

THE ECONOMIC

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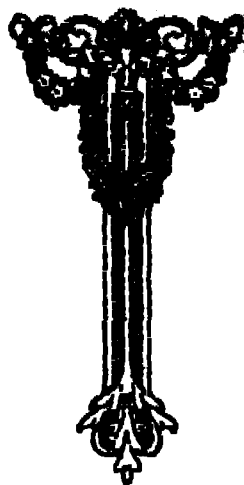
SOCIAL BEGINNINGS

OF

TENNESSEE

By

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The following dissertation was submitted to George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, granted to the writer at the June Commencement 1923.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BEGINNINGS OF TENNESSEE

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL CONDITION.

As Nashville has been called "The Athens of the South," so could Tennessee be called "The Greece of America." It is one-third larger than Continental Greece, having an area of 42,000 square miles to Greece's 28,000. It has the sunshine, the mountains, the scenery, the climate and the sturdy race of which Athens of old boasted, and its glorious history, from the Watauga settlement in Revolutionary times to the present day, covers almost the same number of years as did that of Greece from Marathon to Chaeroneia. The historians and the geographers tell us that the Athenian was largely the result of his wonderful environment. In like manner we can say that the history of Tennessee has not only been greatly influenced by the physical conditions of the country, but that the development of no State has been any more controlled by geographical factors than has that of Tennessee. While the Greek owed much of his progress to his direct contact with the sea, and Tennessee is inland, the great natural resources of this State in the modern industrial age more than make up for the lack of maritime influences, and the pioneer and his descendants have found as much opportunity for development in clearing the wilderness and utilizing these natural resources as did the old Hellenes in their conquest of the sea.

Tennessee lies between parallels $34^{\circ} 58'$ and $36^{\circ} 39'$ north latitude. It is in the same latitudinal belt, therefore, as southern California, Japan, and the southern parts of Greece and Italy, but since its temperature is not modified by warm ocean currents, it has a more rigorous climate. The State, having the form of a long rhomboid, has a mean length of three hundred and eighty-five miles, and a general elevation, omitting the highest and lowest points, of about nine hundred feet.¹ It is a great horizontal plain, having a general slope from east to west from the Smoky Mountains with an elevation of five thousand feet, to the Mississippi Bottoms, which are from three hundred to four hundred feet above sea-level. This gen-

¹Safford, "Geology of Tennessee," p. 2.

eral slope is greatly interrupted, the topography being interesting and diversified. There are seven natural physiographic divisions of the State.²

DIVISIONS OF THE STATE.

- 1 The Smoky Mountain Chain.
- 2 The East Tennessee Valley.
- 3 The Cumberland Plateau.
- 4 The Highland Rim.
- 5 The Great Basin.
- 6 The Slope of West Tennessee.
- 7 The Mississippi Bottoms.

THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS.

The Great Smoky Mountains, extending northeast and southwest across the State, form the dividing line between North Carolina and Tennessee. They constitute an almost unbroken barrier across the eastern end of the State, spurs extending out here and there in the valley from five to fifteen miles, forming alternating coves and ridges, isolated and heavily wooded. The only gaps in this mountain wall are breaks where, in a few cases, swift, tumbling streams have cut channels through the mountain barrier.

The early traders and explorers from North Carolina had to follow steep and rugged Indian trails over these mountains. When North Carolina, because of lack of easy communication and other causes, seemed to the people of East Tennessee to be neglectful of them, they formed themselves into the State of Franklin.

EAST TENNESSEE VALLEY.

Between the Smoky Mountain range and the Cumberland Plateau lies the East Tennessee Valley, thirty to fifty miles wide, sloping gently to the southwest and drained by the Tennessee River. It has an average height of one thousand feet, and an area of about nine thousand square miles. The valley is filled with ridges of different heights, running parallel with the great mountains, and this makes the ways of travel trend northeast toward Virginia, or southwest down into Georgia. The valleys, being filled with rich soil washed down from the limestone ridges, are generally fertile, while the upland is poorer and oftentimes clayey.

²"Resources of Tennessee," State Geological Survey, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 8.

Says A. V. Goodpasture: "It is easy to explain why the first settlement in Tennessee, the North Holston, was made by Virginians. In the first place, the Blue Ridge, that separates North Carolina from Tennessee, was at that time almost impassable. On the other hand, the Appalachian Valley was an easy and natural route from Pennsylvania and Virginia to the southwest. The open valley was like the mouth of a funnel to empty the population from the eastern watershed in Virginia to the western watershed in North Carolina, whose north line had not yet been located."³

CUMBERLAND PLATEAU.

The Cumberland Plateau, running from Kentucky across Tennessee into Alabama, sloping gently toward the west, is a great tableland thirty to sixty miles wide and containing about five thousand square miles. It rises rather steeply a thousand feet above the East Tennessee Valley, reaching a maximum altitude of three thousand five hundred feet and forming another great barrier across the State. About five-sixths of the plateau is rolling or flat, while the edges are dissected into knobs and sharp ridges. It has been called the "Great Wilderness of Tennessee," being sterile, sandy, and having been covered in pioneer times with dense woodland.⁴

GREAT BASIN AND HIGHLAND RIM.

The Great Basin is surrounded by the Highland Rim, which extends from the Cumberland Plateau to the valley of the Tennessee River, as it flows northward toward the Ohio, and which comprises the largest division of the State. The rim contains, roughly speaking, about nine thousand three hundred square miles, or two-ninths of Tennessee. In the center of this high plain lies the great Central Basin in the shape of an ellipse, fifty miles wide by one hundred miles long and containing five thousand four hundred square miles. It is drained by the Cumberland, Duck and Elk rivers, which break through the south and west sides of the basin in narrow, rocky valleys. The Highland Rim slopes gently from its eastern border, one thousand feet high, toward the northwest, where its elevation is about six hundred feet, the average elevation being nearly nine hundred feet.⁵ The basin is from three hundred to four hundred feet lower than the rim, being on the average about six hundred feet above sea-level. It was evidently formed by erosion, and Safford even hints that at one time it might have been a large lake, but this has been denied by later geologists.⁶

³Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., 1919, p. 229.

⁴"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. V., No. 2, pp. 51-59.

⁵Safford, "Geology of Tennessee," p. 103, seq.

⁶"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. VIII., No. 1, p. 10.

Conditions have always been favorable for settlement in the Central Basin. The land is well-watered and open, with no natural restraints, and a farm or town could be established at most anywhere. The abundant salt springs brought the animals and the animals brought the hunters, so that this section was settled soon after the Watauga Valley.⁷

SLOPE OF WEST TENNESSEE.

From the Tennessee River, which flows northward along the eighty-eighth meridian across the State in a valley from three hundred to five hundred feet deep and a few miles wide, the land rises sharply into a series of uplands with an elevation of five hundred to seven hundred feet, and gently descends to the Mississippi Valley. There are many hills of considerable height on the east and west borders of the slope overlooking both rivers. This area covers, roughly, about one-fourth of the State, having more than ten thousand square miles. It was originally heavily timbered, and was very late in being settled, being connected little, except in the vicinity of Memphis, with what you would call pioneer history. The rivers for the most part are slow and sluggish and drain into the Mississippi. They are not navigable.

MISSISSIPPI BOTTOMS.

The western division of Tennessee, containing about nine hundred square miles along the Mississippi River, is generally a low and swampy alluvial plain, subject at time to heavy floods.⁷ The forests were dense when the early settlers visited these bottoms and the heavily wooded flats offered splendid retreats for wild game of all sorts till long after the eastern and middle sections of the State were well settled.⁸

CLIMATE.

The climate of Tennessee is almost as varied as that of California, yet it is not a climate having great extremes of temperature. Its latitude,—about the same as Japan and the southern parts of Spain, Italy and Greece,—would tend to make for mildness, but its altitude, mountainous character and inland location add a certain amount of coolness and

⁷"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. VIII., No. 1, 1918, pp. 11-18.

⁸Safford, "Geology of Tennessee," p. 113, seq.

rigor. There is nothing enervating in such a climate. Man must labor to live; must strive if he would excel. Tennessee has often been described as the land of "average weather conditions." In eighteen stations, scattered over the State,—the observations covering from eighteen to forty-five years,—the mean temperature has been found to be 58.3 Fahrenheit, the highest annual mean (at Memphis) being 61.4, the lowest (at Mountain City) 52.3. The average temperature for the seasons is, for winter 39 Fahrenheit; spring 59; summer 76; autumn 59.⁹ Nashville, often regarded by Tennesseans as excessively hot, has shown 100 only in ten summers out of forty-seven. Only ten or fifteen days in the year does the thermometer reach 95, and that in the vicinity of Memphis, Nashville and two or three other places. Safford found that the mean heat along the middle parallel of the State is about 74 in the eastern part and 77 in the western, and the average winter temperature along the same parallel is nearly 40.¹⁰ For the ten years from 1850 to 1860 there were each year on the average one hundred and ninety-four days free from a killing frost. In 1916 the average was one hundred and seventy-five days in the eastern counties and two hundred days in the western, while the State Geological Survey, 1918, shows an average growing season of one hundred and ninety-six days. Zero weather occurs in the higher altitudes generally a few times each winter, records of 5 to 10 above zero being recorded four or five days during the winter, and zero or below on an average of about once in two or three years.¹¹

Tennessee also has its share of the sunshine. The average days of sunshine in the United States are from 50% to 60% of the days of the year, the highest average of bright days being in the southwest, where the sun shines 70% of the time that it is above the horizon, and the lowest average being in New England, especially in the northern part, where the sunshine reaches the soil only from 20% to 30% of the time. The average of bright days for Tennessee is 58%.

The rainfall is also abundant in the State, notwithstanding the average of bright days is high. The general rainfall per year is 49.5 inches, Cumberland County receiving the greatest amount (57.77 inches), and Sullivan County the least (42.06 inches). The average over the State for the month of July (4.45 inches) is ample for the growth of corn and tobacco. The State Geological Survey has made a comparison of these

⁹Bulletin Q, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1906, p 772.

¹⁰Safford, "Geology of Tennessee," p. 15.

¹¹"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. VIII., No. 1, pp. 17-45.

conditions with those of some other representative points in the United States. It will be well to insert a few of the averages in inches of rainfall that these places receive:

Bismarck, North Dakota,	annual average	17.5	inches,
Columbia, Missouri,	" "	38.4	"
Dodge City, Kansas,	" "	19.6	"
Fort Worth, Texas,	" "	33.36	"
Indianapolis,	" "	40.8	"
Parkersburg, West Virginia,	" "	39.3	"
New Orleans,	" "	56.26	"
Atlanta,	" "	48.40	" .11

Tennessee's average precipitation of 49.5 inches is only exceeded by that of one station on this list, New Orleans, and Atlanta is the only other station even approaching its record. If half the money had been spent on agriculture in Tennessee that has in southern California, where the farmers have to pipe in and pump up their water for irrigation, Tennessee, too, would be noted for its great agricultural and horticultural products.

FAUNA.

The plentiful game was one of the factors that brought the first pioneers into the region that is now Tennessee. Large herds of buffaloes were to be found in the central and western sections. Deer were to be killed on almost any trail. Bears were as common as squirrels are to-day, and elk, wolves and mountain lions, while not so common as the other animals, roamed in the deeper forests. The streams were well stocked with fish, and game,—much of it fur-bearing,—could be had for the taking. The pioneers depended upon this game for food until they could raise a crop of corn, and even after they had sufficient grain for their needs, they still supplemented their vegetables from the truck patch with bear-meat and venison. When the settlers came to the French Lick in 1779-80, they found a large plain of woods and cane frequented by buffaloes, elk, deer, wolves, foxes, panthers and other animals suited to the climate. They killed bears and deer in large numbers, and soon learned to depend upon these two sources for their winter's meat.¹² David Crockett says in his Autobiography: "I worked on till the bears got fat in the fall and then I turned out to hunting, to lay in a supply of meat. I soon killed and salted down as many as were necessary for my

¹²Haywood, "History of Tennessee," p. 108.

family." The hunters would kill the bears, make a scaffold, and after salting the meat, hang it up out of reach of the wolves. "We were out," says Crockett, "two weeks and in that time killed fifteen bears." Later he says, "I killed one hundred and five bears in less than one year."¹³ This was as late as 1825, and up in the extreme northwestern part of the State in Obion County, which was being settled at that time. Bears had become scarcer in the eastern and central counties at that date. It is not at all improbable,—in fact very likely,—that Daniel Boone did "Cill a Bar on this tree 1760," near Jonesboro, in Washington County, but it is also very unlikely that he would climb up the old beech ten feet to cut in the bark the record of an act that was as common in those days as the killing of a rabbit is to-day. Judge Allison, raised from boyhood near the vicinity of the tree, wrote Roosevelt in the eighties that the inscription was there as early as the old settlers then living could remember, and if Boone, who was undoubtedly in that neighborhood about 1760, did not cut it, some one else did soon after, when Boone became more famous and bears scarcer.¹⁴

Skins, of course, were always a great factor in a pioneer country. The State of Franklin (1784-88) passed a provision for the paying of its officials in mink skins, and levied taxes to be paid in

"good, clean beaver skins, six shillings apiece; uncased otter skins, five shillings; cased (skinned) otter skins, six shillings; raccoon and fox skins, one shillings, three pence; deer skins, the pattern, six shillings."¹⁵

Before 1787 and the establishment of our federal system of government with its standard money, skins made a fine medium of exchange, for there was always a demand for them, and that is more than could be said for the current paper money of the different colonies, which was continually fluctuating in value, as well as the Spanish money from the south. The buyers from the Ohio and from the Spanish settlements on the lower Mississippi were always after furs, for there was a good foreign market for them.

The licks of the Cumberland, where Nashville now stands, were known to the French as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ There were other salt licks, too, in this region; one at Bledsoe's (Castalian Springs), east of where Gallatin now is, and one at Mansker's, a few miles to the

¹³David Crockett, "Autobiography," p. 174, seq.

¹⁴Roosevelt, "Winning of the West," Vol. I., p. 138.

¹⁵Allison, "Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History," p. 30.

¹⁶Goodspeed, "History of Tennessee," p. 112.

south. These places were frequented by the animals, which came for the salt, and the Indians—and possibly the mound-builders, who preceded them—had used these places for hunting grounds for centuries. The French trappers upon their first trips found ancient mounds about the French Lick of which the oldest Indians were completely ignorant. These mound-builders undoubtedly were attracted to these springs by the abundant game, and must have made much use of the animals for food and clothing. Captain De Monbreun, a Frenchman, who afterwards became a citizen of Nashville (Demonbreun Street having been named for him), hunted in this section as early as 1765. He spoke of the immense herds of buffalo and the abundance of other game in this part of the country at that time.¹⁷ Dr. Thomas Walker of Virginia, on his trip into the Cumberland section about 1750, reports that his party killed thirteen buffaloes, eight elks, fifty-three bears, twenty deer, one hundred and fifty turkeys and some other game.¹⁸

The smaller game was not needed for food and was often regarded as a nuisance if the fur was not valuable. In 1797 the General Assembly, sitting at Knoxville, passed the following act for the protection of the settlers in the fifteen counties which existed at that time:

“Each County in this State is authorized to lay a tax, to be paid in squirrels’ or crows’ scalps, on every person subject to a poll tax in their respective counties, not exceeding twenty-five squirrels to each person.”

One crow’s scalp was to count for two squirrels’ scalps, and every person who failed to deliver his number of scalps was to pay one cent for each undelivered scalp.¹⁹ To-day we are stocking our parks with squirrels and our streams with fish, and trying to protect them by law. County courts were also authorized to pay as much as two dollars, which was increased to three dollars in 1811, for each wolf’s scalp.

Wild fowl abounded in all parts of the State. Ducks and geese were on every creek and river. Wild turkeys formed a common article of diet for the pioneers, and partridges were easily trapped right at the cabin door. Judge W. L. Brown, who was later on the Supreme Bench of Tennessee with Judge Haywood, the historian, and whose father, Dr. Morgan Brown, had founded the town of Palmyra before 1796, writing in his diary when a boy, says:

¹⁷Haywood, “History of Tennessee,” p. 94.

¹⁸“Winning of the West,” Vol. I., p. 136.

¹⁹“Acts of General Assembly,” 1797, Chap. IV.

January 5th.

"I made two traps and set them on the bluff.

January 6th

I caught one bird went hunting and saw deer, turkeys and otters."²⁰

The smaller birds, like the robins, jays, wrens, mockers, blue-birds, woodpeckers, etc., are still with us, as are the black-birds, crows, owls, buzzards and hawks.

Reptile life, too, was plentiful. Rattlesnakes were more common than now, though they are still found in the mountains and on the Cumberland Plateau. The first hunters and explorers complained of having their horses bitten by them.²¹ Judge John C. Guild of Nashville, who was born about the beginning of the last century and who spent his boyhood near the Cumberland settlement and in Stewart County, tells some stories of great interest in his book, but we know that he was writing from memory in 1877 and that he was a very old man at that time, so we are inclined to think some of the statements exaggerated. He tells of a family building their cabin in the late fall against a rock cliff, using the cliff as one side of their home. After a day or two of warm fires against the rock, scores of rattlesnakes issued from the crevices and crawled over the floor and the rude bed, and the inmates had to escape through the roof by the noose method. More than one hundred snakes were killed by the neighbors. Judge Guild explained the large numbers by saying:

"This was the finest snake country that I have ever seen. The rattlesnakes herd together and lie dormant under the cliffs during the winter. Having been thawed by the fire they came out. The cabin was burned to destroy the den of snakes."²²

While we need not take such stories literally, we can safely infer that there were plenty of snakes in virgin Tennessee. Moccasins and copperheads can be more easily found than rattlesnakes to-day in the State, and the harmless variety, like the garter and blacksnakes, are still seen most any time that one takes a walk in the woods. While it is probably true that reptile life is gradually disappearing before the advance of civilization, we can likely find wild life of the smaller sorts in the mountain places for some years to come.

²⁰"Diary of W. L. Brown," January 5, 1805.

²¹"Winning of the West," Vol. I., p. 136.

²²Guild, "Old Times in Tennessee," p. 51, seq.

FLORA.

When the pioneers came into Tennessee before the Revolutionary War, they found the land covered with timber. Not only on the mountain ridges were there forests, but in the valleys and on the slopes. About one-third of the State is still woodland. The State Geological Survey lists more than two hundred species of trees native to Tennessee, from the ash to the yellow poplar.²³ The pioneers built their cabins, fences, stockades, block-houses, etc., from the logs, hewing, notching and splitting as the needs required, for the portable steam sawmills were yet to be developed and water-power mills were as yet used by the pioneer only for grinding grain. In 1849 there were only four hundred and fifty sawmills in the State. Along the water courses dense thickets of cane and reeds obstructed one's passage, and in the flats briars and small thick brush covered the soil. On the mountain slopes, especially near the summits, great patches of rhododendron formed natural barriers through which the pioneers had to cut their way if the Indians had not already opened paths before them. Through these cane-brakes and patches of brush the wild animals had often forced paths down to the water, and the Indian trails sometimes followed in their wake. The Indians, lurking in the dense brush at the side of these trails, would frequently kill the pioneers as they came along following the paths of the animals. Here and there in the open places the luxuriant grass furnished food for the buffalo, elk and deer, and hiding places for the turkeys, partridges and smaller game.

MINERALS.

The mineral resources of Tennessee are rich and varied, more than thirty minerals being found within its boundaries. Coal, zinc, iron, copper and marble are quite common.²⁴ There are references in the early history to the finding of oil on the waters of Drake's Creek in Sumner County.²⁵ Only in the last few years has this field, extending over into southern Kentucky, been opened. Lead for rifles was obtained from mines on the French Broad near the present North Carolina line. Governor William Blount at Knoxville, having the responsibility of the administration of the "Territory South of the River Ohio," in a letter to James Robertson at Nashville, dated April 29, 1792, says:

²³"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. 10-A, p. 45, 1910.

²⁴Safford "Geology of Tennessee," p. 450.

²⁵Haywood, "History of Tennessee," p. 97.

"The probability that I shall be forced to take some lead at Cumberland is very great, so you may hold out to induce somebody to make provision for supplying me. Lead is to be had very cheap at the French Broad mines, but I fear the want of water. Indeed, I fear the want of water so much that I have been making calculations for nacking the goods through the wilderness²⁶ to Cumberland River, and if there is not water in the Tennessee, this must be done, and then down the Cumberland in canoes. At present lead is obtained here at the twelfth of a dollar per pound."²⁷

This gives us a good idea of the methods of transportation at this time, too. Unless the water in the Tennessee was high enough to allow boats to get over the Muscle Shoals, the goods had to be transported across the Cumberland Plateau on horses.

The Indians were familiar with the use of copper, and we know that De Soto in 1540 sent two Spaniards north to the province of "Chisca," where there was a forge for the working of the ore. Chisca may have been in the neighborhood of Polk County, where there are mines (Ducktown) at the present time. The location is uncertain, but De Soto mentions "copper or other metal of that color and not much used as being softer."²⁸

The great interest of the early settlers, however, in minerals was generally confined to the iron ore, of which they found considerable quantities and which they readily reduced to workable shape. Iron is found in almost half of the ninety-five counties of the State at the present time. There are three great belts. The deposits on the west slopes of the Smoky Mountains extend through ten counties, from Johnson into McMinn; the Dystone region, from Virginia along Walden's Ridge and into Georgia, including twelve counties, reaches from Hancock down through Roane, Bledsoe and Marion counties, and the western valley includes twelve counties, from Kentucky to Alabama through Stewart, Benton, Perry, Lawrence and Wayne. These vary in width from ten to forty miles.²⁹ In many places the ore is close to the surface, is easily mined and readily worked. The settlers opened hearths, smelted out the iron and used it locally. Being very heavy and hard to transport, each locality became accustomed to working out its own iron. The names "Mossy-Creek Iron Works," "Col. King's Iron Works," "Beaver-Creek Iron Works," "Haines' Iron Works," and numerous others appear

²⁶The Cumberland Plateau.

²⁷"Robertson's Letters," Vol. 1., April 29, 1792.

²⁸Malone, "The Chickasaw Nation," p. 32.

W. E. Myer of the Smithsonian Institute locates "Chisca" at the Old Stone Fort in Coffee County.

²⁹Goodspeed, "History of Tennessee," p. 34.

in the old records. John Sevier made this entry in his diary under date of June, 1796:

"Gave Jacob Embree an order to Walter King for 150 lbs of iron."³⁰

Embree was a common name in East Tennessee, Thomas Embree having erected, in 1791, five miles below Jonesboro, a two-story stone house, which is still standing and occupied and in which his brother, Elihu Embree, in 1820 established what he claimed was the first abolition newspaper in the United States.³¹ The town of Embreeville, eight miles southwest of Jonesboro, owes its existence to-day to the iron works located there on the Nolichucky River. Most of these furnaces were small local affairs, and from the repeated references to them in diaries and personal letters, there must have been a great number of them scattered through the settled districts.

THE RIVERS.

Tennessee is a well-watered State. With a precipitation of almost fifty inches per year, it stands to reason that there are many large rivers draining its soil. There are, in fact, more than twelve hundred miles of navigable waters.³² The Mississippi, on the western border, is connected through the Ohio with the Tennessee River, which can be traversed by boats to Knoxville, and the Cumberland, sweeping in a great semicircle through the north-central part of the State, is deep enough for small boats from eastern Kentucky to its junction with the Ohio. A number of swift, good-sized streams flow westward and southwestward from the Appalachian slope. These, cutting through the ridges, formed "ways" through which the early pioneers entered the eastern valley. The Clinch, the Holston, the Watauga, the Powells, the Nolichucky, the Pigeon, the French Broad and the Hiwassee rivers are all east of the Cumberland, and their waters eventually reach the Tennessee and Mississippi. The Emory is also in the eastern valley, rising in the northern part of the Cumberland Plateau and flowing southwest to the Tennessee, near what is now Kingston.³³ Its valley, together with that of the Obed, running northwest, provided a good approach to the upper Cumberland waters, from which the old trace led down by way of Bledsoe's Lick to Nashville.

Each one of these rivers has a history of its own. The Watauga settlement and the Sycamore Shoals—where Samuel

³⁰Heiskell, "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," Vol. II., p. 534.

³¹Allison, "Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History," p. 79.

³²"Resources of Tennessee," Vol. X.-A, p. 7.

³³Old Southwest Point.

Doak³⁴ prayed for the "over-mountain men" on their way to King's Mountain³⁵, and near which "Noli Chucky Jack"³⁶ rescued "Bonny Kate" Sherrill, who afterward became his wife³⁷—are located on the clear, beautiful Watauga. The Nolichucky³⁸ too, on whose banks David Crockett was born in 1786³⁹ and John Sevier, whose house still stands, lived, is a famous mountain stream. Donelson's voyage in 1779-80 with a party of about one hundred and sixty people in the good boat "Adventure" and thirty or forty other boats, lasting four months, was an undertaking to be compared with the sailing of the "Mayflower" one hundred and sixty years before. He embarked on the waters of the upper Holston at Ft. Patrick Henry, near the Virginia line, and floated down to the Tennessee and on to the Ohio and up the Ohio and Cumberland rivers to where Nashville now is, landing in the dead of winter and in the heart of a country filled with hostile Indians.⁴⁰

The pioneers not only came through the mountains, following the streams, but they established their homes and villages in the valleys along the banks, where the clear, limpid springs poured their cooling waters into the rivers. The trails were rough, steep, and rocky, and often dangerous because of the Indians. They were too narrow for wagons at first and pack-horses had to be used for transporting goods overland. In 1781 Robertson made a trip up into Kentucky and brought a pack-horse laden with ammunition back to the settlement on the Cumberland,⁴¹ and three years later ten pack-horses from Philadelphia "unloaded their freight of pins and needles, cheap calicoes and linens in the presence of the whole assembled township."⁴¹ The rivers, even the smallest, were navigable for canoes and dugouts and small flat-boats. The fourth General Assembly in 1801 authorized the forming of a company in Washington, Greene and Jefferson counties for the purpose of clearing out and collecting toll on the Nolichucky River from Brown's Island, Washington County, to its mouth at the French Broad. There were two hundred shares, which sold for ten dollars per share, three custom houses, and the contract was to last forty years. The company was to keep the river open, guaranteeing a channel of twenty feet in width and at least

³⁴See page 137.

³⁵"Winning of the West," Vol. II., p. 257.

³⁶Nickname for John Sevier.

³⁷Heiskell, "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," Vol. I., p. 314.

³⁸Indian for "swiftly running."

³⁹David Crockett's Autobiography.

⁴⁰Heiskell, "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," Vol. I., p. 166.

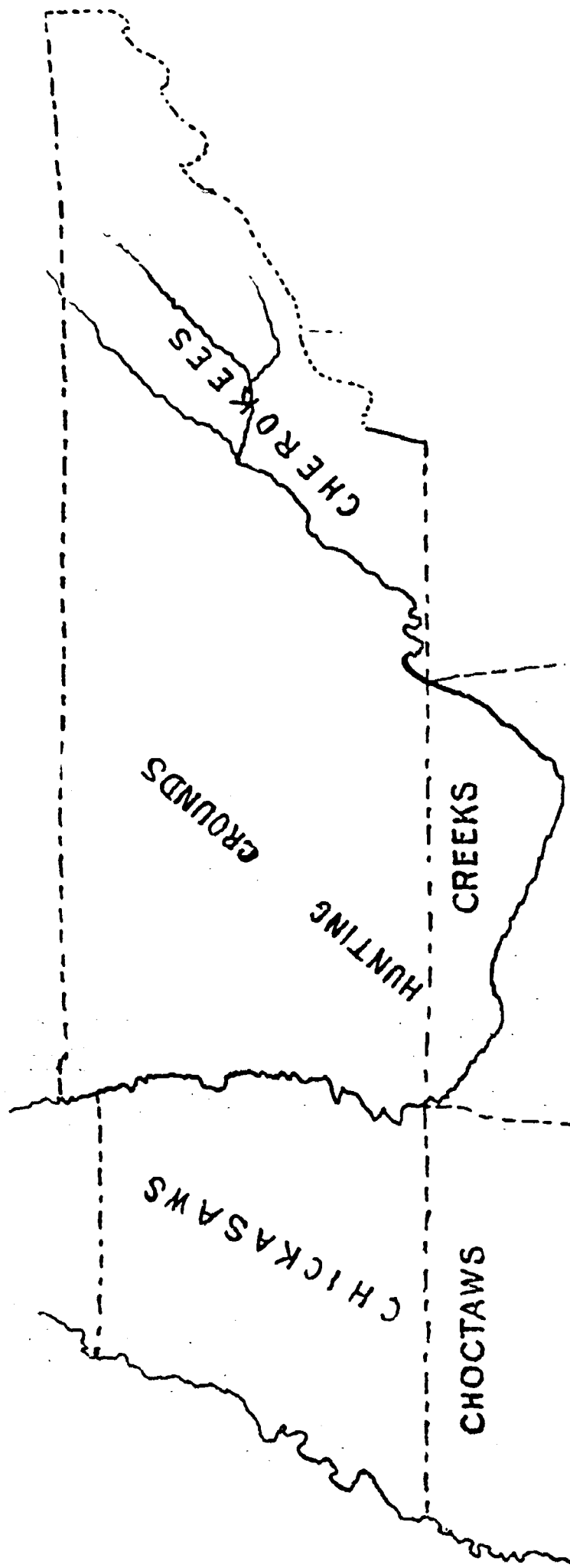
⁴¹Gilmore, "Advance Guard of Western Civilization," pp. 23, 75.

eighteen inches in depth. The tolls were to be one dollar a ton above the upper custom house, seventy-five cents a ton between the third and second custom house and fifty cents between the second and first, and any one using the river and seeking to evade the charges was liable for prosecution.⁴² David Crockett describes a narrow escape that his two small brothers had from drowning in the rapids of this river about 1795, though they were adept at handling his father's canoe. He also tells how, in 1825, he fitted out two large flat-boats on the Obion River in the northwestern part of the State, whither he had moved, and loading them with thirty thousand "pipe staves" for market set out for New Orleans, but, his pilot being ignorant, one of his boats came to grief above Memphis, and the other one being lost on the Mississippi, he gave up boating and returned to West Tennessee.⁴³

In Middle Tennessee the Harpeth, flowing north into the Cumberland near Nashville, the Elk, flowing south into the Tennessee, and the Duck River, flowing westward and emptying into the Tennessee in Humphrey's County, are the most important; while the Obion, Hatchie and Wolf Rivers are the most noted on the western slope. These three flow directly into the Mississippi.

⁴²Scott, "Laws of Tennessee," Vol. I., p. 748.

⁴³David Crockett's "Autobiography," pp. 19, 195.



MAP 1—TAKEN FROM SCHOOLCRAFT. VOL. I. PAGE 312.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDIANS.

The pioneer history of Tennessee is, like that of most of our Western States, a story of the settlers' conquest of the Indians and their occupation of what the Indians considered their land. The picture of the typical pioneer shows us a man lean and spare and active, but with a touch of melancholy in his face. His life of activity and his frugal fare kept him spare and fit, and the wilderness fear left its mark on his features. The constant menace of the lurking Indian—too often translated into a bitter experience for him and his family,—inevitably turned his alertness into anxiety. Haywood's early history of Tennessee is a long account of Indian warfare. He begins with the struggles of the Watauga settlement in the northeastern part of the State, and narrates the details of massacre after massacre. There is not a chapter from which the Indian is omitted, and the harrowing incidents of more than four hundred separate assassinations and massacres are set forth in the five hundred pages of his book.

THE FIVE TRIBES.

The chief relations of the early settlers of Tennessee were with the Mobilian, or Appalachian race, which was the dominant one in the Southeast. There were, according to Schoolcraft and Roosevelt, five related Mobilian tribes: The Chickasaws, the Creeks, or Muscogeas, the Choctaws and the Seminoles. The Cherokees and the Creeks were the most troublesome to the early settlements, while the Chickasaws were for the most part friendly. This is natural, for the Chickasaws lived in the western part of what is now Tennessee, between the Mississippi and the Tennessee rivers, and in the northern part of the State of Mississippi and the edges of Alabama. The pioneers, therefore, in East and Middle Tennessee did not intrude on their lands, but were at almost constant warfare with the Cherokees, their bitter enemies. Piomingo (or Poia Mingo), one of the greatest of all of the Indian chiefs of the southern tribes, in a conference held at Nashville (1792) with James Robertson and Governor William Blount of Knoxville and others, gave the following boundaries of the Chickasaws' land:

"I will describe the boundaries of our land. It begins at the Ohio on the ridge which divides the waters of the Tennessee and Cumberland, and extends with the ridge easterly as far as the most

eastern waters of the Elk River, thence across the Tennessee and a neck of land to Tenchacunda Creek, a south branch of the Tennessee, and up the same to its source; thence to the waters of the Tombigbee, that is to the west fork of Long Leaf Pine Creek, and down it to the line of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and a little below the trading road."⁴⁴

In 1794 George Washington gave the Chickasaws a certificate confirming their right to this land.

