weeks for company, and then set out for the wilderness with twelve men and ten guns, this being Thursday, 18th July. The road from this until you get over Wallen's Ridge generally is bad, some part very much so, particularly about Stock Creek and Stock Creek Ridge. It is very mountainous country hereabout, but there is some fine land in the bottoms, near the watercourses, in narrow slips. It will be but a thin-settled country whenever it is settled. The fords of Holstein and Clinch are both good in dry weather, but in a rainy season you are often obliged to raft over. From them along down Powell's Valley until you get to Cumberland Gap is pretty good; this valley is formed by Cumberland Mountain on the northwest, and Powell Mountain on the southeast, and appears to bear from northeast southwestwardly, and is, I suppose, about one hundred miles in length, and from ten to twelve miles in breadth. The land is generally good, and is an exceeding well-watered country, as well as the country on Holstein River, abounding with fine springs and little brooks. For about fifty miles, as you travel along the valley, Cumberland Mountain appears to be a very high ridge of white rocks, inaccessible in most places to either man or beast, and affords a wild, romantic prospect. The way through the gap is not very difficult, but from its situation travelers may be attacked in some places, crossing the mountain, by the enemy to a very great disadvantage."[45]

[45] Speed, The Wilderness Road, pp. 18–19.

The Charlotte Court House Branch

(Trail No. 36c)

Another prong of the Chesapeake branch of the great Indian warpath went off to the southeast from about where the trail is crossed by the Southern Railway near Lawyers. This prong led from the town of the Saponi Indians on Otter River about 9 miles in a straight line east of what is now Bedford City, in Bedford County, Va. It passed by the site of the present Charlotte Court House, Charlotte County, and continued on to the important Occaneechi town on two islands in the Roanoke River just below the modern town of Clarksville, Va. Here it met the several trails leading to this strategic point.

Speed says: "I have also a partial itinerary of the route from Charlotte Court-House to Kentucky. It is on a leaf of a pocket memorandum book found among the papers of my grandfather, Thos. Speed; its date is 1790. It is headed: 'Distances from Charlotte Court-House to Kentucky.'

	Miles		Miles
From Charlotte Court-House to Campbell Court-House	41	To Farriss's	5
To New London	13	To Clinch River	12
To Colonel James Callaway's	3	To Scott's Station	12
To Liberty	13	To Cox's at Powell River	10
To Colonel Flemming's	28	To Martin's Station	2
To Big Lick	2	To —— (manuscript defaced).	
To Mrs. Kent's	20	To Cumberland Mountain	3
To English's Ferry	20	To Cumberland River	15
To Carter's	13	To Flat Lick	9
To Fort Chissel	12	To Stinking Creek	2
To the Stone-mill	11	To Richland Creek	7
To Adkins'	16	To Raccoon Spring	14
To Russell Place	16	Lo Laurel River	2
To Greenaway's	14	To Hazel Patch	15
To Washington Court-House	6	To Rockcastle	10
To the Block-house	35	To —— (manuscript defaced)."[46]	

The Petersburg-Saponi Branch

(Trail No. 36d)

Alvord and Bidgood [47] seem to have established the existence of a trail leading westward from the present site of Petersburg, to the Saponi town on Otter Creek, Campbell County, Va. It probably ran via Farmville, in Prince Edward County, and connected near the southwestern corner of Buckingham County with other trails leading from Richmond and Hanover Court House to the Saponi town and southwestern Virginia.

[46] Speed, The Wilderness Road, p. 21.

[47] First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, pp. 31–33.

The Tutelo-Saura Path

(Trail No. 36B)

Hutchins [48] shows a trail leading from what is now Roanoke southward, passing Rocky Mount and continuing to Martinsville. Near Martinsville, in Henry County, Va., it joined the trail which led from the Chesapeake region via the Saponi town in Bedford County southward to the old Saura town on the south side of the River Dan just below the mouth of Smiths (formerly Irvin) River, almost due north of Wentworth and about 2 miles southeast of Leaksville, in Rockingham County, N. C.

The location of the Saura town in 1671, as given by Lederer, was probably in Caldwell County, N. C. It was removed to the Dan sometime prior to 1700, probably about 1680, but about 1703 the tribe was forced to leave this beautiful and fertile location. See description by Byrd.[49]

Both this trail and the Saura-Saponi trail (No. 46) which joined it near Martinsville were much used by the Iroquois in their raids on the Catawba, raids which were especially frequent in the period between 1670 and 1701.[50]

For an interesting picture of travel along this trail in 1775 the reader is referred to the Journal of William Calk.[51]

Along the Saura-Saponi trail passed in the year 1710, Iwaagonst Terrutawanaren and Teonnottein, two chiefs of the brave and as yet peaceable Tuscarora Indians, to their Iroquois kindred (the Five Nations) and to the provincial government of Pennsylvania, asking to be allowed to remove to the Pennsylvania colony, where they might enjoy the peace and protection which William Penn's colony was then so graciously extending to all persecuted peoples. After the Tuscarora war the tribe itself followed.

TRAILS OF SOUTHERN WEST VIRGINIA

The Big Sandy and Guyandot Rivers in West Virginia run through rough and mountainous regions which contained few Indian settlements. Their valleys afforded somewhat rough passageways from the Indian towns in central Ohio, especially those in the lower Scioto Valley, to southwestern Virginia, and the routes along them were never used as much as that by Kanawha River, but the distance was less to certain southwestern Virginia points. When the whites advanced toward the mouth of the Kanawha they placed a small force at Culbertson's, a few miles below the junction of the Bluestone and New Rivers, and thus commanded the Ohio prong of the Great Indian Warpath along New and Kanawha Rivers.

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[48] "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc., 1778," in Hutchins's Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina.

[49] Writings of Col. William Byrd, pp. 306–307.

[50] See Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, Bull. 22, Bur. Am. Ethn., p. 58, and the references therewith.

[51] Speed, The Wilderness Road, pp. 33–38.

Many marauding parties of Shawnee and other Indians came into the head of Bluestone in West Virginia, and also into southwestern Virginia, by these two routes, along which at that time, just before the Revolution, there were no white settlements. They gave the Indians an opportunity to dash in and out with comparative ease and safety.

There was at one time an Indian settlement at Logan, in Logan County, on the Guyandot. In later years a detachment of Indians who had killed a settler named Gilbert at what is now the junction of Gilbert Creek and Guyandot River, in Mingo County, on the Guyandot trail, fled along this trail and rested at what is now Logan before proceeding on down the river.

The whites knew little about these two routes, and we have been unable to determine their exact location at all points, but their existence is clearly established. We are informed by Hon. Wells Goodykoontz, who formerly represented a considerable portion of this territory in Congress, that many of the early deeds in this section call for old Indian trails, and mention is made of the movement of the Indians over them by nearly every local history dealing with the early days in this section. Among these may be mentioned the "History of Virginia" by John Burch, Petersburgh, Va., 1805, pp. 354–355. Their prominence in the Dunmore war is brought out in "Dunmore's War," [52] pages 7, 12, 60, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 116, 133, 139, 140, 142, 145, 226, 229, 233, 252.

Col. William Christian's report to Col. William Preston during the Dunmore war states, on pages 80–81, op. cit.:

"I wrote to you by Hamilton the Cause of my sending him to the Heads of Clinch & Sandy Creek. The inclosed Letter [is] from Capt. Doack to Crockett; the Messengers Report that Capt. Doack could not possibly raise the thirty men You had ordered; & the Report of the Discovery that should have been made down New-River, made Me think it my Duty to cover the Inhabitants that lie exposed to the Sandy Creek Pass, untill your further Pleasure should be known."

We reproduce one or two other references from the work quoted.

"I Supose these Indians came up Sandy River and In by the Head of Blue Stone. I will make the Scouts go up High on Blue Stone and Watch the Roads that way." [53]

"[James Robertson to Col. William Preston.]

"Culbersons 12th August 1774.

"Sir—This morning Our Scouts met with a Couple of Poor Little Boys between this and Blue Stone one A Son of John McGriffs the Other a Son of Widow Snydoes at Burks fort, that made their Escapes from the Indians Last Tuesday night about midnight away

[52] Thwaites and Kellogg, *eds.*, Doc. Hist. Dunmore's War, Madison, Wis., 1905.
[53] Op. cit., p. 139.

up towards the Clover Bottoms on Blue Stone or Between that and the lower war Road on Blue Stone." [54]

"We never heard of the Damage being done untill the Boys Came in, the party Came up Sandy and Cross by the Clover Bottoms and I Imagine is going that way Again." [55]

As well as we have been able to determine, the route followed approximately the locations indicated on the map (pl. 15; trails Nos. 54 and 55). Both the Guyandot and Big Sandy routes afforded canoe navigation for over half the distance.

The southwestern Virginia region to which the Big Sandy and Guyandot trails led had suffered severely from attacks by marauding parties of Shawnee and other Indians, and the men of this section took a leading part in the Dunmore war which followed. It was the outgrowth of a long series of mutual grievances and outrages between the frontiersmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania and Indians of the Ohio Valley. The decisive battle took place October 10, 1774, at Point Pleasant, where the Ohio prong of the Great Indian warpath crossed the Ohio River. Here a thousand Indians, mostly Shawnee, reenforced by Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa, after an all-day fight, were beaten and driven back by the whites and forced to make peace.

A glance at the map will show a number of branches of these two trails intermingling on the headwaters of the Bluestone, Guyandot, and Big Sandy. They are very clearly established in "A History of the Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory," by David E. Johnston.

Route from Inglis Ferry to the Kanawha via Beckley

(Trail No. 57)

The location of the route from Inglis Ferry via Beckley is shown in the following quotation referring to the return home of a raiding party of Indians accompanied by prisoners. They "passed down New River, crossing at the ford above the mouth of Bluestone, thence across what is called White Oak Mountain, the northeastern extension of the Flat Top, by way of where Beckley, in Raleigh County, is now situate, the old Indian trail passed at what is now the junction of the principal streets of the town, and on to the head of Paint Creek and down to the Kanawha. Thus it will be seen that they passed over the territory of Mercer County. This trail up Paint Creek, and either by Pipe Stem Knob or mouth of Big Bluestone was one of their frequently traveled ways to the East River and New River settlements. Paint Creek took its name from several trees standing thereon painted by the Indians as one of their guides or

[54] Op. cit., p. 140.

[55] Op. cit., p. 142.

landmarks on their marauding expeditions into the white settlements and on their return they by marks on these trees would indicate the number of scalps taken." [56]

Route from Buck's Garden down the Big Sandy

(Trail No. 54)

The route from Buck's Garden down Big Sandy is brought out in Capt. William Preston's journal of an expedition against the Indians in 1756.[57] The following itinerary and summary will be sufficient for our purposes:

"An account of miles marched each day on our journey to the Shawnees' towns.

	Miles		Miles
From E. P. George to Cyphers'	15	Sunday 29, down Sandy Creek	12
2nd day to R. Hall's	15	Monday 1st March, Sandy Creek	6
3rd day to F. A. Frederick	15	Tuesday 2, Sandy Creek	3
19th Feb. to Wm. Sawyers	20	Wednesday 3rd, Sandy Creek	10
20th Feb. to McCaul's	13	Friday 5, Sandy Creek	15
Sunday 22, to McFarland's	7	Saturday 6, Sandy Creek	2
Monday 23 to Bear Garden	10	Sunday 7, Sandy Creek	7
Tuesday 24 to Burke's Garden	9	Monday 8, (Here the journal ends M,)	7
Thursday 26, to head of Clinch	10		
Saturday 28, to head of Sandy Creek	10		

"It will appear by a close examination of this journal by one fully acquainted with the territory from the head waters of the Clinch to the mouth of the Dry Fork of the Tug Fork of Sandy, where the Station of Iaeger on the line of the Norfolk and Western Railway now stands, over which territory the expedition passed, that it proceeded by way of one of the North branches of the Clinch through the farm of the late W. G. Mustard in Tazewell County, thence through Maxwell's Gap on to the waters of Horse Pen Creek, thence down the same to Jacob's Fork, and down the same to the Low gap or Cane Brake in the ridge dividing the waters of Jacob's Fork from Dry Fork, and a little South and West of the residence of Rev. R. B. Godbey, on Jacob's Fork, thence down the Dry Fork to its junction with the Tug or main fork." [57]

Trail Crossing from the Head of the Big Sandy to New River

(Trail No. 59A)

The location of that portion of the trail leading up the Big Sandy to its head and thence crossing over to New River is brought out in the following quotation:

[56] Johnston, History of Middle New River Settlements, pp. 20–21. [57] Op. cit., pp. 24–30.

"In the fall of the year 1763, about fifty Indian warriors ascended the Great Sandy, and passed over the present territory of Mercer County on to New River, where they separated, forming two parties, one going towards the Jackson River, and the other towards the Roanoke and Catawba settlements.

"Pitman, Pack and Swope, trappers on New River, discovered the trail of these Indians and the route they had taken. Suspecting that they were preparing to attack the settlements just mentioned, they set out, Pitman for Jackson's River and Pack and Swope for Roanoke, but the Indians reached both places ahead of them. After killing some people in the Jackson's River settlement and taking some prisoners, the Indians began a hasty retreat towards the Ohio, pursued by Captain Audley Paul with a company of twenty men from Fort Dinwiddie, and who followed the Indians up Dunlap's Creek over on to Indian Creek and New River, to the mouth of Piney Creek without discovering them, and Captain Paul started on his return.

"The party that had crossed over on to the Roanoke and Catawba committed some depredations and murders, and captured three prisoners, a Mrs. Katherine Gun, a man by the name of Jacob Kimberline (who was taken from a creek now called Kimberling, a branch of Walker's Creek) and another whose name is not given. This party was being pursued by Captain William Ingles, Captain Henry Harman and their men. On the night of the 12th of October, the Indians pursued by Ingles and Harman were discovered by Captain Paul and his men about midnight, encamped on the North bank of the New River opposite an island at the mouth of Turkey Creek (now Indian Creek) in Summers County. Paul's men fired on them, killed three and wounded several others, one of whom threw himself into the river to preserve his scalp, the rest of the party fled hurriedly down the river." [59]

Trail in the Vicinity of Bluefield

(Trail No. 59B)

Speaking of a certain Mr. Ingles who had settled in Wright's Valley, about 2 miles west of the present city of Bluefield, West Virginia, "at a spring near the mansion house of the late Captain Rufus A. Hale," Johnston says:

"Here Mr. Ingles remained some two years, but finding himself dangerously near the Indian trail leading from (t)he head of Tug of Sandy southward across Eastriver Mountain, to the Wolf Creek and Walker's Creek settlements, he determined to seek a place more remote from Indian lines of travel."[60]

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[59] Op. cit., pp. 33–34.

[60] Op. cit., pp. 69–70.

Trail from New River via Bluefield and Clinch River Valley to Cumberland Gap

(Trail No. 58)

The location of a trail from New River via Bluefield and Clinch River Valley and Powell's River to Cumberland Gap, and thence into Kentucky, is next shown:

"At the date of the attack on the Pauley party in September, 1779, no settlements had been made along the East River, in fact none existed between Wood's Fort on Rich Creek and that of Thomas Ingles in Wright's Valley. The route being traveled by the Pauley party was along the hunters' trail leading from New River up East River by the site of the present city of Bluefield in Mercer County, and across the Bluestone-Clinch divide to the Clinch, down the same and on by way of Powell's River to Cumberland Gap. This was the route usually pursued by emigrants from the Greenbrier-New River section to Kentucky.[61]

Bluestone, Flat Top Mountain, and Cherry Pond Mountain Trail

(Trail No. 56)

Some Indian trails from Bluestone across Flat Top Mountain and Cherry Pond Mountain to the west fork of Coal River are mentioned incidentally in recording the pursuit of a Shawnee war party from Chillicothe, Ohio. The Indians took "the old Indian trail from the Bluestone across Flat Top Mountain, and down the divide between Guyandotte and Coal river waters along the top of Cherry Pond Mountain, where the trail separated, one branch thereof continuing down the west fork of the Coal River, and the other down the Pond fork of the same." [62]

Trail Down the North Fork of Tug River

(Trail No. 59)

In our next citation appears a portion of the route down the north fork of Tug River:

"In the fall of this same year of 1789, a body of Indians came into the Bluestone and upper Clinch settlements, crossed the East River mountain on to the waters of the Clear fork of Wolf Creek, prowled around for several days to find, as afterwards ascertained, the home of George and Matthias Harman. They supposed they had killed Captain Henry Harman in the fight on the Tug the year before. Late in the evening of the first day of October, 1789, they

[61] Op. cit., p. 72. [62] Op. cit., p. 88.

suddenly appeared at the door of the cabin of Thomas Wiley, on Clear Fork, at what is now known as the 'Dill's Place.' Mr. Wiley was from home, they took his wife, Virginia, and five children prisoners, plundered the house, and moved off up Cove Creek, where they killed all of Mrs. Wiley's children, crossed the East River mountain by the farm owned by the late Walter McDonald Sanders, down Beaver Pond Creek, by where the town of Graham, Virginia, is now situated, striking Bluestone, and across Flat Top mountain by way of the Pealed Chestnuts, and down the north fork of the Tug fork to the Harman battle ground." [63]

Route Crossing from the Tug to the Guyandot River

(Trail No. 55A)

The location of a trail from the junction of Four-pole Creek with Tug River across to the waters of the Guyandot comes out in an account of an expedition against the Indians by Major Crockett.

"They took the route down Horse Pen Creek, and to the head of Clear fork, and down to the Tug and on to the mouth of Four Pole, then crossing the dividing ridge between the waters of the Sandy and Guyandotte Rivers. They sent Gilbert and Lusk forward to a Buffalo lick on a creek flowing into the Guyandotte, to secure if possible a supply of game."

The hunters encountered Indians, however, who killed Gilbert and made a prisoner of Lusk.

"The Indians immediately hurried with their prisoner down the creek to Guyandotte, and then down the river to the mouth of Island Creek, and went into camp behind a rocky ridge called Hog Back at the present day. . . Early on the morning of the 25th (of July) the Indians took to their canoes, which they had left at this point on their way to the settlements, and rapidly descending the river to its mouth crossed the Ohio." [64]

TRAILS OF THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

(Trails Nos. 33, 35, 37, 38, 39)

[One of the main trails of the southern Appalachians was the Great Indian Warpath (No. 31), already described, including the Chesapeake Branch of the same (No. 36). The eastern end of the Black Fox Trail (No. 23) also entered this section, and Boone's Trail from the Settlements on Yadkin River to the Block House near Kingsport (No. 45) crossed it. These are treated elsewhere. It now remains for us to devote a word to the following: The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia (No. 37), the Catawba Trail (No. 33), the Tuckaleechee

[63] Op. cit., p. 98.

[64] Op. cit., pp. 103–104.

and Southeastern Trail (No. 38), the Unicoi Turnpike (No. 35), and Rutherford's War Trace (No. 39).

Although these were named by Mr. Myer, he attempts an extended account of the last mentioned only.

Trail No. 37, as shown by the maps, branched from the Great Indian Warpath (No. 31) at Saltville, Va. It ran approximately south from this point, crossed the Chesapeake Branch of the Great Warpath (No. 36) at Glade Spring, continued on the South Fork of Holston River which it followed to its junction with Laurel Creek, ascended the latter, and then crossed into the extreme eastern edge of the present Johnson County, Tenn. It passed out of Tennessee into North Carolina at Zionville, went southwest to Newland, circled round to a point near Morganton, where it met Trail No. 39, continued on southeast to Collinsville, crossed the State line into South Carolina, passed north of Campello, and near Tigerville, where it crossed Trail No. 33, and then went on south to the site of Old Keowee Town among the Lower Cherokee.

The Catawba Trail (No. 33) ran southeast from the trail junction at Cumberland Gap, passed Tazewell, Tate Springs, Morristown, and Witts, near which it crossed the Great Indian Warpath, then went on near Rankin, and Newport, east from a point south of Newport to Paint Rock, and up the French Broad in North Carolina, diverging east to Stocksville, passing near Asheville, and then southeast through Hendersonville, N. C., into South Carolina, where it became what was later known as the Old South Carolina State Road to the north (No. 78). This preserved the same general direction to the Congarees (Columbia) and Charleston.

The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38) left the Great Indian Warpath where it crossed the French Broad, passed near Sevierville and Dupont to Little River near Tuckaleechee, southeast from there to the North Carolina State line, and south near Ella and Whittier to the neighborhood of the point of junction of Swain, Jackson, and Macon Counties, where Trail No. 39 came into it from the east. It then went on south to Otto, where it turned east to the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina. It may be said to have been continued as far as the Congarees (Columbia) by the Old Cherokee Trading Path (No. 76).

The Unicoi Turnpike (No. 35) began at the point where the Great Indian Warpath leaves the Little Tennessee River. It passed south near Belltown and Tellico Plains to the junction point of Monroe and Polk Counties, Tenn., and Cherokee County, N. C., and thence southeast to Murphy, up the Hiwassee River to Hiwassee, Ga., south from there to Robertstown, Little Echota, and Nacoochee, and from the latter point southeast through Clarksville to Toccoa, where it entered Trails 86 and 91.

The last of these trails is thus described by Mr. Myer:]

Rutherford's War Trace

(Trail No. 39)

An important Indian trail led from western North Carolina through the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap and thence along the Swannanoa River to its junction with the French Broad at Asheville. From Asheville it passed to the southwest, following approximately the present line of the Murphy branch of the Southern Railway to Waynesville; thence to the east of the Southern Railway, crossing the Tuckasegee at Webster, and then southwest, passing down Cowee Creek to the ancient Cherokee town of Cowee, which we moderns prefer to call West's Mill, at the junction of Cowee Creek and Little Tennessee River. At Cowee it joined the great Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38), running through that beautiful region which has well been called "The Land of the Sky."

The ancient Indians came under its spell and reproduced the musical sound of the waters of the river which traverses it in the name Tsĭksi'tsĭ (Tuckasegee). The word has no meaning but was coined to reproduce the rushing noise of the stream.

In the wrack and rush of driving the Cherokee out of their homeland the Indian name of Rutherford's War Trace was lost. Fate was cross-eyed when it ordained that it should bear only that of the white despoiler, whose men burned the dwellings of the Cherokee and drove their women and children into the mountains. What little is known of this Indian trail is embedded in the story of their wrongs, which we give as recorded by Mr. James Mooney:

"In August of that year [1776] the army of North Carolina, 2,400 strong, under General Griffith Rutherford, crossed the Blue ridge at Swannanoa gap, and following the main trail almost along the present line of the railroad, struck the first Indian town, Stikâ'yĭ, or Stecoee, on the Tuckasegee, near the present Whittier. The inhabitants having fled, the soldiers burned the town, together with an unfinished townhouse ready for the roof, cut down the standing corn, killed one or two straggling Indians, and then proceeded on their mission of destruction. Every town upon Oconaluftee, Tuckasegee, and the upper part of Little Tennessee, and on Hiwassee to below the junction of Valley river—thirty-six towns in all—was destroyed in turn, the corn cut down or trampled under the hoofs of the stock driven into the fields for that purpose, and the stock itself killed or carried off. Before such an overwhelming force, supplemented as it was by three others simultaneously advancing from other directions, the Cherokee made but poor resistance, and fled with their women and children into the fastnesses of the Great Smoky mountains, leaving their desolated fields and smoking towns behind them. As was usual in Indian wars, the actual number killed or taken was small, but the destruction

of property was beyond calculation. At Sugartown (Kûlsetsi'yĭ, east of the present Franklin) one detachment, sent to destroy it, was surprised, and escaped only through the aid of another force sent to its rescue. Rutherford himself, while proceeding to the destruction of the Hiwassee towns, encountered the Indians drawn up to oppose his progress in the Waya gap of the Nantahala mountains, and one of the hardest fights of the campaign resulted, the soldiers losing over forty killed and wounded, although the Cherokee were finally repulsed. One of the Indians killed on this occasion was afterward discovered to be a woman, painted and armed like a warrior.

* * * * * * *

"The various North Carolina detachments which combined to form Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokee in the autumn of 1776 organized at different points about the upper Catawba and probably concentrated at Davidson's fort, now Old fort, in McDowell county. Thence, advancing westward closely upon the line of the present Southern railroad and its Western North Carolina branch, the army crossed the Blue ridge over the Swannanoa gap and went down the Swannanoa to its junction with the French Broad, crossing the latter at the Warrior ford, below the present Asheville; thence up Hominy creek and across the ridge to Pigeon river, crossing it a few miles below the junction of the East and West forks; thence to Richland creek, crossing it just above the present Waynesville; and over the dividing ridge between the present Haywood and Jackson counties to the head of Scott's creek; thence down that creek by 'a blind path through a very mountainous bad way,' as Moore's old narrative has it, to its junction with the Tuckasegee river just below the present Webster; thence, crossing to the west (south) side of the river, the troops followed a main trail down the stream for a few miles until they came to the first Cherokee town, Stekoa, on the site of the farm formerly owned by Colonel William H. Thomas, just above the present railroad village of Whittier, Swain county, North Carolina. After destroying the town a detachment left the main body and pursued the fugitives northward on the other side of the river to Oconaluftee river and Soco creek, getting back afterward to the settlements by steering an easterly course across the mountains to Richland creek (Moore narrative). The main army, under Rutherford, crossed the dividing ridge to the southward of Whittier and descended Cowee creek to the waters of Little Tennessee, in the present Macon county. After destroying the towns in this vicinity the army ascended Cartoogaja creek, west from the present Franklin, and crossed the Nantahala mountains at Waya gap—where a fight took place—to Nantahala river, probably at the town of the same name, about the present Jarretts station. From here the march was west across the mountain into the present Cherokee county and down Valley river to

its junction with the Hiwassee, at the present Murphy. *Authorities:* Moore narrative and Wilson letter in North Carolina University Magazine, February, 1888; Ramsey, Tennessee, p. 164; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, I, pp. 300–302; Royce, Cherokee map; personal information from Colonel William H. Thomas, Major James Bryson, whose grandfather was with Rutherford, and Cherokee informants."[65]

THE OCCANEECHI PATH

(Trail No. 80)

This trail led from Bermuda Hundred on the James River and old Fort Henry (later Petersburg), Va., southwestwardly to the important Indian trading town of the Occaneechi on Roanoke River, where it crossed the present line between Virginia and North Carolina. Thence it passed on to the Catawba, Cherokee, and other tribes in southwestern North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina and from the Catawba via the Congaree post to the site of the present Augusta, Ga., where it connected with other trails leading to various sections of the Southeast. Its entire length was somewhat over 500 miles.