Oglethorpe, as early as 1733, made a league of defense with the Chickasaws, a thousand miles to the west of him, and though it was a small and far-distant nation, it proved a bulwark of defense to him. General James Robertson at the French Lick also formed a league of friendship with this well-disposed tribe, which saved him and his community from being wiped out by the Cherokees and Creeks.⁴⁵ In 1801 the United States made a treaty at the Chickasaw Bluffs, by the terms of which the Chickasaws gave permission to open a road for a highway between the Mero District⁴⁶ and Natchez in Mississippi.⁴⁴

THE CHEROKEES.

The Cherokees were the *bete noir* of the early pioneers and the later settlers in Tennessee. They were the original East Tennesseans, and while not Scotch-Irish, they did possess some of the hardy characteristics of that race which followed and dispossessed them of their land. Bancroft says:

"The mountaineers of aboriginal America were the Cherokees, who occupied the valley of the Tennessee River as far west as Muscle Shoals and the highlands of the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama, the most picturesque and salubrious region east of the Mississippi."⁴⁷

They made treaties with the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina early in the eighteenth century, and later with Virginia and Great Britain.⁴⁸ The settlements at Watauga and White's Fort,—now Knoxville,—were in the very heart of the Cherokee lands. The Cumberland colony around the French Lick,—now Nashville,—was almost in the center of their hunting grounds.⁴⁹

⁴⁴Hale and Merritt, "History of Tennessee," Vol. I., pp. 15-35

⁴⁵Malone, "The Chickasaw Nation," p. 35, seq.

⁴⁶Middle Tennessee, particularly the Cumberland region about Nashville. Robertson suggested the name after Governor Miro of Louisiana in 1788, though it was written down "Mero" as it sounds in English. See "American Historical Magazine," Vol. I., pp. 80-112, 1896.

⁴⁷Bancroft, "History of United States," Vol. II., p. 95.

⁴⁸Parker, "The Cherokee Indians," p. 7.

⁴⁹Hale and Merritt, "History of Tennessee," Vol. I., p. 35.

THE CREEKS.

The Creeks,—or Muscogees, as they are called,—dwelt in north Alabama and in northeast Mississippi along the Tennessee River.⁵⁰ They were not only the inveterate enemies of the Cherokees, but also of the pioneers. It was a short journey from their grounds down the Tennessee River and across to the French Lick neighborhood, where they would attack Robertson's colony. After a raid on the Cumberland settlers, their chiefs in long "peace talks" would accuse the Cherokees of making the attacks, and after the Cherokees would invade the settlements, they in like manner would blame the Creeks. The settlers were thus between two fires most of the time.

THE CHOCTAWS.

The Choctaws lived in lower central Mississippi, and did not exert much influence on the pioneer history of Tennessee, though we find them mentioned occasionally in the early records. Neither were the Seminoles in southern Georgia, Alabama and northern Florida of much concern to the early settlers of the State, notwithstanding that they were considerable trouble to the United States authorities after the War of 1812.

CAUSES OF FRICTION.

The principal cause for complaint that the Indians had against the pioneers was the steady encroachment of the white race upon their lands and hunting grounds. It is the old story of the survival of the fittest, and the Indian was gradually pushed southward and westward before the homesteaders. Of course, in their retreat the Indians burned, ravaged and murdered. The vanguard of the home-seekers always felt the fury of their attacks. In the early eighties Scolacutta,—or, as he was called by the whites, "Hanging Maw,"—with about sixty other Chickamauga⁵¹ Indians attacked a small party of surveyors near the Cumberland settlement and wounded them, taking the supplies which the whites left in their hurried escape. After John Peyton, the leader of the party, learned that it was "Hanging Maw" who had made the attack, he sent him word that he could keep all of the supplies, except the chain and compass, which he would like to have back again. "Hanging Maw" replied:

⁵⁰Garrett and Goodpasture, "History of Tennessee," p. 27.

⁵¹A small division of the Cherokee race.

"You, John Peyton, ran away like a coward, and left all of your property. As for your land-stealer—I have broken that against a tree."⁵²

There is no doubt that the Indians suffered constantly from the bad faith of the whites. It was impossible for the authorities to enforce the provisions of the treaties, which they made in good faith. Unscrupulous traders, hunters and adventurers often killed the Indians, when they met them singly or in small bands, took their horses and even robbed them of their furs. And the Indians could not distinguish between isolated, irresponsible individuals, who injured them, and the whites who were trying to live at peace with them. The store at Tellico Block-house was especially unpopular. Major Ore himself wrote Governor Sevier in 1798:

"Tellico Block-house is particularly offensive to a great number of the influential men of the nation. They say that the goods sold there are old and rotten, hardly bearing a second washing, and that they receive but a small price for their skins."⁵³

The Indians held all the whites responsible for the sins of a few. A white was a white!

On the other hand the immigrants coming in for the purpose of establishing homes and building up institutions of culture in this western world felt that the lands should belong to those who could best use them for future generations. In the words of James Robertson, "The God of creation and providence never designed these rich and beautiful lands to be given up to wild beasts and savages; they are to be the home of Christianity and civilization," the thought that was in their hearts was expressed. Robertson's friend, Isaac Bledsoe, said:

"If we perish here, others will come to avenge our death and accomplish the work we have begun. They will find our graves or our scattered bones, and tell to the age that we deserved a better fate."⁵⁴

HORSE-STEALING.

It is said that a trader from Virginia, Cornelius Dougherty, introduced horses among the Cherokees, and, learning the advantage that a mounted man possessed over one on foot, the latter took to stealing the animals of the settlers.⁵⁵ The horse was one of the greatest assets of the early colonist. With it he transported his packs of furs, supplies and goods;

⁵²Gilmore, "Advance Guard of Western Civilization," p. 89.

⁵³Ore to Sevier, Sevier's Letters, May 31, 1798.

⁵⁴Gilmore, "Advance Guard of Western Civilization," p. 50.

⁵⁵Hale and Merritt "History of Tennessee," Vol. I., p. 35.

with it he went from station to station on the paths and trails before the roads were opened; with it he ploughed and tilled his gardens and corn-patches, and dragged in from the woods the logs for his cabins, barns and stockades. Without his horse he was seriously handicapped. Thomas Sharpe Spencer, the early pioneer who lived most of the winter of 1778 in a hollow tree north of the Cumberland settlement, was killed near Crab Orchard, Tennessee, in 1794, by the Indians, who wanted the goods and pack-horses which he was bringing over to Middle Tennessee. In 1786 Lardner Clarke brought ten pack-horses laden with wares from Philadelphia to open a store on the Cumberland. He had woolen goods, calico, linen, etc., and used as a medium of exchange corn, skins and salt.⁵⁶ When the small colony on the Bluffs,—now Nashville,—ran out of powder in 1780, Robertson made a trip through the rough country by way of Bledsoe's Lick of about three months up into Kentucky and brought back a horse loaded with ammunition.⁵⁷

The stealing of horses was not all confined to the Indians, as the settlers stole from the Indians and from one another. In the courthouse of Jonesboro, Tennessee, are many old court records like the following, made when Washington County was still a part of North Carolina:

"At a Superior Court of Law begun and held for the District of Washington in Jonesboro the 15th day of February, Anno Domini, 1790, and in the 14th year of American Independence. Present, the Hon. David Campbell, Esquire, Judge.

State of North Carolina vs. Jno. Wilson and Jas. Fulsom, who by the jury are found guilty of horse stealing. Being called to the bar and asked what they had to say, why sentence agreeable to law should not be passed upon them, they say nothing.

It is therefore ordered that the said Jno. Wilson and Jas. Fulsom be confined in the publick pillory for the space of one hour, and that each of them have both their ears nailed to the pillory and severed from their heads. That they receive at the publick whipping post thirty-nine lashes upon their bare backs, well laid on, and that each of them be branded upon their right cheek with the letter H and on the left cheek with the letter T, and that the sheriff of Washington County put this sentence into execution between the hours of twelve and four this afternoon."⁵⁸

In many of these old courts the sentence for horse-stealing was death, and there are a great many such sentences on record; also several pardons that were issued by Governor John Sevier a little later, when the new State was formed.

⁵⁶Roosevelt, "Winning of the West," Vol. II., p. 326.

Elliott, "Early History of Nashville," p. 224, seq.

⁵⁷Bledsoe's Lick is now Castalian Springs, about 35 miles north of Nashville.

⁵⁸"Acts of North Carolina," February 15, 1790. Archives at Jonesboro, Tennessee.

Most of these documents are on file in the archives at the State Capitol. The severity of the penalties reveal to us the heinousness of the crime.

James Robertson demanded a declaration of war against the Creeks and Cherokees of the first territorial legislature, which met at Knoxville in February, 1794, because, he said,

"Since the Treaty of Holston (1791) they have killed upward of two hundred citizens, without regard to age or sex, and stole at least two thousand horses, which at a moderate calculation are worth \$100,000.00."⁵⁹

The following letter, written by J. Williams, evidently one of the officers at Fort Blount, from which the letter was written, gives us an idea of the Indian's love and desire for horses, even when he feared to kill the people owning them. Fort Blount was one of the early forts on the upper Cumberland in Middle Tennessee, and John Sevier, to whom the letter was written, had just been elected the first governor of the new State. The letter reads as follows:

"Sir:—

I make no doubt that you have heard repeated complaints of horses stolen by the Cherokee Indians on the Cumberland Road this fall. These complaints, I have reason to believe, are not without good grounds, as people have frequently been obliged to apply here for assistance to bring their families and property out of the wilderness, and I am informed that there is as many as three waggons on the mountain stopped by the loss of horses, supposed to be stolen, and that in the absence of the owners of one waggon, there came three Indians and took several blankets from the women that were in the waggon. Travellers complain heavily at such injuries as many of them feel, and that the perpetrators are allowed to escape with impunity. There has been application made to me for men to go to some camp on or near the road to demand and take such horses, as were known to belong to white people, which request I did not comply with, nor shall not without your approbation, but in my opinion it could not be attended with any bad consequences, as might have attendency [a tendency] to deter them from similar transgression for fear of the consequences, knowing men were kept here, as a guard to the travellers.⁶⁰

On the other hand, this letter, written July 19, 1796, from "Cragfont"⁶¹ by James Winchester,⁶² shows the other side of the picture. It, too, is addressed to Governor Sevier at Knoxville:

"Some time last week a Mr. Casselman and Campbell went to an Indian camp at a place called Black Fox's Camp⁶³ and stole several

⁵⁹Gilmore, "Advance Guard of Western Civilization," p. 277.

⁶⁰Sevier's Letters, December 13, 1796.

⁶¹See page 121.

⁶²Charter member of first Territorial Legislature, February 24, 1794, Knoxville, and officer in the War of 1812.

⁶³Rutherford County.

horses. The Indians pursued and overtook them and actually caught Casselman and brought him into Nashville. General Robertson rewarded and sent the Indians away well satisfied. This is truly a mark of the pacific disposition of the Cherokees, having spared a man that they caught in the act of horse stealing."

Two other letters to Governor Sevier in 1796, one from East Tennessee in April and the other from Nashville in June, bear upon the same subject and show different aspects of this Indian problem:

"This moment application was made to me from three young men, to wit, Mr. Robert Henderson, John Burd, and John Fillups of Little Pigeon River. The same young men started to the spurs of the Smoky Mountains in search of some horses supposed to be in that raing, and in search of said horses on west fork of said river, was fired on by a party of Cherokee Indians. William Henderson received a ball through the sleeve of his hunting shirt and burd received one in the boddy of his, but neither of the young men was hurt. They killed one of the Indians and shoot the second in his brest, but is not sencable if he is ded. thay got sum ammunishun and one gun from the Indians. Thay suppose the place whare the scrimmage toock place to be twenty-five miles from the fork of the Little Piggion River. Thay suppose thare wasn't less than ten or twelve of the Indians. Thay say that those Indians was painted purfictly black, and that the one that they killed was "Sour Mush." Mr. Burd says that he knew him for some time back. They say that there is a number of horses in that raing, sum of them is ruff shod.⁶⁴ This is what I could understand from the young men on their return from the mountains. I have noe more to add.⁶⁵

This letter was signed by James D. Puckett. The following one was signed by Elijah Robertson and dated June 1, 1796, at Nashville:

"I am informed that your Excellency has received information that an Indian chief by the name of Sour Mush was assassinated on Big Pigeon. It is offered by some and contradicted by others. It is a matter deeply interesting to this country, as many of us have to spend this summer in the woods. Your good sense will dictate to you the disposition of the Indians to take every care in the most obscure manner. You, Sir, will greatly oblige me to favour me with a letter to inform me of the certainty of it. I mean why we want to be in the woods, we want to resurvey our lands, as the former marks are wearing out fast. The inhabitants of this country should be glad to see you on a visit."⁶⁵

A number of the Sevier Letters contain references in regard to stolen horses. In fact, it seems to be the favorite theme which provoked correspondence with the Governor, and a close second was complaints in regard to the other depredations of the Indians. There are some from the Indians, many

⁶⁴The Indians did not shoe their horses, and it was therefore a simple matter to identify animals that had been secured from the whites.

⁶⁵Sevier's Letters, State Archives.

from the settlers, and some from the Indian agents. The following are fair samples:

“Knoxville, Aug 31, 1796.

Last Sunday evening some villains stole from Mr. John Kain's custody three of the Chickasaw horses, and there is reason to suspect Andrew Scott, John Scott and one Donelson. . . . Grant us authority to pursue and send four mounted militia to be paid by the United States Treasury. I've offered \$100.00 reward.

David Henley, Agent to the Chickasaws.”

Then follows, on September 3, 1796, Governor Sevier's proclamation from Jonesboro, where he happened to be at that time:

“There were stolen three horses from John McKain's plantation in Knox County belonging to Chickasaw chiefs on their way to the President of the United States. I have sufficient reason to believe that Andrew and John Scott and one Donelson have taken the same and I request all to aid and assist in recovering the same.”⁶⁶

“Nashville, Nov. 25, 1796.

An eight year old horse of mine was stolen, and I have reason to believe by the Indians. I followed his tracks to the Tennessee River to one of their old crossing places. I shall thank your Excellency to make it known to the Sup't of Indian Affairs at Tellico Block House.”⁶⁷

A description of the horse follows, and the letter is signed by Abram Martin.

This letter from Isaac Johnson of Davidson County, dated November 26, 1796, shows that the horses were branded, as there were few fences and range close to the houses was limited:

“I understand that the Indians has brought a number of horses into Knoxville, and my son and father-in-law lost some. They were branded JK and D on the near shoulder and buttock.”⁶⁸

The following letter from William Dever of Nashville, dated December 20, 1796, is of the same character:

“The horses designated in the inclosed paper as being the property of William Dever were described and given in last spring to Governor Blount by Robert Reid, and we are informed that the Governor sent the description to the Indian nation by Mr. Chisolm, and Mr. Chisolm hearing of horses of the same description with some others which he demanded, obtained but before he left the nation, they were stolen from him. Some of the chiefs finding them out, were sending them back to Mr. Chisolm, when a party waylaid them and killed the greater part of them. This is the information we have received, and therefore think it is scarcely worth while to make appli-

⁶⁶Proclamations of the Governors of Tennessee, 1796-1820, State Archives.

⁶⁷A famous block-house some miles south of Knoxville, the site of several famous conferences between the whites and Cherokees.

cation to the Indians for the recovery of our horses. We hope your Excellency has it in your power to obtain indemnification for us for the loss of our property."⁶⁸

The Indians would also steal slaves, and any other thing that happened to be loose and that they could put their hands on. And some negroes, of course, would escape from their masters and flee to the Indian country. Traders, trappers and settlers were supposed to have permission from the governor or Indian agents if they intended crossing over into the lands belonging to the Indians. Sevier granted a good many passes, but numbers of persons paid no attention to the law. The following permit, issued by Governor Sevier in October, 1796, gives us the form of these passports:

"Permission is given Henry Morris of the District of Mero to pass and repass to and from the Cherokee Nation to search for a negro woman, Mary, and her two children, taken from and belonging to the estate of Ziegler."⁶⁹

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENTS.

The Government at Philadelphia was very anxious to remain at peace with the Indians, and those in authority, like Governor William Blount at Knoxville and General James Robertson, leader and Indian agent at Nashville, were generally between two fires, for President Washington and the Secretary of War were constantly urging the cessation of hostilities and the reduction of expenses in the defense of the frontiers, while the settlers were steadily encroaching on the Indian lands, breaking the treaties, and forcing them to fight in violation of their word. Notwithstanding the fact that the settlers were depriving the Indians of what they considered their land, they insisted that the United States Government before 1796,⁶⁹ and the State of Tennessee after that date, protect them from Indian attacks.⁷⁰ Such people were always anxious to fight the Indians, and were bitterly opposed to the efforts of Blount at Knoxville, of Sevier, his successor, and of Robertson at Nashville and of the Federal Government at Philadelphia to appease them and prevent the whites from attacking them. One of these "citizens" of Middle Tennessee sent an anonymous letter to James Robertson in the summer of 1792, which reads as follows:

"I was much surprised when I heard of your wishing to stop Captain John Edmonson from going against the Indians with a

⁶⁸Sevier's Letters, State Archives.

⁶⁹Tennessee became a State March 28, 1796, President Washington signing the bill June 1, 1796.

⁷⁰Colyar, "Life of Andrew Jackson," Vol. I., p. 56.

volunteer company in order to retaliate for the damage they are daily doing us, but hearing it generally reported in the country, that it has always been your endeavor to stop all of those that wish to do good to their country and damage to the Indians, I must join with those of my countrymen, and wish Edmonson great success, and you gone hence and a better man in your room."

This letter is signed by "A Citizen of Mero District."⁷¹

If horses were taken from the Indians and they could not recover them, they wanted the State or Federal Government to pay for them. If they went to Philadelphia to see their "Father Washington" on authorized business, they again expected, not only pay for the expenses of their trip, but substantial gifts besides. After James Robertson became agent to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, he had a good deal of this pacifying to do. In August of 1795, Governor William Blount wrote him as follows from Knoxville:

"Your letter of the 12th inst., was handed to me by Judge McNairy.⁷² You say that six Chickasaws have this instant stepped in after some horses, which were stolen from them by some people from the Natchez country, and that the people who stole them, live some of them at Fort Pitt and others at Kentucky. . . . One way or another they will have to pay. You will therefore ascertain the value of them as near as possible, and give orders to the purchasing agent at Nashville, who I understand is Mr. John Overton,⁷³ to pay for them, provided the price of no one of them is to exceed \$50.00, as the people who stole them, live so distant from this country and only passed through, I fear few or none of them will be recovered."⁷⁴

THE LAND QUESTION.

This letter from Silas Dinsmore, the Indian agent to the Cherokees, dated at Tellico Block-house in November, 1796, is for the purpose of informing Governor Sevier as to the people who were settling on the Cherokee lands in defiance of the treaties:

"You are doubtless acquainted with an act of last session of Congress. . . . to preserve peace on the frontiers. By my instructions from the honorable Secretary of War, I am required to report to you all offences, which come under the purview of the aforesaid act offences are from the best information I can get very numerous. Multitudes of people already are settled on the Cherokee lands, north of the Clinch and on the borders of the Tennessee, among which near this post are the following:"

(A long list follows.)

"The object of the law appears to have been to convince the Chero-

⁷¹"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., July 10, 1792.

⁷²McNairy came to East Tennessee with Andrew Jackson, 1788, later was District Judge of Tennessee until his death in 1832.

Allison, "Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History," p. 5.

⁷³Overton came into Tennessee from Kentucky, 1804; Later founded Memphis.

⁷⁴"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., August 24, 1795.

kees that their rights should be secured if they would remain at peace."⁷⁵

In 1797 James Robertson wrote to Governor Sevier in the same vein, protesting against a certain "Cox settling on the bend of the Tennessee River and causing blood to flow."⁷⁶ In obedience to a request from Governor Sevier, Silas Dinsmore, in November 1797, sent him a list of persons residing in the Cherokee lands and not natives of the country. The list includes about seventy persons and gives their occupations and nationalities:

3 Negroes	1 Cowboy
4 Scotch	1 Cooper
8 Dutch	2 Idlers
5 Spanish	3 Hirelings
1 Irish	1 Buyer of stolen horses
20 Traders	1 Servant
2 Tailors	2 of worst character.
2 Blacksmiths	
Several Spaniards, names unknown. ⁷⁶	

The Indians, of course, resented this encroachment on their lands, and they sent many "peace talks" to Robertson, Blount, Sevier, and even to President Washington at Philadelphia. Very few of the Indians could write. Most of the half-breeds had acquired small vocabularies from the whites and could talk fairly well, and a few chiefs had picked up a little learning at the forts and agencies. It is said that even Alexander McGillivray, as shrewd and clever as he was, could write very little, although his Scotch father placed him at one time in a mercantile business in Savannah.⁷⁷

These two letters from Chickasaw chiefs, in April, 1797, to Governor Sevier, reveal some of the feelings of the Indians:

"My Friend and Brother,

As you are the greatest in your quarter and I am a beloved man in my nation, though not so great as you, I hope you will befriend us, as you are placed there to protect our rights. In the talk we received from the President, he assures us our rights will be protected by the Government of the United States, as The King, myself and all the head men of our nation was present. I am like I had been asleep and just awoke, and now I begin to see into everything. Now when you receive this talk. can't forget me take good care of this, as you are to mind everything. Take care of me also and my country. I can't desire you to take care of me in particular, but to take care of your own people and keep a good eye over them. My reason for this is your country is getting very full of people."⁷⁸

⁷⁵Sevier's Letters, State Archives.

⁷⁶Sevier's Letters.

⁷⁷"Nineteenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology," 1897-98, Part I., p. 210.

⁷⁸"Wolf's Friend" to Sevier, Sevier's Letters.

My beloved Friend and Brother,

My desire to you is to take pity on me and keep your people at home and don't suffer your people to intrude on our lands. When a bird flies and goes ahead, commonly men will follow. That is my reason for talking to you as I do. My reason for mentioning this is if we should get mixed together, we can't live as friends and brothers ought to do."⁷⁹

The following letter, dated March 4, 1797, is from John Watts, a half-breed chief of the Cherokees, who, in 1792, had made pledges of friendship to Governor Blount and then led a combined force of Creeks and renegade Cherokees against Buchanan's Station, near Nashville. The letter was written at Tellico Block-house, which was often the common meeting ground for the Cherokees and the seat of government at Knoxville, and it was received by Sevier the next day:

"Friend and Brother:

I have just received your talk. It has been a long time on the way . . . The seventh person of my people has fallen since the talk of Governor Blount at this place, though it has not altered my disposition for peace, as it is my greatest wish to live in love and unity with the whites, and to have our young men brought up together. Brother, this is tantamount to the talks heretofore held by me to the Secretary of War and the President. I further observed that I was convinced it was not the wish of them or myself to go to war, but was afraid that the lawless men living on our lands and the frontiers would be the occasion of all mischiefs. Brother, I have been on a long journey, and while at Philadelphia, received very different talks from you. You observe that there are but a handful of us and in consequence of your superiority in numbers, suppose you have a right to do as you please. I wish you would talk to your people, and not suffer them to cross the river Tennessee to survey our lands, cut and spoil our timber and commit depredations they constantly do. You further speak in a very threatening manner very different from the talks I have heretofore received. I have done everything in my power to find out the persons that it is said done the mischief on Clinch River, and am confident that it was not done by any of my people. What I have said is with coolness and deliberation and I further assure you that my greatest wish is to live at peace and friendship with the white people."⁸⁰

The name of John Watts appears many times in the records of Sevier, Robertson and Blount, and though he was wounded at the attack on Buchanan's Station in 1792, he lived for many years and made frequent visits to the posts demanding gifts. In 1799 Governor Sevier sent to Landon Carter⁸¹ an order as follows:

"Pay John Smith \$25.00, it being for a rifle gun I purchased from him and made a present of it in behalf of the state to John Watts, a Cherokee chief, and this shall be your warrant."⁸¹

⁷⁹"The King" to Sevier, Sevier's Letters.

⁸⁰Sevier's Letters, State Archives.

⁸¹Landon Carter, Treasurer for Washington and Hamilton Districts, 1796-1800.

Four years before this Governor Blount had written from Tellico Block-house to the Rev. Joseph Dorris at Knoxville, on his way to Nashville with several families, of the assurances of peace of "John Watts," "The Bloody Fellow," "The Double Head" and "Otter Lifter" and other chiefs of the Cherokees:

"You with the families with you may pass on your way to Nashville the wilderness from Southwest Point [Kingston] to Bledsoe's Lick [now Castalian Springs] without a military escort without the least apprehension of injuries at the hands of the Cherokees or Creeks. . . . Assurances have been given by the heads of the lower Cherokees lower towns in northern Georgia here present."⁸²

Because of the dangers from the Indians on the Cumberland Plateau—called the "Wilderness"—people coming from Virginia and North Carolina through the more thickly settled East Tennessee Valley would wait until a good party had assembled at Knoxville or Southwest Point and then proceed up the Emory River, across the plateau and down the Cumberland to Bledsoe's Lick and thence to Nashville.

After the Territory South of the River Ohio became the State of Tennessee, in 1796, store-keepers, tavern-keepers, and individuals who had furnished supplies for the militia, expeditions, etc., sent in their bills to the new Government. Here is a letter from Hawkins County asking for pay for articles furnished by the writer for an expedition against the Indians. After congratulating Sevier on his election, he says:

"I wish to inform you that in the year 1788 there was an expedition went against the Indians, known by the name of Martin's Campaign, at which time myself and others supplied the men with a quantity of provisions, Mr. Samuel Doak⁸³ acting as Commissary Captain, Joe Caffree and others as deputies under him. We have received nothing as yet for said provisions, but are told that the Assembly of North Carolina refuses to pay for them. . . . I am old, infirm and unable to ride far from home, therefore, Sir, I hope you will be as feet to the lame and eyes to the blind."⁸⁴

Whether this money was paid or not does not appear. There seems to be no warrant on record for the treasurer to make any payment. The tendency was to discourage these small unauthorized expeditions against the Indians; not to pay for them. If this campaign took its name from Major Joseph Martin of Sullivan, he must have gone along or organized it, and he was the leader that took a company of men from his country to join the King's Mountain expedition at Sycamore Shoals.

On the second day of April, 1792, James Robertson took

⁸²"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., October 11, 1795.

⁸³Samuel Doak, See p. 137.

⁸⁴T. Caldwell to Sevier, July

oath before Judge McNairy, one of the judges of the ceded Territory South of the Ohio, that the following account that he had with the United States for articles furnished the Indians was correct. He was a brigadier-general at that time, and was authorized to make such accounts as he was also the Indian agent to the Chickasaws and the Secretary of War would honor his accounts.

To 1 Horse, Bridle and Saddle furnished the Chickasaws on their way to the President	\$55.
To 1 Horse, Bridle and Saddle ditto	50.
To 600 lbs of beef at \$2.00 per hundred for Indians on their way to join Gen'l Sinclair ⁸⁵	12.
To 10 bu of Corn and Meal ditto	2.50
To 320 lbs of Pork at \$3.00 per hundred ditto return	9.25
To 10 lbs of Powder for ditto	7.50
To 1 Rifle Gun furnished a Creek Chief sent to this country under recommendation of Alexander McGillvray ⁸⁶	25.
To 7 lbs of Powder for ditto and some others of the Nation..	5.25
To 20 lbs of Lead ditto	5.00
To Mending Guns	2.00
To 3 Blankets furnished Chickasaws on their way to President at \$4.00	12.00
To 350 lbs of Beef, ditto	7.00
To 12 yds of Linen at 1¼	15.00
1¼ yds of Cloth at 2½	3.14
1 Penknife ½ and Thread ½	1.00
1 Tin Cup and Looking Glass .....	.75
1 Horse, Saddle and Bridle	55.00

On the same paper are three items credited, viz.,

Credit, 1 Horse received from John McNairy, Bridle and Saddle	55.00
" 1 Ditto received from Charmick Courtney	50.00
" 1 Ditto " " Mr. Deaderick ⁸⁷	55.00

In the same year that the above account was made, Governor Blount sent from Knoxville to Robertson a memorandum of gifts from the Indians, looking forward toward a favorable treaty with them at Nashville. The list is as follows:

Gifts to be given the Creeks and Chickasaws in presents in the proposed treaty at Nashville the ensuing summer:

- 50 Good Rifle Guns for the Mountain Leader [Opimingo] and those who joined General St Clair's army and some other chiefs.
- 1000 lbs of Powder
- 2000 lbs Lead
- 500 Three point Blankets
- 500 Two and a Half do.

⁸⁵Evidently St. Clair's disastrous defeat north of Cincinnati, 1791.

⁸⁶McGillivray, a rich and capable half-breed Creek Indian; a Tory in the Revolution; made an agent by the United States and also by the Spanish. Died in 1793. Bassett, "United States History," p. 265.

⁸⁷"Nineteenth Report, Bureau of American Ethnology," Part I., p. 210.

⁸⁷"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., March 28, 1792.

500 Two do.
 100 Pieces Blue Strouds
 500 Yds Calico
 1000 Yds Linen
 1500 Yds Lincey
 100 Pieces Binding, Blue red and yellow
 50 Suits of cloth and hats for chiefs
 1 Piece of good scarlet, leggins etc., and needles and thread
 500 Scalping Knives

These I recommended to be sent from Philadelphia except the powder and lead, and those articles I count on obtaining either here or at Cumberland.

Whether the War Department at Philadelphia agreed with Blount in regard to the list or not, we do not know, but in the same month another list was sent much like the above for gifts to the Chickasaws. It included:

500 Stands of arms
 2000 lbs of powder
 4000 Flints
 4000 lbs Lead
 1500 Bushels Corn
 50 lbs Vermilion
 100 Gals Whiskey⁸⁸

GUNS AND AMMUNITION.

Both of these lists include rifles, powder and lead, and one even mentions scalping knives, for at this time nothing appealed to the Indians like arms and ammunition. It seems that the Governments, both at Knoxville and Philadelphia, would have hesitated to place in their hands such ready weapons to use against the frontier whites. But these were sent to Robinson at Nashville for use among the Chickasaws against the Creeks, who had been planning a campaign to exterminate the Cumberland settlers. The supplies had been sent, too, in response to a request of the "Mountain Leader," who had asked Robertson for "some whisky, as it is good to take at wartalks," and some salt, corn and tobacco. Along with the flat-boat Robertson sent an armorer and a small brass swivel, which did valiant service at Log Town, in West Tennessee—the largest Indian village in the Chickasaw country—when the Creeks, two thousand strong, attacked it some time later.⁸⁹

Miro was followed in 1791 by Carondelet, who inflamed the Cherokees against the whites, even sending Spanish agents among the Indian tribes, telling them that Spain was to control the Southwest and that the power of the United States

⁸⁸"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., April 27, 1792.

⁸⁹Gilmore, "Advance Guard of Western Civilization," p. 265, seq.

was to be confined to the area east of the Appalachian Mountains. When news reached Carondelet that Robertson had sent a "little piece" to the Chickasaws, he at once sent word to the Spanish minister at Philadelphia, and wrote the following letter to Robertson at Nashville:

"I feel nevertheless the greatest concern in persuing the letter of Mr. Portell⁹⁰ on account of the measures taken by you to agree to the request of the Chickasaw Nation, sending to them at the same time a little piece, which although small is an arm too dangerous in the hands of the Indians, to whom its knowledge and practice ought by both nations, Spain and United States, to be carefully concealed, as has until now been observed."⁹¹

Robertson, realizing fully the extent of the duplicity of the Spaniards, answered him from Nashville, agreeing with his sentiments and saying that the piece was sent to the Chickasaws as "merely an effect of an effusion of friendship for them in consequence of their faithful adherence to our interests and in view of the fact that they were at war with the Creeks, our constant and inveterate enemies." Robertson also insisted that the affair was his own and "must not be charged on our General Government, to which application was made for several more, which was refused." Philadelphia was after peace, and so was Governor Blount at Knoxville, and they did give to the Indians many "rifle guns" and much ammunition, in the hopes that the "peace-talks" and promises of the Indians would really result in peace along the frontiers. Blount, in a letter to Robertson, says:

"George Augusta will not be put off without a rifle. Therefore he must have one. You will purchase a good one on the best terms you can and deliver to him, taking the proper voucher for the purchase, and I will pay for it."⁹²

George Augusta was a Chickasaw.

President Washington called some of the chiefs to Philadelphia and conferred with them relative to keeping the peace. These returned with their expense money and handsome presents, and when the news of their good fortune spread around among the camps, all of the warriors wanted to go to Philadelphia, and many did attempt it. The Secretary of War was afraid to dismiss these unwelcome visitors summarily, but did not feel like paying their expenses out of depleted national treasury, hence letters like this one were sent to Governor Blount, and he, after perusing them, would in turn send them on to Robertson on the Cumberland:

⁹⁰Thomas Portell, Spanish Commandant at New Madrid on the Mississippi River above Memphis.

⁹¹"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., May 21, 1793.

⁹²"Robertson's Letters," Vol. I., April 4, 1793.

"Six Indians, Chickasaws and Choctaws, have strolled to Philadelphia without an interpreter or guide, and we cannot tell the object of their journey, except that they might expect to be clothed and to receive presents. They have been clothed and furnished each with a rifle gun and accoutrements and are this day to set off in a wagon for Staunton (Va.) with a conductor. From thence I expect the letters I have written to Capt Alexander Gibson and Robert Douthat, Esq., will procure another conductor, who will be supplied with money to support the Indians to Knoxville, traveling on foot from Staunton. This circumstance, I suppose, may not be pleasing to them, but though I would wish to avoid giving disgust, I am desirous of discouraging such irregular and unauthorized visits, and I must request you, as far as lays in your power to prevent them. I would therefore have sent these six back with only their clothing, but they manifested so much uneasiness, I gave them the rifles and now they appear perfectly satisfied."⁹³

The above letter is signed by Timothy Pickering, dated January 20, 1796, and marked "free," which means that these official letters often were carried by the travelers and horsemen free of charge.

Secretary of War, Knox, three or four years before, had had his troubles with the Indians, as many of the old records clearly show. He, too, wrote to Governor Blount and the Indian chiefs urging peace and economy in the protection of the frontiers. The letter that follows, dated at Philadelphia April 24, 1793, and written to the chiefs and warriors of the Chickasaws, shows that Knox, after trying to placate them until he had grown tired, had almost reached the limit of his patience:

"Bros,

Your father, General Washington, President of the United States, has understood through Governor Blount that you are greatly in need of arms and ammunition and corn, and therefore, he has taken the earliest opportunity of proving to you his friendship and the desire of being serviceable to you. It is his earnest desire to be at peace with all the Indian tribes, and he recommends the same measure to you. Nothing but the most dreadful necessity will justify a state of war. Such necessity however sometimes exists, but peace is always to be sought for with the greatest eagerness upon the first opportunity. The United States has endeavored to persuade the hostile Indians to a peace from motives of kindness to them, and not from any apprehensions as to the final results of war. On these grounds a treaty with the Indians north of the Ohio is to be held at Sandusky in a short time. If they listen to the dictates of justice and moderation, they will make peace, but if not, they will be made to repent their persisting in hostilities. Although the United States is slow to anger, yet when once roused their wrath will be destructive to their enemies. Your father, General Washington, will continue to love and cherish you and if requisite, he will supply you further with articles necessary to your salvation, and for which you will apply to the general of the army at Fort Washington."⁹⁴

⁹³"Robertson's Letters," Vol. II., January 20, 1796.

⁹⁴"Robertson's Letters," April 24, 1793.

TREATIES.

There were almost fifty treaties made between the Indian tribes south of the Ohio and the whites, from the treaty of "Hard Labor" in 1768, by which the boundaries between the Cherokee hunting grounds and Southwest Virginia were defined, to the final removal of the Indians in 1835 from the section about Chattanooga to their new home west of the Mississippi. These treaties and agreements were made between the settlers and the Indians, between the Indian agents and the Indians, between the Territorial and State Governors and the Indians and between the United States Government and the Indians. Most of them were over the land question, and in almost half of them land was actually ceded to the whites.⁹⁵

The Indian chiefs always came to the fort, or place of appointment, accompanied by a large number of warriors. All expected to be fed and all wanted presents. After one of the treaties with the Chickasaws, in 1805, concerning land north of the Duck River in Middle Tennessee, Secretary of War, Dearborn, after examining the accounts, wrote to General James Robertson:

"Among other extraordinary articles for an Indian treaty may be noticed raisins, anchovies, cinnamon, nutmeg-pickles, etc., amounting to nearly \$200.00."

The commissioners said:

"When Indians eat, they eat indeed; one Indian can eat enough at one meal to last him a week."

The treaties given below are the most important one that deal with cession of land.⁹⁶

- 1 1770 *Treaty of Lochabar*: Between Virginia and the Cherokees. The Indians ceded a small strip of the upper Watauga Valley. The purchase was negotiated by John Donelson. It marks the first settlements on the north banks of the Holston.
- 2 1775 *Transylvania Purchase*: Between Richard Henderson & Company and the Cherokees. Large sections of land containing seven or eight counties of Tennessee north of the Holston and Cumberland rivers and large grants in Kentucky bought from the Indians for \$50,000. in merchandise.
- 3 1777 *Avery's Treaty*: Between the Cherokees and Virginia and North Carolina. The Watauga Valley purchases were confirmed.
- 4 1785 *Hopewell or Hawkins Treaty*: This was the first federal treaty with the Cherokees. A semicircle of land south of

Fort Washington was on Manhattan Island.

⁹⁵Garrett and Goodpasture, "History of Tennessee," p. 129, seq.

⁹⁶All treaties, 1785-1819, are given in full in Scott's "Laws of Tennessee," Vol. II., pp. 807-850.

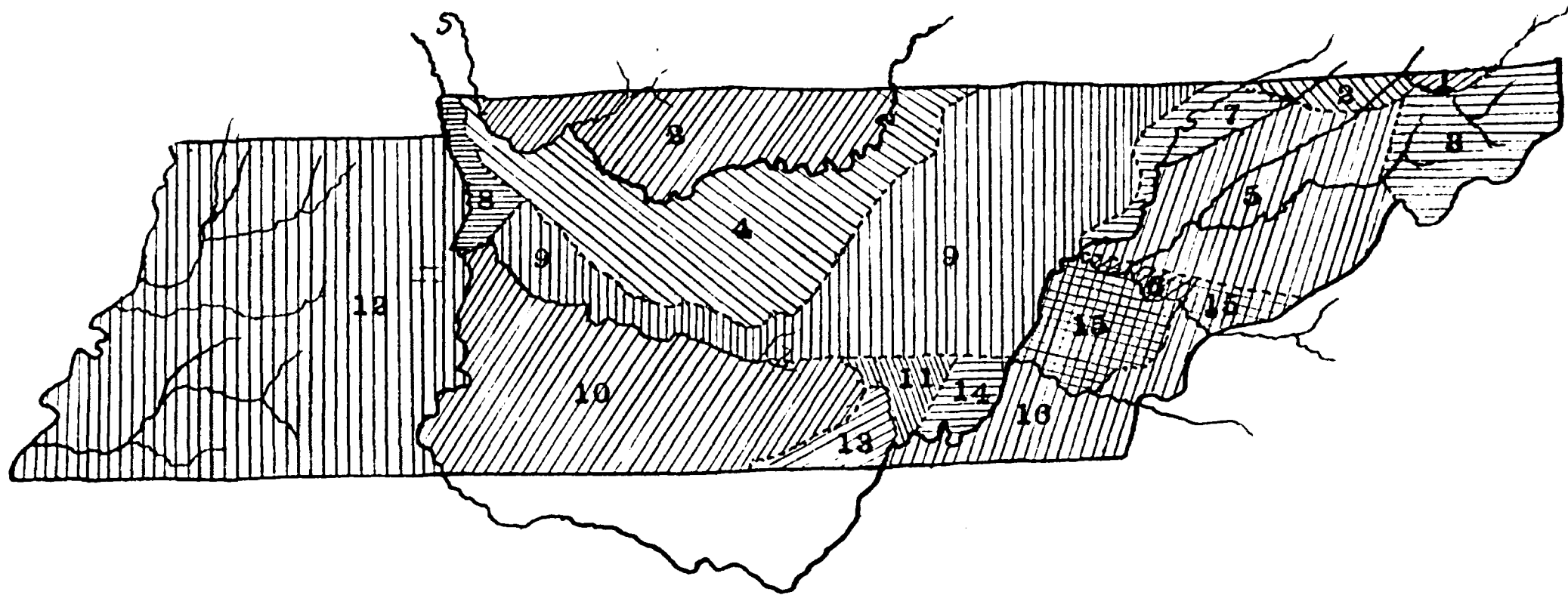
the Cumberland, with Nashville in the center, was purchased for \$1311 worth of merchandise. 918 Cherokees attended.

- 5 1791 *Treaty of Holston, or Blount's Treaty*: Between Blount for the United States and the Cherokees. The Holston and Noli Chucky river valleys were bought for \$1000. This treaty was ratified by the United States Senate.
- 6 1798 *Treaties of Tellico*: Between the United States and Cherokees. Set the price of stolen horses at \$60.00. Lands in French Broad and Clinch River valleys were bought for \$5000. and an annuity to the Indians of \$1000.00.⁹⁷
- 8 1805 *Chickasaw Session*: Between the United States and Chickasaws. Land north of the Duck River (mouth) and east of the Tennessee River bought from the Indians for \$22,000 and an annuity to the chief of the tribe.
- 9 1805 *Third Treaty of Tellico*: Between United States and Cherokees. Large tract of land west of Cumberland Plateau on head waters of Clear Creek, Emery River and Caney Fork was secured for \$14000 and an annuity of \$3000.
- 10 1806 *Dearborn's Treaty*: Between Secretary of War Dearborn and the Cherokees. A tract of land south of the Duck River, and Long Island in the Holston River was bought for \$10000, a grist mill, a cotton gin and an annuity of \$100 for the chief Black Fox.
- 11 1817 *Jackson & McMinn's Treaty*: Between Andrew Jackson, McMinn and Meriweather and the Cherokees. Portion of what is now Marion County ceded to United States for an equal area west of the Mississippi and merchandise to each warrior.
- 12 1818 *Great Chickasaw Session*: Between Andrew Jackson and Isaac Shelby for the United States and the Chickasaws. The United States bought land from the Indians between the Tennessee as it flows northward and the Mississippi River for \$20000 each year for 15 years, and some small sums to individual Indians.
- 13-15 1819 *Calhoun's Treaties*: Between Secretary of War Calhoun and the Cherokees. Lands lying north of Tennessee River near Chattanooga and McMinn County and some small minor tracts (not shown on map) were bought by the United States for money to be invested in schools for the Cherokees. This was the last land in the State owned by Indians, except the "Hiwassee District" (16 on the map) and two other little tracts ceded by the Overton Treaty in 1823.
- 16 1835 *Final Treaty of Removal*: Between the United States and the Cherokees. This treaty confirmed the cessions of all lands east of the Mississippi to the United States for the sum of five million dollars and 15 million acres of land in the Indian Territory.

These cessions covered a period of sixty years and included lands in Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The cessions included in the State of Tennessee are shown in the map on page 37.

⁹⁷Haywood. "History of Tennessee," p. 33, seq.

MAP 2—MAIN LAND CESSIONS BY INDIANS, (AFTER GARRET & GOODPASTURE, PAGE 128).



1. Treaty of Lochabar, 1770.
2. Transylvania Purchase, 1775.
3. Avery's Treaty, 1777.
4. Treaty of Hopewell, 1785.
5. Blount's Treaty, (Holston) 1791.
- 6, 7. Treaty of Tellico, 1798.
8. Chickasaw Session, 1805.

9. Treaty of Tellico, 1805.
10. Dearborn's Treaty, 1806.
11. Jackson & McMinn's, 1817.
12. Great Chicasaw Session, 1818.
- 13-15. Calhoun's Treaty, 1819.
16. Treaty of Removal, 1835.

NUMBERS OF THE INDIANS.

It has been hard to determine the exact numbers of the Indians before they were shut up in reservations. The boundaries of the separate tribes were constantly shifting, and there were always large numbers of Indians who were more or less independent of the well-established nations—like the Chickamaugas, that lawless band of renegades, which was made up of the disaffected and irresponsible warriors of the Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws. These were, like running water, difficult to estimate. According to Roosevelt,⁹⁸ the southern Indians were more numerous than those of the Northwest, were less nomadic and confined more to definite localities. They grouped together in towns and villages of log and bark houses, and the Cherokees even had well-built and fortified towns, with the council houses and large common meeting houses of logs. All of the early histories of Tennessee mention the destruction of the Indian towns of "Nick-a-Jack" and "Running Water" by Ore and Brown in 1794. These towns were located in northeastern Alabama, south of Lookout Mountain. There were several more on the Tennessee River between Knoxville and Muscle Shoals, and many more on the Little River in eastern Tennessee. Such names as Coyatee, Tellico, Chilhowee and Tallasee were given to villages on the Little Tennessee, and Chickamauga, Little Owl Town, Bull Town, Turkey Town and the High Tower in northern Alabama were quite typical. The Indian was hard to corner on the trails and water-courses, for he would flee in to the deep woods and the cane-brakes, but attacks on his town, where his women and children were living, would speedily bring him to the block-house of the settlement begging for peace, and the pioneers soon learned this fact. They would have been wiped out sooner had it not been for the constant urging of peace by the Philadelphia Government.

The total number of the five tribes has been estimated at about seventy thousand souls. Four Indian commissioners, experts in Indian affairs, Hawkins, Pickens, Martin and McIntosh, in a letter to the President of the Continental Congress, December 2, 1785,⁹⁹ give the total number of gunmen at fourteen thousand and two hundred, and say that "at a moderate calculation" there are four times as many others as gunmen.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the Cherokees probably numbered about twelve thousand.¹⁰⁰ James Adair, a

⁹⁸"Winning of the West." Vol. I., p. 51.

⁹⁹Senate Documents, Thirty-third Congress, Second Session.

¹⁰⁰"Winning of the West." Vol. I., p. 51.

trader and resident in the Indian country, gives in 1775¹⁰¹ the number of Cherokee warriors as about 2,300, and multiplying this number by four would give us a total of nine thousand, two hundred souls.

The Chickasaws in western Tennessee were the smallest of the southern tribes, numbering only about four thousand.¹⁰¹ Pickens, Hawkins, Martin and McIntosh estimate that they had eight hundred warriors, but others place their numbers at less.

The Choctaws, living south of the Chickasaws, had a population of twenty thousand or more. Adair estimates that there were four thousand warriors and Hawkins that there were six thousand. The figures of Adair, says Roosevelt, are probably more nearly correct in this case.

The Creeks, or Muscogees, were very likely the most numerous of all of the southern Indians. There were about twenty thousand of them, in addition to seven or eight thousand of the Florida branch, called Seminoles. These figures are given by Pickens and Hawkins and confirmed by the Indian reports of the United States Government. Governor Sevier wrote in 1798:

"The Creek Nation is composed of about seventeen tribes, yet they do not the whole of them amount to five thousand warriors. I mention this about the Creeks because they know it to be a fact."¹⁰²

¹⁰¹Adair, "History of American Indians," p. 227.

¹⁰²Sevier to George Walton and John Steele, United States Commissioners to the Cherokees. Sevier's Letters.

CHAPTER III.

THE POPULATION AND EARLY GOVERNMENTS—
AVENUES OF APPROACH

There were two natural highways of approach into virgin Tennessee. One was by way of the Mississippi River, which the early French used on their journeys and in establishing their long line of forts between the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes region and the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards, too, coming up from Florida and the lower gulf countries, used this great "avenue," both of these races anticipating the arrival of the British, who before the American Revolution were busy establishing and developing their Anglo-Saxon institutions east of the Appalachian barrier. When the Anglo-Saxons did come into Tennessee, they used the second great "way," or approach, which leads down the Shenandoah Valley to the head-waters of the Holston and Watauga rivers, and from there on into the East Tennessee Valley.

DE SOTO.

It is commonly thought that De Soto and his men in 1540 reached the Mississippi River at the Chickasaw Bluffs¹⁰³ (Memphis), and we like to believe it, although we cannot prove it definitely. The different accounts given by four of his party seem to generally agree in their descriptions of the place where the army first came to the river. Judge Young, after a careful study of the original sources, says:

"Comparing the four narratives . . . the facts seem to be that De Soto came upon the town of Chisca where the great mound was, and still remains, which was near the wide river with a forest between . . . and finally pitched his camp under the bluff . . . near the mouth of Wolf River."¹⁰⁴

THE FRENCH.

It is known that La Salle also stopped on his way to or from the gulf at the Chickasaw Bluffs, claiming the country for France and building a fort in 1682,¹⁰⁴ and it is certain that Bienville and other Frenchmen landed there in the early part of the eighteenth century. In fact, Bienville made two or three unsuccessful attacks on the Chickasaw towns in the neighborhood of the lower Wolf River, and the journal

¹⁰³Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 17-38.

¹⁰⁴J. P. Young, *History of Memphis*, p. 29, *Seq.*

kept by one of his officers still exists.¹⁰⁵ The French, then, probably built the first building that was erected by a foreigner on the soil of Tennessee. Other French followed, most of them trappers. They loaded their canoes with paint, powder, blankets, beads and rum at the points lower down on the river,—New Orleans or Natchez,—and paddled up to convenient places where they could meet the Indians and exchange their wares for furs. They were not after land, often married Indian girls, killed little game and brought presents, so their presence was not unwelcome, as was that of the English. Coming from the East, a Frenchman by the name of Charleville opened a store, or trading post, on the Cumberland at the Salt Lick, or French Lick, as it was afterwards called,—about 1715,¹⁰⁶ and Timothy Demonbreun, another trader, located permanently at the same place about the middle of the eighteenth century.

THE SPANISH.

The Spanish had secured a hold on Florida during the Revolutionary War, and claimed West Florida as far west as the Mississippi. Spain endeavored to control the navigation of that river, and entered into an agreement with the Chickasaws, securing permission to build a fort at the Chickasaw Bluffs below the mouth of the Wolf River in 1795. Don Gayoso de Lemos, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, was instrumental in accomplishing this.¹⁰⁷ But the United States Government claimed the entire east bank of the Mississippi River above the thirty-first parallel, and when General Wilkinson, commander of the United States Army, notified the Spanish to that effect, they withdrew, leaving the port in the hands of a few American soldiers.¹⁰⁸ After this, the Spanish activities in Tennessee were confined to intriguing with and inciting the Creeks and Cherokees to hostilities against the Cumberland settlement.

THE EASTERN APPROACH.

The second great avenue of approach, the one in the eastern part of the State, was used by the Anglo-Saxon explorers, traders and settlers. They came down the Holston from Virginia, and down the Watauga and Nolichucky from North Carolina into the East Tennessee Valley. The British, in 1756, pushed down the valley to the head-waters of the Little Tennessee, thirty miles below the present site of Knoxville.

¹⁰⁵Claiborne, History of Mississippi.

¹⁰⁶Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, pp. 38-39.

¹⁰⁷Young, History of Memphis, p. 44.

¹⁰⁸Claiborne, History of Mississippi, p. 178.

and there built a strong fort within five miles of the Cherokee town of Chota, about one hundred and fifty miles below the white settlements in southwestern Virginia. They put two hundred British soldiers there, and named it "Fort Loudon," in honor of the commander of the British Army in Virginia. But the Cherokees destroyed it four years later and massacred its garrison.¹⁰⁹

Isaac Shelby, in his "Early Times in Tennessee," says:

"About 1771 several settlements were made north of the Holston River in that part of Tennessee which now includes the counties of Sullivan and Hawkins¹¹⁰. Some settlements were also made about the same time south of the river. Pioneers principally came from North Carolina. Although the country properly belonged to North Carolina, the settlers north of the Holston agreed among themselves to adhere to Virginia and be governed by its laws, as much for protection against the Indians as against numerous bands of horse thieves and other marauders who infested the borders. The settlements on both sides of the Holston gradually increased by accession from immigrants, notwithstanding they were exposed to the attacks and inroads of their savage neighbors."

EXPLORERS.

Numberless parties of traders, explorers and hunters entered the valley and roamed over its ridges, following the water-courses and Indian trails, giving names to the mountains, rivers and wind gaps. They returned with glowing accounts of the fertile soil, abundant game, fine timber and rich pastures. Adair, from South Carolina, in 1730; Boone, from North Carolina, in 1760; and Walker, from Virginia, in 1748, all made themselves famous for their travels and adventures. Thomas Walker gave to the river, the plateau and the gap the name "Cumberland," which they bear in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, then Prime Minister of England.¹¹¹ Hunters like Thomas Sharpe Spencer, who lived during the winter of 1777 in a hollow tree¹¹² near Bledsoe's Lick, Uriah Stone, whose name was given to Stone River, near Nashville, and Isaac Bledsoe, Casper Mansker and John Holliday were only a few of the many daring "Long Hunters," who, before the close of the Revolution entered Tennessee for furs and adventure, both of which they found in abundance.

But while the explorers may discover and later advertise a new country, and the trappers may blaze a trail and mark out the ways of approach, the real pioneer is the immigrant

¹⁰⁹Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 51-85. The Story of Old Fort Loudon, by Charles Egbert Craddock, should be read.

Bancroft, *History of United States*, Vol. IV., p. 341.

¹¹⁰Draper MSS., 11DD 82, Madison, Wisconsin.

¹¹¹Garrett and Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, p. 47.

¹¹²Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, p. 95.

who is seeking to build a home of his own, clear away the forest, till the soil, and see his children become a part of the rapidly growing settlement in the new world. His world is what he makes it, regardless of what George and Louis lay down as law. Autocracy does not flourish in a pioneer land where a man's worth to the community is measured, not by an ancestral name, but by his immediate usefulness to his fellow pioneers. He must be a real asset to the community, if he remains.

SCOTCH-IRISH

Of these adventurous pioneers entering from the east from Virginia and North Carolina, the majority belonged to the Scotch-Irish. Their names are English and Scotch. Campbell, McNairy, Carter, Robertson, Rhea, Allison, Donelson, Blackburn, McMinn, Ramsey, Hume, Ewing, Anderson, Smith, Blount, Russell, White, Overton, Avery and Jackson are names most of which originated in the British Isles. The old court records of Washington County contain in the jury lists scores of such names as Rose, Wilson, Fulson, Bell, Hall, Henry, Gentry, Haynes, Nash, Walker, O'Neal, Jones, Lewis, Spencer, Love, Hughes, Asbury, McKay, Putnam, Armstrong, Stewart and Glasgow.¹¹³ These were good English and Scotch names, and it is seldom that one finds a Teutonic one like Steiner or Mansker, and even the Latin ones like De Monbreun,¹¹⁴ Sevier and La Salle are exceptional and most of them brought in from the French settlements on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The Scotch-Irish were clannish, yet ever seeking something better; liberty-loving, yet dogmatic and intolerant, and willing to leave their land or be persecuted rather than change their strong convictions. They were Presbyterians, many of them, opposed to Episcopacy and Roman Catholicism and the last people to subscribe to the doctrine of the divine right of kings.¹¹⁵

After 1768, by the treaty of Ft. Stanwix, the Indians agreed to grant to the English all the lands between the Tennessee River and the Ohio, and thus gave a good excuse to these land and home-seekers for crossing the mountains and settling in the newly opened territory.

Turner says:

"As the Ohio Valley as a whole was an extension of the Upland South, so the Upland South was, broadly speaking, an extension from the old Middle Region chiefly from Pennsylvania. The society

¹¹³Acts of Washington County, North Carolina, 1788.

¹¹⁴De Mont Breun.

¹¹⁵Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. I., p. 168.

of pioneers, English, Scotch-Irish, Germans and other nationalities, which formed in the beginning of the eighteenth century in the great valley of Pennsylvania and its lateral extensions, was the nursery of the American backwoodsmen. . . . A new section had been created in America . . . less English than the colonial coast and still different from the conservative Anglicans of the Southern Seaboard . . . the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians with the glow of the covenanted, deeply responsive to the call of the religious spirit, and a fertile field for tillage by such democratic sects as the Baptists, Methodists, and the later Campbellites."¹¹⁶

Phelan speaks of the Protestant Scotch-Irish coming to Virginia and settling along the Blue Ridge Mountains, on the banks of the Potomac and in the Shenandoah Valley, and then pushing southward till they "poured over the mountains into Tennessee and over a thin skirt of Kentucky."¹¹⁷ Roosevelt says that "the dominant strain in the blood of the backwoodsmen was Scotch-Irish, though they were of mixed race, descended from Scotch ancestors who came originally from both lowlands and highlands, from among both the Scotch-Saxons and the Scotch-Celts. Many of them were of English, a few of French Huguenot and quite a number of true old Milesian Irish extraction."¹¹⁸

The Scotch-Irish predominated, but were not the only settlers in the "Over Mountain Country."¹¹⁹ After they had cleared the way, others followed; Huguenots, like Sevier and Lenoir, Germans and Dutch who had filtered down from Pennsylvania, Swedes from Delaware, and many pure English from Virginia and the Carolinas. But, as Roosevelt clearly points out, these hardy immigrants knew few lines of distinction and separation. They fused into communities, bound together by the necessity of defense and the convenience of economic relations. Their linguistic uniformity and geographical contiguity, together with the love for political independence inherent in them and developed by the pioneer conditions,—for the "wilderness breeds democracy,"—made possible in 1796 a commonwealth, "the first erected out of a territory of the United States"¹²⁰ and the first of the new western "Over Mountain States" to be admitted to the Union.

¹¹⁶Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 164-165.

¹¹⁷Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, p. 216.

¹¹⁸The Blount, Sevier and Robertson Letters show among the rolls of militia and in their correspondence the names of O'Neill, Shea, O'Brien, Mahoney, Sullivan, O'Connell, Maguire, Drennan and McNairy.

Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. I., p. 104.

Skinner, *Pioneers of the Southwest*, page 6.

¹¹⁹The term "Over Mountain Men" was commonly used on the eastern side in the Piedmont and coastal sections, and applied to men west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

¹²⁰Garrett and Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, p. 127.

EARLY GOVERNMENTS

The territory within the boundaries of the present State of Tennessee has been partially or wholly under six forms of government:

1. Watauga Association1772-1777
2. Washington County, N. C.1777-1784
3. State of Franklin1784-1788
4. Washington County, N. C.1788-1790
5. Territory South of River Ohio1790-1796
6. State of Tennessee1796-

WATAUGA ASSOCIATION

Mr. Phelan opens his history with the sentence:

“The history of Tennessee as a distinctive individuality begins with the erection in 1769 of William Bean’s cabin, near the junction of the Watauga and Boone’s Creek, in East Tennessee, or, as it was then, in the western part of North Carolina.”

The people that followed came, many of them, from Wolfs Hill,—now Abingdon, Virginia,—drawn by the fine lands to the south, and many others across from North Carolina, down the Nolichucky River, because of the harsh measures of the royal governor, Tryon, of that colony.¹²¹ These Virginia and North Carolina citizens lived, administered their laws, established their courts and laid their penalties upon evil-doers according to the legal systems of their parent States. There are many of their old court records yet available in the courthouse of the old town of Jonesboro, Tennessee. Judge Allison tells us that according to these records the first session of court in this region was held in a log cabin belonging to Charles Robertson¹²² near Jonesboro, Washington District.¹²³ This court levied and collected taxes, regulated the civic life of the community and punished evil-doers in no uncertain terms. The tax dodger was made an example of. Note the following, which is a copy from the original act passed in Jonesboro, August 8, 1779:

“Be it ordered that the Sheriff collect from William Moore fourfold, his taxable property being appraised by the best information that John Woods, Jacob Brown and Jonathan Tipton, assessors, could obtain.”

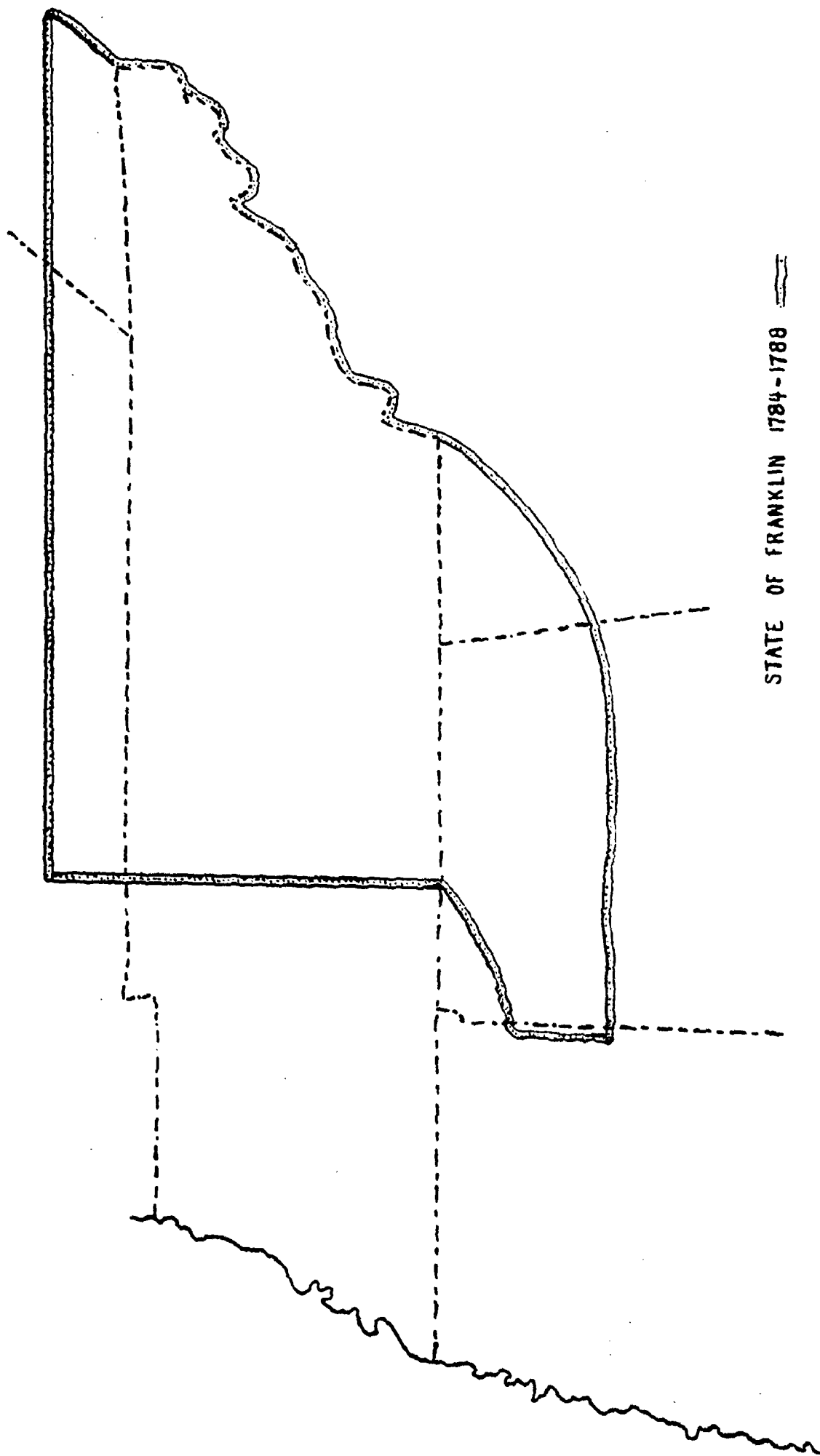
Of course, the above sum was to be paid in Continental money, which was considerably below par in the year 1799.

This court also fixed prices as follows, it being “war times:”-

¹²¹Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 5.

¹²²Brother of James Robertson.

¹²³February 2, 1778. Allison, Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History, pp. 22-40.



STATE OF FRANKLIN 1784-1788

BOUNDARIES TAKEN FROM HAYWOOD

"Diet eight shillings; lodging one night. good bed and clean sheets, seven s. six pence; rum, wine or brandy, three pounds, four s.; toddy per quart and spirits of rum therein, eight s.; and so in proportion; corn or oats per gallon, four s.; stabledge with hay or fodder, twenty-four hours, four s.; pasturage twenty-four hours, two s.; cyder four s. per quart; bear (beer) per quart two s.; whiskey per gallon, two pounds.'