While this path was doubtless prehistoric, it does not appear to have become of great importance until the advent of white traders. It then sprang immediately into prominence, and this prominence has continued down to the present day, a period of over 250 years.

As the Tidewater region of Virginia became more settled a stream of colonists flowed along this trail and located in the most fertile spots, and in course of time it grew into a well-known turnpike, later followed by the line of the Southern Railway.

Occaneechi Town.—The town which gave its name to this trail was on the middle and largest island in Roanoke River just below its confluence with the Staunton and the Dan, near what is now Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, Va. Its written history begins with the description by Lederer in 1670, who says:

"This island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix't here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastness of mountains and water on every side."[66]

Their cultivated fields were on the north bank of the river, and they raised large crops of corn, keeping a year's supply on hand as a reserve in case of attack by enemies. How long they had been located here is unknown, but by 1670 they had built up a unique position among Indian tribes, in that they had made their town a trading center for many of the surrounding peoples, even to a distance of 500 miles. For this reason they were much resorted to by

[65] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., part 1, pp. 49 and 205.

[66] Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, p. 154.

white traders, though on the other hand they were inclined to discourage further advances of the Virginians into what might be called the Occaneechi trade preserves.

But, like its red owners, the old town was doomed, and by 1733 the inhabitants were gone and the ancient site entirely deserted.[67]

The Knap of Reeds site.—At Occaneechi town this trail met Indian paths from all points of the compass. Passing southwest it came to an ancient village site on Knap of Reeds Creek, near the modern village of that name, in Granville County, N. C. Near this place, in one spot on the farm of Mrs. Mary P. Walker, three banner stones were plowed up which are of unique interest, because, so far as the writer has been able to discover, they are the only ones known with handles in place and shed some light on the much-disputed question as to how banner stones were mounted.

Mrs. Walker writes:

"There is a hill called Indian Hill about one-half mile from where these banner stones were found. Many Indians were buried there, the older people said."

And she adds that many arrow heads have been found on Indian Hill.

We do not as yet know what ancient people once lived at the Knap of Reeds site and used these beautiful banner stones with stone handles.

The Eno town.—From Knap of Reeds the Occaneechi trail led on to the southwest, probably passing 4 or 5 miles north of Durham, to the Eno town on Eno River, somewhere near its junction with Little River and about 5 miles north of Durham. Little is known of these Eno, and Mr. Mooney expresses a doubt whether they were of Siouan linguistic stock, as they appear to have differed in physique and habits from their Siouan neighbors, although their alliances were all with them.[68]

The Occaneechi town near Hillsboro.—From the Eno town the trail led west to a point near Hillsboro where, in 1701, Lawson found a settlement of the Occaneechi, a reminiscence of whom is preserved in the name of the Occaneechi Hills, near Hillsboro.

Haw Old Fields.—From the last-mentioned place the trail continued west to a former settlement of the Sissipahaw at Haw Old Fields. Most that is known of this tribe is given in the works above cited.

The forks at Greensboro.—In the neighborhood of Greensboro the Occaneechi trail appears to have divided. The Saura fork or Occonee Path (No. 89) led west to the distant Saura town, passing

[67] For further particulars regarding the Occaneechi consult Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East, Bull. 22, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, pt. 2, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article "Occaneechi."

[68] See Bulletins 22 and 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., above cited.

on the way near Winston-Salem, Old Town, and East Bend. Near Booneville it was joined by the Saura-Saponi trail (No. 46), coming down from northern and central Virginia, through Roanoke, via Martinsville. Thence it kept along Yadkin River to the many old Indian settlements scattered on that stream for a distance of several miles east of Wilkesboro, in Wilkes County, N. C., and passed beyond them to what was at one time a thickly settled Indian region in Caldwell County, around Patterson, Warrior, and Lenoir. The old Saura town mentioned by Lederer was probably somewhere in this locality,[69] but it is impossible to locate it with precision from Lederer's vague description. The people of this town have played an important part in the Indian history of North and South Carolina. While they were living on another site, they were visited by De Soto in the year 1540. Like many other aboriginal tribes they often moved their towns from various causes and at irregular intervals.

In this thickly settled Caldwell County region the Saura prong of the Occaneechi path met the Old Cherokee Path to Virginia (No. 37), which ran up through the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee to southwestern Virginia, West Virginia, and parts beyond.

The Saura prong itself was continued on to the southwest by Trail No. 39, via Morgan and Old Fort, until it reached the Cherokee towns near Asheville and connected with the maze of trails thereabout.

The Cherokee traders' path prior to 1775.—The southern fork of the Occaneechi Path from its origin near Greenville to the Catawba country was identical with the Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775 (No. 77). It passed, from the point where it parted from the Occonee Path, southwest through High Point. Near Lexington it was joined by a prong of the Saura-Saponi trail and from Lexington it led to Old Sapona.

The High Point settlement.—In 1701, 5 miles northwest of the place where this trail crossed the "Heighwaree" (Uharie) River, Lawson found the fortified town of the Keyauwee.[70] This was at or near the present town of High Point, Guilford County, N. C.

Old Sapona.—Old Sapona (Saponi (1701) of the map) was the next important town as we pass along this trail to the southwest. It was located where the path crossed Yadkin River at the Trading Ford, about 1½ miles below the present Yadkin River crossing of the Southern Railway, about 6 miles northeast of Salisbury, Rowan County, N. C. The Saponi who occupied it formerly lived at a town on Otter River, southwest of Lynchburg, Va., where they had been visited by Lederer and other explorers after 1670. Shortly

[69] Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit.

[70] For Lawson's account of these people see his History of Carolina, pp. 88-92.

after 1671 these Otter River Saponi, together with the Tutelo, having been harassed by the Iroquois, removed for protection to the old Occaneechi town near Clarksville, Va.

It is not known when the old Rowan County Saponi town on Yadkin River was first occupied or whether it was in existence at the same time as that on the Otter River or the later Saponi town at Occaneechi. The first mentioned was visited in 1701 by Lawson, who was struck by the beauty of its surroundings,[71] and its remains could still be discerned in 1880, when the site was described by Rumple.[72]

The melancholy story of the later wanderings and ultimate fate of the Saponi can be found in the works already cited.[73] The remnant was finally incorporated with the Cayuga Iroquois of New York.

From Old Sapona a prong of the Occaneechi Path, really an extension of Trail No. 39, probably led to the west via Statesville, Claremont, and Morganton, and joined the Saura prong near Glen Alpine. The Occaneechi Path itself continued on to the southwest, and traces of it in the neighborhood of Sapona are preserved. Rumple says:

"About a half-mile this side Trading Ford, the old Trading path turns off from the present road towards the south, and . . . crosses Crane Creek somewhere in the neighborhood of 'Spring Hill,' running perhaps a mile south east of Salisbury, and so on to the southward, between Salisbury and Dunn's Mountain. Along this path, before civilized men dwelt here, caravans passed to and fro, visiting the Red Men in their towns, and selling them guns, powder, shot, hatchets, or tomahawks, kettles, plates, blankets, cutlery, brass rings and other trinkets. Parallel to this path the great North Carolina Rail Road now rushes on bearing the commerce of the nation. And it was along this same path that emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia began to pour into Old Rowan in the first half of the last century." [74]

The path led on to the southwest, passing near Salisbury and through Concord and Charlotte, to the several Catawba settlements along Catawba River in York and Lancaster Counties, South Carolina. The main Catawba settlement [75] was where this trail crossed the Catawba River at the mouth of Sugar (Sugaree) Creek, about 25 miles in a straight line south of Charlotte. From these York and Lancaster County Catawba towns the path continued on to the

[71] Lawson, History of Carolina, pp. 80–81.

[72] Rumple: History of Rowan County, North Carolina, pp. 6–7, 17–18. He adds this bit of local folklore: "Tradition says that at 'Swearing Creek,' a few miles beyond Sapona, the traders were in the habit of taking a solemn oath never to reveal any unlawful proceedings that might occur during their sojourn among the Indians" (p. 17).

[73] Bulletins 22 (pp. 37–56) and 30, pt. 2, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article "Saponi".

[74] Rumple, op. cit., p. 19.

[75] The Catawba were the most important of the Siouan tribes of the east. For information regarding them consult Mooney in Bull. 22, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 69–74, and Bull. 30, pt. 1, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article "Catawba."

Cherokee settlements in northwestern South Carolina, where it joined a great maze of trails leading to every point of the compass.

Early explorers on the Occaneechi Path.—De Soto and his army are the first white men believed to have passed over any part of the Occaneechi trail, since it is probable that they traversed the extreme western portion of the Saura prong in 1540.[76]

In 1650 Edward Bland, an English merchant, interested in the promotion of trade with the Indians, and apparently with a further view to the location of places suitable for white colonization, traveled over that part of the trail near Virginia.[77]

In 1671 came the visit of John Lederer already mentioned. This traveler records so many exaggerations that his narrative, unless reasonably corroborated, is viewed with suspicion, but authorities agree that he either passed over this old Occaneechi trail to the ancient Saura town in western North Carolina, after it had been removed to a point somewhere near Patterson, or obtained and recorded reliable information regarding it from Indians at the old Clarkesville Occaneechi site. De Soto had visited the Saura 220 years before, when their town was situated at or near the junction of the Oconolufty and Tuckasegee Rivers, in Swain County, N. C.,[78] but before Lederer's time they had probably removed to a site near Patterson, Caldwell County. That the Saura town was located somewhere in that portion of the State now occupied by Caldwell, Wilkes, or Alleghany Counties is in some measure indicated by "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc." by Thos. L. Hutchins, London, 1778, which shows a Saura town on the waters of the Dan about 7 miles south of the Virginia line and about 81° 20′ longitude W. of London.[79]

Not long after the period of Lederer's visit trading along this route became common and in the wake of the traders permanent white settlers soon appeared.

THE WARRIORS' PATH IN KENTUCKY

(Trail No. 32)

The Warriors' Path in Kentucky was a continuation of several well-known trails which came up from the Carolinas and Georgia, through East Tennessee, to the great opening through the mountain wall at Cumberland Gap. From Cumberland Gap it ran northward, passing through Ouasioto Pass to the old Shawnee town, Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, where it met several other trails. At Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki

[76] See the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, in Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, pp. 176–178, and Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. I, pp. 69–73; and those of Ranjel and Biedma, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 102–107.

[77] See Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit., pp. 108–127.

[78] The location of the Saura town in De Soto's time is not certainly known. This represents Mr. Myer's opinion.—Ed.

[79] For an account of Lederer's travels see Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit., pp. 151–159.

the Warriors' Path divided. One prong (No. 32A) led off to the northeast to a Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto; the other prong (No. 32B) also led northeast, divided again at the upper Blue Lick into trails 32C and 32D, one of which crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Cabin Creek, in what is now Mason County, Ky., a short distance upstream from Maysville, while the other reached the Ohio at Vanceburg and ascended that river to rejoin trail 32A.

As there were important trails in various sections of the United States each known as Warriors' Path, we have designated this the Warriors' Path in Kentucky, but in the text we shall call it simply the Warriors' Path.

This is one of the few ancient trails whose aboriginal names have been preserved. Speed says:

"The various stations or forts which were dotted all over the level lands where the great army of immigrants spread themselves were principally named in honor of the leading pioneers. The memory of the Indian was seldom perpetuated in the name of mountain or stream, village or fort, and never in the roads and traces of the country. The great highway leading from the Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto, the *Athiamiowee* of the Indians, was called by the pioneers '*Warrior's Path;*' and the trace of the sagacious buffalo through the trackless forests, named by the Indians *Alanantowamiowee,*[79a] was called by our forefathers the '*Buffalo Path.*'"[80]

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt reports that while "the means—historical and linguistic—available for determining the accuracy of these renderings are far from adequate" the name *Athiamiowee* appears "to belong to the Miami dialect of the Algonquian stock or at least to a cognate or closely related dialect of that stock" and signifies "'The Path of the Armed Ones,' or 'The Armed Path,' hence, 'Warriors' Path.'"

The route of the Warriors' Path is laid down on many early maps of this region. Lewis Evans's map of 1755 with Pownall's (1776) additions shows it. Evans calls it "the common path to the Cuttawas Country."[81] It is also shown in John Filson's "Map of Kentucke," 1784.

Thomas Hutchins indicates this trail in a map entitled "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina," London, 1778, and says of it: "The path to the Cuttawa Country. It goes through this Gap which is pointed out by the late Mr. Evans as a most important Pass." It also appears

[79a] Dr. Truman Michelson states that the interpretation of this word is correct but that "t" has in some way become substituted for "s".

[80] Speed, The Wilderness Road, p. 70.

[81] "A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as Are Contained in the Annexed Map of the Middle British Colonies, etc., in North America. By T. Pownall, M. P., Late Governor, etc., of His Majesty's Provinces of Massachusetts and South Carolina and Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. London, 1776."

on many later maps and is mentioned by Dr. Thomas Walker in his journal, 1749–50, and in the journal of Christopher Gist, 1751.[82]

Many references to the Warriors' Path are to be found in Collins's "History of Kentucky," Speed's "The Wilderness Road," Hanna's "Wilderness Trail," and the biographies of Boone.

This path played an important and tragic part in the Kentucky of the aborigines as well as in the Kentucky of the early white man. Over the prongs of it came armed parties from the north carrying war into the far south, and likewise there passed northward southern war bands to strike return blows at their enemy beyond the Ohio. Along it in the same way came Indians to harass the northern white settlements in Kentucky, and over it they carried Boone and many another white captive. Some of these were to be tortured and slain in the Ohio villages; others, like Boone, were by the caprice of fate to be held in weary captivity, while some were sold into slavery in distant Canada. The uncertainty, the dread, and the horror haunted it which justified the name "Dark and Bloody Ground." No country has seen bloodier deeds or greater daring than that along this ancient highway.

Route of the Warriors' Path.—The Warriors' Path led from the pass at Cumberland Gap down Yellow Creek and thence to the ancient ford of Cumberland River just below the present Louisville and Nashville Railroad bridge over the Cumberland at Pineville, Bell County.

Dr. Thomas Walker, who gave the present name of Cumberland to this beautiful stream, passed along this portion of the Warriors' Path on April 17, 1750. April 14–17 his journal contains the following entries:

"April 14th. We kept down the Creek 5 miles Chiefly along the Indian Road.

"15th. Easter Sunday. Being in bad grounds for our horses we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road, to Clover Creek. Clover and Hop Vines are plenty here.

"April 16th. Rai(n). I made a Pair of Indian Shoes, those I brought out being bad.

"17th. Still Rain. I went down the Creek[83] a hunting and found that it went into a River about a mile below our Camp. This, which is Flat Creek and Some others join'd, I called Cumberland River."[84]

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[82] Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky. Journals of Walker and Gist.

[83] "Clear (Clover) Creek empties into Cumberland River just above Pineville, where the river breaks through Pine Mountain, a range parallel to Cumberland Mountain, eight or ten miles distant. Yellow (Flat) Creek empties into it several miles above."

[84] Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky, Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, p. 50. Some have fallen into the erroneous belief, because Walker forced on this stream the name of the ignoble Duke of Cumberland, "the butcher of Culloden," that Walker discovered the Cumberland. This is far from the truth. This stream had been known to the whites by report since the time of Marquette, 1673, or about seventy-seven years. It had been visited by the French as early as 1710, or about 40 years before Walker saw it, and was known to them as the "Rivière des Anciens Chouanons" and is so named on Bellin's 1744 Map of Louisiana ("Carte De La Louisiane Cours du Mississipi et Pais Voisins, . . . Par M. Bellin, Ingenieur de la Marine 1744").

April 18, 1750, Walker records, "We kept down the Creek to the River along the Indian Road to where it Crosses. Indians . . . lived about this Ford Some years ago." [85] But there are many evidences that the strategic point where this trail crossed the Cumberland had been occupied long before the Indians of whom Walker speaks settled there." [86]

From the old crossing at Pineville the path led northeast about 6 miles to a salt lick known to the early whites as Flat Lick.[87]

The Wilderness Road.—At the Flat Lick the first white trail in this region branched off to the northeast and led to Boonsboro, Harrodsburg, and the region around Lexington. This was the Wilderness Road laid out by Boone. It is not known whether, as a whole, it followed a former Indian trail, but there are indications that it followed older animal and Indian paths for a portion of the distance.

Settlements of the ancient salt makers.—From Flat Lick the Warriors' Path continued nearly due north to the settlement of the ancient salt makers at the salt spring at the junction of Collins Fork and Goose Creek, near Manchester, Clay County. Rafinesque [88] mentions six mounds in this neighborhood, but it is not clear whether they were near together and indicated a single village or, as is more probable, lay at some distance from one another and marked the sites of as many distinct settlements.

This site developed into the most extensive single source of salt production in the State of Kentucky. The following quotations from Collins are of interest in connection with it:

"*Salt*, of the best quality, has been made much more extensively in Clay county, since 1800, than elsewhere in the State. In 1846, 15 furnaces produced 200,000 bushels per annum. So great is the supply and so fine the quality of the salt water that, with improved facilities, the manufacture could be increased to any extent.

* * * * * * *

"*Names.*—Collins' fork took its name from the first settler; Red Bird fork and Jack's creek, from two friendly Indians bearing those names, to whom was granted the privilege of hunting there; they

[85] Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky, Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, pp. 50–51.

[86] A wooden image was found at this place in 1869 by L. Farmer of Pineville. It was secured subsequently by Mr. Bennet H. Young of Louisville, Ky., and at his death was sold to the Museum of the American Indian, New York City. See Collins, History of Kentucky, vol. II, p. 412.

[87] A few miles from Flat Lick, probably near the old prehistoric settlement whose site is marked by the mound at the junction of Meadow Creek and the Cumberland in Whitley County, was an aboriginal fish dam, mentioned by Haywood. ("Civil and Political History of Tennessee," 2d ed., pp. 88–89.) The writer came upon traces of a similar aboriginal fish dam in the Obey River, near the mouth of Eagle Creek, in the mountains of Pickett County, Tenn. These dams were very efficient, and were constructed as follows: In shallow water were built two low walls of stone, closely but irregularly piled together. One wall from either shore extended downward and upward across the stream until they met near the center, and at the meeting point a small opening was left, into which a fish trap was fixed. The stone walls allowed the water to trickle through but stopped the larger fish, which, on endeavoring to pass downstream were led by these walls into the central trap, from which there was no escape. These low stone walls were easy to repair and remained much longer than one would suppose possible, as is proven by the one described by Hayward as "made in very ancient times."

[88] Annals of Kentucky, p. 33.

were both murdered for the furs they had accumulated, and their bodies thrown into the water.

"*The First Settler,* or first white man known to have entered within the present boundaries of Clay county, was James Collins, in 1798. He built his cabin upon the headwaters of Collins' fork; and in 1800, at a salt spring which he had discovered when following a buffalo trail, some months previously, made the first salt ever made in the county.

"*Burying Ground.*—But the Indians had manufactured salt here before James Collins—as [is] evidenced by a large Indian (or aboriginal) burying ground near the salt spring, by a flight of stone steps from the spring to the high [ground] or table-land, together with a huge heap of earthen and muscle-shell pots and a great mass of charcoal at the same place.

"*James White,* sen., of Abingdon, Va., was the quartermaster of Gen. Cox, of Tennessee—whose duty was the protection of the white settlers on this frontier. When White was at Lexington purchasing supplies for the army, he heard of the salt spring and hastened to buy the land that embraced it—a purchase which has proved a source of great wealth to his family." [89]

By 1795 the red man had been forced so far from his old salt-making town that he was no longer able to strike a blow at the new white settlement of Manchester building up around it.[90]

It is not known to what tribe these salt makers belonged, nor when they passed away. The unburied stone steps and the "great mass" of charcoal, apparently not yet buried by earth mold, imply no great antiquity.

Ouasioto Pass.—From the town of the salt makers the Warriors' Path led northward to the mountain pass leading down Station Camp Creek, in Jackson and Estill Counties. The mountians here, extending northeastwardly through western Kentucky into West Virginia, were put down on early maps as the Ouasioto Mountains. They are so shown on Lewis Evans's map of 1755 with Pownall's 1776 additions, and on many other early maps. The pass was known as Ouasioto Pass. It formed a natural gateway and much aboriginal barter went through it.

An ancient settlement and lead mine.—In 1874 traces of a prehistoric settlement could still be seen on the south fork of Station Camp Creek where the Warriors' Path went through Ouasioto Pass. So far there appears to be no clue to the people who formerly lived here and raised these mounds. It is a mountainous region with only a few fertile spots along the creeks and would seem to have contained little to appeal to prehistoric man. A vein of so-called "silver ore"

[89] Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 141.

[90] The last recorded Indian depredation in the interior of the State of Kentucky is said to have occurred on March 28, 1795.—Collins, op. cit.

is said to have been found in this region, but it was probably galena, the veins of which contain very small traces of silver.[91] Many such veins were worked to a slight extent by the whites, but they soon found that the value of the ores which they obtained was very much less than the cost of extraction. As to the Indians, while they often ground up lead ore into a silvery-white powder for body decoration, a small amount would suffice for a long period. Later, when they obtained guns, they probably resorted to these Kentucky ores to some extent for bullets.

The Shawnee town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki.[91a]—From the prehistoric Red Lick camp site the Warriors' Path led northward to Station Camp Creek and across Kentucky River near the mouth of the former. Then it continued in the same direction through Estill and Powell Counties to what our early white settlers called the Indian Old Fields, in Clark County, about 12 miles southeast of Winchester, near the site of the little village of Indian Fields on Lulbegrud Creek. Chartier's band of Shawnee were located here from 1745 to 1748, and some of the tribe continued to hunt in the neighborhood until about 1755. They called their town Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki or Es-kip-pa-kith-i-ka. However, there is reason to think that the place had been occupied at an earlier period.[92] The site had many natural advantages which would appeal strongly to ancient man. The lick drew game and afforded salt, and there was sufficient fertile soil for truck patches.

The Scioto Prong

(Trail No. 32A)

At Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki the Warriors' Path divided, as we have already stated. The Scioto prong led off to the northeast and crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Scioto River. At a point on the west side of Brush Creek in the present Montgomery County, about 10 miles in a straight line northeast of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki and about 6 miles southeast of Mount Sterling, it came to what is probably one of the most ancient groups of earthworks to be found anywhere along the Warriors' Path. This was surveyed by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque in 1820, and the survey, together with a description from Rafinesque's unpublished manuscript, was reproduced by Squier and Davis.[93]

[91] See Collins, op. cit., p. 353; and an exaggerated hunter's narrative in Haywood, Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., pp. 46–47. Also cf. Drake, History of the Shawanoe Indians, Cincinnati, 1856, pp. 40–41.

[91a] Dr. T. Michelson says that the first four syllables of the name undoubtedly contain the Shawnee word meaning "green."

[92] Most that is known of the history of the Shawnee settlement is contained in Hanna: "The Wilderness Trail," particularly on pp. 240–242. Dr. D. G. Brinton thought that it was built about 1731 by Shawnees who had come up from the south the year before along the Great Warriors' Trail through Cumberland Gap (Historical Mag., 1866, vol. x, p. 4), but this may be nothing more than a conjecture on his part. Regarding a possible older occupancy we may quote from Lyman C. Draper's Ms. "Life of Boone," in which he says: "Besides the evidences of recent habitations there were also mounds and fortifications, showing that it had been also the resort of the mound builders."

[93] Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments, Pl. XXXIII, fig. 1; also p. 93.

The Scioto prong beyond Montgomery County.—From the town of the unknown peoples just mentioned the Scioto prong led northeast, passing an old animal lick on Licking River, near the present village of Salt Lick, in Bath County, and continued in nearly a straight line to its terminus on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Scioto. At this great aboriginal gateway it met trails leading to every part of the present State of Ohio and to regions beyond, but its main connection was a trunk path running almost due north to Sandusky Bay. This formed the last link in a great chain of connecting routes from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico and the territory of our present South Atlantic States.

The natural gateway at the mouth of the Scioto.—Through vast stretches of prehistoric time the Ohio crossing at the mouth of the Scioto must have been a gateway through which much of the communication took place between central Kentucky, east Tennessee, and certain sections of Georgia and the Carolinas on one hand and the prehistoric settlements in central Ohio and on Lake Erie on the other. With the coming of the railroad the position of the main north and south route was changed and this crossing lost its strategic importance.