In Scott's Laws of North Carolina and early Tennessee, we find the following law enacted in the year 1784:

"Whereas a settled revenue is necessary for the maintenance of the governor, judges of superior courts, and the other officers and persons, be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of North Carolina that from and after the first day of January next, the following duties, impositions and taxes be collected and accounted for in manner hereafter pointed out and directed:

For every writ or leading process returnable in the superior court	10 s.
For every writ or leading process in any county court	5 s.
On every marriage license	10 s.
On every ordinary (tavern) license (annually)	2 pounds
On every deed recorded in any court	5 s.
On any grant issued or entry hereafter made when registered	5 s.
On every pack of playing cards brought into the State	8 s.
On every box and dice kept in a tavern or by any person for the purpose of gaming (annually)	10 s.
For every billiard table (annually)	10 pounds
For a general license to an attorney to practice in the county courts	5 pounds
On every wheel carriage for pleasure, per wheel	10 s.
Every stallion the sum demanded by the owner for service."	

"All goods imported into the State for the sake of trade shall pay the same duties as goods imported into this State by water, provided that no planter or farmer bring goods for sale under the amount of twenty pounds at any one time shall be considered under the purview of this act."²⁴

The settlers gradually filled the upper East Tennessee Valley, pushing across the Holston on the west and down toward and below Knoxville and what is now Blount County. The time of the people was well occupied in raising small crops, defending themselves against the Indian attacks and looking after the economic and political interests of the settlements.

FRANKLIN

By the beginning of the year 1784 there were probably several thousand people in the East Tennessee Valley. A census of Governor Blount's in 1791 showed a population of over thirty-six thousand in the territory, and only seven thousand were in the Cumberland settlement. Although the

²⁴Laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. I., p. 304.

territory was considered a part of North Carolina, and the inhabitants were apparently living under North Carolina laws, they were suffering a good deal from Indian outrages and could get no redress or protection from the parent State, as she had closed all land offices west of the Alleghanies and ceded the territory to the United States in 1784, provided it should be accepted within two years. This act of cession was repealed later in the year, but not until a convention of men had met at Jonesboro and appointed commissioners to draw up a constitution to be adopted at a later meeting. This constitution was adopted early in 1785 in a meeting held at Greeneville, in Greene County, and the name of Franklin was chosen for the new State, as an honor to Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. The boundaries of the State were described, including fifteen counties of Virginia, six of West Virginia, one-third of Kentucky, one-half of Tennessee, two-thirds of Alabama and more than one-fourth of Georgia.¹²⁵ Provision was made in the constitution of the new State for most of the legal and political requirements of a frontier commonwealth. There was annexed a bill of rights, guaranteeing religious liberty and the right to hold office, provided one was a Christian and believed in heaven and hell, the Bible and the Trinity. Universal suffrage was guaranteed to all freemen, and provision was made for the "Promotion of Learning in the County of Washington."¹²⁶

The General Assembly of the new State, meeting on March 31, 1785, at Greeneville.—"which was the first legislative body that ever met on the soil of the State of Tennessee,"¹²⁷ passed the following law:

"And act for levying a tax for the support of the government. An act for ascertaining which property in this State shall be deemed taxable property, the method of assessing the same and collecting public taxes. It shall and may be lawful for the aforesaid land tax and all free polls to be paid in the following manner:

Good flax linen 1000 at three s. and six d. per yard; 900 at three s.; 800 at two s. and 9 d.; 700 at two s. and six d.; 600 at two s.; tow linen, one s. nine d.; linsey three s.; woolen and cotton linsey three s. six d. per yard; good clean beaver skin six s.; cased otter skins six s.; uncased otter skins five s.; racoon and fox skins one s. three d.; woolen cloth ten s. per yard; bacon well cured six do. per pound; good clean tallow six d. per pound; good clean beeswax one s. per pound; good distilled rye whiskey at 2 s. and six d. per gallon; good peach or apple brandy at three s. and six d. per gallon; good country made sugar one s. per pound; deer skins, the pattern six s.; good, neat and well managed tobacco fit to be prized that

¹²⁵Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 30.

¹²⁶Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. III., p. 186.

¹²⁷Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, Vol. I., p. 42.

may pass inspection fifteen s. the hundred, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity."¹²³

The law of Franklin made fifteen shillings of current money equal to two dollars and a half. The governor received two hundred pounds per annum, judges of superior court a hundred and fifty pounds per annum, all salaries to be paid by the treasurer, sheriff or collector of public taxes to any person entitled to the same in specific articles as collected, and rates allowed by the State for same, or in current money of the State of Franklin. There was one provision for paying the salaries of officials in mink skins, and the money came to be called "mink-skin money," but there was always a ready market for skins, as the buyers were coming in constantly from the Ohio country on the north and the Spanish settlements on the lower Mississippi. Skins sold at par, which could not be said of our early Continental money.

But the State of Franklin was short-lived. Washington, Sullivan and Greene counties, embracing at that time most of East Tennessee, led by their first governor, John Sevier, constituted the real organization, although the boundaries of the new State as suggested to the people by Colonel Arthur Campbell included considerable land in Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama and Georgia, and none in western Tennessee. Governor Martin would not recognize the new State, which he considered a part of North Carolina in rebellion; neither would the Congress of the Confederacy at Philadelphia. The State of North Carolina assessed taxes, and so did the State of Franklin, and the people not knowing which to pay, refused to pay either, and no State can live without funds. When, therefore, the members of the Franklin legislature had served out their term, and the term of Sevier, who was ineligible for re-election, had also expired, the parent State of North Carolina having made conciliatory advances, it was an easy matter to drop back under the nominal control of North Carolina. The State of Franklin thus came to a peaceful end early in 1788.

UNDER NORTH CAROLINA

During the year of the State of Franklin and those immediately following, there had been a steady growth in population in Middle Tennessee, as well as in the eastern valley. In 1783 it is estimated that Washington, Sullivan and Greene counties contained upwards of eighteen thousand people, and that Davidson had a population of about three thousand,

¹²³Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, p. 163.
Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 293, Ser. 1.

four hundred.¹²⁹ Governor Blount's census in the last part of 1795 showed the same areas as containing respectively above sixty-five thousand and almost twelve thousand.¹³⁰ Several new counties had been formed. Since Donelson had made his trip down the Tennessee and up the Cumberland, and Robertson his overland trip through Cumberland Gap and down the Cumberland in the beginning of the eighties, North Carolina had established Davidson County, in 1783, from which Sumner County was established in 1786 and Tennessee County in 1788.¹³¹ By the close of this year there were seven counties, which had been formed by acts of the North Carolina legislature, in spite of the work of Franklin, with its capital at Greeneville; Washington, Sullivan, Greene, Davidson, Sumner, Hawkins, Tennessee.¹³² They held county courts in private homes and such buildings as they could find, and a very few years later made provision for stocks, jails and court-houses in a definite county seat.

The following act was passed in Knoxville by the first General Assembly of the new State of Tennessee in 1796, being based on an older act passed by the North Carolina legislature in 1779:

"Whereas the Assembly of North Carolina in the year 1779 passed an act to establish and lay out a town in Washington County, which act follows:

Section 1. Whereas 100 acres of land at the place fixed on for erecting the court-house and public buildings of Washington County hath already been purchased by the commissioners appointed by law for the purpose of erecting a town thereon, and representation being made to the present General Assembly that the inhabitants of said county would be greatly benefited thereby, also to traders and artificers to have a town laid off and established by law on said land, therefore, be it enacted that a town be laid off, by the name of Jonesboro, and the following commissioners be appointed; John Wood, Jesse Walton, George Russell, James Stuart and Benjamin Clark."¹³³

Here again we find the English names in these early records.

In 1784 the State of North Carolina established Washington judicial district, which comprised the territory now embraced in Tennessee, although the settlement on the Cumberland, known as Nashborough,¹³⁴ had managed its own legal matters up to this time. In 1788 this western district was

¹²⁹Goodspeed, History of Tennessee, p. 361.

¹³⁰Acts of Territorial Assembly, November 28, 1795.

¹³¹Scott, Laws of Tennessee, Vol. I., p.

¹³²See Appendix.

¹³³Acts of First General Assembly of Tennessee, 1796.

¹³⁴Named Nashborough in honor of Colonel Nash; became Nashville in 1784. Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 134.

cut off from the eastern and named the Mero District. While it included all of the middle and western parts of the State, the settlements were chiefly in Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee counties.

UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

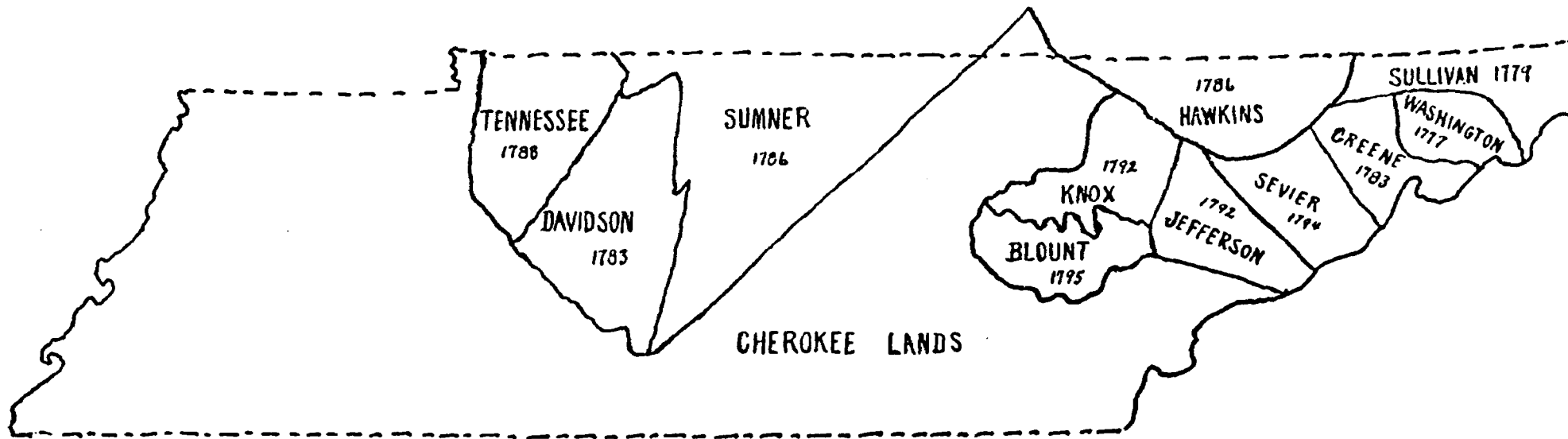
In 1790 the State of North Carolina definitely ceded her lands west of the Alleghanies to the new Federal Government, which had its headquarters at Philadelphia. A territorial government was organized for the district which is now Tennessee, consisting of a governor,—William Blount,—and three judges, who had their seats at Knoxville. Four years later these three judges gave place to a legislative council and a House of Representatives, and William Blount retained the governorship. This Territory South of the River Ohio was under the direct supervision of President George Washington and his Secretary of War, General Knox, of Philadelphia. Governor Blount and his three judges, however, carried on the local government and authorized the formation and organization of counties, county seats and courts, the administering of the laws and the levying of taxes. In November, 1792, they authorized the different counties, of which there were nine, namely, Washington, Sullivan, Greene, Davidson, Sumner, Hawkins, Tennessee, Jefferson and Knox, to pass laws levying a tax not to exceed fifty cents for each poll, to be used in the county seats for building or repairing prisons, stocks and court-houses.

In 1794 Knoxville, which had been settled in 1787, laid out in 1791 by James White, and named in honor of Major-General Henry Knox, was definitely established, with surveyed lots numbered one to sixty-four, by this territorial government. In the same year Greeneville and Rogersville were also provided for. Commissioners were appointed in these towns to erect jails, court-houses and stocks, and manage their administration.¹³⁵ The following tax rates were fixed for that year:

Each white poll .....	.12½
Each black poll .....	.50
Each town lot	1.00
Each one hundred acres of land .....	.25

The next year, 1795, the General Assembly changed the rate somewhat, reducing taxable negroes from fifty cents to twenty-five cents, each town lot from one dollar to fifty cents, each one hundred acres of land from twenty-five cents to

¹³⁵Acts of Territorial Legislature, September 27, 1794.



CAREY'S GENERAL ATLAS 1814

TENNESSEE IN 1796

twelve and a half cents, and adding a tax on stallions kept for service of two dollars each.¹³⁶

The fees allowed by the Territorial Assembly in 1795 were as follows:

“For indentures for binding out apprentices, including all fees for necessary service thereon .....	.75
To sheriffs for every arrest .....	.75
Each bail bond .....	.25
For pillorying a person .....	.62
Putting a person in the stocks and releasing same .....	.60
For imprisoning of felons or debtors or any other person, for each prisoner per day, for supplying one pound of wholesome bread, one pound of good roasted or boiled flesh, and a sufficient quantity of fresh water, and every other necessary attendance and keeping the prison clean	.19”

A constable received as his fee five per cent commission on all sales of execution, and thirty-three cents for whipping a negro by order of any court or justice of the peace.¹³⁸

TENNESSEE A STATE OF THE UNION

The General Assembly of the Territory South of the River Ohio by an act passed July 11, 1795, at its second session at Knoxville, ordered an enumeration to be made of all free persons, excluding Indians, not taxed of the territory. This was done by counties, the total population of the eleven amounting to 77,262, exclusive of Indians and including over ten thousand slaves. Accordingly, by an act of the United States Congress, signed by George Washington June 1, 1796, Tennessee was admitted to Statehood. The new constitution, which had already been drawn up the previous year and based upon the one of North Carolina, provided for a governor, elected by the people for a period of two years, a General Assembly of two Houses, a treasurer and a secretary of state, appointed by the General Assembly, and “a judicial power vested in such superior and inferior courts as the legislators shall from time to time direct.” The judges were chosen by the General Assembly, and the judicial districts were Washington, Hamilton and Mero.¹³⁹ This constitution lasted for thirty-eight years, being replaced in 1834 by a new one, and under it the number of counties increased from fifteen to sixty-two and the population of the State from about eighty thousand to more than six hundred and eighty-four thousand.¹⁴⁰

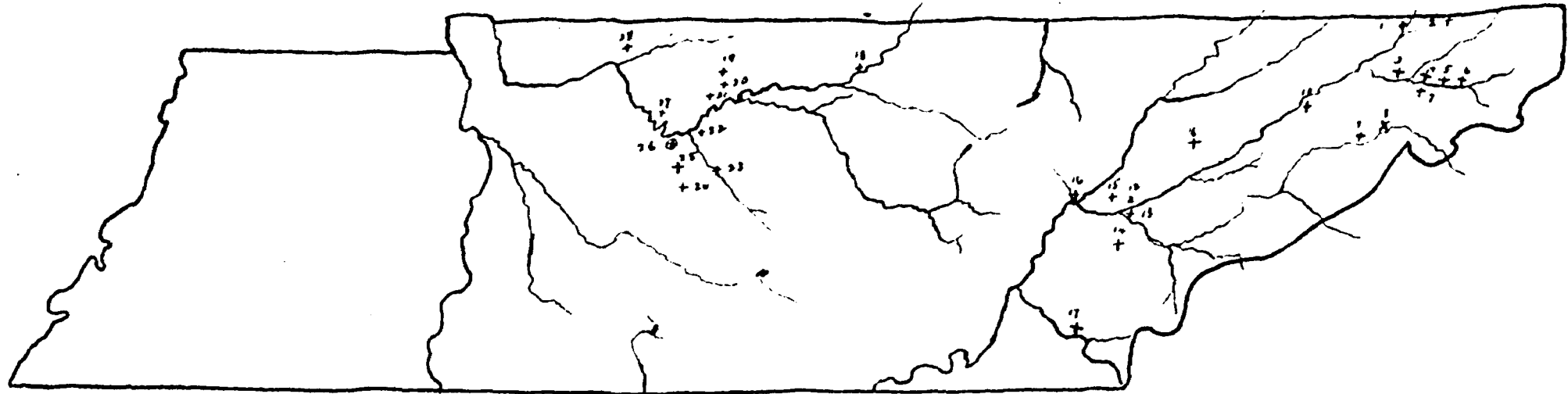
¹³⁶Goodspeed, History of Tennessee, p. 323.

¹³⁷Acts of Territorial Assembly, July 11, 1795.

¹³⁸Acts of Territorial Assembly, December 1, 1795.

¹³⁹Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 200.

¹⁴⁰Eastin Morris. Tennessee Gazetteer, p. 68.



EARLY FORTS AND STATIONS

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Ft. Patrick Henry | 11 Bean's Station | 21 Zigler's Station |
| 2 Shelby's Station | 12 Cavet's Station | 22 Hay's Station |
| 3 Heaton's Station | 13 Knoxville | 23 Robertson's Station |
| 4 Robertson's Station | 14 Bird's Station | 24 Castlemain's Station |
| 5 Sevier's Station | 15 Campbell's Station | 25 Buchanan's Mill |
| 6 Carter's Station | 16 South West Point | 26 Nashville |
| 7 Sycamore Shoals | 17 Tellico Block House | 27 Eaton's Station |
| 8 Martin's Station | 18 Ft. Blount | 28 Renfro's Station |
| 9 Gillespie's Station | 19 Bledsoe's Lick | |
| 10 Greene's Station | 20 Mansker's Station | |

(Located from early records.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE
—DEFENSE

Defense is a great item in the life of a pioneer people. No settlement or nation can do its best work while living under continual fear. In order that a community may grow, the people must feel their security. They must have some leisure time to devote to production and culture. Every reader of pioneer history is familiar with the block-house, made of heavy logs notched at the ends and fitted closely together. They usually were square and of two stories, the upper one projecting out over the lower and having loopholes through which the rifles could be fired. Randall M. Ewing, of Davidson County, Tennessee, wrote J. R. Gilmore in 1888:

“I saw the old block-house at Buchanan’s Station before it was pulled down. It was two stories high, the upper story extending over the sides of the lower about four feet, with portholes commanding the entrance.”

The cabins themselves were built in the same manner, and were often grouped together and surrounded by a palisade of logs stood on end and sharpened at the top. These great fences were from ten to twelve feet high, and were ample protection if the settlers were on their guard at all. Often there were four block-houses in a square, one at each corner of the enclosure commanding the two sides and forming a sort of bastion from which the inmates could keep the Indians from setting fire to the palisades. Midway between these two block-houses was a heavy gate, wide enough for wagons and horses, and fastened by a chain. In one of the night attacks on Nashville an Indian warrior slipped his hand through the crack and, working loose this chain, gained an entrance. The fence enclosed, also, a spring, and sufficient food was kept within the buildings to enable the inmates to withstand a siege. Indians, as a rule, did not lay siege to a place for any length of time and try to starve out the whites,—the taking of Fort Loudon in 1760 being an exception,—but they depended more often on surprise attacks and treachery.

FORTS

There was a large number of these so-called forts in early Tennessee. Some of them were large centers and well defended, and others were simply small block-houses, of which almost every community had one or more. There were two large ones in upper East Tennessee,—Fort Patrick Henry, just south of

the Virginia line, between the two forks of the Holston River, and the one near Sycamore Shoals, below the present site of Elizabethton. Chisholm's Fort was on the north side of the south fork of the Holston River, a few miles above the present site of Kingston. Fort White, the forerunner of Knoxville, was an important point, as was Tellico Block-house, thirty miles to the south of it. Ish's Fort was across the Tennessee River from Cavert's Station, eight miles west of Knoxville.¹⁴¹ There was one at Southwest Point—now Kingston—near the mouth of the Clinch River, as the northern road to the Cumberland settlement started over the plateau here. Two or three other forts were located on this road,—Fort Blount,¹⁴² and Bledsoe's Fort,¹⁴³ and one at the Bluffs, now Nashville. There were several block-houses, too, at the various stations in the Cumberland region.

John Sevier, addressing the first General Assembly at Knoxville, urged them to pay the soldiers who had defended the frontiers for the last few years and were still unpaid. He also urged upon the legislators some provisions for better protection, saying:

“Many thousands have removed to our government; not many are wealthy; their resources are small and their wants great, and were they reduced to the melancholy dilemma of entering into forts and block-houses, I am assured that their condition would be distressing and painful in the extreme.”¹⁴⁴

THE MILITIA

The earliest settlers depended upon volunteer militia. It was composed of the “Minute Men” of the frontier and was at first a local body. Col. Arthur Campbell, in 1777, at Fort Patrick Henry on the upper Holston River, directed Capt. Robertson, because of the exposed condition of the people living in the valley to the south, to assemble men at Rice's and Patten's mills for defense. “Let your company come to Rice's,” he said, “and Capt. Christian's may come to the other mill.”¹⁴⁵ The company was almost any size from half a dozen men up, according to the number the officers could raise. North Carolina, in 1786, passed an act for the protection of the inhabitants of Davidson and Sumner counties. It directed that two hundred men be enrolled for two years' service, and that they be paid the same amount as the regular North Carolina militia, but that the two counties in Tennessee help bear the burden of

¹⁴¹Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 581.

¹⁴²In Jackson County.

¹⁴³Now Castalian Springs.

¹⁴⁴Sevier's Letters, April 22, 1796. State Archives.

¹⁴⁵Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, p. 68.

their support.¹⁴⁶ This militia helped open a road from the lower end of Clinch Mountain to the Cumberland settlement. David Campbell wrote to Governor John Sevier soon after he became governor, saying:

"I wrote you some time since of my desire to take command of the posts, Tellico, Fort Grainger and Southwest Point. My desire is increased on hearing of the late murder committed by a party of Indians within the limits of this State. It is necessary for me to inform your excellency I can raise the men."¹⁴⁷

A small guard was generally kept at each fort, and before Tennessee became a State these men were paid by the Federal Government at Philadelphia. Henry Knox, Secretary of War, sent the following word, in 1794, to General Robertson, in regard to the defense of the Mero District:

"In pursuance of the representations made up the subject of the danger to which Mero District is exposed, the President of the United States authorizes you to make the arrangement herein directed for the protection of the said district, provided you judge the measure necessary, until the first day of December, next, or longer if the danger shall render the said defense indispensable:

A post and garrison to be established at the ford at the crossing of the Cumberland River: One subaltern; two sergeants; two corporals; twenty-five privates.

For the protection of Tennessee County and the inhabitants of Red River, running into Cumberland: One subaltern; two sergeants; two corporals; and twenty-one privates.

For the protection of Davidson County: One subaltern; two sergeants; two corporals; twenty-six privates; the chief post to be in front of Nashville.

For Summer County: One subaltern; two corporals; seventeen privates.

Two subalterns and thirty mounted militia to be allowed the district independent of the aid of the militia.

The following stores are ordered from this city, via Pittsburg to Nashville, addressed to General Robertson:

Six 3½ inch iron howitzers, with ammunition for 100 rounds complete for each piece, including grape or case shot."¹⁴⁸

The above letter gives us some idea of the early defense organization. One hundred and thirty-nine organized and armed men, almost one-third of them mounted, formed a good nucleus about which a small army could be gathered in short order for temporary expeditions. The private foot-soldiers received six and two-thirds dollars per month, old Continental pay, after January of the following year.¹⁴⁹ In fact, most of the soldiers who equipped themselves and attended musters,

¹⁴⁶Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 136.

¹⁴⁷Sevier's Letters, September 19, 1796. State Archives.

¹⁴⁸Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., April 14, 1794.

¹⁴⁹Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., January 13, 1795.

being subject to the call of their superior officers, expected the Federal Government to reimburse them after the constitution was adopted in Philadelphia. Of course, there were many irregularities in their pay, as money was scarce, records were poorly kept and often lost, and the wisdom and authorization of many of the military actions of the Tennessee frontiers were doubted at Philadelphia. David Henley was appointed agent of the War Department in Tennessee after 1796, and it was his business to check up these different accounts that were turned in for the National Government to pay. He wrote John Sevier in 1797 that "the irregularities in payment" were not his fault, but the fault of the change of government officials, as the secretary of war and accountants were different after 1794. He suggested that the following amounts be allowed:

"For Major Ore's expedition, September 6-25, 1794, an amount calculated at \$8,773.17."¹⁵⁰

"For Major Johnson's, November 12-December 9, 1794, \$3,302.29."¹⁵¹

After a popular leader in the settlement or county would raise a volunteer company, he would apply to the governor for a commission, and often it would be granted and the soldiers given regular pay. Alexander Nelson, John Mitchell, James Dardis and Edward Sherman wrote Governor Sevier from Hawkins County in February, 1797, as follows:

"We, the inhabitants of Rogersville, after taking a review of the militia of this county, and more particularly the light horse thereof, find them not equipped as might be expected from an independent people. We, from a feeling for our country and motives pure, have resolved to form ourselves into a volunteer troop, should it meet your approbation, to be fully equipped and subjected to your shortest orders. Your opinion will be executed as soon as you can make it convenient."¹⁵²

To this letter Sevier replied:

"I am glad to find such a military spirit prevailing in Rogersville. I have already commissioned the officers of several companies of volunteer cavalry, and intend indulging each county with similar appointments on their application for such. The commissions are temporary until the end of the next session of our Assembly, which body I expect will, at the formation of a militia law, continue the appointments and form them a part of the cavalry of the State.

It is recommended that none be suffered to engage but such as are persons of reputation, good deportment, and a readiness to equip themselves in a handsome military uniform, with arms and accoutrements suitable to the occasion, the sooner the better, for it is unknown how soon they may be wanted.

¹⁵⁰Major Ore led the expedition against the Indian town of Nickajack below Chattanooga, which resulted in the breaking up of a band of renegade Indians who had made their home in the mountain fastnesses. See Phelan, p. 275, Seq.

¹⁵¹Sevier's Letters, April 11, 1797.

¹⁵²Sevier's Letters, February 13, 1797.

Your officers must be elected by the company in a similar manner to the other elections for cavalry, and the commissions will be obtained on certificates in the same manner."¹⁵³

These elections were held in the various districts in August of each year, and the best fitted officers were usually chosen. They had to be residents of their county for at least six months preceding their election, and only those who were fit to do military duty were eligible to vote for military officers.¹⁵⁴

Upon entering his duties as governor of the new State, John Sevier asked former Governor Blount for a statement "of the military situation of the frontiers with respect to the protection at this time afforded by the militia, the places of defense and the numbers of block-houses."¹⁵⁵ Ex-Governor Blount referred the request to Colonel David Henley, the agent of the War Department, who sent him the following report a short time later:

"A return of the militia drawn out in the administration of Governor Blount in the State of Tennessee, and the various forts they occupy:

Fort Grainger: One lieutenant; one sergeant; one corporal; eighteen privates.

Southwest Point: One ensign; one sergeant; one corporal; eleven privates.

Tellico, under the command of Lieutenant Davidson of the third sub-legion: One ensign; one sergeant; one corporal; thirteen privates."¹⁵⁶

NASHBOROUGH

In the compact of government which the Cumberland settlers agreed to among themselves in May, 1780, all able-bodied men over the age of sixteen years were able to perform military duty enter for and obtain land in their own names. They established a militia, elected their officers, whom they obeyed, paid any soldier for the loss of his horse, and inflicted fines for non-performance of duty.¹⁵⁷

When Governor Sevier, in September, 1797, addressed the second legislature of the new State, he urged upon them the necessity of a good militia law, saying:

"Suffer me to recommend to your consideration as a present and necessary measure a well regulated militia law, calculated to establish discipline and to ensure punctual attendance at private and general musters, for let it be remembered that a well regulated militia is the security of a free State.

Several characters in this State with military spirit and ardor have raised volunteer companies of cavalry, and some of them having already rendered very essential services to the State, permit me to

¹⁵³Sevier's Letters, March 3, 1797.

¹⁵⁴Acts of First General Assembly of Tennessee, 1796.

¹⁵⁵Sevier's Letters, April 6, 1796.

¹⁵⁶Sevier's Letters, August 16, 1796.

¹⁵⁷Clayton, History of Davidson County, p. 33.

recommend them to your particular notice in the formation of your militia law, and make for them such provision as you in your wisdom may think their military genius and enterprise may justly merit."¹⁵⁸

This legislature the following year passed a law making

"All men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, free and indented servants, liable for military duty except judges of supreme courts, attorney generals, justices of the peace, secretaries of state, ministers of any denominations, ferrymen, all Continental officers serving three years with reputation, and all post officers conveying mail, except in imminent danger of insurrection or invasion."¹⁵⁹

EQUIPMENT

The same Assembly passed the following law:

"Each commanding officer of a regiment shall hold muster of his regiment the last Thursdays of May and November each year, and each company captain his company, in a convenient place the last Saturdays in March, June, September and December, armed, officers with side arms, and each private and non-commissioned officer with musket and cartouch box with nine charges of powder and ball made into cartridge; or rifle, powder-horn, and shot pouch, with an equal quantity of ammunition suitable thereto in good condition; and one spare flint and one picker and worm. Those belonging to a troop of horse to be provided with a strong, serviceable horse at least fourteen hands high, with a good saddle, bridle, holsters and one pistol at least, an horseman's sword and cap, a pair of shoes, boots and spurs, with a cartouch box and cartridges in good order, and dressed in the uniform of the regiment to which he belongs."¹⁶⁰

MILITIA SUPPORT

When a body of soldiers was sent into a part of the State, the citizens receiving the direct benefit were supposed to help bear the burden of their support, and were taxed accordingly, as were the colonies by the British before the Revolution. The tax records of Davidson County in 1787 show the following methods of payment:

"An act for better furnishing with provisions the troops coming in the country under Major Evans:

Of county taxes, one-fourth to be paid in corn; two-fourths in beef, pork, bear meat, or venison; one-eighth, salt; one-eighth in money to defray the expense of moving the provisions to the troops; also the price of corn to be four s. per bushel; beef, five dollars per cwt.; pork eight dollars; good bear meat without bone, eight dollars; venison, ten s. per cwt.; salt sixteen dollars per bushel."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸Acts of Second General Assembly, 1797.

¹⁵⁹Acts of Second General Assembly, 1798.

¹⁶⁰Acts of Second General Assembly, December 19, 1798.

¹⁶¹Tax Records, Davidson County, October 1787. State Archives.

TAXES

The earlier pioneers, coming from Virginia and North Carolina and being out of reach of the laws of these States, made their own statutes and articles of agreement and lived by these regulations, which were founded, of course, on the laws of their home States. The Watauga Association, the Cumberland settlement and the State of Franklin all levied and attempted to collect taxes. These taxes were for local purposes, such as the support of the militia, and were generally paid in produce, "hard" money being very scarce.¹⁶² Some of the members of the constitutional convention of the State of Franklin in Jonesboro in 1784 wanted to exclude from the report of the committee "that part of the thirty-second article which fixes a tax upon certain articles, as indigo, tobacco and flour."¹⁶³ The constitution that was drawn up made provision for land and poll taxes to be paid in the following manner:

"Good flax linen, ten hundred at three shillings and six pence per yard; nine hundred at three shillings; eight hundred, two shillings and nine pence; seven hundred, two shillings and six pence; six hundred, two shillings; tow linen, one shilling and nine pence; linsey, three shillings; woolen and cotton linsey, three shillings and six pence per yard; woolen cloth at ten shillings per yard; bacon, well cured, at six pence per pound; good, clean beeswax, one shilling per pound; good, clean tallow, six pence per pound; good distilled rye whiskey at two shillings and six pence per gallon; good peach or apple brandy at three shillings per gallon; good countrymade sugar at one shilling per pound; deer skins, the pattern, six shillings; good, neat and well managed tobacco, fit to be prized, that may pass inspection, the hundred, fifteen shillings; and so on in proportion for a greater or less quantity."¹⁶⁴

Furs were also included in this list.¹⁶⁵

TAXES 1790-96

After 1790, when Tennessee became the Territory South of the River Ohio, the General Assembly, meeting at Knoxville, laid down some cardinal principles for the seven counties then in existence and the ones coming afterward to follow. These laws were based on the old acts of North Carolina, and authorized the various counties to levy taxes, prescribing certain limits beyond which they might not go.¹⁶⁶ There is very little difference in the taxes levied at this time and a few years later, when the state constitution was made (1795). The restrictions were drawn a little closer and a larger number of items were

¹⁶²See Chap. III., p. 45 seq.