The Indian settlements at the mouth of the Scioto.—On the hills and in the river bottoms on both sides of the Ohio at this point are found many remains of the Indians. These are on somewhat scattered sites, perhaps because they were left by several different peoples attracted to this important strategic point at various times. From the period when this region was first known to Europeans, however, until 1738, the site appears to have been unoccupied, but it was then taken possession of by a band of Shawnee and Delaware Indians, thought to have been those who had occupied Le Tort's town near the present village of Shelocta, on Crooked Creek, Indiana County, Pa. They appear to have avoided the old prehistoric sites, establishing themselves instead on a high bottom on the west bank of the Scioto at its mouth. The whites came to know this settlement as the Lower Shawnee Town, but Mooney believed that it was known to its own inhabitants by the same name as the town to which these Shawnee moved later, i. e. Chillicothe. In 1750 a great flood destroyed most of it and a new settlement was made on the Kentucky side of the river, but in 1758 its inhabitants abandoned the region entirely and settled on the Pickaway Plains, in Pickaway County. The most important memorials of previous occupants of this region are the great earthworks at Portsmouth, which are somewhat like those found at various points higher up the Scioto and at a few other places in Ohio as well as some in Indiana and along the Kanawha in West Virginia.

Ohio River connections of the Warriors' Path.—As has been said, the main connection northward of the Warriors' Path from the Ohio

River was the Great Scioto Trail. This led up the Scioto Valley through the very heart of the great Ohio mound region, around Portsmouth, Chillicothe, and Circleville, and from the last mentioned place through the Mingo town near Columbus, to Delaware, Upper Sandusky, and finally Lake Erie at Sandusky Bay, where it connected with the Great Lakes waterways. At the various central Ohio towns it was joined by trails leading to all the important aboriginal sections of our present North Central States.

One of the most important of these connections was at the Shawnee town of Maguck, near Circleville.[94] A trail led from this place northwest through old Pickawillany, on the Big Miami River, in Miami County, to an important and long-occupied site where is now situated Fort Wayne, Ind. When first visited by the French there was on the spot an Indian town called Kiskakon, through which the trail passed until it reached some small Indian settlements near the present site of Chicago. Thence it continued to the far northwest and into Canada.

The Warriors' Path and its connections no doubt served to guide many great movements of peoples seeking new homes as well as parties bent on war or trade.

The Upper Blue Licks Prong

(Trail No. 32B)

The Upper Blue Licks prong of the Warriors' Path penetrated a section which seems to have been occupied successively by a number of peoples, but there is no clue as yet to their identity or the antiquity of the remains left by them.

From Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki the path led slightly east of north to one of these prehistoric towns on the site of what is now Mount Sterling, in Montgomery County. Not far off was a second ancient settlement.[95] Some of the objects obtained from them were presented to the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., in 1868, by Judge R. Apperson, through Prof. N. S. Shaler.[96]

At the Mount Sterling town the Upper Blue Licks prong crossed the Old State Road built by early white settlers, which led from central Kentucky through Pike County and up the Russel Fork into southwestern Virginia. For at least a portion of its route it seems to have followed an earlier Indian trail connecting with the aboriginal settlements around Lexington, Georgetown, and Paris.

From the Mount Sterling site the Upper Blue Licks prong continued slightly east of north to the prehistoric works at Sharpsburg,

[94] Hanna (The Wilderness Trail, vol. II, p. 29) reproduces an original letter which throws some light on the condition of Maguck in 1764.

[95] Described by Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 632.

[96] Second Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum, pp. 12–15.

in Bath County,[97] which seem to resemble some of these low earthen circular embankments found in the Scioto Valley. The large circle which constitutes the most conspicuous feature may have been crowned by a stockade.

From Sharpsburg the trail went on 4 miles to another group of prehistoric mounds.[97]

While passing along this trail Daniel Boone had one of those many exciting experiences which have made him the idol of every red-blooded boy in the Republic,[98] and the forests surrounding it afforded many exciting adventures for other pioneers.[1]

Seven miles north of Sharpsburg and 5 south of Upper Blue Licks the trail passed another prehistoric settlement of an unknown people,[2] and farther on there is said to be still another interesting relic of early man,[3] perhaps a ceremonial dance ground similar to the so-called "dance grounds" found on many elevated spots in the old Cherokee region in the mountains around Franklin, Macon County, N. C.[4]

Upper Blue Licks.—The trail we have been following next reached the Upper Blue Licks, in the present Nicholas County, on Licking River, about 12 miles upstream from the Lower Blue Licks. The Lower Blue Licks are on another trail, the Old Buffalo Path.

These well-known springs were principal sources for supplies of salt, both for prehistoric man and the early whites. They became especially famous in the period between 1840 and 1860.[5]

According to a tradition of doubtful reliability it was at a salt lick in this region, probably the Upper Blue Licks, that the Iroquois first saw the buffalo and obtained the buffalo dance.[6]

Salt Lick Creek prong (No. 32c).—At the Upper Blue Licks a number of minor trails concentrated, but space will not permit us to trace all of these. The path which we have been following itself separated into two branches. One led to the northeast, probably passing down Salt Lick Creek, in Lewis County, to the Ohio River, which it then followed up to the great crossing at the mouth of the Scioto.

Christopher Gist, on his journey of exploration into Kentucky in 1751, probably followed this Salt Lick Creek prong, but while he gives compass readings and distances, it is now impossible to deter-

[97] Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 47.

[98] Ibid., p. 49.

[1] Ibid., pp. 48–49.

[2] Ibid., pp. 653–654.

[3] Ibid., p. 654.

[4] A few similar dance grounds are found in the former Cherokee country in East Tennessee. There is one 6 miles west of Oakdale, Morgan County, Tenn., measuring 200 by 100 feet.

[5] For an account of these licks and the part they played in early Kentucky history see Collins, op. cit., pp. 654–663.

[6] Mooney in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 352.

mine his route with certainty on account of the evident errors in courses as they have come down to us.

Cabin Creek prong (No. 32D).—The other prong led almost due north and crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Cabin Creek, near the northeast corner of Mason County. It is the one shown on the Filson map of Kentucky of 1784.

This was the route chosen by Black Fish and the other Shawnee chiefs when they led a band of 444 Indians and 12 Frenchmen from Old Chillicothe to besiege Boonsboro. Until that time this was the largest band that had attacked the whites in the limits of the present State of Kentucky.[7]

OTHER ABORIGINAL TRAILS IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

ALANANT-O-WAMIOWEE (THE BUFFALO PATH)

(Trail No. 1)

The Alanant-o-wamiowee, which sweeps in a semicircle through north central Kentucky, is one of the oldest roads in America. From the point where it crossed the Ohio River it reached the celebrated Big Bone Lick in Boone County, a mile and a half away, and continued along trails made by animals in passing from one salt lick to another,[8] through much of the salt-producing region of central and northern Kentucky, until it came out upon the Ohio River at Maysville, in Mason County, a distance of some 225 miles.

From Big Bone Lick it ran to Drennon's Lick (now Drennon's Springs), near the Kentucky River, in the eastern part of Henry County, and thence to the crossing of the Kentucky River at old Leestown. Morse calls it the best crossing place on that river and prophesied for the town located there a prosperous future which failed to materialize.[9]

From the above crossing the trail led to the site of the present town of Stamping Ground, in Scott County, "so named from the fact that the herds of buffalo which resorted here for salt water tramped or *stamped* down the undergrowth and soil for a great distance around." [10] Thence it continued to the site of the present town of Great Crossings, 4 miles west of Georgetown, where it passed North Elkhorn Creek,[10] and presently reached the Royal Spring, thus described by Collins:

"The 'Royal Spring' was the name given in 1775 to one of the finest springs in the state (of Kentucky), which bursts from a high

[7] See Ranck's Boonesborough, p. 72; also see pp. 75–76.

[8] Regarding buffalo paths in this section consult what Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston has to say on the subject, pp. 741–742.

[9] See quotation in Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 242.

[10] Ibid., p. 697.

bluff of limestone rock, flows through the west end of Georgetown, and empties into Elkhorn five-eighths of a mile from its source. The spring affords an ample supply of water for the entire population, and the stream flowing from it sufficient water power for a woollen factory and grist mill which are located upon it." [12]

From Royal Spring the trail continued, via Paris, to the Great Blue Licks (now Blue Lick Springs) on Licking River, in Nicholas County, thence to May's Lick, in Mason County, and thence to Maysville, where it crossed the Ohio.

When the Indians came into this country they adopted the path from the buffalo, and the abundance of game about the licks induced them to establish their villages in the neighborhood. The white man succeeded, and Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, and some of the other leading Kentucky towns sprang up along the old trace. Its aboriginal name has been explained already.[13]

The western terminus of the Buffalo Path was, as we have said, at the mouth of Big Bone Creek, about 1½ miles in a direct line from Big Bone Lick, Boone County. By means of the crossing at the former place the near-by ancient settlements in southeastern Indiana and southwestern Ohio reached the salt and game at the lick, and faint traces of some of these towns may be seen at several points in the former State, such as the earthen mound on the Ohio River 2 miles south of Patriot, Switzerland County, Ind.; several mounds and "fireplaces" along Laughery Creek in Ohio County in the same State; several mounds which once stood near the Ohio River in or immediately around Aurora, Dearborn County, Ind.; several mounds and an inclosure in section 2, on a hill just north of Hardinsburg, also in Dearborn County. There was anciently a considerable population in the counties adjoining Dearborn on the west.

From Big Bone Creek crossing it was only about 30 miles by land or water to the mouth of the Great Miami River which opened up the thickly settled region of southwestern Ohio, and connection could be made here with the great network of trails covering Ohio and the adjoining States.

Another road (No. 2) led northeast from Big Bone Lick in a direct line to the Ohio crossing at Cincinnati, a distance of about 20 miles. The existence of this trail is confirmed by the fact that Filson's map of Kentucky shows "Gen'l Clark's War Road" leading along what we know to have been the Buffalo Path to Big Bone Lick and thence northeast along what was doubtless a continuation of this path to the Cincinnati crossing. That it was an established Indian warpath is further indicated by the name of a little creek which it crossed—War Creek.

[12] Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 698.

[13] See p. 780.

From Big Bone Lick another trail (No. 4), about which very little is known, led off to the east to the Blue Licks.

The importance of Big Bone Lick in pre-Columbian, as well as later, times is set forth in the following quotation from Collins's History of Kentucky:

"In this county (Boone) is situated the celebrated *Big Bone Lick*, about twelve miles a little west of south from Burlington, and one mile and a half east from Hamilton, on the Ohio River. The lick is situated in a valley which contains about one hundred acres, through which flows Big Bone creek. There are two principal springs, one of which is almost on the northern margin of the creek; the other is south of the creek, and at the base of the hills which bound the valley. There is a third spring of smaller size some considerable distance north of the creek, which flows from a well sunk many years ago, when salt was manufactured at this lick. . . . At a very early day the surrounding forest had no undergrowth, the ground being covered with a smooth grassy turf, and the lick spread over an area of about ten acres. The surface of the ground within this area was generally depressed three or four feet below the level of the surrounding valley. This depression was probably occasioned as well by the stamping of the countless numbers of wild animals, drawn thither by the salt contained in the water and impregnating the ground, as by their licking the earth to procure salt. There is no authentic account of this lick having been visited by white men before 1739.

"In the year 1773, James Douglass, of Virginia, visited it, and found the ten acres constituting the lick bare of trees and herbage of every kind, and large numbers of the bones of the mastodon or mammoth, and the arctic elephant, scattered upon the surface of the ground. The last of these bones which thus lay upon the surface of the earth, were removed more than sixty years ago; but since that time a considerable number have been exhumed from beneath the soil, which business has been prosecuted as zealously by some, as others are wont to dig for hidden treasures. Some of the teeth of these huge animals would weigh near ten pounds, and the surface on which the food was chewed was about seven inches long and four or five broad. A correspondent informs us that he had seen dug up in one mass, several tusks and ribs, and thigh bones, and one skull, besides many other bones. Two of these tusks, which belonged to different animals, were about eleven feet in length, and at the largest end six or seven inches in diameter; two others were seven or eight feet long. The thigh bones were four or five feet in length, and a straight line drawn from one end of some of the ribs to the other would be five feet; the ribs were between three and four inches broad. These dimensions correspond with what Mr. Douglass has said of the ribs which he used for tent poles when he visited the lick in 1773. . . .

The first collection of these fossil remains was made by Dr. Goforth in 1803, and in 1806 was intrusted by him to the English traveler, Thomas Ashe, (the slanderer of our country), to be exhibited in Europe, who, when he arrived in England, sold the collection and pocketed the money. The purchaser afterwards transferred parts of this collection to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, to Dr. Blake of Dublin, and Professor Monroe of Edinburgh, and a part was sold at auction. The next collection was made by order of Mr. Jefferson, while he was president of the American Philosophical Society, about the year 1805,[14] and was divided between that society and M. Cuvier, the distinguished French naturalist. A third collection was made in 1819, by the Western Museum Society. In the year 1831 a fourth collection was made by Mr. Finnell. This was first sold to a Mr. Graves for $2,000, and taken by him to the eastern states, and there sold for $5,000. In 1840, Mr. Cooper, of New York, estimated that the bones of 100 mastodons, and of 20 elephants besides those of several other animals, had been collected here.

"Salt was manufactured at Big Bone Lick by the Indians before 1756; and by the whites as late as 1812. It required 500 or 600 gallons of the water to make a bushel of salt." [15]

Regarding the paleontological importance of the salt licks in general and Big Bone Lick in particular, Prof. N. S. Shaler, at that time director of the Kentucky State Geological Survey, says:

"Moreover, the swampy grounds about these springs are filled with successive layers of buried animals belonging to the extinct life of the country. Elephants, mastodons, and many other animals which no longer live on our land lie buried by the thousand around the waters where they resorted for salt. Big Bone Lick, a territory of forty acres or more, is crowded with these remains, as interesting in their way as the ruins of Egypt. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to science of a thorough study of these great burial places; through such work we may be able to understand the nature of the great changes that swept away the vast creatures which occupied the earth before the time of man." [16]

The Licking Route

(Trail No. 3)

There was an ancient land and water route from the Indian settlements on the lower courses of the Great and Little Miami Rivers, reaching central Kentucky and continuing on to the south through Ouasioto Pass to East Tennessee and Georgia. It led up Licking River from its mouth to the junction of its north and south

[14] Actually two years later. See Johnston in First Explorations of Kentucky, pp. 177–178.
[15] Collins, History of Kentucky, pp. 51–52.
[16] Kentucky Geological Report, vol. III, 1887, p. 18.

prongs at Falmouth, in Pendleton County, where it forked. From Falmouth the water route continued, in high water, by the main river until it reached a point near the lower Blue Licks (now Blue Lick Springs), in Nicholas County.

John Johnston, United States agent of Indian Affairs at Piqua, Ohio, in 1814,[17] states that the Shawnee name for Licking River was *Nepepenime Sepe* (*nepepenime* = salt, *sepe* = river—i. e., Salt River), and this is reflected in the white man's name, Licking River, since it was noted for the large number of salt licks along its course. Louis Evans [18] calls it "The Great Salt Lick River."

From Falmouth the land route fork continued southward to an important Indian town near the present site of Cynthiana, and another at Paris, where it connected with trails leading in many directions. While it is well established that this route ran on southward to Ouasioto Pass, its exact location between Paris and that place is uncertain.

The country along this portion of the route was so easily traversed that the Indian, not finding any animal trails leading toward Ouasioto Pass, did not confine himself to one beaten trail. However, it is quite probable that the most traveled way was along the course later followed by the old State road as far as the Indian town at Mount Sterling and thence south to the Shawnee town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, in Clark County, where it connected with the old Warriors' Path leading southward through the Ouasioto Pass into East Tennessee and Georgia.

A considerable portion of the travel on Licking River from the Ohio to the forks of the Licking at Falmouth appears to have been by water when the stage of the river permitted. Probably the land trail along Licking River was rough.

At times Indians bound south from the western Ohio towns are known to have floated down the Great or Little Miami and then to have paddled up the Licking to Falmouth or beyond. At the head of canoe navigation they concealed their canoes and followed the land route, and on their return took to their canoes again, floated down the Licking, and paddled up the stream which they had earlier descended.[19]

John Johnston, the United States Indian agent, states that the Wyandot name for Cincinnati was *Tu, ent, a, hah, e, whagh, ta,* "the land or place where the road leaves the river."[20]

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[17] Trans. and Colls., Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. I, p. 299.

[18] See his 1755 Map of the Middle British Colonies in America with Pownall's 1776 Additions.

[19] See the account of Colonel Byrd's expedition against the Kentucky settlements in Collins's History of Kentucky, vol. II, pp. 328-329. Also cf. ibid., pp. 325-326.

[20] Trans. and Colls., Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. I, p. 297.

The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail

(Trail No. 4)

This led from Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Ky., to both the lower and upper Big Licks on the Licking River in Nicholas County. It is shown on Louis Evans's "1775 Map of the Middle British Colonies in America with Pownall's 1776 Addition," and J. Stoddard Johnston [21] says: "From Big Bone Lick buffalo roads led to Blue Licks."

This meager information makes it certain that such a trail existed, but leaves its exact location in serious doubt. In placing it on our map we have been guided as to its general direction by Louis Evans's map, and in other respects by the ridges and the higher and more open lands, such as would be preferred by wild animals and moccasin-clad savages. This trail was not a very popular one with either the red man or the early whites.

TRAILS OF THE KENTUCKY PIONEERS

The Wilderness Road

(Trail No. 5)

The route followed by Boone and his contemporary pioneers from Moccasin Gap, in southwestern Virginia, through the mountains to the rich blue-grass region of central Kentucky, was called "The Wilderness Road" or "The Road Through the Wilderness." [22] Portions were used by the Indians, but as a whole it must be considered a white man's trail. Its route is given here because it is so intimately connected with the final passing of the red man.

Route of the Wilderness Road, Moccasin Gap to Cumberland Gap.—Mr. William Allen Pusey, a great grandson of the William Brown whose journals of travel over this old road are of so much interest, has made a careful examination of the Wilderness Road and given it much study. In his work [23] the following route from Moccasin Gap to Crab Orchard is laid down with great care. We quote with his permission.

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[21] See p. 742 and First Explorations of Kentucky, p. 184.

[22] "Some confusion arises in the use of the term 'Wilderness Road' to designate the road from Virginia to Kentucky, for the reason that in some localities the course of the road has been changed and distinction is made between the Wilderness Road and the Wilderness Trail. For example: Northwest of Barbourville, Ky., the trail of 1775 followed one course, and the road provided for by the Kentucky Legislature, which was opened in 1795, followed another. In this district the road of 1775 is called the Wilderness Trail and the road of 1795 the Wilderness Road. Then, later, in this locality, both of these roads gave way, as the main traveled road between Barbourville and London, to another road laid off in 1850; and now this road as the main traveled road between these points has been succeeded by a road still further south, which goes through Corbin. I have had in mind in locating the road the old road of 1775. This was the important pioneer road. By 1795 this road had begun to divide its importance with the Ohio River Route to Kentucky, and after 1800 rapidly lost importance."—Pusey, The Wilderness Road to Kentucky, pp. 83-84.

[23] The Wilderness Road to Kentucky, pp. 87-129.

"The Wilderness Road proper began at the Block House. The roads from the north and the south brought the traveler to this point. The Block House was the last station before Moccasin Gap, or Big Moccasin Gap, the gate to the Indian country, and about the same distance from the important western rendezvous of the Holston pioneers, Long Island, in the South Fork of the Holston River. It was of course, for these reasons that the early travelers to Kentucky were used to gather at the Block House in order to form parties for the trip to Kentucky.

"The Block House was established about 1777, perhaps even in 1775 when Boone's party went out, by Captain John Anderson who lived in it from that time until his death. It was located in Carter's Valley at a point where the hills open out into a valley half a mile wide and a mile long. This little valley is today a meadow surrounded by wooded hills. The spot is a pleasant one in a rough country. The location of the fort itself was determined, as always at these stations, by the presence of a good spring. The fort stood upon a small hill above the spring and looked east up the valley.

"The old road to the Block House from Long Island, at the mouth of Reedy Creek, still exists. This is the road which Boone followed on his journey of 1775.

"From the Block House the present road through Moccasin Gap, Gate City, Speer's Ferry, Clinchport, Duffield to Kane's Gap in Powell Mountain is in practically the exact location of the Wilderness Road. The first landmark of the old road after leaving the Block House was the ford of the North Fork of the Holston, two miles distant. The old ford is about 300 yards up the river from the present bridge, and the old road, approaching the ford up the south bank of the river and going down the north bank, still exists. Four miles beyond this is Moccasin Gap which furnished the only passway through the Clinch Mountains from the settlements on the Holston to the Clinch Valley. It is traversed by Big Moccasin Creek, and is a perfect gap, which allows passage without grades through this otherwise difficult mountain range. One mile beyond Moccasin Gap stood Fariss' Station in the ourskirts of the present town of Gate City, Va. . . .

"From Moccasin Gap to the Clinch River the road found an almost perfectly straight westerly course between the Clinch Mountains and Moccasin Ridge, up the valley of Little Moccasin Creek, and down the valley of Troublesome Creek. . . . The old road left the present road at Speer's Ferry railroad station, went up over the hill and came down a ravine to the Clinch River a couple of hundred yards below the present Speer's Ferry. The old ford across the Clinch is located a few yards below a present mill dam, which is 200 yards downstream from the ferry across the river. The old ford was

over a shoal in the river formed by an exposed ledge of rock, and, although the Clinch is a considerable stream, was not a deep ford in ordinary stages of water. The ford of the Clinch was, of course, a landmark on the road.

"The next landmark was the ford of Stock Creek, two miles north of the ford of the Clinch, at the present village of Clinchport. . . .

"At the ford of Stock Creek the hard mountain travel begins, and continues until Powell Valley is reached on the headwaters of Station Creek. The road followed up Stock Creek in a tortuous, steep, and difficult climb over the north end of Purchase or Stock Creek Ridge. In its course up Stock Creek it went around the mountain through which Stock Creek has cut the famous Natural Tunnel. . . .

"When the road had gotten up Stock Creek to the present point of Horton's Summit it had surmounted Purchase Ridge which ends with the gorge of Stock Creek. . . .

"The next landmark on the road was Little Flat Lick which was located a few hundred yards east of the present Duffield Station. . . .

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"One mile beyond Little Flat Lick, and half a mile beyond Duffield, was the next pioneer landmark on the road, the ford of the North Fork of the Clinch, here a small creek. Half a mile beyond this point began the steep climb over Powell Mountain, which the road crossed through Kane's Gap at an elevation of about 2,500 feet . . . From the foot of Powell Mountain on the west the old road is represented by the present road down Wallen Creek to Stickleyville. A short distance from the foot of Powell Mountain, on its west side, was situated Scott's Station. Beyond the present Stickleyville the road passed over Wallen Ridge and reached Powell Valley on Station Creek. The climb over Wallen Ridge was long and steep; not quite so long or so high, but otherwise like that over Powell Mountain. Five miles down Station Creek Valley from Wallen Ridge was situated Valley Station.

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"When the traveler reached Valley Station he was in Powell Valley. Thence to Cumberland Gap the road goes over many hills, and through a country that is always rolling, but it has no more mountain ranges to cross and no great natural obstacles to overcome. From Station Creek the old road followed directly west to Jonesville along a direct but now little used road. Two miles beyond Valley Station and seven miles beyond Wallen Ridge the road crossed by one of its hair-pin fords Powell River. The next landmark beyond Powell River was Glade Spring at the present Jonesville, Va. . . .

"From Jonesville to within a few miles of Cumberland Gap the old road is preserved practically in the present direct road between

these points which is now a State road. From Boone's Path to Cumberland Gap a modern graded road has been built which, for the most part, is in the location of the old road. Except where this modern road is built upon it, the old road usually is visible paralleling it. One mile beyond the point called Boone's Path, where there is only a small country store that was formerly a post office, and half a mile east of the village of Rose Hill, the road crossed Martin's Creek. Martin's Station was located a mile south of this point.

"Martin's Station was the important station on the road between the Block House and Crab Orchard. It was the station of Captain Joseph Martin, who was Virginia Agent for Indian Affairs, and the most influential person both with the Indians and with the scattered settlers in Powell Valley. . . .

"Beyond Martin's Station the road passed into the valley of Indian Creek and followed down this valley almost to Cumberland Gap. . . .

"Twelve miles from Martin's Station and 6 miles from Cumberland Gap was 'Big Spring.' From this point to English's Station, three miles from Crab Orchard—120 miles—there was not a station. Here the traveler had to traverse 120 miles of uninhabited wilderness.

"From Boone's Path to Cumberland Gap down Powell Valley was the best stretch of the Wilderness Road. Here the traveler passed down a fertile wide rolling valley with the high rugged ridge of Cumberland Mountain close at hand. The mountain range dominates the scenery and, as William Brown vividly described it, 'affords a wild romantic prospect.'

"*Route of the Wilderness Road, Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard.*—Nearing Cumberland Gap from the east the road started around the foot of Cumberland Mountain through the valley of Station Creek, a small branch of Indian Creek. It went up this valley through a deep ravine and passed from it over Poor Valley Ridge at Poor Valley Gap. Poor Valley Ridge is a ridge which parallels Cumberland Mountain for thirty or forty miles north from Cumberland Gap. From Poor Valley Gap the road passed along the base of Pinnacle Mountain in the valley of a branch of Gap Creek. It struck what is now Colwyn Street of Cumberland Gap Village and passed along this street to a point about fifty feet east of the present railroad station of Cumberland Gap. At this point, the road for the only time dips into Tennessee for a few hundred yards.