¹⁶³Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, p. 171.

¹⁶⁴Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁵See Chap. I., p. 10.

¹⁶⁶*Statutes of Tennessee*, Caruthers & Nicholson, p. 197.
Laws of Tennessee, Scott.

put on the taxable list. No poll tax was allowed higher than that on one hundred acres of land, and no slave was to be taxed higher than the amount on two hundred acres of land. All lands liable to taxation in this State, held by deed, entry or grant, were taxed equally and uniformly in such manner that no one hundred acres were taxed higher than another, except town lots. No article manufactured of the produce of the State was taxed otherwise than to pay inspection fees. This is a rather striking provision, the taxing of land, not according to values, but according to quantity alone. It remained as a law in Tennessee until the second constitution was framed in 1834.¹⁶⁷

TAXES PAID IN CROWS

The people of the frontier counties were complaining of the constant depredations of the crows, squirrels and wolves, as well as the ravages of the Indians, so the second General Assembly passed the following law in 1797:

“Each county in this State is authorized to lay a tax, to be paid in squirrels’ or crows’ scalps, on every person subject to a poll tax in their respective counties, not exceeding twenty-five squirrels to each poll.”

One crow’s scalp was to count for two squirrels’ scalps, and every person who failed to deliver his number of scalps was to pay one cent for each undelivered scalp. The scalps were to be delivered to the respective justices appointed to take the lists of taxable property, and were by them to be burned, after making proper entries on their books. County courts were also authorized to pay as much as two dollars, which was increased to three dollars in 1811, for each wolf’s scalp, and to burn them.¹⁶⁸

The second General Assembly in 1797 voted that the taxes for the following year in the State should be collected on all land from which Indian claims had been extinguished by the treaty of Holston (1791); also on all free males between the ages of twenty-one and fifty years, all slaves between the ages of twelve and fifty years, all stallions kept for service, and all billiard tables (rate twenty-five dollars each). In case of an emergency, the General Assembly allowed each county to levy a special tax, not to exceed certain amounts. The following act, passed by the second General Assembly October 20, 1797, is a sample:

“An act making provision for the poor.

If a resident in the county for one year, the justices of the

¹⁶⁷First Constitution of Tennessee, Art. I., Secs. 26, 27, 1795.

¹⁶⁸Acts of General Assembly, Chap. IV., October, 1797.

peace of the county shall take cognizance and support by means of the following tax, an amount not to exceed six cents on each one hundred acres of land, six cents on each negro, and three cents on each taxable white person."¹⁶⁸

These legislators believed in the saying, "Pay as you go," and not in bonding the county for future generations to pay.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The law in regard to weights and measures for the year 1803 was as follows: Taxes were to be levied in each county for the purpose of procuring a standard of weights and measures, not to exceed

For each white poll .....	.04
For each black poll .....	.08
For each one hundred acres of land .....	.04
For each stallion .....	.12½
For each billiard table	\$5.00"

These taxes were to be paid to the trustee of the county, and each county court was to procure with these funds and keep the standard of weights and measures as follows:

"Sealed weights of half-hundred, quarter-hundred, of seven pounds, four pounds, two pounds, one pound, one-half pound; measures of ell and yard of brass, or copper; measures of half-bushel, peck, half-peck; of dry measure, gallon, pottle, quart, pint and half-pint wine measures; stamps for brass, tin, iron, lead or pewter; and also brands for wooden measures."¹⁶⁹

The tax on gaming devices, billiard tables, etc., was more for regulatory purposes than to secure revenue. Consequently, it was quite high. In 1803 a billiard table was taxed one thousand dollars, even if used for only one day. This tax was made a lien on all taxable property owned by the keeper.¹⁷⁰ If any tenant or other person set up a billiard table on property owned by another without written permission, he or she could be imprisoned nine months without bail or main prize. In 1815 it was necessary to obtain a license from the county court clerk before the erection of a billiard table.¹⁷¹ Bond was required,, payable to the governor, to secure the payment of one hundred and fifty dollars within six months of the date of the license.

The General Assembly changed its rates of taxation slightly between 1796 and 1816, but the following figures are fairly representative of the general tax laws under which the people paid their taxes during these years:

¹⁶⁸Acts of Fifth General Assembly, October 25, 1803.

¹⁷⁰By Chapter XXXVIII., Acts of 1805, this lien was continued.

¹⁷¹Acts of General Assembly, 1815, Chapter X.

Each one hundred acres of land .....	.12½
Each town lot .....	.25
Each free poll and male servant .....	.12½
Each slave .....	.25
Each stallion, the price of one service.	
Each billiard table	\$1,000.00
Each merchant's license (retail store)	25.00
Each peddler or hawker	25.00
Each tavern license	5.00

There are in the archives of the State Capitol at Nashville many of the original tax returns, dating from 1796, made out by the court clerks of the various counties and sent in to the General Assemblies at Knoxville, and at Nashville after 1813. Of course, the files are not complete, but there are enough records to give us a good idea, not only of the system of taxation and the methods of collection, but also the amount of the property and the number of people in the different counties at that time. The following are exact copies of original tax returns in the archives. They are signed by the county clerks in most instances, and the accuracy of the report was usually sworn to before one of the justices of the peace of the county:

GREENE COUNTY

Yr.	Acres	White Polls	Black Polls	Stal- lions	Town Lots	Tavern License	Dealers License	Peddlers License	Amount
1796	265486	883	213	18	36				\$ 549.43
1800	166978	824	195	18	50½				385.11
1809	196906	955	279	36	71	36	59	49	1013.94 ¹⁷²

DAVIDSON COUNTY

Yr.	Acres	White Polls	Black Polls	Stal- lions	Town Lots	Tavern License	Dealers License	Peddlers License	Amount
1803	447340	1074	1630	31	148	13	15		
1804	293870	958	1591	34	203				

While more settlers were constantly coming into the counties, the acreage of land, number of inhabitants and amounts of taxes often show smaller totals in later years because new counties were being steadily formed out of the original large ones. The Davidson County return for 1803 included two billiard tables at fifty dollars each, and the clerk made a note over his signature that there were thirty-eight dollars and fifty-seven cents which he could not collect. On the return for 1804 there were listed twenty cotton gins, having a total of one thousand and twenty-five saws. The name of

¹⁷²The clerk of Greene County in 1808 and 1809 was Valentine Sevier, brother of John Sevier, who was governor of the State at this time. He had lost most of his family a few years before in Indian attacks near the Cumberland settlement.

Timothy Demonbreun appears on the return for 1803 as being taxed five dollars for a tavern license. We recognize him as the Frenchman who came to the Cumberland settlement soon after James Robertson did and leased the pieces of ground on which the custom house in Nashville now stands, and which was set aside to be rented for the support of what was later Davidson Academy.¹⁷³

SHERIFF'S FEES

In 1803 the General Assembly passed the following act authorizing the sheriffs of the different counties to collect certain fees for their services, namely:

For each arrest	\$1.00
Serving a subpoena .....	.25..
Serving a declaration .....	.75
Pillorying any person and releasement .....	.50
Putting any person in the stocks and releasement .....	.50
Every commitment and releasement .....	.50
Summoning a witness to a will .....	.30
Swearing in a jury .....	.12½
Executing condemned persons	2.50
For whipping any person by order of the court .....	.50
Removing a criminal from the county jail to the district jail, per mile .....	.06
Imprisonment for keeping each prisoner per day	
(Sufficient quantity of good, wholesome food and water)	.25 ¹⁷⁴

COTTON GINS

In the same year, 1803, the General Assembly passed this act relative to Eli Whitney and his cotton gin:

"Whereas it is proposed by Russell Goodrich, the agent of Eli Whitney, the inventor and patentee of a machine for cleaning cotton from the seeds, commonly called the saw gin, and Phineas Miller, assignee of one moiety of the patent right of said machine, to sell to the State of Tennessee the sole and exclusive right of making, using and vending the said machine within the limits of this State, and whereas the cultivation of cotton is increasing in this State, and from the invention and use of said machine like to become a valuable staple article of exportation, it is expedient that the State of Tennessee do purchase from the said Miller and Whitney the patent right to the making, using and vending the said new invention of a machine for cleaning of cotton from the seeds, commonly called a saw gin, . . . and that there shall be laid and collected by the State of Tennessee on each and every said gin which shall be used in the State from the passing of this act, thirty-seven and a half cents on each and every saw or circular row of teeth which shall be used in said gins in each and every year for the term of four years, which tax, when collected, is to be paid to the said Miller and Whitney, or

¹⁷³See page 141.

¹⁷⁴Laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. I., pp. 782-784.

their order, first deducting the sheriff's usual commission of six per cent for collection from year to year."

The next year an amendment was passed suspending this tax until the title to the machine was cleared up, as an act of the General Assembly stated that there were "doubts as to whether Whitney and Miller are the legal proprietors."¹⁷⁵ But by September, 1806, the following act was passed, showing that the tax was not only put again in force, but the back taxes collected on cotton gins:

"Whereas it has been made to appear to the satisfaction of this General Assembly that Eli Whitney is the true inventor of said machine, be it enacted that the act to amend the act levying a tax on cotton gins for the year 1803 and the year following be repealed, and that taxes now due on saw gins be collected, and that the model of cotton gin delivered at Knoxville by said Whitney is hereby received for the use of East Tennessee, and that said Whitney is hereby indulged until first day of January next to deliver one other model at Nashville for the use of West Tennessee, . . . which models when deposited as aforesaid shall be for the benefit of the citizens of East and West Tennessee respectively."¹⁷⁶

After October, 1806, therefore, we find cotton gins included in the taxable property and taxed according to the number of saws they possessed. The collectors were expected to collect back taxes suspended since 1804. Here is a specimen of the tax returns on cotton gins in the different counties. This record, along with a great many others, is in the archives in the State Capitol at Nashville. It was turned in to the General Assembly by James Houston, county clerk for Blount County in 1808, and include the taxes on the cotton gins in that county for the preceding four years. It will be remembered that the tax on each saw was thirty-seven and a half cents:

1804	Eight gins having 252 saws	.....	\$ 94.50
1805	Nine gins having 358 saws	.....	134.25
1806	Twelve gins having 433 saws	.....	162.38
1807	Fourteen gins having 440 saws	.....	165.00

SHOWS

The ninth General Assembly permitted the several county courts to charge a license fee of five dollars per annum for every show exhibiting within their boundaries, "unless said show was manufactured in this State," in which case there was to be no charge.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵Acts of General Assembly, August 4, 1804.

¹⁷⁶Laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. I., p. 964.

¹⁷⁷Laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. II., p. 28.

DELINQUENTS

The early state government had its troubles, too, with delinquents, as is shown by the following record from Hawkins County in 1798:

"Colonel Thomas Berry came into open court and made oath that the foregoing list of delinquents is just and that he cannot find any property of any kind in this county whereof he can make the public taxes."

Nathaniel Taylor, collector for Carter County, 1796-1798, returned a delinquent list containing sixty-three names of persons who were delinquent on eight hundred acres of land, fifty-eight polls and three negro slaves. He made oath that he had "used all means in [his] power to collect the taxes, but could not find any property to enable [him] to collect the taxes."

Sometimes the collector himself failed to deliver the taxes collected or assessed. This record bears witness to such a case:

"I, Francis A. Ramsey, clerk of Hamilton District of superior court of law, do hereby certify that at the last March term of said court, upon a motion of Thomas McCorry, Esquire, treasurer for districts of Washington and Hamilton, by attorney, judgment was rendered against William Lackey by the sheriff of Blount County, and his securities for \$350.79, the amount of state tax for 1804, and that a fieri facias was issued for collection of said judgment and the costs thereon, which are \$9.25, directed and delivered to the coroner of Blount County, on which fieri facias the said coroner hath returned: "Levied on one likely negro woman and bond taken for delivery and not delivered; again levied on three likely bay horses, one sorrel horse, one large black horse, one brown horse which sold for ten dollars; then levied on the 21st of September on seven geldings and one gray mare given up by William Lackey, and not time to sell." Joseph Hart, coroner, upon the said return, the said coroner paid the ten dollars into office."

The War of 1812 did not place very heavy tax burdens on the frontier settlements, but a luxury tax was collected, as shown by the following tax return for the year 1815 from the fifth collection district of Williamson County:

Thomas Benton (Franklin), two silver watches at \$1.00 each	\$2.00
Jesse Benton, one silver watch	1.00
Gideon Blackburn, two silver watches	2.00

There are a number of examples like the above. This record contains one hundred and twelve silver watches and sixteen gold watches on which the duty was two dollars each. The names of Thomas Benton, Jesse Benton and Gideon

¹⁷³Tax Record, Blount County, 1804. State Archives.

Blackburn are famous. Thomas Benton was the great Missouri senator; Jesse Benton was his brother, who wounded Andrew Jackson in the arm and shoulder; and Gideon Blackburn was the old pioneer preacher, who founded the First Presbyterian Church at Nashville in 1814.¹⁷⁹

There was also a tax of one dollar levied upon furniture above two hundred dollars in value and not exceeding three hundred, but there are only thirty-nine names on this tax return who paid the dollar for this district.

ROADS

By the time of the Declaration of Independence there was quite a little colony of people at Wolfs Hill (now Abingdon, Virginia), and very soon afterwards they began to push down on the two forks of the Holston. There were no roads in the East Tennessee Valley at that time, and the only marks were the blazes on trees, remains of camp-fires of earlier travelers, and Indian trails, or traces, crossing at the gaps and following the water-courses. These trails later became roads. As the third General Assembly said in one of its acts relating to roads:

“Whereas the road at present in use through the Cherokee country was not opened or marked by authority of the United States, but came into use by one traveler first picking out a way for himself, and others following, . . . it is the duty of the governor of Tennessee to request that commissioners be appointed to mark out the levellest and shortest road with conveniency of passing water course at fords and mountains at the gaps most easy of ascent.”

The adventurers often became lost, but their rifles kept them in food and they generally found their way back sooner or later. The main Indian trail led down the valley toward Chattanooga along the Holston and Tennessee rivers. Phelan says that the first road that was worked out “ran from Jonesboro, Washington County, into Burke County, North Carolina.¹⁸⁰ After this road was opened the number of immigrants increased rapidly.

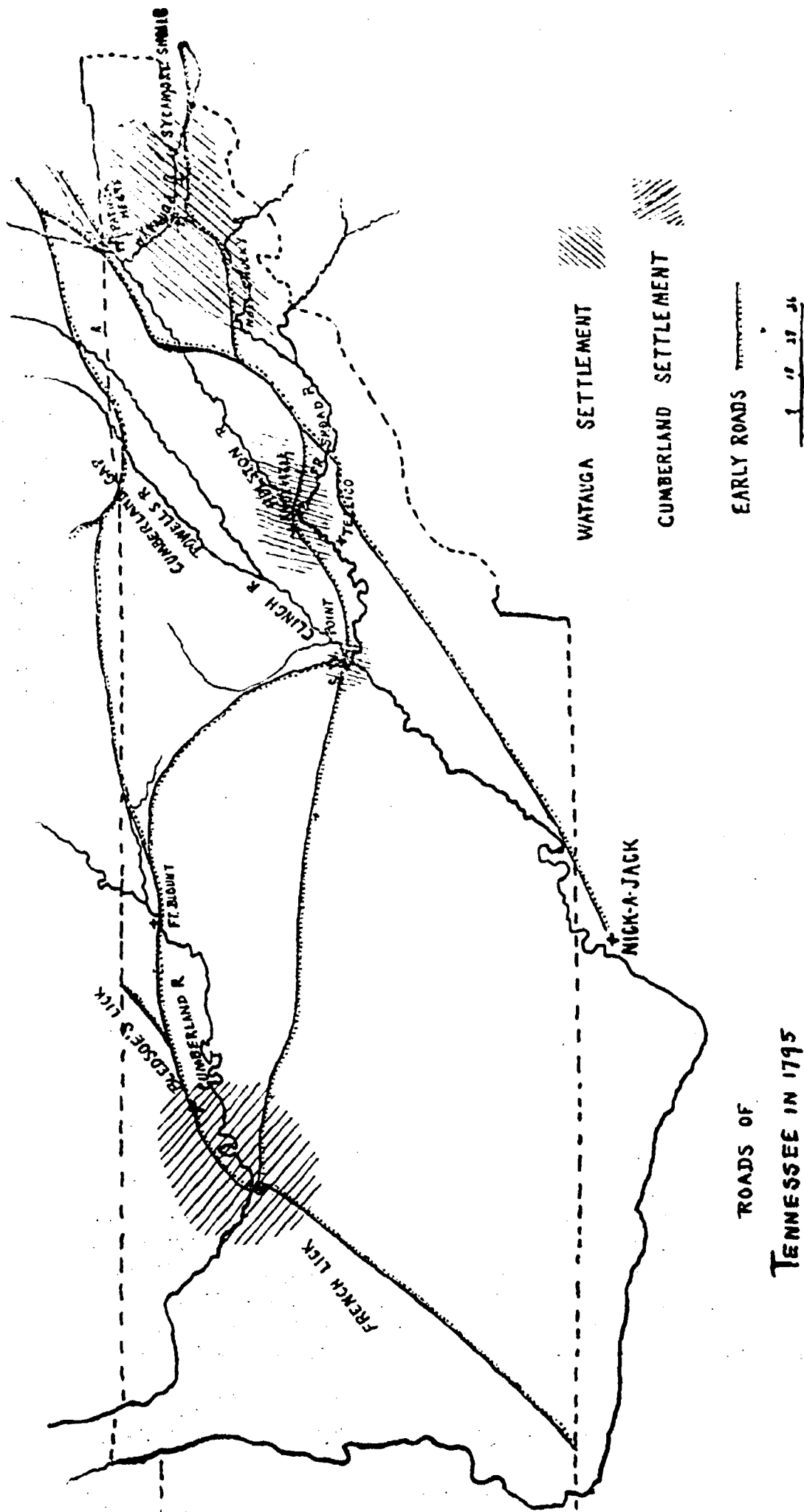
William Blount wrote from Knoxville, in 1792, to James Robertson as follows:

“My brother Willie arrived here two days past from Tarboro, N. C. He informs me that on the eighth of May he passed William Ford, the Philips’s and Dickerson and others, having fourteen carts and several waggons, about twenty miles above Tarboro on their way to Cumberland, and were to be joined by Wilson Vick and others as they passed Nash County. The company informed my brother they

¹⁷⁹See page 148.

¹⁸⁰Phelan History of Tennessee, p. 172.

¹⁸¹Pronounced “Wiley.”



TAKEN FROM DANIEL SMITH RAMSEY AND GOODSPEED.

would have thirty men in their company, besides women, children and negroes. General Rutherford and W. T. Lewis will leave in September with thirty waggons, so they write me. The general has actually exchanged all his lands in North Carolina for lands in Cumberland."¹⁸²

Before 1787 the usual route westward was from southwestern Virginia along the present Tennessee line, through Cumberland Gap and up into Kentucky, and down the Cumberland River to Middle Tennessee. Daniel Boone marked out the road in 1775, and twenty years later, when Kentucky advertised for bids on a wagon road thirty feet wide from Crab Orchard to Cumberland Gap, he wrote a letter to Governor Shelby reminding him of the fact, and asking that he be given the work.¹⁸³

A road was opened in September, 1788, from Campbell's Station, a few miles west of Knoxville, to Nashville, and a guard of soldiers was furnished to escort the families across the plateau, or wilderness. This road ran to Southwest Point (now Kingston), thence across to Crab Orchard and the upper Cumberland, and down to Bledsoe's Lick and Nashville. Fort Blount was established in 1794 on the north bank of the Cumberland, in what is now Jackson County, for the protection of travelers going on the Wilderness Road to Nashville. The road from Fort Blount was begun in 1787. It ran westward through the present counties of Jackson, Smith, Trousdale and Sumner, by Bledsoe's Lick to Nashville.¹⁸⁴

Two notices in the "*Knoxville Gazette*" bear upon this road, and are of some interest. They are given in full:

For Sale.

"1000 Acres of land at the Crab Orchard, lying on the road leading from Knoxville to Cumberland (Mero) District. Late the property of Col. S. Donelson."
Wm. Henry.¹⁸⁵

"To Whom It May Concern.

On the 20th of October next the annual escort through the wilderness for families will leave the block-houses at South West Point for Bledsoe's Lick, distance 110 miles. At the same time and place the contractor for cutting a waggon road through the said wilderness means to be in readiness to commence the opening of it and to proceed with sufficient celerity for the families to take through their waggons and baggage to the Cumberland settlements in safety."¹⁸⁶

The money for this road was raised by a lottery, which was authorized by the General Assembly at Knoxville on September

¹⁸²Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., May 26, 1792.

¹⁸³Heiskell, Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History, Vol. I., p. 28.

¹⁸⁴Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 234. Note by John DeWitt.

¹⁸⁵Knoxville Gazette, January 16, 1794.

¹⁸⁶Knoxville Gazette, January 6, 1795.

27, 1794. The lottery was drawn in Knoxville and was "advertised in Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia and the Territorial Gazette three months successively." "Three thousand, one hundred tickets to be sold at five dollars each" were "put into the hands of Col. James White, Col. James Winchester, Col. Stockley Donelson, Capt. David Campbell, Col. William Cocke and Col. Robert Hays." who gave "bond and took oath before Governor Blount" to perform the work of the lottery faithfully. There were six hundred and ninety-eight prizes, varying in value from ten dollars to fifteen hundred, and "one-fifth of each prize" was "deducted in favor of the road and put into the hands of the treasurer of the district." The men mentioned above were commissioned to let out the work of "cutting and clearing the road from South West Point, in Hamilton District, to Bledsoe's Lick, in Mero District."¹⁸⁷

ROAD BUILDING.

After 1796 the new State took up the matter of road building and the General Assembly entrusted the work to individuals and companies, generally requiring bond and always inspecting the completed road before paying any money. Authorizations to build roads, erect bridges and keep ferries, charging toll thereon, were granted, each case being considered on its individual merits.

Note the following acts:

"An act (October 1797) to authorize James Guthrie to build a bridge over Lick Creek on the main road leading from Bull's Gap to the town of Greeneville, twenty miles eastward, in the county of Greene, and keep a sufficient gate thereon, not interfering with the wagon road ford."

The act goes on to say that Guthrie must maintain the bridge in good repair, and be answerable for damages sustained by any one crossing same, and would be allowed to charge the following rates of toll, with the exception that all persons having occasion to attend general or private musters, or any public election, should not be required to pay a toll for their passage:

"Footmen .....	.06½
Each man and horse .....	.12½
Each four-wheeled riding carriage .....	.50
Every cart with horses .....	.25
Every wagon and team .....	.50
Each led horse or work ox .....	.06¼
Each head neat cattle .....	.02
Each head hogs and sheep .....	.01 "

¹⁸⁷Acts of Territorial Assembly, September 27, 1794.

When a company (or individual) completed a road at its expense, authority was usually given to charge the following tolls:

"Each wagon team and load .....	.75
Each four-wheeled carriage	\$1.50
Each chair-horse (single buggy) and rider .....	.74
Each man and horse .....	.12½
Each slave .....	.06¼
Each led or loose horse .....	.06¼
Each cart team .....	.37½ ¹⁸⁸

After 1800 the General Assembly authorized a number of turnpike companies to build short roads, charging toll according to fixed rates. These companies usually consisted of five men, and they "cut and cleared" and "measured and marked" the roads, "erected bridges and causeways," and received their pay in the tolls subsequently collected. Authorization was given for a road "from the Indian boundary line on the east side of the Cumberland to the fork of the road leading to Fort Blount and Walton's Ferry;" for another "from the iron works on Roane's Creek, in Carter County, to the south fork of Roane's Creek, and across the mountain the nearest and best way to the boundary line of North Carolina;" for another "between Bean's old station (in the present Grainger County) and the ford of Sycamore Creek, leading through the stone gap by Holt's Ferry on Clinch River;" and another "wagon road from Sherril's Cove across the mountain to the Warm Springs in Greene County" (now Hot Springs, North Carolina).¹⁸⁹

NATCHEZ TRACE.

England obtained control of the Natchez country in southwest Mississippi by the treaty of 1763, and the United States secured it at the close of the Revolutionary War from England.¹⁹⁰ Natchez at that time was an important port, and a vital link in the chain of river posts holding New Orleans to the new western lands. The most convenient market for these pioneer peoples was at New Orleans, and it was a common thing for them to float their produce down to New Orleans and then return overland. The United States, therefore, after a treaty with the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, opened up a road, in 1801, along the old Chickasaw trace, or path, running from Nashville southwest, passing near Franklin, across the northwest corner of Maury County and the southeast

¹⁸⁸Acts of Third General Assembly, October 26, 1799.

¹⁸⁹Acts of General Assembly of Tennessee, 1796-1805.

¹⁹⁰Harper, Atlas of American History, p. 18.

corner of Hickman, and diagonally across Lewis, cutting the corner of Lawrence, down the eastern boundary of Wayne, crossing the Tennessee ten or twelve miles east of Florence, Alabama, at Colbert's Ferry. From there it crossed the State of Mississippi from the northeastern border to the southwestern. The official name given to it was the Columbian Highway, but it was universally known as the Great Natchez Trace. It became the great highway between Nashville and New Orleans.

JACKSON'S ROAD.

After the Indian treaty of Tellico (1805), Andrew Jackson was instrumental in opening a military road from Franklin to Mobile, which lay to the east of the Natchez Trace, passing through Columbia, Tennessee, across Lawrence County and the Tennessee River near Florence, and thence down the Tombigbee River along the western border of Alabama, touching Mississippi on the central eastern boundary, and thence south to Mobile. This was the route taken by Andrew Jackson on his southern campaign in 1813. A few months later he went from Mobile over to New Orleans, where he became famous.¹⁹¹ These roads, of course, became almost impassable in wet weather, and were rough and filled with stumps even in dry times. Silas Dinsmore, writing from the Choctaw Agency, in upper Mississippi, to James Robertson, in September, 1805, said:

"Coming from Natchez we had to swim our horses over four large water-courses, the Pearl River we crossed on rafts of cane."¹⁹²

ROBERTSON'S NATCHEZ ROAD PROPOSALS.

In the spring of 1807, James Robertson, of Nashville, made three propositions to the United States Government at Washington in regard to improving the Natchez Trace:

"First: He will open and clear the road twelve feet wide at \$4.00 per mile from the Indian boundary to the Tennessee River; from the Tennessee River to the Chickasaw Agency at \$7.00 per mile. He will complete the necessary bridging at 66 2-3 cents per foot, and the causewaying at 74 cents per yard; or

Second: He will make these two cuts, bridge and causeway and slope the banks, so that burdened waggons may pass, for \$1700.00, to the Pidgeon Roost, or Big Black, at \$7.00 per mile for clearing, bridging, causewaying and sloping the bank; or

Third: He will take the aggregate sum of \$1800.00 for said work and labor. In either case he is willing to leave said work to be valued by Colonel Meigs or Mr. Thomas Wright."¹⁹³

One of these propositions was evidently accepted, for in

¹⁹¹Early History of Williamson County, 1917. Park Marshall.

¹⁹²Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., September 2, 1805.

¹⁹³Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., April 17, 1807.

September of the same year a draft "for \$1,175.00, the balance of the contract price for opening and improving the Natchez Road," made by the United States agent, Mr. George Haller, was rejected by Abraham Bradley, Jr., an official of the general postoffice, which had at that time supervision over such matters. He gave as his reason that "neither had Mr. Haller or others examined the road," and stated that he had received "a letter from a gentleman of the first respectability in that territory" who said that "the work on that part of the road is by no means such as the government intended and as the sum allowed will warrant; in fact, the road is equally impassable as before on the same day it was cleared and more dangerous, because the causeways and bridges form impediments in the road and fords which endanger both the safety of man and horse to cross." Mr. Bradley said he had been told that that part of the work next to the State of Tennessee was faithfully executed, and he was sending a reputable person to investigate the entire work.¹⁹⁴ The postmaster-general appointed Seth Pease, and he in turn appointed Lewis Winston, who was to send his report to Washington from the Chickasaw agency house. We have no record as to the final adjustment of the matter.

Imlay, in the description of his travels in North America in the last decade of the eighteenth century, gives the following road mileage:

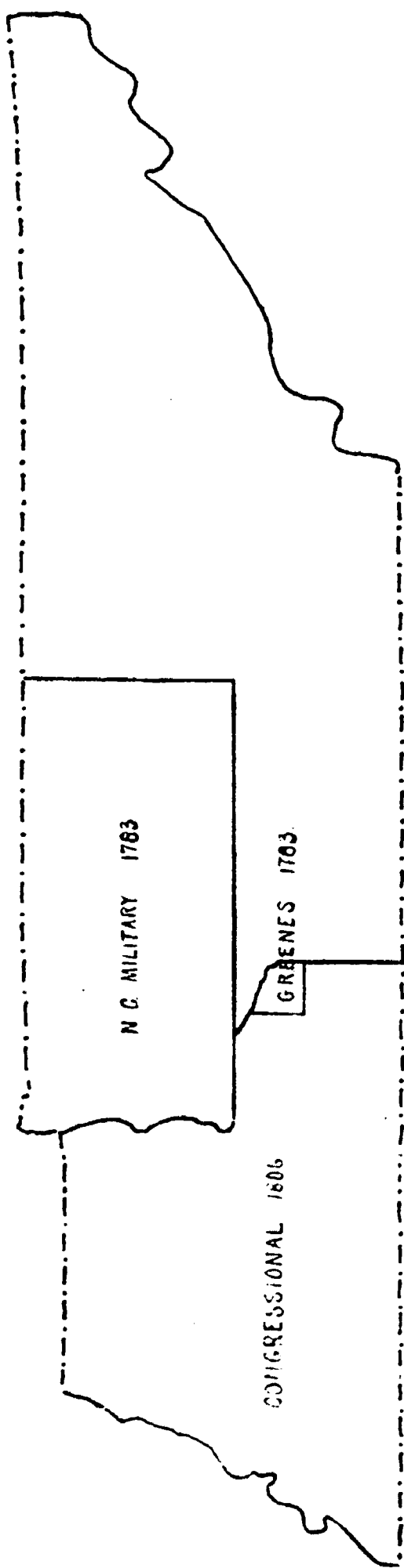
"From Knoxville to Long Island, via Holston.....	100 miles,
From Knoxville to Richmond, via Holston	494 miles,
From Knoxville to Philadelphia, via Holston	650 miles,
From Knoxville to Southwest Point	35 miles,
From Southwest Point to Big Lick Garrison on the Cumberland	80 miles,
From Big Lick Garrison to Bledsoe's Lick	32 miles,
From Bledsoe's Lick to Nashville	36 miles,
	183 miles.
From Nashville to Three Forks of Red River	28 miles,
From Three Forks to Big Barren	32 miles,
From Big Barren to Green River	45 miles,
From Green River to Danville	50 miles,
From Danville to Lexington	35 miles,
	190 miles."

LAND

After the close of the French and Indian War, the settlers, who began pushing down the valley below Wolfs Hill (now Abingdon) did not know how far south or west North Caro-

¹⁹⁴Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., September 15, 1807.

¹⁹⁵Imlay, Descriptions of North America, pp. 515-516.



BOUNDARIES FROM HAYWOOD

LAND RESERVATIONS

lina and West Virginia extended, and they cared less. Attracted by the fertility and fruitfulness of the soil, and the apparent ease of its acquisition, they began to bargain for it with the Indians, who seemed to be the only possessors. The treaties¹⁹⁶ transferring Tennessee land began in 1772 with some Watauga leases, and were continued until 1835, when the final removal of Indians from the soil of Tennessee was accomplished.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

In 1777 the Assembly of North Carolina created the County of Washington out of its "Over Mountain District," and opened a land office for the receiving of land entries. The northern and southern boundaries were understood to extend to the Mississippi River.¹⁹⁷ Two years later Sullivan County was erected and another land office was opened, but both were closed in 1781.

MILITARY RESERVATION.

At the close of the Revolutionary War many of the new States owed money to their "soldiers of the Continental Line." The western and southern lands being secured from the Indians offered a suitable and often satisfactory means of discharging the debt. In 1783 North Carolina laid off an immense tract of land in northern Central Tennessee, appointing Absalom Tatum, Anthony Bledsoe and Isaac Shelby commissioners. The boundaries were "to begin where the Cumberland River intersects the Virginia line, south fifty-five miles, thence west to the Tennessee River, down the Tennessee River to the Virginia line, and thence with the Virginia line to the beginning." Each commissioner was to receive five thousand acres for his services. Unless the land was taken,—and much of this land had already been preempted by the Cumberland citizens,—the claims of the Revolutionary soldiers were given the preference. A private was to have six hundred and forty acres; a non-commissioned officer one thousand; a subaltern two thousand, hundred and sixty; a captain three thousand, eight hundred and forty; a colonel seven thousand, two hundred; a brigadier twelve thousand; a chaplain seven thousand, two hundred; a surgeon four thousand, eight hundred; and a surgeon's mate two thousand, five hundred and sixty acres. If the soldier had died in service, the land was to be granted to his heirs. The claims of the soldiers of the Continental Line were allowed by North Carolina until January 1803, and after that date no

¹⁹⁶For treaties see p. 35.

¹⁹⁷Haywood, History of Tennessee, p. 69.

military land warrants were supposed to be "issued to the person who performed service in the Revolution or his assigns," although it was done for some years afterward.¹⁹⁸

GREENE'S TRACT.

At the same time the Assembly of North Carolina granted to Nathaniel Greene, "as a mark of the high sense of his extraordinary services in the War of the Revolution,"¹⁹⁸ a tract of twenty-five thousand acres, to be surveyed in Central Tennessee by the same commissioners that marked the military reservation. This land was laid off on the Duck River south of what is now Davidson County. A large tract of land was also given General Greene by the State of Georgia later, and the Tennessee land was sold by his heirs.¹⁹⁹

INDIVIDUAL GRANTS.

North Carolina, in 1777, passed an act authorizing "the justices of the peace in each county to select one person to receive entries of claims for lands, and one person qualified to be surveyor,—no one person to receive more than six hundred and forty acres,"—as it was "expedient that the lands within the State should be parcelled out to industrious people for the settlement thereof and increasing the strength and number of the people of the country by affording an easy and comfortable subsistence for families."²⁰⁰ Besides the six hundred and forty acres, the man could take out one hundred for his wife and one hundred for each child. He had to take the oath of allegiance and pay the fees, which were small. Under this same law, any one settling on unoccupied land and improving it,—that is, putting a house, fence and outbuildings on it, and tilling the soil,—could claim the place after seven years of undisturbed occupancy. These were the laws under which the early Tennesseans received much of their land, and by 1791 the secretary of state of North Carolina had certified land grants in Tennessee to more than five million acres.²⁰¹

FORM OF A GRANT.

The grants were entered in the land office record book in the following form:

¹⁹⁸Whitney, *Land Laws of Tennessee*, pp. 93, 113.

¹⁹⁹Nathaniel Greene was a great Revolutionary hero in North Carolina. He is said never to have won a battle and never to have lost a campaign. Greene County and Greeneville, Tennessee, are both named for him, as are several other Greenevilles in the United States. Bassett, *History of United States*, p. 211.

²⁰⁰Whitney, *Land Laws of Tennessee*, pp. 66-70.

²⁰¹Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, p. 151.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

"Know ye that we have granted unto Colonel Elijah Robertson, a Commissary in the Continental Line of this State, nine hundred and sixty acres of land in our County of Davidson on Big Harpeth at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, beginning at a large hollow poplar and beech, running west four hundred and eighty poles, crossing Harpeth to a beech near the river bank, thence north three hundred and twenty poles, crossing Harpeth to a stake, thence east four hundred eighty poles to a stake and south to the beginning, to hold to the said Elijah Robertson, his heirs and assigns forever."

Dated this 23rd day of February, 1793.

J. GLASCOW, Secretary of State.²⁰²

The entry officer issued a warrant for the grant as follows:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

No. 1868

"John Armstrong, Esquire Entry Officer of claims for the western lands, to William Polk, Esquire, Surveyor, Greeting,

You are hereby required as soon as may be to lay off and survey for James Lewis a tract or parcel of land containing two thousand acres, situated and bounded as follows:

On the north side of the Elk River on Indian Camp Creek, including the first main fork of said creek. Observing the directions of the act of Assembly in such case, made and provided for running out lands. Two just and fair plans of such survey, with a proper certificate annexed to each, you are to transmit with this warrant to the Secretary's office without delay.

Given under my hand this 30th day of November, 1784.

JNO ARMSTRONG.²⁰³

Transferred by
JNO. THOMAS.

Frequently the land was not even visited by those receiving the grants, but was sold to those living near it. Land speculators secured a great deal and resold it. Names like Samuel Sandiford, Duncan Stewart, James and Elijah Robertson, William Randall, and countless others appear in the old land office books opposite vast tracts,—thousands of acres.²⁰⁴

LAND OFFICES.

In 1806 Tennessee was divided into six districts,—three in the east and three in the west,—exclusive of the district south of the French Broad and Holston, with a principal surveyor in each district having authority to engage other surveyors and regulate the land business of the district. The three districts in the eastern part had their land offices at Jonesboro, Knoxville and Kingston, and those in the west at Nashville, Jefferson and Alexander's. The district south of the French Broad had its office at Sevierville.²⁰⁵

²⁰²Tennessee Land Office, North Carolina Grants, No. 3, Book C, p. 231.

²⁰³Warrant No. 1868. Tennessee State Archives.

²⁰⁴Tennessee Land Grants, Index Vol.

²⁰⁵Whitney, Land Laws of Tennessee, p. 120.

CONGRESSIONAL RESERVATION.

North Carolina had ceded her western lands to the Confederacy at the close of the Revolutionary War, but that government, not being strong enough to hold itself together, had not accepted the cession. After the new constitution was adopted, the western lands were again tendered to the Federal Government (1789) and accepted, though North Carolina reserved the right to issue military warrants for land grants. Congress then voted to lay off vacant and unappropriated lands subject to the sole disposition of the United States. The boundaries enclosed an immense tract of land south of the military reservation.²⁰⁶

SCHOOL LANDS.

In 1806 Tennessee ceded to the United States this land, and in addition all of that west of the Tennessee as it flows northward; and the United States ceded to Tennessee all the lands east of the river, on the condition that Tennessee would satisfy the land claims of North Carolina, and appropriate two hundred thousand acres for academies and colleges, and six hundred and forty acres to every six miles square in the territory for the use of schools. But as the best land had already been preempted, the surveyors could not locate suitable school lands; in fact, of the four hundred and forty thousand, seven hundred and five were surveyed.²⁰⁷

CHAPTER V.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE (CONTINUED).

TRAVEL.

Our pioneer forefathers were great people to walk, and where the trip was too long for them to walk, they generally rode horseback. The horse could take short cuts over the ridges, needed no roads but trails, and could travel rapidly. As the country became more settled, the inhabitants rode, too, in wagons, carriages, stage-coaches and boats; the carriages and stages required passable roads and were used for shorter trips, while wagons were loaded at Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Hillsborough (N. C.), and brought through to the East Tennessee Valley, and were even hauled over the Cumberland Plateau by horses and oxen. Before the roads were cut out and cleared,—and even afterwards,—packhorses brought many supplies through from the eastern towns. Phelan tells us

²⁰⁶Whitney, *Land Laws of Tennessee*, p. 58.

²⁰⁷Garrett & Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, pp. 153-154.

that in 1783 Lardner Clark opened a store in Nashville, at which, in 1786, ten pack-horses arrived bearing merchandise,—pins, needles, buttons, calicoes and other things for the women.²⁰⁸ The trails were gradually cut out and widened until wagons bearing heavy loads could be taken to the remoter places. The following old paper is evidently a receipt for goods taken for delivery by wagon:

“Manchester, Tennessee, Feb. 2, 1792.

Received of Andrew Nicholson:

- 5 Boxes window glass
- 1 Box glass tumblers and decanters
- 1 Bundle containing 2 saddles
- 1 Bundle of hinges
- 1 Trunk containing sundry merchandise
- 3 Barrels of nails
- 1 Small bundle containing 3 yds. linen and 2 yds. cambrick and a gun, the whole weighing 1300 pounds, which I promise to deliver to General Daniel Smith of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, and for which I have signed two receipts, both of this character and date, one of which being accomplished, the other to be void.

Sworn to before John Taylor.

ELISHA TONOWAY.²⁰⁹

The glass, nails and hinges were probably used by Daniel Smith in his house “Rock Castle,” which we know was completed between 1784 and 1794. If Andrew Nicholson had a store where Manchester is today, the haul was between sixty and seventy-five miles.²¹⁰

Crockett, as a boy, worked on the wagon trains which hauled between Philadelphia, the Shenandoah Valley and Knoxville, just before the close of the century. He speaks of the “taverns that were kept for the waggoners who travelled the road.”²¹¹

TAVERNS.

Places of entertainment sprung up at long intervals on all of the well-established roads, and later, when the stage-coaches began to make regular trips, these taverns increased in number and in their ability to care for the travelers. David Hamblin opened a house of entertainment in Rogersville, Hawkins County, the first of March 1792,²¹² and John Hiltebrand and William McNutt “opened a house of entertainment in Knoxville at which” were “had all kinds of liquor, corn fodder, hay and oats and boarding by the week.”²¹³ The next

²⁰⁸Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 177.

²⁰⁹Tennessee Historical Collection, Box T, No. 68.

²¹⁰See page 122.

²¹¹David Crockett's Autobiography, pp. 22-25.

²¹²The Knoxville Gazette, December 31, 1791.

²¹³The Knoxville Gazette, ay 8, 1794.

year year the following advertisement appeared in the "Knoxville Gazette":

TO THE PUBLIC.

"A tavern is opened in the town of Greenville, in Greene County, in the Territory South of the River Ohio. The town of Greenville is about twenty-five miles from Jonesboro, and on the main post-road leading to Knoxville. Attention will be paid to all persons by Alexander Purdom."²¹⁴

During the next ten years the old roads were improved and new ones opened, and a traveler could find convenient lodging in almost any small settlement. "The Knoxville Gazette" and the "Impartial Review" of Nashville contain announcements of "places of entertainment with commodious houses" where "good lodging and board may be had," together with wine and spirits and "accommodations for horses." Some of these places were famous, such as the tavern of "Granny White" on the old Franklin road, now known as the "Granny White Pike," leading south out of Nashville, and the "Commercial Inn," or "Traveler's Hall" of Simeon Buford, where "waybills" might "be seen of different parts of the Union and where an alphabetical book" was "kept open for gentlemen who" chose "to enter their arrival to this place and their departure from it, the arrival of vessels and cargo with their departure to what port or place, wanting freight or passengers."²¹⁵ Buford later changed the name of this tavern to the "Sign of the Black Horse," and advertised the following rates:

"Genteel boarders, per week	\$2.50
Horses kept, per week	3.50
Horses kept twenty-four hours .....	.62½
Lodging, per night .....	.12½"

Tolbott's Hotel was another famous place of entertainment in Nashville. Here the Board of Trustees of Cumberland College had their first meeting in 1806, though they passed a regulation soon after forbidding their students "frequenting gaming tables, taverns and places of dissipation."²¹⁶

General Thurston says in regard to the Nashville Inn, another famous hostelry:

"Here in 1783,—surely not later than 1788,—was erected the first pioneer lodging house, or inn, in the entire Cumberland Valley. It was in the heart of Nashville. Here, in 1805, Aaron Burr was entertained, and Jackson often was a guest. In 1813, his encounter with

²¹⁴The Knoxville Gazette, March 13, 1795.

²¹⁵The Impartial Review, April 7, 1808.

²¹⁶Patnam, History of Middle Tennessee, p. 649.

the Bentons, in which he was shot in the arm, took place on the porch, and after his great victory at New Orleans in 1815 a banquet was held here in his honor.²¹⁷

It is also very probable that Louis Philippe of France and his two brothers stopped at this inn on their "tour of the west" in 1797.

The "Impartial Review" of Nashville for 1806 and 1807 contains several advertisements of hotels in other cities. James Rawlins, in Gallatin, C. Talbot, in Franklin, at the "Sign of the Indian Queen," and the Chester House, at Jonesboro, offer "the best at the lowest prices," while the Eagle Tavern, at Richmond, even begs to "supply the needs of the traveller."²¹⁸

STAGE-COACHES.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century stage-coaches began to make regular runs between well established centers. These came first in the eastern part of the State, being extensions of the Virginia routes. The old records of Sullivan County show that in the year 1795 the court ordered nine roads built. When, later, the stage routes were established, there was one from Abingdon to Blountville; one from Blountville down to Holston by way of Kingsport to Rogersville; and another over to Jonesboro. "Each driver had about twenty-five miles for a run. From Abingdon to Kingsport there were four relays. The mail was carried on the regular stages under the driver's seat."²¹⁹

The road-bill on page 83 was discovered by Judge John DeWitt in the papers of General Winchester, and gives the rates of passage, routes and distances from Nashville to Lexington, Kentucky, and from Nashville to Washington City:

AARON BURR IN TENNESSEE.

History gives us records of several famous trips through Tennessee in the pioneer days. Aaron Burr was in Tennessee twice after he killed Alexander Hamilton. The last time was in December of 1806. Putnam quotes from the "Impartial Review" of the week, saying:

"December 27th, Col. Burr embarked from this place for New Orleans on Monday last, with two large flat-boats which did not appear to be loaded."²²⁰

These boats were built on Stone River at the Clover Bot-

²¹⁷American Historical Magazine, Vol. VII., 1902, p. 174.

²¹⁸The Impartial Review, September 20, 1806.

²¹⁹Oliver Taylor, Historic Sullivan, pp. 226-227.

²²⁰Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, p. 579.

PARKER'S Road Bill.

—63—

<p>FROM NASHVILLE, To WINCHESTER, Virginia.</p> <p>To Hayborough, (Harris) 6 6 Brewet's, 6 12 Hendertop's, 3 15 Davis's, 3 18 Littlepie's, 2 20 Callisto, (eagle) 6 26 Taylor's, 2 1 28 Stamp's, 3 1 32 Stubbleheld's, 9 41 Dunbar's, 2 43 Dixon's Spring, 6 49 Walton's, 12 61 Gordon's, 4 65 Shaw's, 12 87 Taylor's, 5 92 Alexander's, 9 101 Obeys River, 31 132 Crab Orchard, 12 144 Bell's, 12 156 S W Point, (Clark) 4 172 Stone's, 2 174 Hodgkin's, 9 183 Wright's, 12 195 Miller's, 11 206 Knoxville, (Hayne) 5 211 Kern's, 8 219 Goodson's, 9 228 Iron works, 13 251 Panther Springs 2 259 Roddy's, 12 271 Gohrie's, 11 282 Purdom's, 5 287 Greenville, (Dinwiddie) 9 296 Starfield's, 9 305 Jonesborough, (Chesler) 16 321 Hammer's, 7 328 Marsingale's, 5 305 Bickman's, 14 347 Capt. Craig's, 12 360 Abington, (McCormick) 1 361 Greenway's, 6 367 Dylart's, 5 372 Maj. Bowen's, 15 387 Atkins's, 22 399 Wythe C. H. (Hay) 9 418 Fort-Chiffel, 9 427 Ellis's, 10 427 Boston, (Wagle) 10 447 Diapers's, 8 455</p>	<p>To Montgomery Court-House, 11 466 Way's, 12 478 Lewis's, (Flying Angel) 14 492 Amsterdan, (Boits) 16 508 Fincastle, (Hotts Lockard) 5 513 Pattenburgh, (J. Smith) 11 525 Bailey's, near natural edge. 13 537 Lexington, (Shield, eagle) 13 550 Red-Houte, (Casubera) 10 560 Fairfield, (Moor) 1 561 Greenville, (Steel) 12 573 Staunton, (Edmundson) 12 585 Fanger's, 8 593 Harry's, 10 603 Hezeltown, (Overly) 7 610 Bright's, 5 615 Stone-House, (Higgins) 12 617 New-Market, (Leary) 2 629 Postock's, 9 638 Woodstock, 12 651 Strasburgh, (Hessman) 12 663 Middletown, (Campbell) 5 668 Stevesburgh, (Moyer) 5 672 Winchester, (buff, Lark) 8 681</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—O.—</p> <p>FROM NASHVILLE, To WASHINGTON [CITY.]</p> <p>The Winchester road as far as Green- ville, then</p> <p>To Bellville, 6 579 Wayneborough, 12 590 Rock-Fish-Gap, 2 593 Hay's, 3 596 Black's, 3 599 Chapman White's, 8 607 Owen's, 3 610 Nichie's, 6 616 Fletchers, 3 619 Smith's, 9 628 Douglis's, 8 636 Orange Court-House, 12 648 Clark's, 4 652 Raccoon Ford, 18 662 Stevesburgh, 7 669 Widdow Wittiff's, 14 673 Germantown, 7 680 Barnert's, 7 687 Red-House, 9 696 Centreville, 24 710 Fairfax Court-House, 8 718 Potomac Bridge, 11 729 Washington, [City] 5 734</p>	<p>FROM NASHVILLE, To Lexington, by Danville.</p> <p>To Hayborough (Harris) 4 8 Watten's, on Antioch creek 8 14 Cavet's, edge of the barrens, 12 27 Cheek's, 3 30 Keathley's, 16 48 Skyles's, three Springs, 10 56 Big-Bairn river, 6 62 Rees's [very good house] 1 63 Widow Mitchell's 4 67 Lepping Springs, (Hullard) 7 74 Lockett's, 8 82 Prawn's Knob, (Merrison) 6 88 Bent Water [N. Cates] 6 94 Over-Spring, 5 99 Martin's, 3 102 Little-Bairn river, 2 106 Great river [Bidsbottom] 8 112 Leggs's, 9 121 Mahan's, 9 120 Rolling Fork of Salt river 6 136 Col. Gibb's, 4 140 Clalona's, 10 150 Ewing's, 8 158 Danville [Dellam, Clemens] 12 170 Kentucky river, 13 189 Nicholasville [Netherland] 8 190 Lexington [Bradley, Wilson] 12 203</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>FROM NASHVILLE, To Lexington, by Frankfort.</p> <p>Road by Danville to Lockett's, then To Kelly's, among the knobs, 7 89 Green river [Hunsford] 15 104 Bacon Creek, 10 112 Widow Brahear's, 10 124 Hodgins's, 4 128 Rolling Fork of Salt river 16 144 Bairdstown [Roach] 12 156 Shelbyville [M'Caughy] 37 193 Shannon's, 9 204 Frankfort [Love, Bush] 17 221 Leesburgh [Conron, Daily] 11 132 Lexington [Bradley, Wilson] 11 143</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>From Bairdstown to Frankfort, direct.</p> <p>To Middleburgh [Edwards] 12 168 Salt river, 10 178 Bridgewater's, 4 182 Clark's, 31 204 Frankfort [Love, Bush] 4 208</p>
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NASHVILLE.

I. A. PARKER, of this town, who now occupies the house, &c. formerly in the possession of John Somerville, tenders his services as an inn-keeper, to the public in general, and his former customers in particular, and with pleasure announces to them, that the situation of his house, stables, &c. together with the most plentiful supply of every thing (foreign and domestic) which the country affords, emboldens him to assure all Genteel Guests (and no others are welcome) who may please to call on him, that he will most studiously attend to their accommodation, and hopes it will be such as to give the most entire satisfaction.

September, 1804.

tom race track, under contract with Andrew Jackson, according to Mr. Putnam. Burr was arrested in Natchez a few months later.

DR. J. R. BEDFORD.

Another interesting trip in 1807 was made by water from Nashville to New Orleans by a physician named J. R. Bedford. He kept a journal, which has been published.²²¹ He states that he "went on board the barge 'Mary' with Doctor Claiborne," after he had spent the winter at Nashville, and, floating down the Cumberland River, "passed Clarksville on the right and Palmyra on the left." The route he followed was on down the Cumberland, the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans.

LOUIS PHILIPPE IN TENNESSEE.

One of the most noted of all the travelers passing through early Tennessee was Louis Philippe, with his two brothers. He escaped from France into Austria with Dumouriez during the Terror in 1793. These three "sons of Orleans" were in the United States from 1796 to 1800, during which time they visited much of the country. President Washington planned their itinerary through the West and South. They listened to his farewell address, remained a few days with him at Mt. Vernon, and then rode on horseback down the Shenandoah Valley, stopping at Abingdon and Rogersville, and reaching Knoxville the last of April, 1797. They called on Governor Sevier at the Tellico Block-house, ate wild turkey for the first time, were the guests of John Watts, the Cherokee half-breed chief, saw an Indian game of ball on the site of old Fort Loudon, and gave six gallons of brandy as a prize to the winning side. At Southwest Point they swam their horses over the Obey River; at Fort Blount they ate smoked bear grease and Indian corn; and early in May George Colbert, their Chickasaw guide, brought them to Nashville, where they remained two days "at Jesse Maxwell's house," it being "court week." They described Nashville as being "a little town of one hundred houses." From Nashville they traveled on toward New Orleans. Louis Philippe afterwards became famous in France, ruling as the "Citizen King" in that country from 1830 to 1848.

RIVER COMMERCE.

It is not an accident that when the Great Seal of the State was ordered in 1801 provision was made "that in the lower

²²¹Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 48.

part of the lower semicircle there be the word 'Commerce' and the "figure of a boat and boatman." The rivers played a much greater part in transportation in proportion to Tennessee's population in the early days than they do today. There were three kinds of boats in common use on the rivers before the days of Fulton's steamboat,—the keel-boat, the barge and the flat-boat. The flat-boats were huge, unwieldy things that floated with the current and could be but poorly guided by long sweeps at either end. They often carried whole families, who built cabins on the boat and lived in them as they floated down the rivers to their new homes. Sometimes live stock was carried in pens on the other end of the boat. When the destination was reached, the boat was torn up and the lumber used for building the new house. These flat-boats were also used for floating cargoes of grain, iron castings, lumber and other unwieldy produce down the rivers. The cargo was sold and the return trip was made overland. The keel-boats and the barges were much alike, the main difference being that the "barge had a low house lengthwise between the gangways" and was, therefore, much better adapted for the taking of passengers. The keel-boats were "long, slender, and sharp, fore and aft, with a narrow gangway just within the gunwale for the boatman as they poled or warped up the stream when not aided by the eddies that made their oars available." They made the return trip up the river, as well as down the stream with the current.²²³

John McFarlan, on June 12, 1795, inserted this advertisement in the "Knoxville Gazette":

"Public notice is given to all persons who wish to sail from this place to New Orleans in either of my boats, the "Mary," burden twenty-five tons, and the "Little Polly," of fifteen tons. They will be ready to sail by the first of March, next, (the waters answering). Those who have contracted with the owner for freight or passage are directed to attend previous to that period."²²⁴

Five months later the same paper printed the following letter from a Sumner County man to a friend in Knoxville:

"Sunday there left this place for New Orleans Rawleigh Hogan in a boat of twenty-one tons burden, laden with whiskey, bar and cast iron, bacon, lime and many other articles, the productions of this country. The same day there left here four boats of fifteen tons each, commanded by Alexander Moore. They were loaded with bar and cast iron and a variety of articles belonging to the inhabi-

²²²Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 265.

²²³Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 64. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, p. 537.

²²⁴The Knoxville Gazette, January 23, 1795.

tants of Mero District, which from their bulk or weight could not be transported through the wilderness."²²⁵

By 1805 there was a well-established boat schedule between Nashville and New Orleans, merchant barges making regular trips, consuming about ninety days each way,—six months for the round trip. The "Impartial Review" of Nashville for 1805, 1806 and 1807 contains many notices of the sailings of such boats as the "Fast-going Mary," the "Willing Maid" and the barge "Industry," ready to "take on freight and passengers for New Orleans and points down the river." Governor Blount, in sending heavy supplies to General Robertson in the early nineties, asked that a man of his choosing take charge of the boat and cargo and bring it safely down the rivers, as the "water was low" and he "feared the shoals."²²⁶

The smaller rivers were used, too, by the early settlers. Reference has already been made to the tolls on the "Chucky" and the trip of the "Adventure" of Donelson down the Holston. The Cumberland was navigable clear into Kentucky for the small boats of that time, and Aaron Burr built his boats on Stone River, near Jackson's "Hermitage." It was quicker and safer to travel in a canoe or small dugout down the rivers from settlement to settlement, and furs and produce could be easily carried before the roads were well worked out.

THE POSTAL SYSTEM.

The early pioneers now and then wrote letters to their friends in the neighboring settlements and sent them by travelers or acquaintances riding that way. These letters were occasional, their delivery was irregular,—no uniform price was paid for the carrying,—and so often were they lost that in many cases, if the news was important, a second copy was sent by another bearer soon after the first was dispatched. The letter was written in ink, with a quill pen, on good, durable paper, imported from North Carolina, Philadelphia or New Orleans. It was folded over and sealed with a wax wafer, and the name and address of the one for whom it was intended was written on the outside. Before the regular post-routes were established, military men and officers, like Governor Blount, had to hire express-riders, as they were called, at whatever price could be agreed upon,—the more urgent the need and the greater the danger, the higher the price. Governor Blount, writing to General James Robertson on October 8, 1794, sent the letter by "Captain Washington, a Chickasaw

²²⁵The Knoxville Gazette, June 19, 1795.

²²⁶Robertson's Letters, Vol. I.

chief, a runner from Opoia Mingo," and among other things, he said:

"I do not think it prudent to write more fully, lest the letter should fall into improper hands, as the bearer comes through the wilderness alone."²²⁷

This shows the uncertainty of a letter's reaching its destination, and there are many complaints of losses and delays.

The following extracts of letters sent from William Blount, governor of the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio, give us some interesting information about the prices charged and the risks run by the express-riders:

"If you have occasion to send your orders to the different colonels by express, you may give as much as a dollar per day to an express-rider, but take care to have a well-stated account, with receipt drawn on a quarter of a sheet of paper at least."²²⁸

As the Indians became more hostile and the danger greater, the price increased:

"Castleman says he was to have \$35.00 for delivering your letter to me, and you were silent as to what he was to do for that sum, so that I have been forced to give him \$20.00 to return to you with this letter. In future, when your letters may require answers, it will be best that you contract for the deliverance and the return of the answer."²²⁹

"This letter comes by express by Samuel Dearmond and James Scott, who are to be allowed the usual price, \$50.00. It comes unsealed to Colonel Winchester for his perusal, and he will seal and forward it by Scott and Dearmond."²³⁰

James Russell was one of the riders in whom Governor Blount had considerable confidence, and he evidently employed him most of his time carrying letters. Three extracts in regard to him, taken from Blount's correspondence to Robertson, tell a graphic story of the danger to which an express-rider was exposed before Tennessee became a State:

"I approve of your correspondence with the Commandant of Sans la Grace (New Madrid), considering the difficulties Russell has to encounter. I do not think the price is too high, and he is the best express I have ever seen. I have paid him agreeable to your bargain for both trips."²³¹

"Your letter of the sixth of February, sent express by James Russell, was handed to me to-day, much stained with his blood, by Mr. Shannon, who accompanied him. Russell was wounded by a party of Indians, who ambuscaded him about eighteen miles from Southwest Point, which he with difficulty reached, and was obliged to

²²⁷Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., October 8, 1794.

²²⁸Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., September 6, 1792.

²²⁹Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., October 29, 1793.

²³⁰Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., November 11, 1794.

²³¹Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., December 2, 1792.

continue there for several days before he could be removed. He is now under the hands of a skillful surgeon and it is hoped will recover. His fifty dollars have been dearly earned, but instead of complaining he may rejoice that he has so often escaped."²³²

It will be noted that Russell's injury delayed Robertson's letter, and it was twenty-eight days in reaching Governor Blount, while a week was considered ample time between Nashville and Knoxville. Another letter written by Robertson on the 15th did not reach Blount till the 27th, the bearer, Mr. Williams, being delayed "by the loss of his horse at the Cumberland River."²³³

The third extract in regard to James Russell relieves our anxiety as to his condition, for it is dated more than a year after the time of his injury:

"I have agreed with James Russell that he shall be paid by the United States for going express with Colbert's and my dispatches to you, together with letters for the agent, and bringing answers, thirty-five dollars."²³⁴

Many of these letters were very important. The news of the day was often sent, as newspapers were very scarce and hard to obtain, and important papers were often enclosed and sealed in the packet of letters. Sometimes a letter was written to be circulated, or sent "round robin," containing a man's views on certain political or economic questions. Such a one is the following, written by Governor Blount from the Beaver Creek Iron Works²³⁵ to General Robertson at Nashville:

"I have written two letters since my arrival here, one to Mr. Andrew Jackson and the other to General Winchester, both political, and both of which I wish you to see, as I have not time to go over their contents. [in this letter.]"²³⁶

A receipt was generally required of the express-rider when a letter was given him,—though this was not always done,—but this did not guarantee its safe delivery. The form of the receipt was like the following:

"Received, March 29, 1797, from Edward Teel, a letter directed to the sheriff of Hawkins County, which I promise to deliver.

RICHARD C. MITCHELL."²³⁷

The second Continental Congress, in 1775, appointed a committee to devise a postal system for all of the colonies, and Benjamin Franklin was appointed postmaster with authority

²³²Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., March 8, 1794.

²³³Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., December 4, 1794.

²³⁴Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., April 20, 1795.

²³⁵The Beaver Creek Iron Works were located on a branch of the Clinch River in the present Roane County.

²³⁶Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., April 24, 1797.

²³⁷Sevier's Letters, 1797.

to establish a line of postoffices from Falmouth, Maine, to Savannah, Georgia, and as many cross-roads as he should deem advisable. In 1792 the rates of postage were fixed as follows:

"For thirty miles and under, 5 cents; over thirty miles and not exceeding sixty, 8 cents; over sixty and not exceeding one hundred, 10 cents; and so on up four hundred and fifty miles and over, for which the charge was 25 cents."²³⁸

This same year routes were established as far south as Hawkins County, Southwest Territory, and thence to Richmond on the east and Danville, Kentucky, on the west. An advertisement in the "Knoxville Gazette" of December 12, 1792, reads:

"The Postmaster General announces through the [Knoxville] Gazette that the United States Government has established a Post Office at the Hawkins County Court House where mail arrives once a fortnight, thence to Danville, Ky., eastern route to Wythe, Montgomery, Rockbridge, Augusta and Richmond, for the greatest distance the postage of a single letter being not more than eighteen pence."

Private parties were carrying letters and papers on definite routes even before this in eastern Tennessee. On October 6, 1792, the "Knoxville Gazette" prints an announcement of John Chisolm:

"The subscriber will establish a post from Knoxville to Jefferson Court House, thence to Greenville Court House, thence to Jonesboro, thence to Abingdon, and return by Sullivan Court House and Hawkins Court House to Knoxville, once every twenty-one days for one year, to commence the first Monday of November, next, or as soon as \$250.00 shall be subscribed for defraying the expenses, to be paid at the expiration of every three months. No subscriptions under \$2.00 received unless money is paid down. Newspapers and letters carried and left at the nearest court house for subscribers without any other charge. The subscription paper is lodged in the hands of Mr. Roulstone, the Printer."

The sum was evidently subscribed, for three weeks later the "Gazette" announces the post-route as established, and urges the public to subscribe for its paper, which would be "left at the nearest town to which they reside, or at any place on the road the post may ride."²³⁹

In the "Knoxville Gazette" for July 31, 1794, Thomas Pickering, postmaster-general, inserted the following announcement in regard to the Abingdon-Knoxville mail, dating it at "Philadelphia General Post Office, June 10, 1794":

"Until the first day of September, next, proposals will be received by Charles McClung at Knoxville for carrying the mail of the United

²³⁹Knoxville Gazette, November 3, 1792.

²³⁸The International Encyclopaedia, Vol. XVI., p 308.

States between that place and Abingdon, Virginia, once in two weeks. To leave Knoxville every other Saturday at six o'clock A. M., going via Jefferson Court House, Greeneville and Jonesboro, arriving at Abingdon the next Tuesday evening by six. Returning, leave Abingdon next morning by six, and, going by same route, arrive at Knoxville the next Saturday evening at six. If any alteration is to be made, allowing at least eight days for the trip. Half an hour is to be allowed for opening and closing the mail at each post office on the road. For every hour's delay in arriving at Abingdon and Knoxville after the time which shall be fixed in the contract, the contractor is to forfeit one dollar. The contract is to be in force until the last day of December, 1795."