"Just beyond the railroad station the road began the sharp climb of the Gap proper. The old road ascended the Gap on the north wall of the ravine. The earliest wagon road ascended by numerous turns back and forth until it got half-way up to the Gap, and then, by a very steep path along the wall of the ravine, it reached the Gap itself. Going down from the west side of the Gap the road followed the south

wall of the ravine down a course of similar character to that on the east side of the Gap. The track of this old road is now well preserved, and can be followed on both the east side and the west side of the Gap. It was narrow, excessively steep in places, and so stony that one wonders how a wagon ever got over it. Before this road was built the trail for horses and men went up to the Gap by a shorter and steeper climb on the north wall of the ravine leading to the Gap. Approaching the Gap from the east the old foot trace is still visible in a path at present in use. I could find no trace of the old footpath on the west side of the Gap.

"Cumberland Gap itself is a magnificent mountain pass, worthy of its importance and its history. . . .

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"Coming down the west side of the mountain from Cumberland Gap the road passed towards the south around the base of the mountain behind the present old brewery at Middlesboro, Ky., and emerged into the valley of Big Yellow Creek at the point where the town of Middlesboro now stands. . . .

"When the first explorers passed through Cumberland Gap they found the path which the Indians had made. This was the Warriors Path, the Indian path from Lake Erie to the Tennessee. From the Gap it went west three miles along Yellow Creek and then straight north, still along Yellow Creek for most of the distance, to the Cumberland River at Pine Mountain Gap. Just beyond Pine Mountain Gap, at the mouth of Straight Creek, it left the Cumberland River, turning north up the valley of the left fork of Straight Creek and through the mountains to the mouth of the Scioto River on the Ohio. The Wilderness Road followed The Warriors Path until it forded the Cumberland beyond Pine Mountain Gap. It went down Yellow Creek to a point where Yellow Creek turns abruptly to the east to go around Rocky Face Mountain. The road left the creek here and saved several miles in its course to the Cumberland by climbing over a gap on the west side of Rocky Face. It continued then straight north until it reached the Cumberland River at the mouth of Big Clear Creek. A few hundred yards beyond the mouth of Big Clear Creek there is one of the Boone Trail markers. The road followed along the west side of the Cumberland River for a mile and passed through Pine Mountain at the gap at the present site of Pineville. This is a fine gorge, at its narrowest point so narrow that the mountains come down to the river on either side. It furnishes a perfect passway through this mountain range and the only one giving access to the west. The road forded the Cumberland at the north end of the present town of Pineville. It went along the south bank of the river until it found a gravel bar, and then turned back on itself at an angle of about 45 degrees, and went upstream across the river by

a long, but shallow, ford to its north bank. This ford is situated about 200 yards below the present wagon bridge which crosses the river from the town of Pineville to the freight station.

"The ford of the Cumberland and Cumberland Gap are, to my mind, the two most interesting landmarks on the Wilderness Road, and the stretch of the road between these two points is the most interesting part of the road. At the ford of the Cumberland the Warriors Path met the Wilderness Road. This path started in the Indian villages around Sandusky, on Lake Erie, passed through the Indian villages on the Scioto, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto, and made its way almost directly south across the mountains of Eastern Kentucky. It came down Straight Creek, hugging the foot of Pine Mountain until it found the gap made by the Cumberland. . . .

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"This section of the road from the eastern slope of the Cumberland Mountain Range at Cumberland Gap to the west side of Pine Mountain and the Cumberland River is the gateway to Kentucky from the southeast. It and the section between Stock Creek and Valley Station, in Virginia, are the parts of the road which cross over the ranges of mountains that interfere with east and west travel. When the traveler had passed the ford of the Cumberland he had surmounted the great natural obstacles of his journey. . . .

"Leaving the ford of the Cumberland the road followed along the north bank of the Cumberland River for 7 miles. It then turned north from the river, and 1 mile further reached Flat Lick. The old Flat Lick is one of the landmarks on the road. It was to the pioneer Big Flat Lick in distinction from Little Flat Lick at Duffield. The Lick is half a mile north from the present railroad station called Flat Lick. An old brick house stands there now as a reminder of the days when the road was a thoroughfare to the east. It is not a prepossessing spot.

"The present railroad parallels the old road from Pineville to Flat Lick Station. From that point the railroad follows the Cumberland to Barbourville, while the Wilderness Road cuts across the mountains and did not touch the present course of the railroad again until it reached London, 25 miles farther on. From Flat Lick the Wilderness Road followed the course of the present main road to Barbourville, but did not go through Barbourville. It followed the present road down Fighting Creek until it reached Trace Branch of Fighting Creek about 5 miles east of Barbourville. It turned up Trace Branch of Fighting Creek and went across to Trace Branch of Little Richland Creek, these two names, of course, commemorating the old trail. It went down Little Richland Creek, one of the landmarks named by Brown, and crossed it near where it joined Richland Creek. One

mile further west it crossed Richland Creek, another one of the landmarks, and then went up the west side of Richland Creek for two miles to the mouth of the Middle Fork of Richland Creek. At this point it diverged from what is the present road to London and went up the Middle Fork of Richland Creek along a road which is still preserved and passed into the present Laurel County through Lynn Camp. Thence it followed the course of an old road which is still in use and crossed Robinson Creek, one of the road's landmarks, passed Raccoon Spring on Robinson Creek, crossed Laurel River and came into the present main traveled road to London, a couple of miles southeast of the present station of Farriston. From this point it followed approximately the present main road through London to the village of Pittsburgh. From the railroad station of Pittsburgh to Hazel Patch the Wilderness Road did not follow the course of the present main traveled road between these points, but took a much more direct course than the present road or the railroad along a road which still exists. Hazel Patch, preserved in the present station of Hazel Patch, was one of the chief landmarks of the road. From this point the old road did not follow down the valley of Hazel Patch, or Rock Castle Creek, as does the railroad, but again saved a distance and went directly across towards Livingston over Wildcat Mountain. The road reached Rock Castle River just below the present station of Livingston. The old ford which crossed the Rock Castle is about 400 yards down the river from the present railroad bridge, and is still in use. At this ford, as at the ford of the North Fork of the Holston, and of Powell River, the road forms a sharp curve. It approaches near the river, then turns down stream until it finds a shallow where it crosses, then goes back for 400 or 500 yards along the other bank.

"From Livingston the Wilderness Road is represented by the present main road through Mt. Vernon and Brodhead to Crab Orchard, thence to Stanford, Danville, and Harrodsburg. Its general route is that of the railroad between these points but it is shorter by a very considerable distance, for, as usual, it takes the shortest line, making almost no concession to the difficulties which the railroad finds it best to go around.

"Between Hazel Patch and Brodhead there was another trail. This trail was found by Scaggs in 1769, and, according to the traditions of the district, was followed by Boone and John Finley on their first trip to the Falls of the Ohio in 1774. It seems to me also that the entries in Brown's journal indicate that it is probable that this trail was followed as late as 1782 when Brown made the journey recorded in his journal. This route left the other route of the Wilderness Road at Hazel Patch, followed down the valley of Hazel Patch or Rock Castle Creek, and crossed the river near the mouth of this creek; then it followed down the west bank of Rock Castle River to

the mouth of Scaggs' Creek. Brown's journal gives Scaggs' Creek as five miles from the ford of the Rock Castle which would accord with this route, while Scaggs' Creek is nowhere touched by the other route, and is nowhere within five miles of the ford of the Rock Castle at Livingston. This route followed up Scaggs' Creek; then up the East Ford of Scaggs' Creek to its head; then paralleling at about a mile distant the other road it struck the head of a fork of Nigger Creek near the station of Maretburg. It followed down this creek paralleling the present railroad to the head of Dix River at Brodhead. This trail is represented by a road now in use, except for a few miles.

"The site of the present village of Brodhead was a very important point to the pioneer traveler. Here Nigger Creek joins Boone's Fork to form Dix River. This point was in the journals of the pioneer traveler the 'Head of Dick's River'—and Dix River flows into the Kentucky River. Between Mt. Vernon and Brodhead the route passed over the watershed between the Cumberland and the Kentucky, and at Brodhead the pioneer was on the streams which reached the country that was his goal. West of Brodhead the road followed along the west side of the valley of Dix River for 5 miles, and then, leaving the river, it went northwest to what the pioneers called 'The Crab Orchard.' Eight miles from Brodhead was situated English's Station, the most easterly outpost on the road to the Kentucky settlements; and at the Crab Orchard, which is 3 miles beyond English Station, and which is now represented by the village of Crab Orchard, it had reached practically the terminus of what the pioneer regarded as the Wilderness Road. Crab Orchard was the real western terminus of the road as the Block House was its real eastern terminus.

"From the Block House to English's Station the road ran continuously through the mountains. At English's Station it emerged from the foothills upon the Blue Grass Plateau of Central Kentucky.

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"From Crab Orchard to Harrodsburg the road is represented today by the present pike going through Stanford and Danville. Eleven miles beyond Crab Orchard was Logan's Old Fort, or St. Asaph. This was established by Logan after he separated from Henderson near the Rock Castle in 1775 and was only a few weeks younger than Boonesborough. It stood on the site of the present waterworks pumping station at Stanford. The location of the road from the Rock Castle to Logan's Fort, which became the main road to Kentucky, was made by Logan. Fourteen miles further on was Harrod's Station, and 6 miles beyond this was Harrodsburg, the oldest settlement in Kentucky.

"At Harrodsburg the early pioneer was in the heart of the Kentucky settlements, and although the road continued on through Bardstown and the Salt Works near Shephardsville to the Falls of the Ohio, Harrodsburg was the end of the trail."

Boone's Trail from the Yadkin to Boonsboro

(Trail No. 45)

The path taken by Daniel Boone in 1769 from his home on the Yadkin River, "on a beautiful bluff overlooking the horseshoe bend of the river," [24] near Salisbury, N. C., to Boonsboro, came up from North Carolina through Shallowford,[25] Huntsville, Yadkinville, Wilkesboro, Holman's Ford, Elkville, Three Fork Church, Boone, Hodges's Gap, Graveyard Gap, and Zionville. It crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains between Elkville and Boone, and the Stone Mountains on the Tennessee line at Zionville, N. C.; thence it went via Elizabethton and Watauga, down the Watauga River to Long Island, near the junction of the north and south forks of Holston River, and from thence to Moccasin Gap, Va. From Moccasin Gap to London, Ky., his route was over what later became the Wilderness Road.

Boone's trail from London to Boonsboro.—Boone's trail to Boonsboro left the Wilderness Road near London. We quote from Pusey:

"The trail to Boonesborough left the road to Crab Orchard somewhere near London or Altamont; then it struck north across the hills to the head of Parker's Creek. Thence it went down Parker's Creek to its mouth where it crossed Rock Castle River; then about half a mile down Rock Castle River. Then leaving Rock Castle River it went north to Trace Branch of Crooked Creek; then down Trace Branch to Crooked Creek and down Crooked Creek to its mouth where the trail reached and crossed Roundstone Creek. It then went up the valley of Round Stone to Boone's Gap. It crossed through Boone's Gap and reached the head of Brushy Fork of Silver Creek which flows into the Kentucky River. At Boone's Gap it thus passed over the watershed between the Cumberland River and the Kentucky River.

"The trace from London to Boone's Gap was through a rough mountainous country. The valley of Round Stone is a narrow valley, sometimes narrowing to a ravine, sometimes widening out for a mile or more in width, with fertile bottom lands. Boone's Gap is a narrow pass through the Big Hill Range of the foot hills of the Cumberland Mountains, and is the best passage for many miles through this range. It is now used by the railroad. The climb to it from the valley of Round Stone is steep and rough, but not very long, and the same characteristics apply to the descent from the gap to the valley of Brushy Fork.

[24] From "Marking Daniel Boone's Trail Through North Carolina," D. A. R. Magazine, April, 1914, p. 222.

[25] "The next marker is at historic Shallowford, where Cornwallis crossed on his way to fight Greene."—Ibid., p. 222.

"From Boone's Gap to Berea the road followed down Brushy Fork through a valley similar to that of Round Stone. Just south of Berea the road left the valley and went up over the plateau on which Berea is situated. Reaching the site of Berea the road passed to the west of the present square; then down from the ridge to a valley west of Berea and down this valley to the valley of Silver Creek proper. The old road which is now abandoned for the most part, persists as a well marked trace, where it is not in use as a road, for many miles north of Berea. From a point a mile north of Berea it is an abandoned road which runs north through the valley and comes again into the present highway at Terrill. From Terrill the old road is represented by the present highway to Fort Estill. There the present highway goes off to the left of the old trail. The old trail, which is now abandoned, went directly north until it met the head of Central Fork of Otter Creek. It thus passed about two miles east of Richmond. It followed down the Central Fork of Otter Creek and down Otter Creek in the general location of the present road from Richmond to Boonesborough to the Kentucky River, and one mile down the river it ended at Boonesborough." [26]

WESTERN KENTUCKY TRAILS

The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail

(Trail No. 25)

The old Nashville-Lexington road (No. 25) was a pioneer trail which ran from the vicinity of the settlements around the salt spring on the present site of Nashville to the region around Lexington, Ky. It passed via Mansker's Station (near Goodlettsville) to the neighborhood of the present sites of the villages of White House and Cross Plains; thence to the site of an ancient Indian village 2 miles southeast of Orlinda, in Robertson County, Tenn.; thence to a point near the present site of Franklin, Ky.; and from there, crossing Drake's Creek of Kentucky, it passed a short distance north of Glasgow, where it forked.

One prong (No. 25A) led on to Columbia; thence up Sulphur Creek, crossing Green River near Pellyton, in Casey County; thence up Trace Creek; and thence it continued on to the northeast until it intersected the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29), near King's Mountain, about 10 miles south of the site of McKinney's old fort in Lincoln County. The pioneer from middle Tennessee, when he reached this junction with the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail, could pass over it to the settlements in North Carolina and Virginia and the Southeast, or could turn northward to the newly settled regions of central Kentucky.

[26] Pusey, Wilderness Road to Kentucky, pp. 130–131.

The other prong of this trail led through Three Springs, in the southeastern corner of Hart County, after which it passed near the old pioneer station on the present site of Greensburg, and thence to Pitman's Station. Pitman's Station was one of the earliest on Green River. It was on the summit of a cliff, three-quarters of a mile from an ancient Indian fortification at the Narrows of Pitman Creek, 2½ miles from Greensburg. "At the Narrows, or neck of the bend, there was but little more room than a wagon way, hemmed in on either side by great precipices. The fortifications, three in number, just beyond this neck, enclosed several large trees, which had grown up since their abandonment, and a mound 4 or 5 feet high from which human bones were dug at an early day."[27] This bend enclosed about 200 acres of land.

From Pitman's Station and this strong prehistoric fortress the old road continued on to Knob Licks, and thence to Logan's Fort (now Stanford), where it connected with the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail. At Pitman's Station a prong (No. 25B) led off to the southward to the pioneer's station on the present site of Greensburg, passing thence via Columbia, in Adair County, to the Cumberland River at Burkeville, in Cumberland County.

The first white settlers called this old road with its two prongs and the connecting Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail, "The Wilderness Road" or "The Road Through the Wilderness," because it ran through a section that was unsettled and contained a large amount of forest. Many of the first settlers in middle Tennessee followed these trails after coming through Cumberland Gap. They are shown on nearly all early maps of Tennessee and Kentucky,[28] including Filson's map of Kentucky, and Filson calls the main path "Road from the old settlements through the great wilderness." It continued in use by immigrants until the rush of new settlers caused the cutting out of the Walton road across the Cumberland Mountains in 1801, which reduced the travel distance from Knoxville to Nashville by more than one-half.

There is no positive evidence that this route followed an Indian trail, but it is extremely probable, for it is well known that our pioneers looked for and used such trails, as affording usually an easier

[27] See Collins's History of Kentucky, vol. II, p. 295.

[28] Among the many authorities for this road may be mentioned:

Filson's "Map of Kentucke," 1784.

"Map of the Western Part of the Territories Belonging to the United States of America," in Imlay's Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, 1793 edition.

"A Map of the Tennessee Government Formerly Part of North Carolina, Taken Chiefly from the Surveys by Gen[l] D. Smith and Others," Imlay, 1797 edition.

"Map of Cumberland and Franklin," p. 376, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee.

"Map of the Former Territorial Limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians." Royce, in Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology.

Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1823.

The stories of the trails handed down in families of the descendants of those who came over them, such as the Walton narrative, to be found in the chapter on the Cumberland Trace, in this volume.

passage. It was perhaps the original route for prehistoric man in going from middle Tennessee to central Kentucky, or to the great Indian region in Ohio. It led by licks which would draw game for the traveler, and some important Indian remains are located along it, but probably there was far less prehistoric travel over it than along such trails as the Great Warriors' Path. Narratives of journeys over this route have been left by André and François André Michaux (1795, 1802) and the exiled French princes, Louis Philippe and his two brothers (1797).[29]

The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail

(Trail No. 24)

The old pioneer road from Nashville to the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville ran from the settlements in the vicinity of Nashville to the ancient Indian village on White's Creek, about 8 miles northwest of Nashville; thence via Springfield, Tenn., to Russellville, Ky.; Morgantown; Leitchfield (Shaw's Station); Elizabethtown; to the crossing of Salt River near its junction with the Ohio, and on to the Falls of the Ohio. It is shown on Royce's "Map of the Territorial Limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians." [30] This is the route of an early white road, and there is no positive evidence that it was an Indian trail, but the same reasoning applies to this as to the old road from Nashville to Lexington. It is not laid down as an Indian trail by any of the early explorers, so far as the writer has been able to discover, but it was the logical route for prehistoric man from the region around Nashville to the comparatively thinly inhabited country in central Indiana. There are, however, few Indian remains along its route in Kentucky, and there was probably little prehistoric travel over it.

The Russellville–Shawneetown Trail

(Trail No. 41)

An ancient Indian trail ran south from Shawneetown, Ill., connecting at Russellville, Logan County, Ky., with paths coming from near the present Nashville and Clarksville, and from other parts of the mid-Cumberland valley.

It ran northwest from Russellville, through Nortonville and Earlington, in Hopkins County, passed a prehistoric Indian village 2 or 3 miles west of Madisonville, and continued on to Dixon, in Webster County, where it forked. Thence one prong led to Highland Lick, an important lick about 6 miles to the westward, and from it through Henshaw to the crossing of the Ohio River at Shawneetown,

[29] Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 3, pp. 63–64, 206–249; Century Magazine (1901), n. s., vol. XL, pp. 753–754.

[30] Fifth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology.

joining there the great trail to the salt licks on Saline River, about 10 miles west. From this group of licks the trail led across southern Indiana and Illinois to a great Indian city whose vast ruins survive as the celebrated Cahokia group in the suburbs of East St. Louis, the largest and most important prehistoric settlement in the United States.

The other prong of the Russellville and Shawneetown trail (No. 41A) led from Dixon via Morganfield to the Ohio River, crossing at Uniontown, and from there to the Indian settlements scattered up and down the Wabash River.

Few particulars have been recorded regarding the route of the Russellville and Shawneetown trail within the State of Kentucky, but, by using the meager description given by Perrin and allowing ourselves to be guided somewhat by the sites of the prehistoric Indian towns between Russellville and Shawneetown, which appear to have been originally on this old trail, it is possible to locate it with at least a reasonable degree of accuracy.

Perrin [31] states, in referring to Indian trails around Hopkinsville and Russellville:

"Another trail off to the northeast was that leading from Russellville, Logan County, then the oldest town south of Green River in Kentucky, in a northwesterly direction toward the Highland Lick in Lincoln, now Webster County. Near these celebrated licks, about two miles distant, and at a fork of the trail, there long stood a lone, solitary tree, like a grim sentinel of the desert, on which the head of Micajah, or 'Big Harpe,' the noted desperado and horse-thief, was hung after his decapitation by Stagall and the citizens who pursued and captured him."

Collins [32] says:

"The old Indian trail or trace from Nashville, Tenn., to St. Louis, Mo., passed directly over the spot where Dixon is now built."

"Highland Lick, 6 miles west of Dixon, supplied, before 1800, the salt for quite a large scope of country. No salt works there now."

A glance at the map shows a large majority of all the mounds and other evidences of Indian towns in this region are on the line of this Russellville and Shawneetown trail.

In Union County, near where this trail crossed the Ohio and about 2½ miles south of Shawneetown, petroglyphs were reported by James D. Middleton, in 1886,[33] which appear to resemble petroglyphs found on the Mississippi River bluffs in Jackson County, Ill., almost due west.

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[1] Perrin, W. H., History of Christian County, Kentucky. Chicago and Louisville, 1884, pp. 119–120.

[32] History of Kentucky, 1882 ed., vol. II, p. 757.

[33] See Mallery in 10th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 81.

The Russellville–Hopkinsville Trail

(Trail No. 43)

Little is known about the Russellville-Hopkinsville trail other than the following from Perrin:[34] "Another trail was that from Russellville to Hopkinsville, where it fell into the trail first mentioned, that leading from Nashville to the Saline Works in Illinois." Perrin is corroborated by the fact that a mound and other evidences of an Indian settlement are found on the supposed line of this trail between Russellville and Hopkinsville, on the west fork of Red River, in Todd County. Some other Indian town remains are found near it a short distance south of Elkton.

The Palmyra-Princeton Trail

(Trail No. 42)

We are also dependent on Perrin for our knowledge of the Palmyra-Princeton trail:

"And still another [trail] passed through the southwest portion of the county, and leading from the Cumberland River, near Palmyra, to join, at Princeton, the trail crossing the Ohio River at Ford's Ferry. This ferry, some ten or twelve miles below Shawneetown, was long reputed to be a very dangerous place, on account of a gang of counterfeiters, horse-thieves and cut-throats, who made it their chief rendezvous. They were finally suppressed by the Regulators after committing many depredations upon the defenseless citizens. . . . These trails, ready made to the hand of the pioneer, and generally trending to the north or northwest, to some noted saline deposit, are only interesting to the reader now from the fact that they were long used by the early settlers as their thoroughfares in traveling to and from salt works, or from one settlement to another. As soon as the tide of immigration began to set in more freely, and the different communities became more densely populated, they were no longer sufficient for the purposes of travel and had to be supplemented by other trails or roads."[34]

This trail gave an outlet toward the north to a once populous Indian section in the Cumberland Valley. A glance at the archeological map of Tennessee will reveal mounds, cemeteries, and many other evidences of prehistoric man on the Cumberland River around Palmyra, in Montgomery County; and nearly every bend of the Cumberland River shows indubitable traces of occupancy by Indians for a distance of at least 20 miles upstream and 20 miles downstream from Palmyra. This stretch of fertile river valley must at one time have shown a continuous series of small Indian villages,

[34] History of Christian County, Kentucky, p. 120.

sometimes a mile or so apart, perhaps with single dwellings and truck patches scattered between them. In this stretch the summit of nearly every bold bluff contains the stone-slab graves of the former red inhabitants.

The salt works on Saline River.—The salt works in Illinois to which Perrin refers were on Saline River, in Gallatin County, within a few miles of the Ohio, and could be reached either via Ford's Ferry or the crossing at Shawneetown. Stone-slab cemeteries; a great abundance of fragments of pottery, salt kettles, and domestic pottery; faint indications of earthworks; and artificial terraces at the salt works near Equality, as also at a point 5 miles down Saline River, all testify to the interest taken in this section by aboriginal man. Extensive earthworks and mounds and many evidences of salt making are also to be found in the valley at the junction of Big and Little Saline Rivers. In fact traces of prehistoric occupancy occur all along the course of the Saline River in Gallatin County. We quote from an account of this site given by George E. Sellers:

"My first visit was in company with my friend the late Dr. David Dale Owen, about the year 1854. We found two water-worn ravines, commencing on the hills that rise abruptly on the south side of the Saline River, and drain into it. At the base of the hills they are crossed by a State road, between which and the river their bottoms are level, hard, and barren, and here, close to the road rise the salt-springs. Between the ravines is a bench or river-bottom subject to annual overflow.

"These bottoms, as well as the hillsides, were covered with a thick growth of young timber—the primitive forest having been cut off for fuel for evaporating the brine at the time the salines were worked by the early settlers. The principal spring was then, and is now, known as the 'Nigger' well or salt-works, as it was worked by slave-labor while the State of Illinois was a Territory.

"The spring in the west ravine overflowed a curbed well about eight feet square, which I sounded, and found to be about forty feet deep. In the east ravine a salt-spring was oozing. A short distance above the curbed well flows a sulphur-spring, and near it one of good fresh water.

"I have been informed by a reliable party who had personal knowledge of all that was done by the early settlers in working the salines, that in the east ravine they sunk a well and curbed it down to the bed-rock, a depth of 42 feet, and made a boring of about 150 feet in its bottom. That all the way from the surface to the rock they found pieces of broken pottery, and on the rock a pitcher or jug, with a handle made within the rim; this jug was sent to the Philadelphia Museum. My informant expressed the opinion that, at the time the aborigines used the waters, the spring had its outlet at or

near the bed-rock, and had since gradually filled by surface-washings, just as the well in the west ravine has been filled since my first visit, and is now a cattle-tramped salt-swamp.

* * * * * * *

"The great number of graves and the quantity of slabs that have been washed out prove either a dense population or a long occupancy, or both.

"On the crown of the main hill above the cemetery are ranges of circular depressions, from one to three feet deep, and from fifteen to twenty-five feet in diameter; they cover a large area, on two sides of which there is evidence of earthworks.

"I had the oil removed from one of these depressions, and found marks of long-continued fire in its centre, from which I infer that they are sites of the lodges of these ancient people.

* * * * * * *

"At the present salt-works, about five miles higher up the Saline River, on its south fork, near Equality, is the 'Half-Moon Lick,' where the earth has been licked away to a depth varying from twelve to sixteen feet, in the shape of a horseshoe, about 200 yards from point to point of the heels, and to the toe, or back of the curve, 250 yards. In this lick are still to be seen deeply-trodden buffalo-roads. On one bank is a slightly-raised ridge, in which were found imbedded a number of earthen vessels in a row. Mr. B. Temple, one of the proprietors of the salt-works, described them to me as between four and five feet in diameter and sixteen to eighteen inches deep. After uncovering, they were not removed, but suffered to go to decay. The bones of the mastodon have been found here.