At the close of the century the postoffice at Blountville became important as a distributing point for mail to the south and west. Kingsport, too, and Jonesboro each were on regular lines and came in for their share of the traffic.²⁴⁰

After John Sevier became governor of the new State, he wrote the following letter to the postmaster-general, dating it at Knoxville, January 1, 1797:

"Several times our post rider has been disappointed by not meeting with and receiving the mail at Abingdon; delays and irregularities too often happen in some quarter. A letter from the Department of War dated August 13th only arrived here on the 11th instant. This came round by the way of Cumberland, and by the hand of Mr. John Deaderick as a private conveyance; another from the same department of the 29th of September brought by the mail on the same day. Several other failures in letters to and from this place has taken place. I have taken the liberty to give a short sketch of the foregoing circumstances in order that you may be able to take measures for remedying the defect least it should prove more prejudicial and injurious to the public and individuals."²⁴¹

He wrote practically the same complaint to Blount, Cocke and Jackson, Tennessee's congressmen, hoping that they could remedy the irregularities in the postal service from which the East Tennesseans were suffering.

Almost a year went by, and Sevier again wrote to Andrew Jackson and the other congressmen in regard to the poor mail service. This letter was written at Knoxville, the capital of the State, and dated February 7, 1798. It reads as follows:

"This day our mail arrived without meeting with that of Abingdon. This is either the third or fourth time it has failed since you left here for Congress. I am not able to account for such neglect, but it is essentially necessary that it should be inquired into and remedied, and I make no doubt you will take such measures as may be necessary.

The disappointments occasioned by such neglect is often attended with very great difficulties, and at times not easily surmounted. Both public and private suffer on the occasion, and the public faith in the office entirely destroyed. I wrote last summer to the Post Master

²⁴⁰O. Taylor. *Historic Sullivan*, p. 234.

²⁴¹Sevier's Letters, January 1, 1797.

General, who then promised to have the neglect rectified, but it has become much more irregular of late than heretofore.^{724c}

The Nashville "Impartial Review" of July 12, 1806, gives the following announcement of the postmaster-general:

"Proposals for carrying mails of the United States on the following post-roads will be received at the General Post Office until the first day of August, next, inclusive:

In Tennessee.

69. From Lebanon by Kavenaugh and Carthage to Mt. Granger once in two weeks. Leave Lebanon every other Tuesday at six A. M., and arrive at Mt. Granger by six P. M. Leave Mt. Granger every other Wednesday at six A. M., and arrive at Lebanon by six P. M.

70. From Nashville to Charlotte once a week. Leave Nashville every Friday at six A. M., and arrive at Charlotte by noon. Leave Charlotte every Friday at one P. M. and arrive at Nashville by eight P. M.

71. From Burville by Walnut Cove and Chitwood on the turnpike road to Wayne, or Pulaski Court House, once in two weeks. Leave Burville every other Tuesday at one P. M., and arrive at Wayne Court House Wednesday by six P. M. Leave Wayne Court House every other Monday at six P. M., and arrive at Burville on Tuesday by eleven A. M.

72. From Palmyra by Stuart Court House to Eddyville once in two weeks. Leave Palmyra every other Saturday at six A. M. and arrive at Eddyville on Sunday by noon. Leave Eddyville every other Thursday at noon and arrive at Palmyra on Friday by six P. M.

In Mississippi Territory.

73. From Nashville by Franklin, Occochope and McIntoshville to Walnut Hills once a week. Leave Nashville every Friday at five A. M., and arrive at Walnut Hills the next Thursday by six P. M. Leave Walnut Hills every Friday at five A. M. and arrive at Nashville on Thursday by six P. M.

74. From Walnut Hills by Grindston Ford, Port Gibson, Greenville, Huntston, Washington, Natchez, Fort Adams, Pinckneyville, Thompson's Creek, Buller's Plains, Baton Rouge, Iberville, Mansher, Abberville, La., Forch, German Coast and Red Church to New Orleans, Leave Walnut Hills every Friday at five A. M., arrive at Natchez on Saturday at five P. M. and at New Orleans the next Thursday by ten A. M. Returning, leave New Orleans every Friday at two P. M., arrive at Natchez on Tuesday at six P. M. and at Walnut Hills on Thursday by six P. M."

When the letters lay for some time in the postoffices and were not called for, they were advertised in several issues of the nearest papers. The addresses are suggestive and often far from definite. Note the following, which were advertised in the "Knoxville Gazette" as remaining uncalled-for in the Abingdon office:

⁷²⁴Sevier's Letters, February 7, 1798.

"Robert Simpson, Lead Mines,
 "Charles Deyerle, Russell County,
 "Thomas Crow, Jr., Head of Holston,
 "Thomas Clark, Holston Iron Works,
 "William Coda, Sullivan Court House,
 "Edward Baker, Powell's Valley,
 "John Howell Jones, Near Salt Works."⁴³

It was not until after the War of 1812 that the postal system became efficient at all in Tennessee, and even then the mails were infrequent, often lost and subject to many delays. Edward Thursby, of Nashville, advertised in the "Impartial Review" of January 31, 1807, offering a reward of fifty dollars, "for the recovery of some bank notes dated at New Orleans, Charleston, Philadelphia and Washington," which had been "forwarded per the mail from Nashville for Philadelphia on the second of September" and which had "never come to hand." W. L. Brown, of Palmyra, made this entry in his diary on September 3, 1812:

"Last night I received the news of General Hull's capture. A horrid torpor appears to have seized people of Tennessee. Patriotism is extinct."⁴⁴

The surrender of General William Hull was on the sixteenth of August, and the news did not reach Palmyra until September the second, two weeks later. Dr. Morgan Brown, the father of W. L. Brown, kept a store, a mill, and an iron furnace and forge, and the news would have reached him as soon as any one in that neighborhood.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

The first newspaper published west of the Alleghanies was the "Pittsburg Gazette," which was established in 1786 and edited by John Scull. The second was the "Kentucky Gazette" (1787), which was published at Lexington by William Bradford, who brought his printing press down the Ohio River on a flat-boat and cut some of his type from dogwood bushes. The third was printed first at Rogersville, Tennessee, in 1791, (because the Indians were troublesome about Knoxville) and was called the "Knoxville Gazette." It was printed by George Roulstone.⁴⁵ It was a double sheet, each page being ten by sixteen inches in size, having advertisements and reading matter on all pages. The printers, George Roulstone and R. Ferguson, thus announce their first number from Rogersville:

⁴³The Knoxville Gazette, April 10, 1794.

⁴⁴Diary of W. L. Brown, September 3, 1812.

⁴⁵American Historical Magazine, Vol. I., 1896, p. 243. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, Vol. III., p. 229.

"We have now the pleasure of presenting the public with the first number of the "Knoxville Gazette." . . . The "Knoxville Gazette" shall be published once in every two weeks. Each subscriber to pay two dollars per annum, one-half on subscribing, the remaining half in six months."²⁴⁶

On Wednesday, October 10, of the next year, we can read the following in regard to the removal to Knoxville:

Moved to Knoxville.

"The removal of the printing office from Hawkins [County] Court House to this place prevented the publishing of this paper till this day."²⁴⁷

This paper soon had a good circulation, and copies were sent by the Knoxville citizens to their friends in the East and North, as well as to the Cumberland settlement and New Orleans. Governor Blount, in 1796, writing to General Robertson at Nashville, enclosed a copy, saying:

The enclosed number of the "Knoxville Gazette" will give you all the news respecting the Cherokees.²⁴⁸

The people of the country at this time depended largely on this paper for circulating the news, and many items were sent in for publication. Another letter of Blount's to Robertson contains the following:

"By the publication in the "Knoxville Gazette," number twenty-five, you will see that the defenders of Buchanan's Station are handed to the world with due credit. I have detained the bearer until this day for the purpose of collecting from the Station the particulars of their repulse."²⁴⁹

The postage on these papers was cheap in comparison to that of letters, being only "one cent for each copy to any place within the Southwest Territory, or any distance not exceeding one hundred miles," and "one cent and a half for any greater distance." The subscription price of two dollars did not include the postage.²⁵⁰

In 1801 the fourth General Assembly of the State ordered the "tax lists published in the "Gazette," three times at least, the printer to be allowed 66 cents each for the printing,"²⁵¹ and this practice became common later and included the other papers of the State.

In 1798 George Roulstone founded the "Knoxville Register," and two years later he and Parrington published another

²⁴⁶The Knoxville Gazette, Vol. I., No. 1, November 5, 1791.

²⁴⁷The Knoxville Gazette, October 6, 1792.

²⁴⁸Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., March 19, 1796.

²⁴⁹Robertson's Letters, Vol. I., October 17, 1792.

²⁵⁰The Knoxville Gazette, November 1, 1794.

²⁵¹Acts of the Fourth General Assembly, November 14, 1801.

paper, the "Genius of Liberty." Knoxville, therefore, had three weekly papers by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1804 George Roulstone was succeeded as editor on the "Knoxville Gazette" by a printer named Wilson, who came to Nashville in 1818 and published the "Nashville Gazette".²⁵²

In 1798 Blount wrote to Robertson as follows:

"I am glad to hear you are about to get a paper published at Nashville, and as the publisher is to come from Kentucky, there is a well founded hope that he is not a ministerial printer."²⁵³

This is probably a slight commentary on the controversial nature of the ministers of that time.

The reference was to a man named Henkle, who printed in 1797 at Nashville the first numbers of the "Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser." The next year this paper was sold to Benjamin Bradford, who renamed it the "Clarion" and transferred it to his cousin, Thomas G. Bradford. Like the "Knoxville Gazette," this paper had four pages about ten by fourteen inches, and was published weekly. In 1807 it was enlarged and became the "Clarion and Tennessee Gazette," finally being discontinued in 1824.²⁵⁴

The "Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository" was established at Nashville in 1805 by Thomas Easton. It also had four pages, which were a little larger than those of the ordinary paper, being about fourteen by twenty inches. This paper published the following announcement in the issues of its second year:

"This paper is published every Saturday at two dollars in advance, or two dollars and a half at the end of the year. Notes will be required of all those who do not pay in advance. Advertisements not exceeding sixteen lines entered for seventy-five cents the first time, and twenty-five cents for each other time. They must be accompanied by the money."²⁵⁵

The "Impartial Review" was printed for only two or three years, being discontinued because it did not pay heavy dividends.

Thomas Bradford started a monthly magazine in 1809 in his "Clarion" office, which he called "The Museum," but it, too, was short-lived, being too expensive. It contained thirty-two pages, with two columns to the page, and sold for only two dollars a year. It did not last even a year.²⁵⁴

²⁵²DeWitt in American Historical Magazine, Vol. VI., p. 22.

²⁵³Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., March 19, 1796.

²⁵⁴Clayton, History of Davidson County, p. 229.

²⁵⁵Impartial Review, November 1, 1806.

PAPER.

The "Knoxville Gazette" seems to have been the most successful of all of these early Tennessee papers, but from the files of the State Historical Society there are a number of copies missing. One of the causes was the scarcity of paper, which was at first imported from Philadelphia or North Carolina. William Macklin, Secretary of State of Tennessee, in 1796, complains of the shortage of paper, saying:

"We can't obtain any military blanks till Mr. Roulstone (printer) returns from North Carolina, as there appears to be no probability of procuring paper at this time sufficient for that purpose."²⁵⁶

Gottlieb Shober, in 1806, had a paper mill near Salem, Stokes County, North Carolina, and he advertised in the "Knoxville Gazette" in that year that he had an "assortment of writing, printing and wrapping paper" which he wished to dispose of "on reasonable terms."²⁵⁷

About this same time a Mr. James Burnett, at Beaver Creek, Barren County, Kentucky, also advertised blank books, writing paper and different kinds of legal forms for sale at his paper mill, and he was willing to take in exchange old cotten and linen rags and clothes at three dollars per one hundred pounds.²⁵⁸

The eighth General Assembly passed an act in November, 1909, "to encourage the manufacture of paper," as follows:

'Be it enacted that all persons immediately in the employment of the manufacturing of paper in any of the mills erected within this State, or that may be employed in any mill hereafter to be erected, be, and they are hereby exempted from working on the roads or highways, and from attending musters in the counties, regiments or battallions to which they may belong."²⁵⁹

One of the striking things about the letters, documents, and even the old newspapers of this time, is the good condition of the paper on which they are written. It still has a good body, is tough, and has not faded after all these years as much as the paper of to-day will do in as many months.

THE PROFESSIONS.

The professional men followed close upon the heels of the first explorers; in fact, some of the early explorers were professional men seeking adventure and new lands. People became sick and called for physicians; their land boundaries

²⁵⁶Sevier's Letters, September 4, 1796.

²⁵⁷Knoxville Gazette, November 1, 1806.

²⁵⁸Impartial Review, January 31, 1807.

²⁵⁹Laws of Tennessee. Scott's Edition, Vol. I., p. 1165.

had to be laid out and they needed surveyors; they became involved in disputes over these land claims and demanded lawyers. As the settlements grew, the people could afford dentists, and even men of leisure, who bred and raced fine, blooded horses, and others who hired out husky negroes to labor by the day or week.

LAWYERS

We know that Andrew Jackson and John McNairy came to Jonesboro, Washington County, from North Carolina, in 1788, and were "admitted to practice as attorneys" in the Washington County Court. On that same day, the twelfth of May, five men, another of whom was Archibald Roane, later governor of the State, were admitted to the bar in that one-story, log court-house, twenty-four feet square, at Jonesboro.²⁵⁰

From that day Tennessee has never lacked able lawyers, and some of the greatest pioneers in Tennessee's history have been members of the legal profession. Hugh L. White, who founded Knoxville, David Campbell, Willie Blount, another governor of the State, John Overton and Thomas Benton, all of whom became prominent in their later lives, began their careers practicing law in Tennessee. More than fifty men had been admitted to the bar in Davidson County alone before the War of 1812 had closed.²⁵¹

William Tatham, in 1793, laid down twelve good rules which he would follow "for the good of his clients" in Knoxville and vicinity. He promised "not to turn a deaf ear to any man because his purse was empty," and "he would be faithful and just and not unfaithful to himself, and not unmindful to the cause of humanity."²⁵² Good rules, indeed, are these for all of us to follow.

There must have been several men well acquainted with legal matters in the original Cumberland settlement, for in the Cumberland Compact, drawn up May 1, 1780, provision was made for a court and judges and persons to try cases, and land disputes did arise almost immediately. Thomas Claiborne inserted his card in the "Impartial Review" in 1807 as wishing to "practice law in the courts of Davidson and adjoining counties." Another lawyer calls attention to the fact that he has had experience in Virginia and is ready to give attention to all matters.²⁵³ And the next year Howell

²⁵⁰Allison. *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 5. Acts of Washington County Court, 1788.

²⁵¹Clayton. *History of Davidson County*, p. 97.

²⁵²Knoxville Gazette, April 20, 1793.

²⁵³Impartial Review, May 9, 1807.

Tatum advertises that he is available in his "office on Cedar Street, near Cedar Knob,"²⁶⁴ for land cases only," and that "the applicant must be prepared to meet the charge," which would "be in proportion to the importance of the case."²⁶⁵

SURVEYORS.

Of all the early surveyors, Daniel Smith, who built his famous "Rock Castle" in Sumner County about 1784, was probably the most noted. He was an accomplished civil engineer, and not only helped to establish the Northern boundary line of the State, but was the "author of a geography of Tennessee which contained the first map of the State made from actual surveys."²⁶⁶

We know that Absalom Tatum, Isaac Shelby and Anthony Bledsoe were the commissioners who "ran the line" of the military reservation in 1783, and John Peyton, too, was one of a party of surveyors in Middle Tennessee for whom "Hanging Maw" broke "the land stealer [compass] against a tree."²⁶⁷

Surveyors' advertisements appeared, like other professional cards, in the papers from time to time. Elijah Robertson, of Middle Tennessee, inserted the following notice to surveyors in the "Knoxville Gazette":

"I am ready to superintend and direct the surveying of any lands in the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, that I have engaged to show to any lawful surveyor."²⁶⁸

The tavern keepers have already been mentioned in this chapter. The school teachers and ministers are considered in the last chapter. There were keepers of ferries, who advertised their boats and willingness to serve the public. They were paid by the United States government when United States troops had to cross, and the governor certified to the accuracy of the account. Major Colbert, Indian owner of ferries over the Duck and Tennessee rivers, was paid "four hundred and thirty-two dollars for the ferriage of the Tennessee volunteers in the expedition to and from the Natchez country in 1803 and 1804." Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, wrote Robertson and Colonel Return Meigs, asking whether the sum was sufficient.²⁶⁹ These ferry owners were obliged by law, too, to keep places of entertainment, and were taxed five dollars, the regular "ordinary," or tavern license. This old North Carolina law, which had been re-enacted in

²⁶⁴Now Capitol Hill.

²⁶⁵Impartial Review, July 7, 1808.

²⁶⁶Garrett & Goodpasture, History of Tennessee, pp. 117-118.

²⁶⁷See page 76.

²⁶⁸Knoxville Gazette, April 1, 1792.

²⁶⁹Dearborn to Robertson, Robertson's Letters, Vol. VIII., February 27, 1806.

Tennessee, was repealed in 1801.²⁷⁰ Davidson Academy at Nashville was aided by the income from a ferry over the Cumberland.²⁷¹

T. Overton advertised in 1807 that he had "negroes to hire, among whom" were "several mechanics."²⁷² The paper in which this announcement appears contains many other notices of owners' offering for hire negroes and apprentices. There are, too, in almost every issue announcements from owners of fine horses, such as "Buoy," "Young McKinney Roan," "Royalist," "imported from the English racing stables," "Truxton,"²⁷³ and others, that their stallions are at the "service of the public" at prices ranging from six dollars to fifty. Andrew Jackson's terms for "Truxton" were "Thirty dollars per season, payable in merchantable ginned cotton."²⁷⁴

DENTISTS AND DOCTORS.

Dr. Whitney gave notice in 1808 in Nashville that he cured "scurvey in teeth and gums," took "away bad breath, transplanted artificial teeth as natural as living and rendered living ones as white as ivory, at the Talbot Hotel."²⁷⁵ The old custom of transplanting teeth was quite common at this time. The teeth were taken from a slave, or bought from those willing to sell, and put into the sockets of the lost teeth, but modern dentists say that the operation could not have been a very successful one.

Physicians were among the earliest pioneers in Tennessee. Col. Arthur Campbell, writing to William Preston concerning a boy living near the Virginia-Tennessee line, who had been cut on the skull by an Indian tomahawk in 1774, said:

"I have employed an old man that has some skill to attend him. I wish I could get Dr. Loyd to him. If he cannot come please try if the Doctor could not send me up some medicine with directions."²⁷⁶

Dr. Morgan Brown, who founded Palmyra, near Clarksville, in 1776, began to practice medicine there the year before. When he was absent from home, his son often prescribed remedies, making notes in his diary such as:

January 8, 1805.

"Went to see Mr. Bingham who is sick, and when I came home sent him the medicine, viz:

3 teaspoonfuls of laudenum,
3 teaspoonfuls of spts. sal ammonia,
6 teaspoonfuls of tinct. of saffern.

²⁷⁰Acts of Fourth General Assembly, October 29, 1801

²⁷¹See page 141.

²⁷²Impartial Review, February 7, 1807.

²⁷³"Truxton" was the great race horse of Andrew Jackson. See page

²⁷⁴Impartial Review, April 11, 1807.

²⁷⁵Impartial Review, July 7, 1808.

²⁷⁶Oliver Taylor, Historic Sullivan, p. 31.

January 10th.

Let Nathan Peeble have a purge of jalop and calomel for a negro woman.

January 12th.

Jas. Smith came for some medicine for his child and it was three purges and some oil of rheu.²⁷⁷

February 13th, 1805.

Dressed a wound of Major Ross's Harry for one half a pound of sugar, which I had a sweet cake made of."

Where the homes were isolated and widely scattered, the inmates had to depend a great deal on home medicines and what crude first-aid they could give until a doctor could be secured. A physician's fees were high and he was hard to get at times. John Sevier gives in his diary, which covered a period from 1790 to 1815, more than thirty-five local remedies, formulas and prescriptions for ailing man and beast. While he was in Congress he heard of many new remedies and recorded them in his diary. He wrote down cures,—“sure cures” he often called them,—for headache, vomiting, yellow fever, dropsy, rheumatism, gravel, diarrhoea, tapeworms, sore eyes, “fluenzy, fever and ague, plurisy, apoplexy, indigestion, cancer and worms in children.” Some of the remedies he suggests, such as castor oil, sulphur and aloes, are used to-day, but others are ridiculous, to say the least. The remedy is worse than the ill. This one he prescribes for rheumatism:

“Take a handful of the inside bark of prickly ash about six inches long, the same quantity of red earth worms, and about the same quantity of both those articles of the oil of hog's feet, and stew all together until the worms are desolved. Strain out the sediment and anoint with the oil for Rheumatism.”

The following one for “fever and ague” is quite striking:

“Take three small balls of spider's webb for three mornings in Lyquor or Tea—is a cure for fever and ague or dumb ague.”²⁷⁸

We can understand the stimulating effect of the “Lyquor,” but it is hard to imagine any good effect from the “spider's webbs.”

The stores in the different towns kept a good line of home remedies. James Miller, at Rogersville, in 1792 advertises, among other things, “camphor, assafoetida, aloes, Glauber's salts, Bateman's drops, best rum, brandy, wine and whiskey.”²⁷⁹ In the same year Samuel Cowan, at Jonesboro and

²⁷⁷Diary of W. L. Brown, January 8-15, 1805.

²⁷⁸Sevier's Diary in Heiskell's Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History, pp. 589-592.

²⁷⁹Knoxville Gazette, February 11, 1792.

Knoxville, adds "Haarlem oil, essence of lavender, essence of pennyroyal, tartar emetic, rhubarb, poison aranetta, logwood and madder" to the list.²⁸⁰ And David Deaderick, of Jonesboro and Greeneville, offers at his two stores "British oil, Turlington's balsam, Godfrey's cordial, Peruvian bark, spts. turpentine, spts. hartshorn, mecurial ointment, borax, allum, antimony and Hooper's pills."²⁸¹ All of these stores sold "Buchanan's Family Physician," which seemed to be a household word in those days. Some of the taverns, too, kept medicines together with their stocks of "best wines and liquors." Richard J. Conn announced in 1792 that "medicines generally used in families" could be "had on moderate terms" at his tavern at Abingdon, Virginia.²⁸²

The surgery of the pioneer's time was crude, of course, compared with that of to-day. Bleeding was common for most any ill. Sevier makes note at least twice in his diary that he bled sick people. Nature took her course with the maimed and wounded, and often restored the patient in spite of the covering with poultices and home-made plasters and drenchings with rum and whiskey.

In one of the Draper Manuscripts is an account of a Dr. Patrick Vance's treatment for scalped persons. He discovered it in 1776 while third surgeon among the men quartered at Long Island in the upper Holston River. He bored holes in the skull in order to create a new flesh covering for the exposed bone. On being called away, he taught James Robertson how to perform the operation. He declared:

"I have found that a flat-pointed, straight awl is the best instrument to bore with, as the skull is thick and somewhat difficult to penetrate. When the awl is nearly through the instrument should be borne more lightly upon. The time to quit boring is when a reddish fluid appears on the point of the awl. I bore at first about one inch apart, and as the flesh appears to rise in these holes, I bore a number more between the first and second, etc. The scalped head cures slowly. It skins remarkably slow, generally taking two years."²⁸³

Dr. Felix Robertson said that Dr. James White was the first of the medical profession to settle at Nashville, and that he came about 1784.²⁸⁴ Dr. Robertson himself was the first white child born at Nashville, and as he was the son of James Robertson, and was born soon after the party arrived in 1780 and spent most of his life there, he was in a good position to know. Dr. Robertson began to practice medicine in Nash-

²⁸⁰Knoxville Gazette, August 11, 1792.

²⁸¹Knoxville Gazette, July 14, 1792.

²⁸²Knoxville Gazette, April 21, 1792.

²⁸³Oliver Taylor, *Historic Sullivan*, p. 65.

²⁸⁴A. V. Goodpasture in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 282.

ville while a young man, and won some distinction in his profession. Dr. J. R. Bedford rented his office during the winter of 1807, while Robertson was in Philadelphia. His announcement is as follows:

"Dr. J. R. Bedford occupies the shop of Dr. Felix Robertson, and proposes to exercise in the practice of medicine. He therefore tenders his services as a physician to the city of Nashville and vicinity. As to any claim in public patronage to which merit may entitle him, he awaits free of apprehension the decision of experience."²⁸⁵

In the following April Dr. Bedford went down the Cumberland on a barge to New Orleans, and Dr. Robertson returned and again resumed his practice.²⁸⁶

Shortly before this time, Dr. John H. Marable opened an office in the vicinity of Nashville, and Thomas Watson, with whom he boarded, inserted in the paper the notice that "Dr. Marable respectfully tenders his services to the public in physic, midwifery, etc."²⁸⁷

This advertisement appeared in the "Knoxville Gazette" on May 8, 1794.

"Dr. Thomas McCombs informs the public that he has moved to Knoxville for the purpose of entering into the practice of physic. Long studies and experience under the most eminent physicians in the Atlantic States, and attention to his profession encourage him to ask for patronage. He has on hand constantly a large and general assortment of genuine medicines."

There were other physicians throughout the State, most of them coming from Virginia, and as the settlements grew, they increased in number like the men of the other professions.

²⁸⁵Impartial Review, October 29, 1807.

²⁸⁶Impartial Review, April 28, 1808.

²⁸⁷Impartial Review, July 11, 1807.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE.

One of the things that drew the early settlers to the virgin frontier lands was the dream of rich soil, abundant and easy to obtain,—and the dream often proved to be true. Governor John Sevier, addressing the General Assembly of the State at Knoxville, September 19, 1799, said:

“Providence has blessed this State with a soil peculiarly calculated for the production of wheat, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco and indigo.” and all of these crops were grown by those rapidly filling the new State. “Forty acres and a mule” did not mean a living in those days of extensive, rather than intensive farming. Little fertilizer was needed, and there was no systematic rotation of crops. When a fertile valley or meadow was exhausted, another one lying near was used, or another flat or hillside was cleared. The rich loam that had accumulated for centuries produced fruitful yields. It was loose and easily broken up, but the crop required constant cultivation, otherwise the weeds would soon have choked it out. This meant all hands in the fields, and in the early days many of the men, women, and even children were shot by the Indians “while they were working in the fields near the house.”

Corn, of course, was the staple crop. Every family that expected to remain through the summer at a place planted a field of corn. In the summer of 1780 Colonel Donelson raised a good crop at Clover Bottom,²⁸⁸ near Nashville, and near it a small patch of cotton. Here his men were attacked by the Indians and some of them killed, when they “took two boats up the river for the purpose of bringing away the corn.”²⁸⁹ The fodder was taken from the stalk and dried for “roughness,” and tied in small bundles; the corn itself was eaten both green and dry. When dried, it was ground into meal and was much more common than flour, which was at first more or less of a luxury. The taverns sold shelled corn by the gallon for horse-feed, together with oats and rye. The price generally varied from eight cents to twelve cents.²⁹⁰ It was used, too, as a

²⁸⁸The famous bottom on Stone River, seven miles from Nashville on the Lebanon Road, where Jackson's horse-races were held. See page 131.

²⁸⁹Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, p. 128.

²⁹⁰Taylor, *Historic Sullivan*, p. 97.

medium of exchange, being a necessity. Many a family depended on corn and the game they could kill for their main articles of diet through the winter. The merchants advertised their wares, and the artisans the low prices of their services, payable in "hard money,"—which was scarce,—or corn. A man like John Sevier, who had great tracts of land, kept on hand a good supply, which he sold during the winter. There are several entries in his diary such as the following:

Memo of corn delivered to sundry persons.

Monday, May 6th, 1796.

To Mr. Sec. H. per order from Mr. Doake, 8 bushels,

To Andrew Lilburns, sundry times, 12 bushels,

To 2 men living at Holt's place, 4 bushels,

To Moses Hacket, 2 bushels of rye,

To Wm. Celry, 5 bushels,

Mrs. Kennedy, corn, 1 bushel,

Mr. Hunt (B. Smith) two bushels.²⁹¹

Sevier records taking corn to mill, planting and gathering it, and attending husking bees. He also speaks of sowing and harvesting wheat, buying flour, and paying tavern prices for green wheat. He makes an entry on November 19th and 20th, 1796, that he "sowed Timothy seed."

Timothy, corn fodder, "volunteer grass" and cane leaves seem to have been the chief rough feeds for stock. When Morgan and Daniel Smith were running the line between Virginia and that part of North Carolina which was later Tennessee, in November, 1779, they were forced to turn back on reaching Clear Fork Creek on the Cumberland Plateau, because, as Daniel Smith said in his journal, "the season was far advanced and the country was mountainous and very barren, not yielding a sufficient quantity of cane for the pack-horses, which for some time had been their principal support."²⁹²

The methods of agriculture used by the early Tennesseans would be considered crude to-day. Of course, the labor was done by hand. The plows commonly were of wood, on which was bolted a "bull tongue," or plain, straight point, although some of the stores advertised "mouldboards" and iron shares, which were beginning to come into use at the close of the eighteenth century.

John Buchanan Murray, an early settler in Williamson County, is quoted as saying in his description of farming conditions in the early days:

²⁹¹Diary of John Sevier, Heiskell's Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History, Vol. II, p. 534.

²⁹²Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, p. 56. Note.

"We farmed with the crudest implements. Our plows were wooden with no iron about them except the point. The next plow was the bull tongue. There were no mules. We used oxen for the beasts of burden. The first grain I ever saw harvested was with the reep-hook, cutting only a handful at a time, throwing it together, later tying into bundles. The grain was tramped out by horses. It was then placed on a sheet and fanned out by rapidly raising and lowering the sheet in the air. Corn, oats and tobacco were also grown."²⁹³

Each home had its vegetable garden, and also its cotton, flax and tobacco patches. The cotton was grown for its fibre, which was combed out by hand, spun into thread and woven into cloth. The ginning was done by hand until Whitney's gin came into use in the State about 1805.²⁹⁴ After that the production greatly increased; gins became common and were taxed according to the number of saws, or toothed extractors, they contained.

The flax was heckled—that is, broken up and the long fibres separated from the shorter ones—and woven into linen. W. L. Brown, of Palmyra, entered in his diary in 1806 the contents of a wagon-load of produce he was to sell, consisting of

1 barrel of whiskey, 36 gals.,
7 barrels of flour, 245 lbs.,
29 lbs. of heckled flax.

He adds, "Tony gave me \$6.50 which he got for 3 bushels of rye and 8 bushels of corn."²⁹⁵

TOBACCO.

The Virginians and North Carolinians had been accustomed for generations to raising their own tobacco. It had been a staple crop there since the earliest days of the colonies, being used as a medium of exchange, and large quantities of it were sent to England as early as the last part of the seventeenth century. No garden was deemed complete in pioneer Tennessee without this essential plant. Most of the family used it, smoking it in pipes, chewing it, or taking it as snuff. When the roads were opened, so it could be hauled out or shipped down the rivers, the General Assembly established inspection places and regulated its traffic. In 1797 the justices of Davidson County were "empowered to authorize the building of public ware-houses, appoint inspectors, regulate salaries and levy an annual tax on tobacco."²⁹⁶

Two years later the Assembly passed a law prohibiting the

²⁹³Nashville Banner, July 6, 1922.

²⁹⁴See page 65.

²⁹⁵Diary of W. L. Brown, May 20, 1806.

²⁹⁶Acts of General Assembly, October 20, 1797.

exporting of tobacco, unless it had been packed in hogsheads, or casks, of regulation size (staves not over fifty inches long and head not over thirty-two inches across) and inspected "to restrain the practice of mixing trash with the stemmed tobacco." The following were designated as inspection places:

In Davidson County, Nashville, Waynesboro, Haysboro.
 In Sumner County, Cairo, James Sanders'.
 In Smith County, Bledsboro.
 In Montgomery County, Clarksville, Port Royal.
 In Greene County, Greeneville.²⁹⁷

The location of these places shows us where the tobacco was being grown at that time, and it is true at the present day that these same counties are still among the leading ones of the State in its production.

GARDENS.

The gardens were entrusted generally to the care of the pioneer women, as they are in many parts of Tennessee to-day. The heavy work, such as plowing, breaking up the clods and "laying-off" the ground, was done by the men. They had most of the vegetables common to us now. Sevier entered in his diary records of planting celery, melons, cabbage, radishes, cucumbers and potatoes. On Friday, the eighth of February, 1799, he made this memorandum:

Re'cd from Doctor Powell the West Indian mango. It is to be planted in the ground and covered in the winter. It may be eaten like the cucumber and makes excellent pickle. It will last after being planted some years.