* * * * * * *

"I will ask you to accompany me up the hill, not by the steep ascent, through the cemetery, but up the ravine, past the sulphur-spring. You will find it gradual and easy: in fact, part of the old, well-beaten foot-trail is now a wagon road; but, before reaching the top, the trail leaves the road and winds among the rocks, one branch sweeping off to the left to the ancient settlement. We will take the one to the right. When you near the top of the hill, though fully a quarter of a mile from the salt-spring, keep a sharp lookout, for you may chance on a good specimen of well-marked pottery. On reaching the crown, you will be some distance west of the old town-site. Here the plough has been working destruction for many years; but you cannot take up a handful of soil without finding in it the *débris* of the old salt-pans.

"You are now in a lane separating a young apple-orchard, thickly grown with clover (so thick as to cover all specimens), from freshly-ploughed cornfields, stretching far off to the south, over the grand valley of Eagle Creek.

"If you can take your eyes from the charming landscape, climb with me the snake-fence into these ploughed fields, and examine the soil: you will not be likely to find any specimens worth saving, unless it be in an old fence-row, for the ploughshare has ground them and the corn has fed on them. Still, the soil is largely composed of disintegrated pottery. You may walk the furrows, examine the washes, the entire slope, to the east, to the west—you may follow its descent to the south—in every ravine, drain, or wash, you will find these remains, and you may possibly be repaid for your tramp by discovering among the wasted pottery and flakes of chert a spade, a rough and peculiarly-chipped arrow-point, or a flaked axe or chisel." [36]

This ancient salt source has been frequented by animals and prehistoric men even from the long-past days of the mastodon. No doubt these ancient salt makers carried on a considerable salt barter traffic with the people both to the south and to the north. On the east they would soon meet competition from the salt sources along Salt River and in central Kentucky, and on the west from the salt of southeastern Missouri.

Cave-in-Rock.—This cave, situated at Ford's Ferry, was anciently a resort for Indians and in later times for white criminals. It is thus described by Collins, though his conclusions regarding the animal-like petroglyphs are, of course, entirely untenable:

"*Ancient Cavern.*—On the Illinois side of the Ohio river, only a few feet beyond the jurisdiction of the state of Kentucky, is a cavern—in a rock, or ledge of the mountain, a little above the water of the river when high, and close to the bank. It is about 200 feet long and 80 feet wide; its entrance 80 feet wide at the base, and 25 feet high. In 1836, the interior walls were smooth rocks. The floor was remarkable, being level through the whole length of its center, the sides rising in stony grades, in the manner of seats in the pit of a theatre. Close scrutiny of the walls made it evident that the ancient inhabitants of a remote period had used the cave as their council house. Upon the walls were many hieroglyphics, well executed—among them, representations of at least eight animals of a race now extinct, three of them resembling the elephant, the tails and tusks excepted. This cavern is connected with another more gloomy, immediately over it—united by an aperture about 14 feet, to ascend which was like passing up a chimney; while the mountain was yet far above. For more than 60 years, this has been known to boatmen as *Cave-in-Rock.*" [37]

Collins is in error as to the length of time this cave has been known to the whites. The writer found it shown (Cavern dans le Roc) on

[36] Sellers in Popular Science Monthly, vol. XI (1877), pp. 573-585. [37] Collins, op. cit., p. 147.

an early French map, "Carte de La Louisiane Cours du Mississipi et Pais Voisins" par N. Bellin Ingenieur de la Marine, 1774, which is printed in Charlevoix's History of New France. The details of this portion of the map were obtained from the report of M. de Lery, a French engineer, who visited a portion of the region in 1729. It is also shown under the name "Cave in a rock" on the map accompanying Adair's "History of the American Indians," London, 1775. It will thus be seen that in Collins's time it had been known at least 153 years.

The Nashville-Saline River Trail

(Trail No. 40)

Among the many old trails leading into the ancient salt lick on the present site of Nashville was one which ran northwest to the group of large mounds on White's Creek, a short distance from the present village of White's Creek; thence up that creek to Joelton; thence northwestwardly to another ancient village site at the mound on Sycamore Creek near the common junction point of Davidson, Cheatham, and Robertson Counties, Tenn.; thence to a mound marking a small prehistoric settlement on Red River, about 1½ miles northwest of Adams; and thence northwestwardly up Red River to some mounds, an earthern embankment, a cemetery, and other traces of a prehistoric town at the junction of Buzzards Creek and Red River. The remains at this latter point indicate a town of considerable importance. It had once been fortified and some traces of the earthen embankment can still be seen. From this old fortified town the trail ran to a mound which marks a former village site about 2½ miles northeast of Guthrie, Ky.; thence to another town site near Trenton; thence to the present site of Hopkinsville where there was formerly a mound; and thence along the drier lands to Princeton, where it was joined by the Palmyra-Princeton trail leading up from ancient Indian sites near Palmyra.

The trail forked a few miles beyond Princeton, one prong (No. 40B) leading to the northwest to the prehistoric salt works on Saline River above described, and crossing the Ohio at Ford's Ferry, in Crittenden County. The other or Golconda prong led to the crossing of the Ohio at Golconda, Ill., and thence almost due west to the Mississippi River opposite Cape Girardeau, Mo. From the western bank at Cape Girardeau it traversed the State of Missouri to the present Oklahoma.

THE NATCHEZ TRACE AND THE MIDDLE TENNESSEE CHICKASAW TRACE

(Trail No. 19)

When the whites first came into middle Tennessee they found an Indian path or trace running from the former Indian settlements around Nashville to the Chickasaw towns about Pontotoc in northern Mississippi, where it connected with trails leading to all sections of the southern United States. The middle Tennessee whites called it the Chickasaw Trace because it went to the Chickasaw towns, but later on it was known as the Natchez Trace. As there was another Chickasaw Trail in west Tennessee leading to these same towns, we have called the one under consideration the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace, and that in west Tennessee the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail. The one under consideration was regarded by our early whites as being ancient and was spoken of by them as the old Chickasaw Trace. Its route was the logical one for movements between large and important sections in the central United States. Over it, beyond question, passed in later times parties of Chickasaw, Choctaw, Natchez, and other southern tribes on their way to middle Tennessee, Kentucky, and the territory of our present North Central States, while the many unknown peoples who preceded them must also have traveled it. Its key situation forced its use, and it played a vital part in the life of the region, both in war and in peace. The forced trek of the Shawnee from Alabama into middle Tennessee in the eighteenth century was along this trace.

"The Chickasaws formerly claimed for their nation, exclusively, all the lands north of the Tennessee, and they denied that the Cherokees were joined with them in the war against the Shawnees when they were driven from their settlements in Cumberland. They said that the Shawnees first came up the Tennessee in canoes, and thence up Bear Creek thirty miles; and there left their canoes, and came to war with the Chickasaws, and killed several of their nation. The Chickasaw chiefs and warriors embodied and drove them off. From thence they went to the Creeks, and lived with them for some time. They then returned and crossed at the Chickasaw Old Field, above the Muscle Shoals. From thence they went to Duck River and the Cumberland River, and settled there; and the Chickasaws discovered their settlements. Two of the chiefs of the Chickasaws, who were in those days their principal leaders—the one named Opoja Matehah, and the other Pinksey Matehah—raised their warriors and went against the Shawnees, and defeated them and took all their horses and brought them into the Nation." [38]

The white man began using this trail as soon as he came into the region. Over it passed many southern Indian war parties to attack

[38] Haywood, Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., p. 426.

the feeble white settlements in Tennessee, and over it in return hurried armed white bands to attack and destroy their red enemies south of Tennessee River.

Malone [39] refers to a map bearing the following inscription, "London, Published as the Act Directs, December 27, 1794, by H. D. Symonds, No. 20 Paternoster Row," on which a portion of what is evidently the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace is designated "Mountain Leader's Trace." This was perhaps a tribute to the activity in aid of the English of the celebrated Chickasaw chief Piomingo or Mountain Leader, a really great Indian, about whose wisdom, bravery, steadfast friendship and honor much has been written and still more should be made known.

As the number of white settlers increased and their land and water traffic grew, Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, became of more and more importance. The whites floated their products by water to Natchez or beyond, but many of them preferred to return by land over the old Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections rather than by the long and laborious upstream pull-and-push-against-the-current journey by river. The newly formed United States Government also began to realize the possibilities of this great southern section very soon and planned to open better means of communication through it. With this object in view General Wilkinson, commander of the United States Army, concluded a treaty on October 24, 1901, with the Chickasaw at Chickasaw Bluff, or Fort Adams, as it was then called, on the present site of Memphis, and another treaty with the Choctaw, on the 17th of December, 1801, whereby the consent of these Indians was obtained to the opening of a wagon road through their lands.[40] By act of Congress April 21, 1806, the President was authorized to open a road from Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, to Natchez, in Mississippi Territory, a distance of about 500 miles, the Indians being allowed the privileges of operating ferries and collecting toll for the same along the route. The sum of $6,000 was appropriated for the construction at this time and an additional $3,000 in 1809. Thus the celebrated Natchez Trace was established. It followed substantially the route of the earlier Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections, departing therefrom only where the necessities of a wagon road varied from the requirements of aboriginal foot travel or where the newly formed settlements of the whites drew it slightly from its ancient course.

That portion of the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace or Natchez Trace in Tennessee, as marked on our map, follows the Marshall map in "Natchez Trace, 1911, Maps, Park Marshall," in the Car-

[39] The Chickasaw Nation, p. 356.

[40] These treaties may be found in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. I, pp. 652–658.

negie Library, Nashville. In letters of December 1 and 31, 1919, Mr. Marshall says:

"The Natchez Trace followed the general course of the old Chickasaw Trail, but a wagon road could not very closely follow a footpath in a wild hilly country, through which many streams cut their way. General Wilkinson is reported as saying to the Indians 'The Chickasaw Trail is a very uncomfortable road and we wish to improve it for the use of both the Indians and the white people.'

"In Benton's 'Thirty Years View' he says his father originally had 30,000 acres, 'and the Indians' great war trail ran through it.' That land was at Leiper's Fork in Williamson County, Tennessee. The trail at its north end came toward Nashville, passing near Belleview, where there is yet a Trace Creek.

"I have looked upon the Chickasaw trail as a route or path leading from the main villages of the Chickasaws, in what is now Pontotoc County, Mississippi, to the vicinity of Nashville. This trail crossed the Tennessee at the northwest corner of Alabama, close to the mouth of Big Bear Creek [near Waterloo—route 19 on map]. It was planned for the Natchez Trace to cross at the same place, but the officers in charge (Captain Butler and Lieut. E. Pendleton Gaines), perhaps with the consent of General Wilkinson, were persuaded to cause it to cross one or two miles above, at Colbert's Ferry [route 19A on map].

"Now Colbert was a principal chief, a shifty man who became rich, and he owned the ferry. You will see from the treaty that Indians having ferries along the trace could own them and charge tolls. There are many little things like this which affect the course of roads."

Mr. Marshall has carefully traced out the route in Tennessee, either in person or by diligent inquiry, and it is correctly shown in his maps in the Carnegie Library, Nashville, Tenn., above referred to. The United States Geological Survey, in its maps of that portion of Tennessee which was traversed by this trail, has adopted the same route as Mr. Marshall.

Haywood [41] mentions the Chickasaw Trail as still in existence in 1787. He refers to "Duck River, where the old Chickasaw trace crossed it," and farther on we read:

"About a month afterward [probably in May, 1787] Capt. Rains received orders from Col. Robertson to raise a troop and go southwardly through the woods from Nashville, and on finding any Indians on the Cherokee side of the Chickasaw divisional line between the Chickasaws and Cherokees, to destroy them. Capt. Rains raised sixty men, and took the Chickasaw trace, and crossed Duck River and Swan Creek, still traveling on the Chickasaw path, which was the boundary.[42]

[41] Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., p. 231. [42] Ibid., p. 239.

"Carey's General Atlas," Philadelphia, 1914, calls the place where this trail crossed the Tennessee "Chickasaw Crossing."

Route of the Natchez Trace.—The old Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and the later Natchez Trace passed from Nashville through the following points in Tennessee: Near Belleview, Davidson County; near Leiper's Fork, in Williamson County; near Leatherwood, in Maury County; through Gordonsburg in Lewis County and near Victory in Wayne County. It then passed into Alabama. At or near Dart, in Lauderdale County, Ala., the Natchez Trace (No. 19A) left the old Chickasaw Trace in order to cross Tennessee River at Colbert's Ferry, the latter trace crossing the Tennessee about 2½ miles downstream from Colbert's. The Natchez Trace joined the old Chickasaw Trace near Allsboro, in Colbert County, and thence passed into the State of Mississippi, where it went through Tishomingo and Saltillo, and on to the maze of Indian trails and Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc and Union Counties. Here the old Tennessee Chickasaw trace ended, but it connected with other Indian trails leading to all parts of the southern United States, one or two running to the crossing of the Mississippi River at Memphis. The Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail led south and southeast to the Choctaw towns in Neshoba and the adjoining counties of Mississippi and thence to the region around Mobile Bay.

Another great trail (No. 60) led eastward to the Atlantic coast. It was followed by Colonel Welch, the English explorer, in his expedition to the Mississippi River in 1689, and was later much used by English traders in visiting the friendly Chickasaw. It passed across the present States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and extended beyond. Finally, by means of its many connections, it reached the sea at Charleston, Savannah, and St. Augustine. Other connections went northeast through Tennessee and North Carolina into Virginia and on to eastern Pennsylvania and northward.

This trail is shown on the Purcell map, compiled not later than 1770 in the interest of British Indian trade, by John Stuart, His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs.[43]

The route from Pontotoc to Natchez.—Leaving the Chickasaw region in Pontotoc County the Natchez Trace continued on to Natchez over another old Indian trail, passing through or very near the following towns: Houston, in Chickasaw County; Ackerman, in Choctaw County; Kosciusco, in Attala County; Canton, in Madison County; Clinton and Raymond, in Hinds County; Port Gibson, in Claiborne County; Washington, in Adams County.

The most accurate map of the ancient Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections in northern Mississippi is Lusher's map reproduced by Malone, who has the following regarding it:

[43] The original of this is in the Edward E. Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill. It has been reproduced as Plate No. 7 in Swanton's History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors, Bulletin 73, Bureau of American Ethnology.

"A word as to Lusher's map. The copy I examined belongs to Captain J. D. Fontaine, Nestor of the Pontotoc bar, who kindly lent it to E. T. Winston of Pontotoc to send to me for examination, with many injunctions for safe keeping and its safe return. From outside to outside it is 18 x 24 inches, of fine workmanship, is on quite thin, but good paper, folds up book-like, with extra good binding, so that it can be carried in the coat pocket. This is the inscription on it:

" 'Map of the land ceded by the Chickasaws to the United States in 1832 and 1834 from actual survey by Henry M. Lusher, draughtsman in the office of the Surveyor General of lands in Missis. Ceded by the Chickasaws, 1835. Approved John Bell, Surveyor of land in Missis. Ceded by the Chickasaws, Benja. Reynolds, Chickasaw Agent.'

"Beneath the above in small print there is this: 'Pendleton's Lithography, Boston Eddy. delt. on stone.' Of course there was the usual display of capitals, etc., but I have made a literal copy of the verbiage; from which I think it appears that the map is as authentic and correct as one could be made in 1835. The Indians had not then left Mississippi, but were still occupying their ancestral homes." [44]

Judge Joe C. Guild, who was one of the leading lawyers in middle Tennessee from 1825 to 1876, gives some interesting reminiscences of the hardy riders who carried the United States mails over the Natchez Trace in the years immediately following its opening, and incidentally a vivid picture of life along this old Indian trail at the time when it was passing from the red man to the white man.[45]

PRINCIPAL TRAILS BETWEEN WESTERN TENNESSEE AND MISSISSIPPI

The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail

(Trail No. 12)

The great trail, known in west Tennessee as the Chickasaw Trail, and designated West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail by us to distinguish it from the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trail or Natchez Trace (No. 19), connected west Tennessee with the Chickasaw and Choctaw settlements in Mississippi and Alabama. It ran from the populous region around Cisco, in a southwesterly direction, to the old fortified Indian town near Bolivar, where it connected with the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11) and reached Memphis and the southwest by that route. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail itself went

[44] Malone, The Chickasaw Nation, p. 98. [45] Old Times in Tennessee, Nashville, 1878.

southward from Bolivar along the Pontotoc ridge, by the present site of Ripley, Miss., to the ancient Chickasaw town of Pontotoc, on or near the site of the present Pontotoc in Pontotoc County. Thence it led to the Tombigbee at Columbus, Miss., over Trail 66, and from Columbus to the region around Mobile over Trail 120.

This trail was used by the Chickasaw and Choctaw in going from Mississippi and Alabama to west Tennessee and beyond.[46]

The Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay Trail

(Trail No. 105)

An Indian trail having many branches led from the Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi River at the present site of Memphis to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County, Miss., thence southeastwardly to the Choctaw towns in Neshoba and Kemper Counties, and from there on to the Indian settlements of the Mobile, Tohome, and other tribes around Mobile Bay. We have called this old trail the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail. So far as we have been able to discover, the native name for this trail or trails has not been preserved, and probably it was not thought of as one through trail by the Indians, but only as a series of trails from settlement to settlement, which, if followed, would ultimately carry a traveler from the Mobile Bay region through the Choctaw and Chickasaw settlements to the Mississippi River crossing at Memphis.

Portions of this trail are shown on many maps, among which may be mentioned:

Carte de La Louisiane et du Cours Du Mississipi. De l'Isle, Paris, 1718.

Van Keulen's 1720 Map of New France, in Chatelain's Atlas, 1732.

De Crenay's Map 1733, Plate 5, Dr. Swanton's Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors, Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

Melish's Large Map of the U. S. 1818.

Lusher's Map—1835, reproduced in Malone's The Chickasaw Nation, Louisville, 1922.

It had many branches in the maze of Choctaw towns and likewise as it passed through the Chickasaw villages.

From Memphis to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County the Indian had choice of three well-known trails, the weather determining in large measure the one to be selected. The most direct of these (the one under discussion) followed approximately the line of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway through Oakville, Capleville, Olive Branch, Miller, and Byhalia. From Byhalia it led through Waterford and Thaxton to the Chickasaw town of Pontotoc, about 2 miles south of the present white town of Pontotoc. It was

[46] See Malone, The Chickasaw Nation, pp. 74–76; Bull. 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, p. 280; and De Fer's 1718 Map of Louisiana.

the shortest of the three routes between that place and Memphis, but it led through swampy places and crossed many streams, and was probably used only in very dry weather or in case of emergency. It is shown on Lusher's map reproduced in Malone's The Chickasaw Nation, and also on Melish's "Large Map of the United States, 1818." This shortest route was at one time known in Memphis as the Old Chickasaw Trace. Malone thus describes it:

"The Short-Cut Trail, or Pigeon Roost Road

"Having referred to the long trail which could be used to the best advantage at all seasons of the year and in all kinds of weather, I will now call attention to what, for want of a better name, I will call the short-cut trail, which was the shortest route or way between the Chickasaws' home in north Mississippi and the Chickasaw Bluffs.

"Under the Chickasaw treaties of 1832 and 1834, all of the Chickasaw cession was laid off into sections, and the roads in Mississippi run on section lines, except where the roads of the white man adopted the Indian trails, and the Pigeon Roost Road falls into the excepted class, because it follows the ancient Chickasaw trail. It will now be described.

"This road was laid out by the Shelby County Court in 1828, when there was scarcely a handful of people in the then village of Memphis, and it ran along the Chickasaw short-trail or trace. The description of the road, as officially laid off, commences where Adams Street intersects Bayou Gayoso, the then corporate limits of the village, and after proceeding in a southeasterly direction with various calls and courses, it proceeds thus:

" 'Thence with said line of blaze bearing southeastwardly to the old Chickasaw trace on top of a ridge; thence with the said trace, occasionally straightening the same on good ground, to the northeast side of a lagoon in the bottom (the lagoon evidently being in Nonconnah bottom), thence with a line of chops and blazes to the creek (evidently Nonconnah) a short distance below the ford on the old trace; thence up the bank of the creek to the old trace, and with it cutting across some lands as above to where the same crosses the State Line.'

"By actual measurements recently made, Nonconnah bottom begins eight miles from Second and Adams Streets, opposite the courthouse in Memphis, passing along the old Chickasaw trail, as near as that can be now traveled in the city, and then along the line of the present Pigeon Roost Road. Nonconnah is a considerable creek, and was much larger before the country was settled. In high water, even at this day, the creek is often a mile wide, and anciently its bottom was filled with lagoons and cypress brakes, and difficult to cross, except under most favorable conditions. To my knowledge during the Civil War the four long bridges over the sloughs, and the one over the main

stream, were down, at least the most of them were, and a ferry was maintained across the main stream, over which I often passed. In the winter the road became so out of repair that for days and days no vehicle could pass over it. . . .

"Leaving the courthouse at Memphis, Nonconnah bottom was [is] reached at eight miles, after descending Brown's Hill, formerly rising abruptly to high land, and this high land extends to Memphis. The bottom is a little over one mile wide, and emerging from this bottom the land is not high for some miles, but low, and formerly swampy. This low level land may be designated, according to local description, as second bottom lands, and extends from the true or low bottom lands, about two miles, passing through the village of Oakville (formerly called Shakerag), to a small creek or large branch with a good sized bottom, and then the road goes up on rolling land. Further on Ten-Mile Branch is crossed, its name implying its distance from Memphis. Capleville is reached at thirteen miles, and by it, or rather where it now stands, there flowed in 1859, and for years thereafter to my knowledge, a beautiful creek with delightful fish in it. To-day what is left of it forms a big ditch not made by nature, but by the hand of man, about one-eighth of a mile to the north, in which you may sometimes see a muddy conglomerate to which the phrase may be applied, 'as dull as ditch water.' The fate of this stream, on the upper waters of which, three miles distant, in my boyhood days I swam and sported, catching beautiful fish, is the common fate of all the streams through this section of the country. A few hundred yards beyond Capleville another creek is crossed.

"I will now give the small creeks and distances crossed from Memphis . . .

"At the State Line, 15.5 miles; 17.6 miles; 18.3 miles (Olive Branch passed); 20.8 miles; 23.8 miles (at Miller's); 25.6 miles (this is Coldwater River, with a bottom one mile wide); 29.3 miles; (Byhalia passed, 30.1) . . .

"From these gentlemen and Judge J. P. Young, of Memphis, I learned that going south from Memphis on the Pigeon Roost Road, it deflects at Byhalia from the present Holly Springs road . . . leaving Holly Springs about six miles to the east of its course opposite that city.

"This is in entire accord with Lusher's map.

"On Lusher's map of 1835 . . . the streams in the Chickasaw country are laid down with more detail and accuracy than upon any other map before or since that time; and while nearly all the streams have Indian names only, Pigeon Roost Creek forms an exception, and had on this map the same name it bears to this day.

"The fact is that the creek was so named on account of the vast pigeon roosts which formerly formed a conspicuous feature of its

heavily timbered bottoms; and bear in mind that this giant timbered country was the country to attract the pigeons for a roosting place. This roosting place must have been famous far and near, for it gave not only its name to the large creek in question, but to one of the most important thoroughfares leading to Memphis, a distance of some fifty miles.

"Lusher's map also shows that the shortcut Indian trail or trace crossed the headwaters of the Pigeon Roost Creek. This roost was undoubtedly known to the Chickasaws, for nothing of this character escaped their notice; and, moreover, it was doubtless a great asset to them, where, at least in certain years, they found an unlimited supply of most palatable and wholesome food. Indeed, the existence of this roost may have been one of the reasons for the trail passing through that vicinity." [47]

The "De l'Isle map of 1718" shows a portion of the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay Trail extending as far south as the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. In the later maps it is made to reach the French settlements at Mobile, and on some still later a prong extends to the newly established trading post of the United States at St. Stephens, on Tombigbee River a few miles above its junction with the Alabama, near the site of the present St. Stephens, in Washington County.

Life on the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay Trail in 1764.—Adair, the wily Scotch-Irish Indian trader, has left an interesting account of his experiences on this old Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail in 1764.[48] It very accurately reflects the life along the trail at that time.

The English trader with his own intrigues on the one hand and the counter intrigues of the French and Spanish traders on the other, for the friendship and trade of the wavering, vacillating, and sometimes disgusted Indian was much more likely to die from the tomahawk than from ennui. His labors for trade with the men and his affairs of love with the ladies often made his scalp rest uneasy on his none too worthy head. But withal one can not but admire the red-blooded, half-savage trade adventurer, who was usually the first white man to explore and to exploit the savage lands.

THE MIDDLE MEMPHIS-PONTOTOC TRAIL

(Trail No. 119)

An intermediate trail, intermediate in length as well as position, led from Memphis to Pontotoc, and we have designated it the Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail. It followed higher and drier

[47] Malone, The Chickasaw Nation, pp. 64–66, 75.
[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 297–303.

ground than the last, through Germantown, Collierville, Mount Pleasant, Hudsonville, and New Albany. We quote again from Malone:

"There is also marked on Lusher's map of 1835 an intermediate trail, running with the long trail a short distance north from where New Albany now is; thence diverging westward where it crosses the headwaters of the Tallahatchie and Coldwater Rivers higher up than the short-cut trail, and still bearing northwestward follows the top of the ridge dividing the waters of Wolf River from those of Nonconnah Creek, the result being that it crosses neither Wolf nor Nonconnah, and does not pass over as large streams as the short cut. The disadvantages of this route consist in the fact that it is longer than the short cut, and being higher up towards the Tippah Highlands, it is more 'mountainous.' I went over this route some years ago and again in October, 1917, going from Memphis out Poplar Street Boulevard, by Collierville, there turning southward into Mississippi, and some eight or ten miles from Collierville we crossed a very low, flat expanse, the soil being evidently retentive of water and while in timber wet and swampy, and partly so even to this day, and of a pondy character. While for the most part the road is on high ground, still we passed over several streams, including Chewalla and Tippah . . . The windings of the road and its characteristics unmistakably stamp it as of Indian origin." [49]

In discussing the route he supposes De Soto to have taken after leaving the Chickasaw towns, Malone says:

"There is a bare possibility that De Soto traveled this trail rather than the short cut, but I do not think that probable.

"Lusher's map also shows what I have denominated the short-cut route or trail, leading from Memphis along approximately what is now the Pigeon Roost Road, over which, in my opinion, De Soto passed; but it is due to say that this trail does not appear to cross Tallahatchie at New Albany, but further down and quite near where the Tippah flows into the Tallahatchie, running thence southwardly to one of the very few places marked on the map, Olacopotoo, which appears to be the modern Toccopola, a village of some 233 inhabitants in Pontotoc County.

"Here the trail forks; one fork runs almost due east, only twelve miles on section lines, to Pontotoc, which, of course, is marked on the map; while the other fork runs much further southward. I am frank to say that I do not believe that De Soto passed over this southern part of the short-cut trail, and my opinion is that he followed the main trail northwestward, crossing Tallahatchie where New Albany now is, on the rock bottom of the river. This is the conclusion also of Prof. Lewis.

[49] Malone, The Chickasaw Nation, pp. 94–95.

"My opinion is that not far northward of New Albany, there was a trail connecting the main trail with the short-cut trail, precisely as the intermediate trail is shown on the map to diverge westward from the main trail, only about one mile northward from New Albany; or it may be that the divergence was from the intermediate trail to the short cut, thus making a saving of distance of some twenty to thirty computed miles and crossing many less high hills. This view is precisely in accord with the statement of Judge Crum, as to the route the short cut took from New Albany on to Holly Springs, and thence on to where Memphis now is, as quoted hereinbefore.

"While Holly Springs is not on Lusher's map, still it does show the short-cut trail as crossing the headwaters of Coldwater River, Byhalia, Red Banks and Pigeon Roost Creeks, and these streams are crossed today by the Pigeon Roost Road.

"It is due to say, however, that according to my reckoning the trail did not pass the spot where Holly Springs is now located, but passed some six miles westward. I feel quite sure that Dr. Lowe is entirely correct in saying that the high land whereon Holly Springs is located stands off to itself, and is entirely disconnected with the Tippah Highlands, though some modern maps show otherwise. Lusher's map corroborates this statement of Dr. Lowe, in that it shows no streams passing over the immediate vicinity of Holly Springs, but does show streams radiating in various directions from that vicinity; from which I infer that the uplift or spur whereon the little city is located furnishes, at least in part, the origin of adjacent creeks." [50]

THE MEMPHIS-BOLIVAR-PONTOTOC PRONG

(Trails Nos. 11 and 12)

The longest but best prong from Pontotoc to Memphis led over the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11), from Chickasaw Bluffs, at Memphis,[51] to the fortified Indian town at Bolivar, in Hardeman County, Tenn., where it had several prongs, but the traveler from Memphis to Pontotoc took the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail (No. 12). These two trails are described elsewhere. This route was very much longer but it was also much drier, better suited for aboriginal travel, and could be used at all seasons.

Other Memphis Trails

The location of the Indian trails above mentioned leading from Memphis[52] into the State of Mississippi is further confirmed by an

[50] Malone, The Chickasaw Nation, pp. 95–96.

[51] "Probably [passing] near the present sites of Millston, Macon, Bartlett, and Raleigh," according to an earlier draft of Mr. Myer's description of this route.—Ed.

[52] The Cherokee name for the present site of Memphis was Tsudâ'tâ'lesûñ'yi ("where pieces fall off," i. e., where the banks are caving in).—Mooney in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 538.

old map in the Library of Congresss, De Fer's 1718 map of Louisiana (No. 115283, map division), entitled "Partie Meridionale de La Rivière de Mississippi et ses Environs." This map shows three trails from Mississippi to Memphis. One of these corresponds to the Memphis to Pontotoc trail and the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail beyond Pontotoc. It struck the Tombigbee near the present site of Columbus, Miss. It confirms the route outlined under the head of the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.

The second trail led down approximately by the present route of the Illinois Central Railroad to Grenada, Miss.

The third trail led approximately along the present route of the eastern prong of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad, through Clarksdale, Leland, Rolling Fork, and to the Mississippi River at Vicksburg.

[As stated above, the first of these corresponds to Trail No. 105. The others Mr. Myer did not enter on his map presumably for lack of sufficient specific data to guide him in plotting them.—ED.]

THE CHEROKEE TRACE

(Trail No. 90)

Describing conditions at Memphis about the year 1822, James Phelan[53] says:

"At this time the only semblance of a road leading to Chickasaw Bluffs from the interior was the so-called Cherokee Trace. A trail ran from the bluffs to the Chickasaw Old Fields in northern Mississippi where it connected with the Natchez Trace. The chief avenues of ingress were the Mississippi river and its tributaries, the chief means of transportation, flat-boats, perogues, and broad-horns."

It is to be regretted that Phelan did not make the course of the Cherokee Trace more definite. As we interpret his description in the light of the roads and trails known to have run out of Memphis at that time, we judge he here refers to the Cherokee Trace and to Trail No. 105. The Chickasaw Trail was the narrow and much inferior Indian trail which led through northwestern Mississippi to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County. The Cherokee Trace, which also followed an ancient Indian trail, was more frequented and had become broadened into a white man's road. It kept along the route of the old Indian path which we have called the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11) to an Indian town site near Bolivar, Tenn., where it forked, the branch called the Cherokee Trace by Phelan turning southward. At or near Roger's Spring, in Hardeman County, it again forked, one prong passing eastward toward the Cherokee and following in a general way the line of the Southern

[53] History of Tennessee, p. 316.

Railway through Pocahontas and Chewalla, in Tennessee. From Chewalla it crossed into the northeast corner of Mississippi, going about 4 miles north of Corinth and about 2 miles north of Iuka, and continuing on into the northwest corner of Alabama until it crossed the Natchez Trace about 3 miles west of Cherokee, in Colbert County. That portion of it from Chewalla to the point last mentioned is laid down on Lusher's map, though no name is given. Beyond question there were one or more trails along or near both banks of the Tennessee River which led from the intersection of the Cherokee and Natchez traces to the Cherokee country in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia. We have record of aboriginal travel through this section, but we have no definite information as to the exact location of the trail for a space of 10 or 15 miles. It is not probable that there was a large amount of through travel from the east Tennessee Cherokee region to what later became the site of Memphis.

THE CHICKASAW AND CHOCTAW TRAILS

According to Adair [54] there were three through trails from the Chickasaw region to Mobile Bay. As far as we have been able to determine these three are our Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail (No. 105), the Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens and Mobile Bay Trail (No. 120), and the Cherokee and Mobile Bay Middle Route (No. 121). There were, however, a number of others, and numerous cross trails which connected all of the small Indian towns in the section. Thus primitive man, desiring to go from any Chickasaw town in the northern portion of Mississippi to the Mobile settlements, could attain his object by means of a series of connecting paths leading in an almost straight line through the Choctaw towns in the eastern central part of the State.

In Wayne County, Miss., his path would cross an important aboriginal east and west trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks (No. 91). This connected with the famous Camino Real of the Spaniards which led from St. Augustine and Pensacola, Fla., to the towns of the Natchez Indians on St. Catherines Creek, crossed the Mississippi River near the present city of Natchez, and continued via the Red River Valley through Natchitoches, to San Antonio, Tex., and thence southward to the City of Mexico.

On reaching this trail an Indian who desired commerce with the English took it eastward and found their traders at St. Stephens where it crossed the Tombigbee River.

If he sought the French, he crossed it and continued southward to the Mobile Bay region.

The ancient Indian life along this maze of Chickasaw and Choctaw trails was always intimately connected, sometimes in peace but quite

[54] History of the American Indians, p. 298.

often in war, and when these trails began to pass from the original owners to the whites, they became the center of innumerable intrigues and counter intrigues over Indian trade, clearly shown in the records of the struggles between the French and Spanish on the one side and the English on the other.

Gaines's Trace

(Trail No. 66)

In order to obtain a share in the Choctaw trade and other traffic going down these Chickasaw and Choctaw trails, and also down the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers to the French and Spanish at Mobile and Pensacola, the United States in 1802 established a trading post or factory at St. Stephens, on Tombigbee River, a few miles above its junction with the Alabama. This post was where the trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks (No. 91) crossed the Tombigbee, and was very near the boundary between the United States and Spanish West Florida.

While its situation enabled it to compete for trade on both the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers and also on all the trails converging toward Mobile, it was never able entirely to overcome the hold of French and Spanish traders upon the commerce of the region. This was especially true of the Choctaw, who had long been friendly to the French and always more or less hostile or lukewarm to the English.

Pickett [55] thus describes Gaines's Trace and St. Stephens about 1809–10:

"The factory of the United States, located at St. Stephens, continued to be managed with advantage, so far as the friendship of the Choctaws depended, which was the chief aim of the government. When quite a young man, Mr. George S. Gaines, a native of Virginia, and then a resident of Gallatin, Tennessee, received the appointment of assistant factor, and arrived at St. Stephens in the spring of 1805. The parsonage of the old Spanish church was used as a skin-house, and the old block-house served the purpose of the government store. In 1807 Gaines was made principal factor. He received a good salary, as also did the assistant clerk, the skinsman and the interpreter. To this establishment the Indians—principally Choctaws—and sometimes the American settlers, brought bear's oil, honey in kegs, beeswax, bacon, groundnuts, tobacco in kegs, and all kinds of skins and peltries. To pay for which, the Federal Government usually kept a stock of coarse Indian merchandise, besides all kinds of iron tools, ploughs, arms and ammunition. In the summer the furs and hides, often overhauled by the skinsman for the purpose of keeping out the

[55] History of Alabama, 1896 reprint, pp. 505–506.

worms, were assorted. In the fall they were packed up in bales and shipped to the Indian Agent at Philadelphia. Mr. Gaines at first came often in collision with the revenue authorities of Mobile, who exacted duties—delayed his vessels—and, upon one occasion, came near putting him in the calaboose of that place for venturing to remonstrate. The Federal Government, to avoid the payment of these duties, and to prevent delays, instructed the factor to obtain the consent of the Chickasaws for a road from Colbert's Ferry to St. Stephens. The government resolved to send supplies down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, to the former point. The faithful and enterprising Gaines was unable to procure the privilege of a road, but was allowed the use of a horse path. Upon the backs of horses he was accustomed to transport goods, hardware, and even lead, from Colbert's Ferry to Peachland's, upon the Tombigby. There, boats being constructed, the merchandise was floated down to St. Stephens. It is singular that our ministers, in forming the treaty with Spain in 1795, by which we acquired all of West Florida above the line of 31°, and the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, neglected to insert an article for the free navigation of the bays and rivers of Mobile and Pearl."

Leftwich[56] has the following account of the trail:

"As Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines marched reinforcements for Gen. Jackson's army just before the battle of New Orleans over the 'Trace Road,' crossing the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port, the resident population has since assumed that Gen. Gaines opened the road and gave it the name. This is erroneous. George Strother Gaines, who was from about 1805 to 1825 Government factor and assistant factor at St. Stephens on the Lower Tombigbee, first brought this road into prominence and gave it its name. George S. Gaines was a brother of the celebrated general, E. P. Gaines, and seems himself to have held rank in the militia, as the early chroniclers refer to him as 'captain' and 'colonel.' Both of the brothers bore a conspicuous part in the settlement of the Southwest. They were Virginians by birth, descended from a sister of Edmund Pendleton of Revolutionary fame. George S. Gaines published his reminiscences in the *Mobile Register* in June and July, 1872. It was Gen. E. P. Gaines who captured Burr near St. Stephens in 1807 and delivered him to the authorities at Washington.

* * * * * * *

"It will be observed that this trace road leaves the Tombigbee river on an elevated plateau and follows 'the divide' through to the Tennessee, thus avoiding water courses. It must not be assumed that Gaines marked out a virgin path for the Government mules to

[56] Cotton Gin Port and Gaines' Trace, pp. 267–270.

carry produce over. No doubt this path had been an Indian road for communication between the Indian settlements in Alabama and Tennessee and Mississippi as long as they had inhabited the country. The English traders from Savannah and Charleston, who so long held the Chickasaws under their influence, no doubt carried their commerce over this road a century before Gaines heard of it. They are known to have assisted the Chickasaws at the battle of Achia, 1736. When Bienville attacked the town he found it strongly fortified, having the English flag floating over it. Long before Gaines opened and widened this road it had been used by Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee settlers bound for the upper and lower Tombigbee. They floated down the Tennessee on rafts to the mussel shoals and thence crossed the country on high ground by way of this road to the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port long before that ancient village had its present name. At the latter point they either constructed rafts and floated down the Tombigbee or carried their produce south and southeast through the open prairies.

"From Cotton Gin Port this road ran nearly due west about ten miles to a kind of tavern kept by Major Levi Colbert, a Chickasaw chief. There the road forked, one branch leading northeast to Pontotoc, whence it intercepted the Natchez Trace running to Natchez and New Orleans. The other branch turned southeast through the prairie, running not far from Muldon and West Point to Waverly, in Clay county.

"At or near Waverly, where the Oktibbeha river unites with the Tombigbee, was Peachland's, the place mentioned in the quotation from Pickett's history. It was here that Gaines unloaded his produce carried all the way from Colbert's ferry on the Tennessee by way of Cotton Gin Port on pack horses and mules, and reloaded it on rafts or boats for St. Stephens. Peachland's was a famous place in early frontier days. John Peachland, or Jack Pitchlyn, as he was often called, and his two sons, Peter and Jack, owned all that section of Lowndes county and part of Clay. Jack Pitchlyn was a half-breed, the son of an Englishman. He was always a faithful and influential friend of both the Indian and the white man. His home is time and again mentioned in the early chronicles, and he is also frequently named as a participant in treaties and other important transactions. He had a commission as United States interpreter for the Choctaws, and was sub-agent. His home seems to have been once a famous stopping place for travelers. He was buried at Waverly, just across Tibbee in Chickasaw territory, that being the boundary between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. His widow and descendants made several pilgrimages to his grave after the removal of his tribe to Indian Territory, and they finally removed his bones there.

"Major Levi Colbert, the famous Chickasaw Indian chief, was another conspicuous figure in these early times. One of his wives, Seletia Colbert, is said to have lived at Colbert's ferry, where the trace road crossed the Tennessee. The other wife lived at what is now known as the French farm, not far from Okolona, in Monroe county. It was near this point that one branch of the trace road turned south through the prairie and the other northwest to Pontotoc. It is about eighty miles from Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee to Colbert's ferry on the Tennessee, and even a less distance 'as the crow flies.'

"Gaines' Trace is still a public road, with some slight variations. Col. J. B. Prewett, one of the oldest citizens of Monroe county, traveled over it when a little boy with his father, who was removing to Monroe county from near Columbia, Tenn., about 1824. It was then a famous highway. He remembers seeing crowds of Indians at Cotton Gin.

"From the Colbert settlement near Cowpen creek this road ran northwest to Pontotoc, being north of the present town of Okolona, near what was afterwards known as Chambers' Lake. From Pontotoc to Cotton Gin Port the distance is about forty miles. Gaines' Trace might have intercepted the Natchez Trace several miles nearer than Pontotoc, but Pontotoc's prominence among the Chickasaws, with the English settlers there, the later location of the Government land office at that point and the general course of the streams, all led travelers by that route.

"Okolona is said to have been named after Major Levi Colbert's herdsman, whose name in the Chickasaw tongue was 'Ittawamba,' meaning 'bench chief,' which he received for having gathered together the old men and boys while the warriors were off on a hunt and ambuscaded and killed a body of Creeks with whom the Chickasaws were at war. From his quiet manner he received the name of 'Okolona,' which means calm or peaceful.[56a]

"Gaines' Trace road from the Colbert settlement to Waverly, through the midst of prairies, was doubtless the same path followed by De Soto and his Spanish warriors in his war of conquest about November, 1540. How long before that it had been an Indian trail leading from the Chickasaw settlements in Pontotoc, Lee and Monroe counties, to the Choctaw settlements in central and east Mississippi and to the Creek settlement on the lower Tombigbee, we can never know."

The old town of Cotton Gin Port figures largely in the stories of these trails, and Leftwich, in the work quoted, records many interesting details of the story of this now vanished town.[57]

[56a] Unless this name has been very much corrupted, the interpretation is erroneous.—ED.

[57] Cotton Gin Port and Gaines' Trace, pp. 263–266.

Adair's experiences on the Chickasaw and Choctaw trails in the winter of 1747 show that a trader's life along them in his time was as full of adventure as the wildest western romance.[58] It sounds more like J. Fenimore Cooper than the actual record of a few days in the life of an Indian trader. Pickett gives a vivid and a tragic picture of adventure and hardship undergone by a white party on Gaines's Trace in 1802.[59]

The Trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks

(Trail No. 91)

This led from the crossing of the Mississippi River at Natchez through what later became the United States trading post of St. Stephens, on the Tombigbee, near which place it connected with trails leading in many directions. Lorenzo Dow passed over this trail in 1804–5 on his way from Natchez through the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and on to the Northern States, and has left an account of his journey.[60]

THE CAMINO REAL

(THE KING'S HIGHWAY)

(Trails Nos. 99, 100, 105, 106, 107, 111)

After the settlement of St. Augustine in 1565, or even from the time of Narvaez (1528), until after Florida was finally transferred to the United States in 1821, the Spaniards made great use of aboriginal trails in the southern portion of our present Gulf States. This was notably true of those which connected the important settlements of St. Augustine on the east coast, St. Marks on Apalachee Bay, and Pensacola on Pensacola Bay. The main route from St. Augustine to Mexico was over this trail by land to the fort at St. Marks on Apalachee Bay, and the rest of the way by sea, but there was at least some travel from St. Augustine, St. Marks, and Pensacola to New Orleans and the Spanish settlements around Nacogdoches and San Antonio in what is now Texas, and from thence southward to the City of Mexico. The traveler would take trails Nos. 107 and 111 from St. Augustine to Pensacola, and at Pensacola, if the inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile were at peace, he would take trail No. 106 to a point on Mobile Bay opposite Mobile. He would leave Mobile by trail No. 99. If, however, he desired to avoid Mobile he would take trail No. 106 at Pensacola and follow it and its connections to the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, where a few miles of travel on another path brought him into trail No. 99. This

[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 325–326.
[59] Pickett, Hist. of Ala., pp. 466–469.
[60] See Dow, History of Cosmopolite, pp. 233–247.

came out at the crossing of the Mississippi River at Natchez, and from there a trail led up Red River Valley to Natchitoches, La., and thence in succession to Nacogdoches and San Antonio, Tex., the crossing of the Rio Grande at Presidio near the old mission of San Juan Bautista, and finally to the City of Mexico. This trail, later known as the Camino Real, was the first to be traveled for any considerable distance by white men in what is now the United States, for it is now nearly 400 years since De Soto and his band of armed adventurers first came upon it in 1539, near the present town of Alachua, Fla. There is considerable dispute in regard to portions of the route followed by De Soto, but no careful student of his expedition will deny he passed along this trail near Alachua. After the foundation of St. Augustine it became of the first importance, and with the founding of posts at St. Marks and later at Pensacola the travel over it increased. Where it crossed St. Johns River a ferry was established and the forts of St. Francis de Pupa and Picolata were built to protect it.

On account of the supposed poverty of the Texas Indians, as reported by Cabeza de Vaca (1528–1536), no white man set foot on the Texas section of this trail until 149 years after his time (1536–1685), and then only as the result of an accident. By an error in the calculation of his longitude the French explorer La Salle failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi River, and entered Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast where he built his little fort of St. Louis and raised over it the flag of France. This fort was soon afterwards abandoned by the French and the buildings burned, but meantime the Spaniards captured one of La Salle's vessels, which had blown out of its course, and thus learned of the French advance into territory claimed by them. In 1689 they sent an expedition to oust the intruders and in 1690 they built their first Texas mission, San Francisco de los Tejas near the Nabedache village.

In 1718 the Spaniards established the mission fort of San Antonio de Valero (later called San Antonio de Béxar and now San Antonio) at the junction of the Camino Real with another ancient trail, and two years earlier they built another mission on the former, among the Nacogdoches Indians, which later grew into the modern town of Nacogdoches, Tex. They built yet another fort farther east, near the present city of St. Augustine, Tex., and a mission fort among the Adai Indians at what is now Robelin, La., only 14 miles west of the French outpost at Natchitoches, La. This trail connected numerous Indian villages or communities, and to this day mounds and other evidences of ancient man are to be found upon its course.

After the building of these missions came the trading expedition of the Frenchman, St. Denis, who appears to have attempted to stand in with both the Spaniards and the French. He was a medium

of plots and counterplots, which ended in the old trail passing more and more from the red man to the white. It quickly developed into an important road called the Camino Real (King's Road) in accordance with the Spanish custom of calling any important road by that name.

As the missions sprang up various section of this ancient trail came to receive local names. From St. Augustine, Fla., to Nacogdoches, Tex., it was called by the Spaniards the Camino Real. From Nacogdoches, Tex., to the mission of San Antonio de Béxar it is now known locally as the Old San Antonio Road, and from San Antonio to the place where it crosses the Rio Grande near Presidio, as the Presidio Road.

Mainly through the efforts of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Texas, the route of this old Camino Real across the State of Texas has been carefully located, and stone markers have been placed at distances of 5 miles.[61]

The following is from the report to the Daughters of the American Revolution of Maj. V. N. Zively, who had been appointed by the Governor of Texas to survey and relocate it and whose map, with one slight correction, we also reproduce. (Pl. 17.)

"This 'Camino Real' traverses the State of Texas from Pendleton's Ferry on the Sabine River, near the upper boundary of Sabine County, to Paso de Francia (the French Ford) of the Rio Grande in the lower part of Maverick County, about six miles S. 60 degrees East from the old Mission San Juan Bautista in the State of Coahuila, Mexico.

"In traversing our imperial State it passes through or near the historic cities of San Augustine, Nacogdoches, Alto, Crockett, Bastrop and San Antonio, the city of the Alamo . . .

"It crosses the Angelina River at the old Linnwood crossing, within a stones-throw of the birthplace of that young patriot statesman, the Hon. Geo. B. Terrell of Cherokee. Passing old Fort Lacy it crosses the Neches River near the prehistoric Neches-Indian Mounds, and after passing within a short distance of that beautiful and thriving little city, Crockett, named for one of the immortals of the Alamo, crosses the Trinity River at Robbin's Ferry about six miles above the old Spanish Bluff or Fort.

"It crosses the Navasota River near Lake Afton at the Common Corner of four of the most populous and richest counties of the State; Leon and Madison, Robinson and Brazos. It crosses the

[61] Mrs. Lipscomb Norvell, of Beaumont, Tex., as chairman of the Old Trails Committee of the D. A. R., deserves especial credit for her great labors in this movement, and the writer is indebted to her for much information. Mrs. Norvell is the author of "King's Highway Across Texas," in the D. A. R. Magazine March, 1916. She has contributed many other historical articles to various publications.

Miss Mary Eleanor Peters, formerly of Dallas, Tex., now of Berkeley, Calif., has given many additional facts. Miss Peters is the author of "Texas Trails," in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, vol. 7 (1913–14).

Brazos River at the old Shoal Ford, about one and one-half miles above Moseley's Ferry at Stone City, and crosses the Colorado River at the city of Bastrop—'One hundred varas above the N. W. corner of the Stephen F. Austin Survey.'

"The next stream of importance is the beautiful Rio San Marcos, which it crosses four miles below the thriving little city of the same name. The next is the swift and limpid Guadalupe which it crosses within the city limits of New Braunfels, and at the intersection of Nacogdoches and Seguin Streets I placed post No. 78.

"Passing diagonally through San Pedro Park in the city of San Antonio, it follows the meanders of the West bank of San Pedro Creek nearly to its confluence with the San Antonio River. Thence it passes just south of the Mission de San Jose; it passes through the patio of the Mission de Espada. The next point of interest is the crossing of the Medina River at the Kerr Ford and the next stream of note is the Atascosa River which it crosses about two miles below the little village of Poteet. Crossing the San Miguel Creek near the town of Hinds the next stream of consequence is the Rio Frio which it crosses at the old Lawton Ford in La Salle County, and just one mile below Cotulla it crosses the beautiful and far famed Nueces River.

"From the crossing of the Nueces River on to the Rio Grande, it passes many points mentioned and described in the diary of Morfi: viz: the high hill, La Cochina, the pools of Romano, the head of San Roque and San Lorenzo creek, the San Pedro spring, the San Ambrosia creek and pass, and then Paso de Francia on the Rio Grande, perhaps the best natural crossing on the stream below Eagle Pass.

"The fact is the King's Highway is the natural road across the State, the one route meeting with the least resistance from nature, and as about 60% of it is now used as a road, let us hope that the near future will see the entire road opened and maintained by the State, in co-operation with the counties through which it passes."

Soon after 1800 the Camino Real became intimately associated with the movements which finally resulted in the Mexican war and Texan independence.[62]

The following extract from "Texas Trails" in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, vol. 7, 1913–14, pp. 58–60, tells briefly the interesting story of this Texas section.

"Old San Antonio Road, which was a part of the Spanish road across the Continent, starting at San Augustine, Florida, and known as the King's Highway. By this name the thoroughfare is known until it reaches Nacogdoches in East Texas, when it changes to the Old

[62] See Norvell, King's Highway and History, Beaumont, Tex., 1918.

San Antonio Road, keeping this title until it reaches San Antonio, after which, coinciding with the road from the Presidio of San Juan Bautista to the mission-fort of San Antonio de Valero (later San Antonio de Béxar), it is known as the Presidio Road.

"The section [of the *Camino Real*] known as the Old San Antonio Road was mapped out and inaugurated in 1714 by Juchereau St. Denis, who came into Texas as agent of the monopolist Crozat to open trade between Louisiana and Mexico by way of Texas. The Spaniards, taking alarm at this insidious intrusion of their French rivals, sought to check their advance and to keep out their traders by establishing more missions at strategic points along the trail. They were assisted in the work by St. Denis himself, who, by clever manipulation, with his right hand received his commissions from his French employers, while with his left he sought the perquisites offered him by the Spaniards in return for his assistance both in smuggling and in laying out the road and establishing the posts which were to hold it.

"One of these missions, San Antonio, previously mentioned, was developed at the junction of the Presidio and San Antonio roads. Another, placed at the eastern terminus of the road among the Nacogdoches Indians, grew into the present town of Nacogdoches; while another was placed still further east, near the site of what is now San Augustine, Texas. The two towns which earliest figured in the colonial history of Texas were thus practically the oldest permanent settlements, though San Antonio grew more rapidly and has remained one of the largest of Texas cities, due no doubt to the fact that it became the headquarters of the Governor of Texas; while Nacogdoches remained a frontier settlement whose very existence was often almost annihilated by Indian attacks. It is now, however, one of the important centers of East Texas.

"This road was named as the northern boundary of American colonization when, in 1821, Stephen F. Austin brought in his first colony. Over it the early settlers from Arkansas traveled, excited to emigration by news of Austin's projected enterprise. It was the line of demarcation between the roving Indian tribes and the American settlements, and was the great commercial and military highway in every era of the history of Texas, as well as the official road of the government whether of Spain, Mexico, Texas, the United States, or the Confederacy. Over it the Forty-niners made their way westward, striking it at Natchitoches, Louisiana, and following it to San Antonio, there picking up a trail marked on the map of 1856 as the 'Emigrants' Route', which led westward to New Mexico, via Santa Fé through Arizona to their El Dorado. To unite her California settlers with their Eastern friends, the United States chose and maintained this old road as her post-road, over which all mail was sent to San Diego. When Texas invited the railroads to enter her territory,

the Southern Pacific laid its tracks upon this well-worn road; and thus it has been in constant use since Juchereau St. Denis, with his commission from Crozat, rode over it, spied out the land, and with keen eye selected the landmarks which should identify a permanent highway over his twofold enterprise. Spanish cavalry, French and American adventurers, Mexican armies, emigrant wagons, the pony-express, and the limited train have made their way gayly, courageously, laboriously, cautiously, indifferently over this stretch of road with which the Spanish King dreamed of holding his New World Empire. Its perpetuation has become the fixed purpose of the Texas Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who are marking with bowlders the entire length of the King's Highway from Nacogdoches to the old Presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

"The stage of the trail from San Antonio to Presidio, known as the Old Presidio Road, was also laid out by St. Denis when he planned the Old San Antonio Road. It is still plainly visible, as it passes through Zavala County, deeply sunken, almost a chasm, and unfit for use, but preserved intact—thanks to its impassable condition, which has rendered necessary the wearing of a new road beside it."

The Florida portion of the Camino Real has enjoyed a certain amount of distinction from the narrative of his journey over it in 1774 left by William Bartram.[63]

MIDDLE TENNESSEE TRAILS

The Cumberland Trace

(Trail No. 26)

This trail, which owes its name to the early white settlers, branched from the Tennessee River, Great Lakes, and Ohio Trail (No. 29) near the present site of Rockwood, in Roane County, and led to the west of the Cumberland River in Jackson County and the Indian settlements around Nashville. The celebrated Cherokee chief Tollunteeskee at one time lived in Rockwood at the point where this trace took its rise. From Rockwood it proceeded through the pass just west of town and thence on to the plateau, afterwards following the present route of the Tennessee Central Railroad near the site of Crossville, Standing Stone (Monterey), and the old Indian town at the Officer Mounds near Algood, in Putnam County.

At the last mentioned place the trail branched. One prong ran slightly to the northwest to the ancient Indian settlements at the junction of Spring Creek and Roaring River, in Jackson County. Thence it went down Roaring River, where, 3 miles below, it reached the old town at McCoin's, and continued down Roaring River to

[63] Wm. Bartram, Travels, pp. 182-261.

its junction with the Cumberland, crossed the latter, and proceeded to the old Indian settlements on Jennings Creek.

The other prong went down Flynn's Lick Creek to the Indian town at Flynn's Lick, thence to the settlements on Cumberland River at the mouth of Flynn's Creek, and from there to War Trace Creek. At the crossing of the Cumberland near the mouth of Flynn's Creek the whites built Fort Blount about 1784 to command it.

On War Trace Creek every vestige of the old trail has disappeared, but in the days of the early whites the trail along this creek, then used only as a war trail by the Cherokee and Shawnee, was so well known that it gave the creek its name. Here the trail probably forked, one prong going out at the head of War Trace Creek, probably by the ancient Indian settlement near the headwaters of Jennings Creek, from thence by the present site of Red Boiling Springs—which in Indian days was something of an animal lick on account of its salt-producing waters—and from thence to the great Indian settlement on Green and Barren Rivers in southern Kentucky.

The other prong probably followed down the Valley of the Cumberland via the sites of the modern villages of Defeated and Monoville, the fortified Indian town at the mouth of Dixon's Creek, the site of Hartsville, the fortified Indian town at Castalian Springs, and the fortified Indian town on Drake's Creek, near Hendersonville, to the numerous ancient Indian settlements around the salt licks on the present site of Nashville, where it connected with trails leading in all directions.

Cumberland Trace was much used by the Cherokee in going from the populous Indian region around the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers to the rich central portions of the Cumberland Valley. Traces of it can still be found in the wooded hills to the northwest of the Indian village site at the Officer Mounds near Algood.

Standing Stone.—One of the best known Indian relics in Tennessee is Standing Stone, at Monterey, by the side of the Cumberland Trace. It is of sandstone, and was originally about 8 feet high. All accounts of this interesting stone agree that the Indians held it in high esteem, but the exact nature of their attitude toward it has long been lost, if indeed it was ever known. The following information was communicated to the author by the Hon. John Turner Price, of Monterey, Tenn.

"This information regarding Standing Stone was largely obtained from Mr. Jack Whittaker. He perhaps knows more of the history of the old stone than anyone now living. He tells me that he got all the information from his father, Mr. Jeff Whittaker, who has lived in this immediate vicinity since his birth, 1818.

"The Standing Stone was originally located about one mile west of the town of Monterey, directly on the Walton Road and about

20 feet to the north of same. The stone was plain, about 8 feet tall, of pink sandstone, standing upright on a sandstone ledge. After it had fallen down some of the early settlers made some excavations under it, and found ashes and charcoal that seemed to have been buried there. It was the general impression with them that the stone marked the location of some treasures which the Indians had buried here a good many years ago. It was also undoubtedly a marker of their trail which led across the Cumberland Mountains from Kingston to the West, and was used by the Cherokee tribe.

"There are several caves near the stone, and Mr. Whittaker says his father found evidence that the Indians inhabited them, and it was his idea that they wintered here in the caves.

"After the stone had fallen down, people in passing by would chip off pieces of it, and in order to preserve it the Red Man built the present monument and placed the old stone on it.

"Mr. Whittaker does not know whether or not the Indians venerated it or offered sacrifices around it. There are a great many stories connected with it, but there does not appear to be any real foundation for them. It unquestionably bears some very close relationship to the early Indian in this country, but just what, none will probably ever know."

It must be borne in mind that until as late as 1805 the white settlers in East Tennessee were separated from those in the Cumberland Valley by a great wedge of lands still belonging to the Cherokee. Where the Cumberland Trace crossed this, it was some 65 miles in width in a straight line. The western edge of it was near Double Springs, Putnam County, and the eastern edge at the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers, near Kingston.

When the first settlements were made on Cumberland River this route was a dangerous one for white people, because the Cherokee owners were unwilling to have them pass over it. By degrees they were able to obtain a grudging permission and some of the more adventurous began to use it, but as late as 1797 it was still only a path and regarded as hardly safe except for large parties.

A very interesting account of a journey over the entire length of this trail in the year 1797 is given by young Francis Baily,[64] who later became the president of the Royal Astronomical Society. Baily speaks of meeting upon it only one party of emigrants bound for the Cumberland settlements, but within two years there was such an urgent demand for a wagon road that the Government secured permission from the Cherokee to open such a road for the on-coming rush of colonists, and the Walton road was in consequence built by a captain of that name. It followed the old Cumberland Trace from Kingston to the present site of Algood, where it took

[64] Journal of a Tour in North America, pp. 415–439.

the prong leading almost directly west, over the trail along the level tops of the ridges to Chestnut Mound, and crossed Cumberland River at Allen's Old Ferry at Carthage, about three-quarters of a mile above the mouth of Caney Fork River.

In historic times it is probable that the Cherokee made little use of that prong leading from Algood to the large Indian settlements around Carthage, since the latter had long been deserted. Among these settlements was an ancient fortified town on the point at the junction of Caney Fork and Cumberland Rivers which commanded the travel by water up and down both streams. This old abandoned trail between Carthage and Algood was the only practicable route between these prehistoric settlements and east Tennessee.

The following information regarding the above-mentioned wagon road was furnished the author by Mr. W. B. Walton, of Nashville, Tenn., a son of Captain Walton:

"Knowing from experience and from observation how difficult it was to reach the Cumberland country (now Middle Tennessee) by the long circuitous route—the only one then opened, by way of Cumberland Gap and Central Kentucky—Capt. Walton determined to open a wagon road by a more direct route from Southwest Point (now Kingston) on the Clinch River, a hundred miles over the Cumberland Mountains, to the confluence of the Caney Fork and Cumberland Rivers. In 1799, when the legislature was sitting at Knoxville, Walton applied for and procured the appointment of a commission to mark out and locate the wagon road between the points above mentioned. William Walton and William Martin, of Smith County, and Robert Kogle, of Hawkins County, were appointed commissioners, and did the work in compliance with the Act of October 26th, 1799. Capt. Walton contracted to open and build the road. This he subsequently did, and became owner of the road; and he established along the route stands at which he kept supplies derived mainly from his farm on the Cumberland—this for the accommodation of emigrants. The first of these was located near Pekin, in Putnam County; the second was at White Plains, at the western foot of the mountain; the third at Crab Orchard, on the plateau of the mountain in Cumberland County; the fourth at Kimbroughs at the eastern foot of the mountains in Roane County.

"The construction was a great feat at that time, considering the rough topography of the route, the difficulty of keeping supplies for the workers, the long, hard route, hauling by wagon, and the danger from marauding Indians who were hostile.

"The Walton road was completed and thrown open to travel in 1801, and being nearer than the Kentucky route by more than one-half, it resulted in turning to this route a large number of emigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas, who were seeking homes in Middle

Tennessee and beyond the Mississippi and the Ohio, and hence expedited the populating of trans-mountain Tennessee and the more speedy building up of our great state and commonwealth."

The wheels of thousands of emigrant wagons wore down the old Walton Road to a depth of from 2 to 10 feet at the point where it crossed the Cumberland and entered Carthage, and the ancestors of probably half of the older inhabitants of middle Tennessee came over this old trail, while thousands of others passed on to southwestern Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and Illinois.

The author, when a boy, saw hundreds of these old canvas-covered Conestoga-body "movers'" wagons pass, and to the boyish, "Stranger, where are you moving?" the reply would be, "We are bound for the Arkansas," or "We are bound for the Eelenoy."

Among early travelers of distinction to pass over the Fort Blount Prong of the Cumberland Trace may be mentioned André Michaux (1795), his son François André Michaux (1802), and Louis Philippe and his two brothers, the Count de Montpensier and the Count Beaujoliais (1797.)[65]

The Black Fox and Saline River Trails

An Indian trail, starting from the thickly settled Cherokee region in east Tennessee, ran through the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky to the crossing of the Ohio River at Golconda, traversed southern Indiana and Illinois to the crossing of the Mississippi River at Cape Girardeau, and continued westward through Missouri and Oklahoma.

That portion from east Tennessee to the neighborhood of Nashville was known to white colonists as the Black Fox Trail, and the section from Nashville to the Ohio River crossing at Golconda was known to middle Tennessee whites as the Saline River Trail.

THE BLACK FOX TRAIL—EASTERN SECTION

(Trail No. 23)

The Black Fox Trail began at the Cherokee settlements along the Hiwassee River in east Tennessee. Passing Rattlesnake Springs near the present site of Charleston, Tenn., it crossed the Hiwassee River near the mouth of Gunstocker Creek, ran down along the north side of the Hiwassee, crossing Tennessee River just above the mouth of Hiwassee a short distance from Chief Jolly's Island (now Hiwassee Island). From thence it led past the ancient salt lick at what is now Morgan Springs, in Rhea County, and westward to

[65] See Early Western Travels, Thwaites, ed., vol. III; Louis Philippe in the United States, by Jane Marsh Parker, Century Magazine (1901), vol. XL; Poore's Rise and Fall of Louis Philippe, Boston, 1848; The Life of Louis Philippe, by the Marquis de Flers; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, Philadelphia, 1852; Joe Guild's Old Times in Tennessee, Nashville, 1878; Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, Nashville, 1859.

mounds which mark the site of an ancient Indian village in the beautiful and fertile Sequatchie Valley, about 5 miles south of the present town of Pikeville.

THE SEQUATCHIE TRAIL

(Trail No. 75)

From the Pikeville mounds a trail led down the Sequatchie Valley, keeping near Sequatchie River, passed the sites of large numbers of prehistoric villages, and finally reached the great crossing place of the Tennessee at Bridgeport Island over trail 21, near the mouth of the Sequatchie Valley. This was known to early whites as the Old Creek Crossing (see p. 751). Many important trails from both north and south led to it, and it was probably the greatest river crossing known to the aborigines in the eastern United States. From this place the traveler could take a direct trail to the southeast as far as Savannah or St. Augustine, to the north as far as Sandusky Bay, on Lake Erie, or to the southwest to Mobile Bay, Texas, and Mexico; or he could go to the northeast to Virginia and Pennsylvania and beyond.

In the Sequatchie Valley are traces of at least a dozen old Indian villages which contain a total of about 50 earthen mounds, some of which the writer explored during the summer of 1918, finding in them remains of what seems to have been the oldest culture in the Southern States. There was little pottery and it was rude. The bodies discovered had returned to dust, and what had been human flesh and bones was now only a faint dark streak of earth, while even the almost imperishable enamel of the teeth had become a grayish, soft powdery substance.

The Sequatchie Valley is a great trough, about 50 miles in length and from 2 to 4 miles in width, formed during the upheaval which threw up the mountain ranges of east Tennessee. It is closed at its northern extremity and is open only at its southern end. Down its center flows the Sequatchie, a bold, clear mountain river.

This fertile trough-like valley is hidden away in the mountains, and defended by a great mountain range on the east, and the wide, inhospitable Cumberland Plateau on the west.

When prehistoric man came into the Southern States he found this valley sheltered from the cold north wind and from the winds which blew from either the east or the west. These could be heard sweeping through the pines on the mountain tops but were unable to reach the sheltered valley below, open only to warm south winds, which were drawn into it by the long, tall north and south mountain ranges. The game was superabundant, the river easy to fish, the valley itself fertile, hidden, and protected. In short it was a spot exactly suited to his purposes.

ROUTE OF THE BLACK FOX TRAIL RESUMED

The main Black Fox Trail continued westward from the Sequatchie mounds across Cumberland Plateau. It reached the Caney Fork River a few miles upstream from the Falls of the Caney Fork, crossed the well-known Chickamauga Path a short distance south of Rock Island, passed thence to the junction of Mountain Creek with Collins River, and then up the north side of Mountain Creek to the present line between Warren and Cannon Counties, from which it continued via Woodbury, following near the line of the present Woodbury-Murfreesboro turnpike, to the famous Black Fox Spring in the suburbs of Murfreesboro. Black Fox Spring now furnishes the entire water supply for the town of Murfreesboro, of about 5,500 population. It received its name from the Cherokee chief, Black Fox, a principal chief of the Cherokee, who was accustomed to make his camp here when he came into middle Tennessee to hunt. Many other ancient trails led to this famous spring. Black Fox (Imali) was instrumental in bringing about the treaty of January 7, 1806, whereby the Cherokee ceded 7,000 square miles of their lands in Tennessee and Alabama to the whites. He was then an old man, and he was given a life annuity of $100. The following year he and some others were allowed the privilege of hunting in their former middle Tennessee hunting grounds "until through settlement it might become improper." In 1810, as one of the members of the Cherokee Nation council, he signed an enactment which abolished the ancient custom of clan revenge.[66]

From Black Fox Spring the trail continued on to Nashville by two routes. One ran to the west near the line of the present Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, finally striking what is now the Nolensville pike, and coming into Nashville over that road, while the other followed the present Murfreesboro and Nashville turnpike for a portion of the distance.[67]

The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail

(Trail No. 29)

The Indian name for this trail is unknown. The whites did not realize its extreme length and had no designation for it as a whole, therefore the writer has given it the name Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail, because it connected the regions mentioned.

Its branches began at the Indian settlements in north Georgia, where they connected with many well-known trails which led to all portions of the southern United States. Thence the branches continued to the old Indian towns on Tennessee River in the suburbs of Chattanooga, where they consolidated into one which ran up the west side of the Tennessee River, following the more level lands east

[66] See Mooney, in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 87; and Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, pt. 1, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article Black Fox. For a part of the information regarding this section of the trail the author is indebted to Mrs. Blanche Bentley, of McMinnville, Tenn.

[67] Mr. Myer's maps show only one trail, No. 21.—Ed.

of the base of Wallen's Ridge to the present site of Rockwood, in Roane County.

The trail passed many Indian towns and settlements in this Chattanooga-Rockwood stretch, the best known of which was the famous town on the island in the Tennessee River at the mouth of Hiwassee River, now known as Hiwassee Island, and at one time as Jolly's Island. Here young Sam Houston lived with the Cherokee for three years. This island played a notable part in the story of Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. At the Hiwassee Island town this path was crossed by the Black Fox Trail (No. 23), which led west across the mountains into middle Tennessee, coming down the Hiwassee from the many settlements along its banks, via the old Cherokee agency at the mouth of Oostanaula Creek and Hiwassee Old Town, near where the Louisville & Nashville Railroad crosses the Hiwassee at Reliance. At Hiwassee Old Town the Black Fox trail connected with the Great Indian War Path (No. 31), and with an ancient trail later followed by the Unicoi turnpike (No. 35) which went up the Hiwassee through the mountain passes to the Indian settlements in northwest South Carolina on the headwaters of the Savannah, whence it passed down the Savannah to the sea.

The Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail followed up the valley of the Emory River from Rockwood and passed to the Indian settlements on Cumberland River around the junction of the North and South Forks of Cumberland River at Burnside, Ky., and also to those at Mill Springs and Rowena. Thence it led to the Indian settlements in central Kentucky and to the present sites of Danville, Lexington, and Paris. As the Licking Route (No. 3) it then passed down Licking River to its mouth, opposite Cincinnati, where it crossed the Ohio and ran up the Big Miami River, touching the many towns along its banks, until it reached the numerous villages about its headwaters. Here it crossed over to the headwaters of the Maumee, and passed down that stream to Lake Erie, the shores of which it skirted as far as Detroit, where it connected with the Indian routes[68] of the Great Lakes region.

[68] The route of this Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail and the Warriors' Trail has been worked out from many sources, notably from "Lewis Evans's Map of the Middle British Colonies in America, 1755," with Pownall's 1776 additions, and the "Trader's Map of the Ohio Country before 1753." The original of this Trader's Map is in the Library of Congress. We also obtained much information from the following sources: John Filson's "Map of Kentucke" (1784), in the Library of Congress; "A map of some Wilderness Trails and Early Indian Villages of Pennsylvania and Ohio," p. 383; Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail," vol. I; the records of the early explorers in Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, expecially those of John Lederer, 1670; Needham & Arthur, 1673; Gabriel Arthur, 1674, recorded in "The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650–1674," by Alvord and Bidgood; the records of the travels of Arnold Viele, the Dutch trader, from Albany, 1692–93; the Journal of Christopher Gist, a surveyor sent out by the Ohio Company of Virginia in 1750, in "First Explorations in Kentucky" (Journals of Walker and Gist), Louisville, Ky., Filson Club, 1898; George Croghan, Indian trader and English Government agent, 1744, described in pages 1–82, vol. II of Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail"; Collins's "History of Kentucky"; the many accounts of Daniel Boone; the chapter on John Finley and Kentucky before Boone in vol II, Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail." For that portion of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail near Tennessee River, see Haywood's "Civil and Political History of Tennessee," 2d ed., pp. 284–285, and the accounts given by Judge McElwee in this volume.

On "A Trader's Map of the Ohio Country, 1750–52," a trail is marked leading from Cumberland Gap to Lake Erie. The designation of the trail, "Outaouaes the War Path against the Cuttawas," on the original map, is shown in faint lettering at the junction of the two trails near the head of the Miami River.

Route of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail in Tennessee and southern Kentucky.—In Tennessee and southern Kentucky this trail followed substantially the route of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway. . The author is especially indebted to Judge W. E. McElwee, of Rockwood, Tenn., for information in regard to it. We quote from him the following:

"There was a trail from the lower towns of the Cherokees which followed the eastern escarpment of the Cumberland Mountains (Wallen's Ridge, I give the ancient spelling) from Chattanooga to Emory River (Babahatchie), which it followed toward Kentucky. Another trail from the upper Cherokee towns led from the old Chota Ford (near Echota, the sacred town of refuge), passing the town of Stekee (Waginsi), now Lenoir City, crossing the Clinch one mile above the town of Kingston at the mouth of the Emory, and following up that stream until it intersected the trail or trace from the lower towns. These traces can be very well located by reading old entries and land grants which call for 'on the old Indian trace.' I am of the opinion that there was a trail continuing up the eastern base of the mountain to Cumberland Gap which could be correctly located from surveys of old land grants, many of which I have had reason to read, and especially to note this feature of them.

"The grant of land upon which I was born and reared was located on 'the old Indian trace' from the 'lower towns' toward the great hunting grounds. The command of Colonel Shelby returned from the dispersion of the Indians at Chickamauga by this trace and rested at 'Sale' Creek where the property taken from the Indians was divided by a public sale. The old Waterhouse tract in Rhea County included the 'Indian Medical Spring' (now Rhea Springs) on the 'old Indian Trace.' The Indian Spring at Harriman is on this 'trace.' In fact it is mentioned so often in land grants that one can almost walk it from the crossing at Chattanooga to the northern boundary of the State. In some of the grants it is called 'The Cumberland trace.' The old Indian Chief, Tullentuskee, who sold this part of the country to the whites, lived on a little round topped hill now in the corporate limits of Rockwood, upon which was planted the 'Catawba' witness tree to his 640 acre reservation."

In 1792 Sevier built a fort called Southwest Point at the junction of the Tennessee and Clinch Rivers. Haywood [69] says:

"The possession of this place would effectually prevent the intercourse between the upper and the lower Cherokees, together with

[69] Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., pp. 284–285.

that of the small tribes of Northwards settled on the Tennessee; which communication extended at least three hundred miles up and down the river and up the river Clinch, which takes its rise in the vicinity of the Ohio and the Cole and the Sandy, two branches of the latter, by which advantages they had but a small passage by land from either of these rivers into the Clinch, which communicates with the Tennessee. It would also obstruct the passage of the Indians up and down the Clinch River, which the Creeks and Cherokees used in going and returning on their incursive expeditions up this river. The northern and southern tribes often passed in canoes one hundred and fifty miles, up and down, to its junction with the Tennessee; and then up or down this latter river into any part of the Cherokee country. A garrison fixed at the situation before mentioned [South-West Point—W. E. M.] would not only destroy water communication, but, being directly on the road between the southern and northern tribes, would obstruct their passage by land. The only two practicable fords on the Tennessee were both within five miles of this place; the same number on the Clinch, which were only eight miles from the same place; and the main gap in the Cumberland Mountain not more than ten."

We are indebted to Mr. L. E. Bryant, Roberta, Tenn., for the location of that portion of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail from Harriman, Tenn., to Lexington, Ky. He is a civil engineer of wide experience who has given the ancient trails of this region close study. It will be seen that this route divided near Wartburg. One branch is followed by the present line of the railroad; the other led by Cortland, down Brimstone Creek, until it joined the first near New River. We quote in substance from Mr. Bryant's letters to the author in September and October, 1919.

"I lived quite a while in central Kentucky near Danville and spent a great deal of time at Burnside on the Cumberland River and later lived five years at Harriman, Tennessee, and investigated the Indian mounds and works on the Seven Islands in the Tennessee River and adjacent bottom lands near the mouth of the Clinch.

"During all this time and for the past thirty years I have investigated Indian rock houses along the Cincinnati Southern Railway and also have walked over most of the old wagon road that paralleled the present location of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad and really was the cause of that road having been built.

"It is my opinion that this railroad today occupies the only animal trail from the Tennessee Valley to the Cumberland Valley at Burnside and on to central Kentucky, around Danville, Harrodsburg and Lexington. I base this information on the fact that this wagon road occupies the perfectly dry ridges from Burnside to the River crossing at New River, and from this point south. If the Indian and animal

trail is not the same as the railroad it went up Brimstone Creek to the left and east and struck into the head of Emory River at practically the same point that the railroad does and then down Emory to the Clinch.

"Wherever leading ridges join this road, as at Whitley City, Kentucky; Stearns, Kentucky; Cumberland Falls, Kentucky; Silerville, Kentucky; Oneida, Tennessee; Helenwood, Tennessee, Indian relics and chips are extremely plentiful and on the ridges that lead out from those junction points pieces of pottery and flint chips can be found together with large arrow heads and hatchets and tools for miles.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the Cincinnati Southern Railroad occupies practically the main artery of travel from the Tennessee to the Cumberland River, as the tops of the ridges all along show camp sites, especially at every cross ridge. There is a very marked quantity of flint chips on the ridge between Stearns and Whitley City and on ridges running out east and west, probably being along connecting ridges from the upper Cumberland Valley above Williamsburg and the lower Cumberland Valley around Monticello and Beaver Creek.

"The wagon road along the line of the C. N. O. & T. P. R. R. is approximately the old trail. The side branches are indicated where known. One of these branches starts above Whitley City and goes east of Bullet Mold Ridge to Cumberland River bottoms and settlements at Williamsburg. The second went west from Whitley City and Stearns, converging on Lick Creek Ridge, one mile west of Stearns, and going thence west to the Indian towns, near Monticello, and on to Mill Springs, in Wayne County, and to Rowena, in Russell County.

"At some time, probably over a hundred years ago, some person blazed this trail out with a tomahawk from immediately north of Stearns to the South Fork River, and the axe marks could be followed when I was a boy thirty odd years ago. Now, however, all the timber has been cut and nothing can be seen of this original trail which, however, may have had nothing to do with the Indians but may have been some land mark to guide some cattle man from the earlier settlements on Beaver Creek and Little South Fork through the mountains to the settlements above Williamsburg.

"There is a prominent trail crossing the railroad at Silerville. It connected the Jellico Creek and Elk Creek Indian towns with the Wayne County towns, and may have been the main east and west route overland, as distinguished from the Canoe route.

"At Winfield, Tennessee, there is a trail which leaves the main trail, going thence on to Wayne County on the west, and leading from Winfield to Buffalo Creek on the east.

"Every rock shelter around Winfield, Bear Creek and Oneida has at some time been lived in and contains flint chips, bones and

rubbish. All signs though point to hunters and travelers. The Winfield, Bear Creek, and Oneida rock shelters are about half way between the Tennessee River Indian towns around the mouth of Clinch River and those around Burnside, Kentucky, on the Cumberland River, and evidently were the night lodging places on this two days' journey.

"There are several shelters in this region around Winfield which are not directly on this old trail. They contain two or three feet of ashes and rubbish and indicate considerable human occupancy.

"My belief in this trail is founded on what I have heard all my life. People went from Crab Orchard, Stanford, Logan's Fort (which was within one mile of Stanford), Crow's Station and McKenney's Station in Lincoln County, Central Kentucky, south through the mountains along this old Indian trail. The talk then was the same as if today one mentioned a railroad.

"The first land patents were along this trail—never any distance away from it for the first 25 to 50 years, pioneers often building their homes along the trail itself. It was the only practicable route. The settlers moved their droves of stock along this road; later it became a wagon road and finally along its side came the railroad. It was dry and open even in wet weather. It followed the ridges and also gave a more level route."

The number of rock shelters scattered around Winfield and Oneida, which contain much ashes and other signs of human occupancy, and the further fact that some of them are not directly on the old trail, indicate a settled Indian community. This is further borne out by the branch trails leading out from near Winfield. Bodies of the dead appear to have been buried either in a sitting posture or lying on their sides. All of them were flexed. This mode of burial closely resembles that of certain ancient men whose remains are found at many points along the waters of the Tennessee River from Muscle Shoals to some distance above Knoxville.

Mr. Bryant's location of the trail from Burnside, Ky., to Lexington is further confirmed by the Filson map which shows trails leading from central Kentucky to Nashville, in middle Tennessee, following the route laid down by Bryant to their point of separation near Kings Mountain.

There was a large Indian population on the Cumberland River in the stretch between Burnside and Burksville, Ky., and undoubtedly many small trails led northeast from them to this main trail. It is quite probable that both of the paths leading to Nashville from central Kentucky followed, at least in part, some of these minor Indian trails.

The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail

(Trail No. 30)

The Indian name for this trail is unknown. It branched off from the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29) near the junction of Emery and Clinch Rivers, but very little is known in regard to it. It was probably used both as a land and a water route, some travelers preferring to go on foot, while others resorted to canoes for a portion of the distance. It is likely that it led along the eastern base of the mountain, following up the Clinch River to the mouth of Powell River and up the Powell until it joined the great Warriors' Path near Cumberland Gap.[70] There are some faint local traditions of its existence, but the main evidence is furnished by Haywood,[71] in describing the erection of the fort at Southwest Point in 1792. He says:

"Gen. Sevier fixed his encampment, and determined to erect a fort at a spring a small distance above the confluence of the rivers Tennessee and Clinch. The situation was not altogether so commanding and elegant as at the extreme point of the peninsula, where there is no water except that of the river, which is 600 perpendicular feet, at least, below the surface of the ground above, and in the fork, suitable for a garrison. At this place it was very unlikely that water could be got by digging; the prospect at the spring was extensive and handsome, the water pleasant and conducive to health. At this place both rivers were sufficiently under the command of the garrison, and accessible on either side. In addition to these advantages was the spring, which would be under the walls, or within them if necessary. The possession of this place would effectually prevent intercourse between the upper and lower Cherokees, together with that of the small tribes of Northwards settled on the Tennessee; which communication extended at least 300 miles up and down the river, and up the river Clinch, which takes its rise in the vicinity of the Ohio and the Cole and Sandy, two branches of the latter, by which advantages they had but a small passage by land, from either of these rivers into the Clinch, which communicated with the Tennessee. It would also obstruct the passage of the Indians up and down the Clinch River, which the Creeks and Cherokees used in going and returning on their incursive expeditions up this river. The northern and southern tribes often passed in canoes 150 miles, up and down, to its junction with the Tennessee, and then up or down this latter river into any part of the Cherokee country. A

[70] Mr. Myer's map shows a wide bend in this trail toward the west abreast of the mouth of Powell River, probably due to later information.—Ed.

[71] Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., pp. 284–285.

garrison fixed at the situation before mentioned would not only destroy the water communication, but, being directly on the road between the southern and northern tribes, would obstruct their passage by land.

"The only two practicable fords on the Tennessee were both within 5 miles of this place; the same number on the Clinch, which were only 8 miles from the same place; and the main gap in the Cumberland Mountains, not more than 10. The whole would be under the eye of a garrison at the spring, and their marauding gangs would be constantly exposed to the pursuits and chastisements of the scouting parties from the fort, which at this spot would be at the center of their intercourse and nation, in the way to their hunting ground, and so near to the body of the nation as would enable the troops at all times to fall suddenly upon them, and to expel them from the country if necessary. In thirty hours from this place by water any of the towns might be attacked, or in forty-eight by land. All necessary stores could be exported by water from any part of the District of Washington to this place. These reasons determined the general to make selection of this place. The governor approved of them. The place was called South-west Point by General Sevier. Blockhouses and a stockade fort were built near the spring."

Judge McElwee says of this Clinch River and Cumberland Gap trace: "I am of the opinion that there was a trail continuing up the eastern base of the mountain to Cumberland Gap which could be correctly located from surveys of old land grants." Traces of branch trails leading off from it can still be seen in Anderson County (see Pl. 14).

The Cisca and St. Augustine Trail

The original Indian name for this trail has not been preserved. Indeed it is not likely that there was any name for the trail as a whole. The whites near Nashville called that portion in Tennessee the Nickajack Trail, because it led to the Nickajack town on Tennessee River.

THE MAIN TRAIL

(Trail No. 21)

This trail extended from Cisca, an Indian village somewhere in Tennessee about halfway between the waters of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, to the old Spanish settlement of St. Augustine. The earliest mention of it is on "Franquelin's 1684 Map of La Salle's Discoveries." It carries the words "Chemin par [où] les Casquinampo et les Chaouanons vont en traite aux Espagnols" (Path traveled by the Casquinampo and Shawnee in trading with the Spaniards).

Franquelin got the data for his map from La Salle's reports, and La Salle in turn probably obtained his facts from the Shawnee and other Indians who had lived in Tennessee and had removed to Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois River, to be near the French. There are many errors in this map, as was to have been expected.

It is now impossible to locate the site of Cisca with absolute certainty, but a careful study of the above map, taking into consideration the trails which we know to have existed formerly, suggests that it was perhaps identical with the ancient Indian town at the Old Stone Fort, near Manchester, in Coffee County, Tenn. The trail shown on Franquelin's map is undoubtedly the trail leading from that Old Stone Fort, via Battle Creek and the Old Creek Crossing on the Tennessee River near Bridgeport, Ala.,[72] into Georgia. At any rate, the town at the Old Stone Fort was of great importance, as is shown by the size of its ruins and the fact that two great trails (the Cisca and St. Augustine from Georgia and the Great South Trail (No. 20) from Alabama) led to it. There is no other trail from Georgia corresponding to that laid down by Franquelin. If another of the great towns in middle Tennessee (for example one of those near Franklin, in Williamson County) had been Cisca the trail would show a decided bend to the west at the Old Stone Fort, but Franquelin's trail does not.

In Tennessee this trail ran from the Old Stone Fort via Pelham, Elk River, and Wonder Cave, crossed the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway branch line a little southeast of Monteagle, and followed down Battle Creek, crossing Tennessee River, as has been said, at the Old Creek Crossing near the mouth of Battle Creek, close to Bridgeport, Ala. At the crossing it connected with a great network of trails which united many parts of Georgia and Alabama with the populous and numerous Cherokee towns in east Tennessee, and then continued in a southeast direction through Georgia to Augusta and from there to St. Augustine, Fla., over trails 82, 84, and 85 or 82 and 110.

The Tennessee portion of this trail is shown by all the better early maps of the State; notably the map by Gen. Daniel Smith in 1795 and Cary's "General Atlas," Philadelphia, 1814. Copies of both of these are in the State Library at Nashville.

From Cisca (or the Old Stone Fort) the trail passed, via Fort Nash, on the headwaters of Garrison Fork, not far from the present site of the village of Beech Grove, and then by Black Fox Spring (Murfreesboro) to the Great Salt Lick, at the present site of Nashville.

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[72] See footnote on p. 751.

THE NICKAJACK TRAIL

(Trail No. 22)

As we have seen, the whites in middle Tennessee called that portion of the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail which was in Tennessee the Nickajack Trail, because it led to the Cherokee towns around Nickajack on Tennessee River. There were two prongs of this trail, one following the main line, the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail proper, the other, or North Prong of Nickajack Trail, branching off from the main line on the head of Hickory Creek in Grundy County. The latter went by Viola and Vervilla, approached the site of the present Smartt Station on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, crossed the railroad about 1½ miles southwest of Smartt, turned westward, and ran about 1 mile north of Hollow Springs, continuing until it joined the main Cisca-St. Augustine Trail at the site of old Fort Nash, on the headwaters of Garrison Fork. Fort Nash was built so as to command the travel over both prongs of this trail.

The following information in regard to the North Prong of Nickajack Trail in Warren County was furnished by Mrs. Blanche Bentley of McMinnville, who has collected a large amount of valuable data concerning the Indians and early whites in Tennessee:

"I am sure it passed Vervilla and near Smarts. When a girl, I was shown a fragment of the trail near Vervilla, where, faint and worn and shadowy as a ghost, it disappeared in the woods. A mile from the old General Smart house, according to the late G. M. Smart, it passed 'The Big Spring.' The remainder of the line in Warren County is approximated from information and tradition. The pathway near Vervilla and near the old Hannah High College was plainly visible as late as 1875. This trail was traveled by many Cherokees, when they were removed from their homes in east Tennessee to the Indian Territory in 1838. From a very old gentleman living in the West comes the memory that his two pioneer grandfathers, Obediah Jennings and Christian Shell, visited a camp of these Cherokees near the Barren Fork of Collins River, on this trail, and heard an impassioned speech from one of the Cherokees to his people, there gathered about him, bidding goodbye to the homes of their ancestors. Mr. G. M. Smart in his youth saw companies of the Cherokees passing by and stopping at 'the Big Spring.' "

THE CHICKAMAUGA PATH

(Trail No. 27)

The Chickamauga Path was one of several routes which led north from the Indian settlements in north Georgia and around Chattanooga. It crossed Tennessee River at the Old Creek Crossing (see p. 751) along with the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail (No. 21),

led thence up Battle Creek to the forks of the creek, near Comfort, and afterwards passed along the Cumberland Plateau by Coalmont, Beersheba Springs, and the Rock Island crossing of Caney Fork River, to the prehistoric fortified Indian town at Cherry Hill, in White County. At the latter place it seems to have forked, the eastern fork probably intersecting the old Cumberland trail near the present Mayland on the Tennessee Central Railroad in Cumberland County, and passing on in a northerly direction until it met the great East and West Trail (No. 28) at the settlement near the present site of Jamestown, Fentress County. It was then possible to follow the latter trail westward to the long string of Indian settlements on the Obey and Wolf Rivers, or eastward by the settlements at B. R. Stockton Rock Shelter on White Oak Creek and at the mound at Rugby, to its intersection with the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29) at Glenmary. From Glenmary the Indian traveler could go north or south on the trail last mentioned, or he could continue eastward, on the East and West Trail, by an ancient Indian village site—of which three mounds still remain—on Brimstone Creek in the Brimstone Mountains in Scott County, and thence by the present sites of Clinton and Knoxville, to the Indian settlements of east Tennessee.

If there was indeed a western prong of the Chickamauga Trail from Cherry Hill, it probably led to the Cumberland Trace at the Officer Mounds near Algood in Putnam County and from thence west over the Cumberland Trace. No remains of such a road have been reported, but one probably existed, as there must have been some travel between the Cherry Hill and Officer towns.

The following information in regard to that section of the Chickamauga Path in Warren and White Counties was furnished by Mrs. Bentley:

"I feel sure of the correctness of this path where it comes to Caney Fork at Rock Island and starts northeastward through White County, and also to the south of Rock Island where it skirted the western side of Dyer's Gulch. The remainder of the route in Warren County is approximated from Captain John Kelly Roberts' outline. Old grants in Warren County call for the Chickamauga Path, according to Mr. W. H. Horton, former county surveyor.

"In coming northward from Battle Creek to Warren County this path probably crossed Cumberland Mountain near Beersheba Springs, and passed by these springs along a deeply imbedded path, which, from time immemorial, has led from the mountain top, near the great chalybeate spring, down to the valley below, in the direction of Rock Island. This path was there before 1836. This path probably led Beersheba Coin to the discovery of these healing springs.

"One of the early grants on Caney Fork near Rock Island calls for a line 'where the Chickamauga Path crosses the river at McClure's Ford (later called Hash's Ford), near McClure's Battle Ground, in a remarkable bend of the river.'

"The first comers were familiar with this trail. Its route is given by Captain John Kelly Roberts, who knew it well from tradition: 'My grandfather, Reuben Roberts, who came to this section in 1794, knew the Chickamauga Path as did other early settlers. I have frequently heard its route outlined as beginning at the Chickamauga towns in northern Georgia and crossing the Tennessee near the mouth of Battle Creek; thence continuing north across the mountain into Warren County; following along the spur on the west side of Dyer's Gulch and crossing the Caney Fork at Hash's Ford (known seventy-five years ago as McClure's Ford); thence leading away toward the northeast through White, Putnam and Fentress Counties. McClure's Ford (now abandoned) was within three hundred yards of the stone fort, built by the early whites in the bend of the river, where McClure's battle was fought with the Indians.' Tradition says that along this path the Indians traveled when they removed from this section after their defeat at McClure's Ford (Rock Island)."

The Great South Trail

(Trail No. 20)

The Great South Trail led southward from the settlements around the Great Salt Lick at Nashville,[73] and this part was formerly a great animal trail. It probably crossed Harpeth River at the large fortified Indian town, the mounds of which are on the old De Graffenried farm about 3 miles southeast of Franklin, running thence in a southeasterly direction to the head of Wartrace Creek, to which it gave its name, and down said creek to the site of the present town of Wartrace. From the latter place it kept near to the route since followed by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway to the site of the modern town of Tullahoma,[74] passed down Rock Creek (called Trace Creek on Gen. Daniel Smith's map of 1795) to its junction with Elk River, and from there to a point about 2 miles west of Winchester, after which it went in a southerly direction to the headwaters of Flint River, and followed that stream almost to its mouth. Thence it continued to the crossing of the Tennessee River at Chickasaw Old Fields, and beyond to the Indian settlements in Alabama and Mississippi.

[73] The Dăgû'năwe'lâhĭ, i. e., "Mussel-liver Place," of the Cherokee. See 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 514.

[74] Tullahoma would mean "red stone" or "red metal" in the language of both the Choctaw and Chickasaw. The town is somewhat out of the region occupied by the Chickasaw and Choctaw in historic times, but beyond doubt Indians from these two tribes occasionally passed over this old trail through Tullahoma, and "red stone" fits the appearance of the stones around the place.

The Chickasaw Old Fields, formerly occupied by the tribe whose name they bear, were on the north side of Tennessee River, opposite Chickasaw Island, about 4 miles below Flint River, in southeast Madison County, Ala. At this place the Chickasaw utterly routed the Cherokee in 1769.[75]

Haywood says that the "Big South Road crossed the Harper [Harpeth] River 7 or 8 miles above the present town of Franklin." On page 217 of his Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., he continues:

"This South Road, as it was called, was a broad beaten path made by the buffalos which came from the South to the French Lick (Salt Lick at Nashville Sulphur Springs bottom) and apparently had been used by them for ages. It was worn into the earth one or two feet or more in many places. In some places it was three or four feet wide. This South Road extended from the French Lick to Duck River, and how much farther the writer has not yet ascertained."

The route of this Great South Road in Franklin, Coffee, and Rutherford Counties, Tenn., is copied from a map of that portion of the State, now in the archives of the State of Wisconsin (their No. 72252) made by Gen. Daniel Smith. A copy is in the State Library of Tennessee. This map is not dated, but bears evidence of having been prepared about 1795.

The Old Waterloo Road

(Trail No. 34)

The author learns from A. P. Moore, of Lawrenceburg, Tenn., that there was a trail leading northeast from a point on the Natchez Trace in Wayne County, probably somewhere near the present site of Victory. It went to Lawrenceburg, but from there on its route is not clear. It probably passed through or near Lynnville to the numerous settlements in Marshall County around Lewisburg, where it connected with trails which bring one ultimately to all parts of the State. In Lawrence County it is known as the "Old Waterloo Road" and is there believed to have led from points in east Tennessee, through Lawrenceburg, to Mississippi, via the Natchez Trace, crossing Tennessee River at Colbert's Ferry, near Waterloo, Ala.

The present village of Culleoka, in Maury County, is not far from the probable route of this trail. Its name seems to be from the language of the Choctaw or Chickasaw and to refer to a spring (kâli), and, although the site is somewhat out of the region occupied by either of those tribes in historic times, individuals belonging to them probably passed upon the trail.

[75] See Bull. 30, pt. 1, pp. 261–262, Bur. Amer. Ethn. The date of the battle was actually one year earlier.—Ed.

WEST TENNESSEE TRAILS

The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail

(Trail No. 17)

By the aid of Judge W. L. Cook, of Charlotte, Tenn., Hon. J. Benjamin Fuqua, of Waverly, and the large map of Tennessee issued by Mathew Rhea, of Columbia, in 1832, the author has been able to determine the route of the old Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail which led from the Indian settlements on the lower reaches of Harpeth River (especially the great town at the narrows of the river and the old citadel on the point at its mouth) to the crossing of the Tennessee at Reynoldsburg, about 2 miles downstream from the present site of Johnsonville. This trail had branches leading to the numerous Indian settlements on Duck River near the mouth of Buffalo River and beyond.

Judge Cook and Mr. Fuqua have given information obtained by a careful sifting of local traditions and references to this ancient trail in the early land deeds, and the author was able to verify their data and to fully establish the route by means of the early white men's roads as laid down on Rhea's map of 1832. Mr. Paul Hunter, of Nashville, who has, so far as the author knows, the only copy of Rhea's map now in existence, kindly placed it at the author's service.

One prong of the Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail united the numerous small Indian settlements scattered along Cumberland River, 10 miles each way from the mouth of the Harpeth, and among these it was probably joined by several small trails leading to the north and east. It crossed Cumberland River at the old citadel and town at the mouth of Harpeth River and passed by the present sites of old Bellsburg and Dull, and through "Promised Land"; thence it went along the ridge about 1½ miles to the north of Charlotte, passing near or through Sylvia; thence down the ridge, between the east fork of Yellow Creek and Cedar Creek, to Adams Cross Roads, where it crossed Yellow Creek and then went down Trace Creek. It was known locally as the Chickasaw Trace, because it led to the Chickasaw region in west Tennessee. In Deed Book A, page 14, of Dickson County, Tenn., is recorded an old deed from Samuel Smith and James A. Richardson, of Baltimore, Md., to William Norris, in which the beginning corner is "3½ miles below where the Chickasaw Trace crosses Yellow Creek." [76]

Another branch of the Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail started from the great Indian settlements at the narrows of Harpeth and joined the mouth of Harpeth prong at Dull. At the narrows of Harpeth it connected with, or was a continuation of, trails leading to the Indian settlements in Williamson and Davidson Counties.

[76] Information furnished by Judge W. L. Cook, February, 1920.

Probably one of these trails followed substantially the present line of the Nashville and Charlotte pike, from the Nashville settlements to a point near the crossing of the Harpeth, where it led off to the narrows.

At the crossing of Yellow Creek the trail forked, one prong leading down Trace Creek to near the present site of Waverly (called Pravats on the Rhea map, 1832). Thence it continued down Trace Creek until within about 2 miles of Tennessee River, where it turned north to the crossing of the Tennessee at Reynoldsburg, 2 miles downstream from Johnsonville. Trace Creek is so called because this old Indian trace ran along near it.

At the Reynoldsburg crossing it probably joined two trails leading to the great Indian settlements in the west and south.

At Waverly a prong went southwest to Indian settlements at Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock, on Duck River, and thence to the crossing of the Tennessee River at the present site of Dixie Landing.

Crossing the Tennessee at Dixie Landing this prong joined the Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail (No. 14), which led through a long stretch of country almost bare of Indian inhabitants, by the present site of Lexington, to the great town of Cisco, in Madison County, near the present site of Pinson. The author has been unable to go over this route and verify the existence of that portion of the trail from the Dixie Landing crossing to Pinson, but the necessity for its existence justifies placing it on the map, although as doubtful. Further research will probably confirm its existence.

The other prong at the Yellow Creek crossing of this trail ran southwest, along the divide between Blue Creek and Hurricane Creek in Humphreys County, to the Indian settlements on Duck River around the mouth of Buffalo River. Thence it led by the settlements at Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock to the Tennessee crossing at Dixie Landing.

The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail

(Trail No. 18)

From the settlements on Duck River around the mouth of Buffalo and from Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock the Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail went southward, up Tennessee River, keeping near that stream, through Humphreys and Perry Counties, to the Indian villages near Clifton; thence to the large Indian towns on the present site of Savannah; thence southward, touching the many settlements along the banks of the Tennessee River, in Hardin County, and on out of the State. It probably joined the Natchez Trace in the northeast corner of Mississippi, but the author has not been able to verify the portion of this trail south of Clifton.

The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail

(Trail No. 16)

There was probably some travel between the populous Indian settlements in Crockett and Lauderdale Counties and the settlements on the Tennessee River and beyond, but it may have been comparatively small; hence the difficulty we find in locating a trail. As Mathew Rhea's map of 1832 shows a white man's road leading from the Reynoldsburg crossing of the Tennessee River, via the present sites of Camden, Huntingdon and Trenton, and as this is the logical route, it is probable that the Indians also used it. From Trenton the Indian route must have gone to the numerous settlements on the banks of the middle fork of Forked Deer River around Brazil, where it would connect with the Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail (No. 15). The author has not been able to establish any portion of this very doubtful Mississippi River and Tennessee River Trail.

The Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail

(Trail No. 15)

There must have been a trail connecting the large number of related settlements on the middle and south forks of Forked Deer River with those around Hale's Point at the mouth. This trail, as shown on our map, probably ran from the large mound about 3 miles west of Brownsville, via the great town at Fort Ridge, and the present sites of Alamo, Eaton, and Dyersburg, to the large settlements around the mouth of Forked Deer River. The author has been unable to determine the course of this trail, but it undoubtedly existed. Rhea's map (1832) shows an early white man's road over a large portion of this route.

The Cisco and Savannah Trail

(Trail No. 13)

This ancient trail led from the populous settlements on Tennessee River, in the neighborhood of Savannah, to the headwaters of the south fork of Forked Deer River, and thence to the great town of Cisco, in Madison County, and the many adjoining towns near Pinson. At Cisco it connected with several others.

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