There is no record, though, that he attempted to introduce the plant and grow it.

W. L. Brown relates his experiments with potatoes in 1806 at Palmyra as follows:

"We planted our white Irish potatoes. About twelve feet of the north end of the row I planted with whole potatoes, the other twelve feet of the south end are planted with cut potatoes. The first six feet adjoining the whole ones are planted with cut side down, the six feet to the south are planted with the cut side up. They were planted in a trench about six inches deep, then we filled it with shattered fodder, then made a ridge of dirt on it eight inches high. The fourth row cut and whole potatoes were mixed and cotton-seed put in place of fodder."²⁹⁸

The planter here is experimenting to see whether whole potatoes yield better results, or cut ones; and whether shattered fodder is better, or cotton-seed, as fertilizer. His father

²⁹⁷Acts of General Assembly, October 26, 1799.

²⁹⁸W. L. Brown's Diary, March 18, 1806.

had been on this place since 1794, and the probabilities are that he was planting in ground that had been in use for eight or ten years at least. It is said that the Indians were used to placing fish in the hills of corn in fields where the ground was old, or the soil exhausted by long tending.

TRADE.

With the pioneer, seeking land, went the trapper, hunting furs. He was the first trader that came into Tennessee to bargain with the Indians. He could trap the animals himself, but he soon found it much easier to buy the furs from the Indians, or exchange a few mirrors, beads, brightly colored calicoes, rifles and gallons of rum for them. It was quicker and cheaper. We know that Timothe De Monbreun traded between Kaskaskia, below St. Louis, and the Big Salt Lick as early as 1775, and that he hauled boat-loads of furs up the Mississippi River. He also went down the river in 1776 to New Orleans with buffalo hides and tallow.²⁹⁹

The peddler came after the fur buyer, carrying on pack-horses, or in a pack on his back, the things that the frontier people wanted—small articles, like razors, knives, needles, pins, ribbons, watches and jewelry. He often took back furs, which he converted into money at the border cities.

Trading posts followed, and were often contemporaneous with the trappers and the peddlers. These trading posts were generally at the forts, and were established for trading particularly with the Indians, whom they sometimes swindled and with whom they occasionally became very unpopular,—like the one at Tellico Block-house. The Cherokees protested vehemently to Governor Sevier against the poor quality of the goods that were sold them at that place.

STORES.

Some of these posts became general stores as the Indians were forced westward, and, in addition to these, other stores were opened by independent merchants. They announced the "latest importations of goods just arrived from Philadelphia, Richmond and Baltimore," and the advertisements contain long lists of articles for household use. James Miller, in 1792, announced "stores at Knoxville, at Peter Morrison's on the north fork of the Holston, and at Rogersville," where he kept "a constant supply of goods for Indian traders, suitable for their purposes." He mentions "carpenters' tools, shoemakers' tools, bits and augers, chisels, hammers, gimlets, scythes and

²⁹⁹Elliott, Early History of Nashville, p. 273.

cutting knives, razors, shears and scissors, steel traps, tea-kettles, steel and iron."³⁰⁰

A typical advertisement is the following one of December, 1791:

John Somerville and Co. beg leave to inform the public that they have just opened a store on German Creek, where they have a large and general assortment of well chosen goods from the markets of Philadelphia and Baltimore, which they are determined to sell on the most reasonable terms that goods have been sold for in the Western Country—for Cash. The highest price will be allowed for bear, deer, otter, wild cat, muskrat, mink, fox, and raccoon skins, and all kinds of fur whatever. Beeswax, linsey, and seven hundred linen wanted immediately, and a quantity of rye, corn and fodder, for which a generous price will be given.³⁰¹

This notice shows the articles used as media of exchange. "Seven hundred linen" means a certain weight,—seven hundred threads. Any linen with fewer threads was considered poor, that with one thousand threads being high grade. These stores bought the produce of the country, like grain, hay and whiskey, and gave in return their "store goods."

Nelson and Company the next year announced the following "new goods for sale at their store at Rogersville, Hawkins County Court House":

Clothes, superfine and second and coarse; plain and striped coatings; spotted swan skin; velvets, all colors; buff denim; green plush; poplins; calicoes; muslins; cambricks; lawn and muslin handkerchiefs; men's and women's stockings, cotton and silk; Irish linen; blankets; bed ticks; hats, men's and women's.

Powder, lead and flints; queensware; pewter; playing cards; copperas; madder; brimstone; allspice; pepper and ginger; coffee and chocolate; Bohea and Hyson tea. Bibles and Testaments; tinware of all kinds; knives, pen, pocket and cutting; scissors; needles, thimbles; shoe and knee buckles; stirrup irons; bridle bits; and articles too numerous to mention.³⁰²

The same year Stephen Duncan announced an opening at Knoxville, the next year Robert Wyley another at Greeneville, and the next year Edward McFarling still another at the "fording place on the Big Pigeon River."³⁰³ All of these stores kept good-sized general stocks, consisting of dry goods, notions, tin and hardware,—and even a small line of drugs.

By 1806 Nashville was quite a town, with general stores. J. Hennen offered for sale "a complete line of drugs and medicines." J. H. Smith offered,

Bar iron. plows, hoes, axes, trace chains, clover seed, writing paper, bottled porter, twilled bags, tow cloth, cyder, royal and salt.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰Knoxville Gazette, February 11, 1792.

³⁰¹Knoxville Gazette, December 31, 1791.

³⁰²Knoxville Gazette, January 14, 1792.

³⁰³Knoxville Gazette, December 14, 1792, December 7, 1793, May 8, 1794.

³⁰⁴Impartial Review, September 20, 1806.

George Poyzer offered,

Wines and liquors, French brandy, Jamaica spirits, cordials, cherry bounce, rectified whiskey, choice old Monongahela and rye whiskey; bacon and flour of pure quality, linseed oil, sugars, salted and dried fish, tanners' oil by the barrel or less quantity.

John Baird announced a "new White Store fronting the Court House" where he had "a large assortment of well chosen merchandise," and J. Rucker offered "four dollars per hundred for a quantity of good flour delivered" at his place in Nashville.³⁰⁵ Thomas Jones and Company "solicited all persons who had contracted to pay for goods purchased at their store to be as early as possible in the delivery of the same, the cotton to be delivered at the gin in this town, late the property of Messrs. Hennen and Dickson, at the price offered by the merchants, viz., 15 cents loose and 17 cents baled."³⁰⁶

There is in the collection of the Tennessee Historical Association one of the old account-books of H. Tatum, a merchant in Nashville. It covers a period from 1793 to 1798, and contains more than one hundred and fifty "store accounts," among which are those of John McNairy, Andrew Jackson, James Robertson, Andrew Ewing, Lardner Clarke, and other well-known men. These accounts are quite varied, containing lists of goods and the prices charged for them. Such articles as musket flints eight pence, penknives at two shillings, ivory combs at six shillings, cloth of all kinds and colors, hardware and notions are quite common. Pewter, glassware and leather goods, too, are charged against the customers. Stockings at six shillings and women's shoes at sixteen shillings, buttons, large and small, and silk twist at a shilling a yard appear frequently on the pages. Lottery tickets against James Robertson, and "drawbacks" and certificates against others are charged on the book and marked "paid" on the credit side. It seems that the storekeeper was often a kind of banker, advancing money and even paying bills for a customer when it was asked.³⁰⁷

By 1794 enough of the inhabitants of Knoxville had stopped killing their own beeves to warrant a butcher's opening a shop, and John Chisholm advertised that he was opening a "Beef Market" where they could be supplied with beef every third day during the season, "cash to be paid on the delivery of the beef."³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵Impartial Review, November 29, 1806.

³⁰⁶Impartial Review, November 1, 1806.

³⁰⁷Tennessee Historical Collection, Box T, 1, No. 5.

³⁰⁸Knoxville Gazette, May 22, 1794.

PRICES.

In January 1807, the "Impartial Review" printed the prices current at Nashville for that time:

Butter	.....	\$ 0.16½	per lb.
Beeswax	.....	.25	per lb.
Beaver furs	.....	1.00	each
Bear skins	.....	.75 to	\$2.00 each
Bar iron	.....	10.00	per cwt.
Bricks	.....	8.00	per 1000
Cotton, loose	.....	15.00	per cwt.
Cotton, baled	.....	17.00	per cwt.
Cotton baling	.....	.38	per yd.
Cotton baling cordage	.....	.16	per lb.
Candles	.....	.18½	per lb.
Corn	.....	1.00	per bbl.
Castings	.....	10.00	per cwt.
Deer skins	.....	.16	
Flour	.....	3.00	per cwt.
Flour, imported	.....	8.00	per cwt.
Furs, small	.....	.25	
Feathers	.....	.50	
Hogs' lard	.....	.09	
Soal [sole] leather	.....	.27	
Lime	.....	.16	per bu.
Indian meal	.....	.42 to	50 per bu.
Pork	.....	3.50	per cwt.
Potatoes	.....	.37½	per bu.
Rice	.....	.09	per lb.
Salt	.....	2.00	per bu.
Staves	.....	8.00	per 1000
Tobacco	.....	2.00	per cwt.
Tallow	.....	.10	per lb.
Tar	.....	.66	2-3 per gal.
Twine	.....	.58	
Whiskey	.....	.75	per gal. ³⁰⁹

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The Knox County Court passed a law in 1795 requiring the use of standard weights in business dealings. The public announcement was printed as follows:

Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of Knox County who sell by weight or measure to call on the subscriber, standard keeper for the County of Knox, at his house in Knoxville, where due attendance will be given in order to have their weights and measures sealed. The weights are from fifty-six pounds to half an ounce, steelyards included. The measures are from a bushel to a half peck, dry measure; from a gallon to a gill, liquid measure; and from an ell to one-eighth of a yard, cloth measure.

Those who neglect to comply with this notice before the first of July, next, may depend most assuredly on being prosecuted according to law.

(Signed) DRURY BREAZALE.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹Impartial Review, January 3, 1807.

³¹⁰Knoxville Gazette, May 8, 1795.

TRADE LAWS.

The third General Assembly passed an act in 1799 forbidding "any citizen trading with a slave without a pass from the owner." In case "any slave produced a forged pass, he or she" would get "corporeal punishment, as the Justice of the Peace" thought "best,—not to exceed thirty-nine lashes."³¹¹

The next General Assembly passed laws for packing and baling and marking produce, establishing "inspection places and inspectors, with lawful fees," at fifty places in twenty-two counties in the State.³¹²

INDUSTRIES.

Necessity made the men of the frontiers capable and versatile. They did much of their own work in the earlier days, but as the settlements and towns grew, men with trades and shops came in as rapidly as the patronage would warrant. The pioneers built their own stockades and log houses, but when they desired buildings of brick and cut stone, they brought their workmen from Virginia and the North. After the beginning of the nineteenth century, these skilled workmen began to advertise in the papers. Most of them located in the towns where the people were, but a good many opened their shops in their own homes a few miles from the settlements.

Stephen Chipley, "a brick layer and maker with recommendations from respectable citizens in Lexington, Kentucky," advertised in 1807 that he was at Winn's Inn, in Nashville, and solicited patronage.³¹³ George Bean, in 1792, informed the public that he "carried on a goldsmith's and jeweller's business at his house near Bean's Station on German Creek, Hawkins County," and that he likewise made "rifle guns in the neatest and most approved manner."³¹⁴

John Sapp, three years later, announced that he was "opening a shop at Captain Chisholm's in Knoxville," where he carried on "all kinds of work in gold and silver plating on iron, steel, brass and copper—also plain watches and stills repaired."³¹⁵ In 1807, Samuel Crocket, who lived "at Sycamore Bottom, on the Little Harpeth River," near Nashville, advertised that he had "on hand rifle gun barrels, a number of small bore," and that he wanted "a smart, ingenious, young lad as an apprentice."³¹⁶

John Ague, of Manchester, Mero District, called the attention, in 1791, of all cotton weavers to his cotton manufactory on the Cumberland. He claimed that his machines were "in

³¹¹Acts of Third General Assembly, October 26, 1799.

³¹²Acts of Fourth General Assembly, November 14, 1801.

³¹³Impartial Review, April 25, 1807.

³¹⁴Knoxville Gazette, October 20, 1792.

³¹⁵Knoxville Gazette, January 9, 1795.

³¹⁶Impartial Review, July 11, 1807.

order for carding, spinning and weaving," and stated that he wanted "a number of good weavers" and that "the greatest encouragement" would "be given to such as are acquainted with the weaving of velvets, corduroys and calicoes."³¹⁷

George Poyzer, a merchant of Nashville, gave notice that he "would be willing to engage a number of persons to weave flax and hemp," and since it was "spun by machines which go by water, the thread" was "remarkably even."

Robert Jarmon, a cotton-gin maker, in 1807 opened a shop "on Yellow Creek, ten miles west of Dickson Court House," in which he made "gins on the new plan, called hollow neck teeth saw gins, at three shillings per saw," and he added, since he was a stranger here that James Robertson would give his testimony that Jarmon's gins "pick near twice as much in a day as the common gins in the country." Benjamin Joslin also added that Jarmon made a fifty-saw gin for him which picked fifty pounds of seed-cotton in five minutes," and that he was "the best gin maker in the country."³¹⁸

Robert Love erected a "fulling mill, in 1792, within one mile of Campbell's Station," a short distance from Knoxville, in Knox County, and gave notice that he wanted customers.³¹⁹ And Robert Craig, the same year, opened "a tanning and fulling business" near Abingdon, in which he offered to serve the people of Tennessee."³²⁰

There were many small industries scattered around in the State wherever a colony of people had located. Peter Bass had a tanyard near Nashville in 1807, and Lord and Duncan had one in 1794, where they managed a "tanning and currying business on Second Creek, near Knoxville, on the halves." They gave "six pence per pound for dry, and three pence per pound for green hides," and they also wanted "laborers and an apprentice."³²¹ Nathaniel Cowan, of Knoxville, advertised the same year for a "quantity of bark for the tanning business," and promised "twelve shillings per cord for chestnut oak bark and ten shillings for all other kinds of oak bark."³²²

William Probart announced in 1808 that he had "an elegant tailor shop at the dwelling house of Nathaniel McCreary" (Nashville), where he solicited "public patronage" and could use "two good boys as apprentices."³²³ John Priest and Company gave notice the same year of their "chair business, sign and coach and house painting on Water Street in Nashville near Mr. Jackson's gin."³²⁴ Paul Kingston advertised his "shoe

³¹⁷Knoxville Gazette, December 17, 1791.

³¹⁸Impartial Review, June 27, 1807.

³¹⁹Knoxville Gazette, August 8, 1792.

³²⁰Knoxville Gazette, March 10, 1792.

³²¹Knoxville Gazette, April 10, 1794.

³²²Knoxville Gazette, March 27, 1794.

³²³Impartial Review, May 19, 1808.

³²⁴Impartial Review, April 7, 1808.

making business, and boots and shoes and leather of superior kind." He offered as wages one dollar, twelve and a half cents per pair on men's shoes, four dollars and seventy-five cents per pair for three-quarter boots, and three dollars and fifty cents per pair for long boots, to journeymen shoemakers," of whom he said he could use five or six.³²⁵ At the same time, Joseph Wingate wanted "one or two apprentices, who would come well recommended," to aid him in his "hatter's shop in the town of Charlotte, Dickson County." He promised "to give them a good education," and to three or four journeymen he offered "the highest prices for making hats."

Such terms as "apprentice" and "journeymen" sound mediæval, but the custom of apprenticing, or binding a lad to an owner of a shop or business until he learned the trade and became a journeyman and could earn wages, or until he finally became a master and owner himself, was adhered to on the frontiers until well into the nineteenth century. Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia, said that his father "bound him out" to his brother when he was twelve years old, and the apprenticeship was to last till he was twenty-one, "only" he "was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year."³²⁶

BLACKSMITHS.

In 1792 Abraham Cole opened a blacksmith's shop "near the head of Holston," close to the northern boundary of Tennessee, "at Colonel Arthur Campbell's seat," where he had for sale a sufficient supply of horse shoes ready made."³²⁷ There were shops at the iron forges in a great many places, and it was a small settlement, indeed, that could not boast of a blacksmith's shop. Some of these shops were good-sized places, employing several men and manufacturing implements and necessities for the home, garden, and wagon trains. Ellis Maddox, in 1807, at Nashville, offered "twenty-five dollars per month for a good journeyman" who could come "well recommended." His advertisement read as follows:

Ellis Maddox continues to prosecute his business at his old stand on Water Street. His iron and coal and journeymen must be paid for in cash, and he will expect the cash paid when work is finished. His prices for work are—

Horseshoeing, common	\$1.75,
Horse shoeing, toes and corks	2.25,
Poll axes, from \$2.50 to	3.00,
Plough irons, per lb. ....	.30.
Mill irons, per lb. ....	.30. ³²⁸

³²⁵Impartial Review, April 27, 1808.

³²⁶Franklin's Autobiography, p. 36.

³²⁷Knoxville Gazette, January 14, 1792.

³²⁸Impartial Review, January 31, 1807.

Joseph Wiggin also had a shop at Nashville at the same time, and he included in his notice "edge tools for sale." Thomas Porter announced the same year that he "had rented the house of George Patton's" and intended "opening a nail factory" in Nashville, where he would "have continually on hand cut and wrought nails, all sizes, bar iron, axes, hoes, plow irons, drawing chains and log chains."³²⁹

IRON WORKS.

The first iron works were probably built in Sullivan County, near the mouth of Steele's Creek, by Colonel James King, about 1784, and he had for years the most important furnace and forge in the eastern part of the State. The furnace was built of stone, and the fuel—charcoal—was easily made from the abundant timber of the woodlands on all sides. Governor Blount was later associated with Colonel King. The iron was shipped down to the lower settlements in twenty-five-ton boats, and even to New Orleans. It became so important that it was used as a medium of exchange. The furnaces were small, producing not more than three or four tons of iron per day.

Colonel King also opened a nail factory, probably the first in the South, at his iron works.³³⁰ John Hillsman and Company, at Knoxville, bought the following order from him in 1798:

22 25 gallon kettles, weighing 112 lbs. each,
1 pair fire dogs, weighing 54 lbs.,
Amounting to 53 pounds, 6 shillings.

Colonel King sent the following letter with the order:

"By Mr. John Stewart you will receive the above articles, which are intended for a part of your cargo to Natchez. . . . I shall be glad to have the barrel of sugar (although I think the price is high) and will thank you to send it by the first wagon that comes to this place."³³¹

Russell Bean³³² and James King entered into an agreement as follows:

³²⁹Impartial Review, April 25, 1807.

³³⁰Historical Magazine, Vol. VI., p. 26. Note by John DeWitt.

Taylor, Historic Sullivan, p. 154.

Scott's Laws of Tennessee, Vol. II., p. 1033.

³³¹King to Hillsman, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, No. 17, Box K 1.

³³²Russell Bean was a most interesting character in upper East Tennessee. The first white child born within the present limits of Tennessee, he was noted for being a man of great physical strength and endurance. He was at New Orleans two years, and upon his return found his wife unfaithful and was divorced, after cutting off the ears of her infant. Jackson only could arrest him at his trial in Jonesboro.

See Allison's Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History, p. 119.

"Memorandum of agreement made and concluded upon this 19th day of June, Anno Domino 1798, between James King, on the first part, and Russell Bean, on the other part.

Where-as, it is contemplated by the said parties to make an adventure of iron castings to the Natchez at the joint risk and expense of the said parties, the said James King agrees to furnish the said Bean with bar iron and castings for the aforesaid purpose, and to pay an equal proportion of the expense attendant on the transportation of the said articles to the aforesaid places, and the said Bean, on his part, agrees to take charge of the same in their transportation to the said places and to make sale of the same, for which when sold he agrees to pay the said James King as follows, to wit:

For the bar iron, at the rate of fifty pounds, Virginia currency, per gross ton, and for the castings, four pence, Virginia currency, per pound, with an addition of one shilling, like money, for each piece of ware weighing less than twenty two pounds and a half, usually denominated hand wares, and after paying for the said articles as above mentioned, to divide equally with the said James King the profits arising from the sale of the said bar iron and castings.

In witness of which agreement, the said parties have hereunto set their hands at the Beaver Creek Iron Works, Sullivan County.

James King.

Russell Bean. In the presence of John Punch."

Governor William Blount, writing from Knoxville to General James L. Robertson at Nashville on April 24, 1797, says in regard to King's iron works:

"Col. King desires me to ask how [it] goes on your iron works. I will tell you his are in blast, I mean his furnace, for a month past, and means to keep her so until Christmas, to do which he has a great stock on hand of ore, wood and coal. His forge, too, is going, and his bar and cast iron are both of the best and most approved quality. I heartily wish you success with your works."

There were several furnaces opened in Sullivan County later, and others in Washington and Greene Counties, along the "Iron Mountain," the ridge dividing Tennessee from North Carolina. The Embree Works, which John Sevier visited often, riding over from Jonesboro, were located on the present site of the Embreeville Iron Works, eight miles southeast of Jonesboro. He speaks in his diary, too, of visiting the iron works at Pactolus.³³³

Sevier had, in 1798, a furnace of his own, concerning which he wrote from Knoxville, May 4, 1798, to James McHenry, secretary of war, as follows:

"Not far from this place, and on the main river Holston, I have a new and well erected set of iron works, suitable for the casting of almost every kind of mettle, and manufacturing of bar iron. The same shall on the shortest notice be converted to any public use that might be deemed expedient, and should be glad to be honored with any commands that might be thought necessary."³³⁴

³³³Pactolus was a post town in Sullivan County six miles above Kingsport and twelve miles from Blountsville. Elijah Embree opened a nail factory there.

See Morris's Gazetteer, p. 129.

³³⁴Sevier's Letters, May 4, 1798.

The "Mossy Creek Iron Works" were located in Jefferson County, not far from Jefferson City.

James Robertson is said to have founded the Cumberland Iron Works about 1794 in Dickson County. This furnace was the first one established in Middle Tennessee,³³⁵ and Blount's letter of 1797, quoted above, undoubtedly refers to it.

In July, 1801, James Winchester wrote the following letter to General Robertson at Nashville:

"The Mockboy called me on last Sunday and expressed a desire to make a contract for a quantity of pork and beef to be delivered at Cairo next fall. I told him I was not prepared to give an answer, but that I would think of it and write the result to you. We will deliver in the December month at Cairo 10,000 lbs. of pork at \$3.00 per hundred, and receive salt in payment at \$2.50 per bushel, provided the salt be delivered in the month of August or September next. We would receive at the same time about a ton of large castings, say pots and kettles from ten to twenty gallons, a few of the smallest kind of hand ware, such as skillets, etc. Bar iron we would receive at 12 cents per lb. if good, and give produce in exchange at market price. If you accept of these in August or September next with salt, iron and castings, we will send you in return country linen for what we are indebted to you. The castings we will expect a little lower than the last we had of you. You then sent us an over proportion of small ovens. There is more than a ton of them yet on hands at this time."

Winchester and a man named Cage had a store "at Cairo on the Cumberland, the first County Seat of Sumner County."³³⁶ They had a large business and purchased goods in the cities of the North, and in New Orleans in the South, but it paid them to buy their iron and "large castings" near at hand. Money was scarce and the buying was an exchanging process rather than a selling for cash.

In 1808 Montgomery Bell inserted in the "Impartial Review" of Nashville the following notice in regard to the Cumberland furnace:

"I will pay fifty cents cash per cord for chopping wood, and contract for any number of cords not to exceed five thousand. Want to hire eight or ten negro fellows by the year, for whom I will give a generous price."³³⁷

As late as 1833 the General Assembly granted to Montgomery Bell of Davidson County "the preference of entry of vacant lands," not to exceed 10,000 acres, "for the encouragement of building iron works at the Narrows of the Harpeth

³³⁵Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., July 1, 1801.

³³⁶John DeWitt in Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. I., p. 82.

³³⁷Impartial Review, April 7, 1808.

in said County," on his paying the fees for surveying, entering and obtaining the grants, and "no other price whatsoever."³³⁸

W. L. Brown, of Palmyra, makes the following notes in his diary:

February 1, 1805.

"I went over to see the furnace hearth before it closed down.

April 26, 1806.

I started Jim to Clarksville with one ton of iron for Mr. Elder. Then I went over the river and gave Mr. Elder a letter papa sent up by me, wherein he desired him to pay me \$80.00, a part of the \$200.00 he is to pay him, and that I would deliver him the ton of iron. He received the letter and went down and received the iron, and then went up and paid me \$75.00, and then [I] got [a] pair saddle bags from him which cost me \$5.50."

This letter seems to indicate that Mr. Elder kept goods for sale, that the price of iron was \$200.00 per ton, and that he paid in ready money at least the \$75.00.

We know that Dr. Brown built a furnace three and one-half miles from the mouth of Yellow Creek, in Montgomery County, in 1802. These were the first iron works established in that county.³³⁹

In 1807 the General Assembly at Knoxville passed an act to encourage the establishing of iron works, and the number of plants increased as the population of the State grew until at the time of the War of 1812 there were more than twenty-nine furnaces in the eastern part alone.³⁴⁰

MILLS.

The earliest mills, of course, were operated by hand. Two flat stones were slightly hollowed in the center, and the upper was turned on the lower,—as in the old Bible lands, and mortars were hollowed out of rock and the grain was beaten into meal with a pestle of stone. A better method was that of the "sweep," which was constructed by bending a "tough, springy sapling, about twenty-five feet long, over a fork, with one end fastened in the ground and the other about fifteen feet" in the air. To the smaller end in the air was attached a heavy pole, about eight feet long and six inches in diameter, through which a hole had been bored and a wooden pin inserted, so two people could handle it. A rock or wooden receptacle was placed below this pestle, or pounder, and the corn was beaten into meal by the heavy blows of the pole.

The "hominy pounder," or "slow john," was made on the

³³⁸Whitney, *Laws of Tennessee*, p. 332.

³³⁹Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. VII., 1902, p. 148.

³⁴⁰Taylor, *Historic Sullivan*, p. 151.

same principle, except that water furnished the power instead of the men. A beam was supported at the ends, which served as pivots, and another beam was laid over, on one end of which was the hammer and on the other a trough. When the water filled this trough, it sank down, tilting up the hammer, which fell again, crushing the corn, as the water in the trough was emptied in the descent. When the trough was raised, it came again under the stream of water carried there in the bark or log channel, and was soon filled and again fell, repeating the hammering process. It was a slow, rude affair, but it answered the purpose when no other method could be employed. The meal was sifted through a perforated skin stretched over a wooden frame, and the coarser particles were put back to be ground finer.³⁴⁰

The amount of "fall" of the creeks and mountain streams in the East Tennessee Valley made possible numberless "mill-seats," and mills "to grind corn and run by water" were brought in very early. It is said that one of the first was built six miles southwest of Jonesboro, Washington County, on the Little Limestone Creek, by Michael Bacon in the year 1779. This was a small house built of logs "covered with boards, hung on with pegs." The water was taken from the creek several hundred feet above and brought down in a trough made from hollow logs split in halves. It fell over a paddle-wheel built on a shaft, on the other end of which was a rude wheel studded with pegs. These pegs served as cogs and meshed with other pegs which were fastened to one of the stones. The corn was thus ground as one stone revolved upon the other.³⁴¹

The old records of Washington County show that in the same year the county court "read and granted the petition of James English setting forth" that he had "a convenient place to erect a grist mill on the Limestone Fork of Lick Creek," and "he prayeth leave to build one." The next year (1780) two petitions came before the court, one in the May term and the other in the August term. The first was from James Stuart, who begged "leave to build a grist mill on his entry of land, lying on Little Limestone, adjoining the entry of David Hughes, and the same, when built, to be a publick grist mill." The second is expressed as follows in the court record:

Ordered that Abraham Denton have leave to build a grist mill on Sinking Creek on his own land, and after same being so built, shall be entitled to take and receive toll, which is due and entitled to be received by publick grist mills.³⁴²

³⁴⁰Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 18.

³⁴²Records of Washington County Court.

American Historical Magazine, Vol. VI., 1901, pp. 54-66.

Putnam says that early in the eighties the people at Eaton's Station, on the river a mile and a half below Nashville, "dammed up the creek, built a race, and made the water turn a pair of rude stones." They also built a "hominy pounder," which could be heard "thumping as long as the water ran." A little later a man named Cartwright built a wheel, binding on it cows' horns, which filled and emptied as the wheel turned, and which gave enough power to turn a crank, lifting and dropping the corn-cracker as it pounded on the "quart of corn."³⁴³ Frederick Stump had a good dam and mill on White's Creek. Putnam, quoting from an old "conversation," says of it:

"It was a very good mill, considering. It was on the other side of the river, and belonged to a prosperous old Dutchman. He was not satisfied with the legal rate for grinding corn, and therefore helped himself to a little more than the law allowed, or the customers approved."

The October court, 1793, in Davidson County, fined "Frederick Stump one pence, paper money, for taking the sixth part of corn ground at his mill as toll."³⁴⁴ This was a small fine, it is true, but it shows that the people had their own ideas about profiteering and had already translated them into laws.

Major John Buchanan had a mill four miles south of Nashville on Mill Creek. James Winchester had one near "Cragfont," his home, one mile from Bledsoe's (now Castalian Springs), and Dr. Morgan Brown had one at Palmyra, near Clarksville. Stump and Brown also operated distilleries in connection with the mills. All of these mills were built and operated some time before the close of the century. Putnam, speaking of the Indian raids, says:

"On the 24th of October, 1794, a party of Indians killed and scalped Evan Watkins near Colonel Winchester's mill in Sumner County."³⁴⁴

And Phelan says:

"Davidson County Court gave leave to one Headon Wells to build a water grist-mill on Thomas Creek, the first in that part of the country. Many others followed until meal ceased to be a luxury."³⁴⁵

In 1807 Francis Newsom offered for sale at Nashville "an excellent mill of three pair of stones, a corn bolt, a good flour bolt, likewise a gin and saw mill which goes by water, three stills, two of eighty-six gallons and one of sixty-three gallons."³⁴⁶

³⁴³Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, p. 167.

³⁴⁴Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 411, 492.

³⁴⁵Phelan, History of Tennessee, p. 179.

³⁴⁶Impartial Review, April 4, 1807.

David Crockett says:

"The next move my father made was to the mouth of Cove Creek [near Greeneville] where he and Thomas Galbreath undertook to build a mill in partnership. They went on very well with their work until it was nigh done, when there came the Second Epistle to Noah's fresh, and away went their mill, shct, lock and barrel. I was seven or eight years old."³⁴⁷

This must have been, then, as early as 1794, as Crockett was born in 1786.³⁴⁸

The second General Assembly of the State passed an act in 1797 relative to "the floating mill of James Hamilton on the Cumberland River between Heaton's [Eaton's] old station and Nashville." Since James Hamilton owned "the land on the south side of the river and against the island in the said river, where the mill was built," it was "enacted that James Hamilton and his heirs may have the exclusive right to that part of the river on the south side of the island between Nashville and Heaton's old place, for the express purpose of keeping a floating mill."³⁴⁹

The same Assembly passed an act making "owners of saltpetre manufactories enclose their works, to prevent horses and cattle from having access to them." In case they did not, a fine of one hundred dollars was attached, "one-half of which went to the county and one-half to the plaintiff."³⁵⁰ The stock of the neighbors evidently liked the salty taste, and licked the dirt and rocks, with disastrous results—hence the law.

The obtaining of gunpowder was quite a problem in pioneer times, and it was easier to manufacture it, if the sulphur and saltpetre could be secured, than to transport it from Philadelphia or Baltimore. The other ingredient, charcoal, was easily made. One of the objects of interest in the Mammoth Cave to-day is the old saltpetre plant, that is shown to the visitor soon after he enters. The guide explains that the vats and wooden pipes were used in extracting the saltpetre from the soil, and that much of the powder used in the War of 1812 contained saltpetre obtained in the Mammoth Cave.

The "Impartial Review" of 1807 contained two advertisements bearing on this subject. The first was to the effect that William Roberts had "gunpowder of the best quality for sale at the reduced price of 50 cents per pound on the first and second days of court in Jefferson, Franklin and Nashville."³⁵¹ The factories had made powder more common, and naturally

³⁴⁷Crockett's Autobiography, p. 21.

³⁴⁸Crockett's Autobiography, p. 17.

³⁴⁹Acts of Second General Assembly, October 2, 1797.

³⁵⁰Acts of Second General Assembly, October 27, 1797.

³⁵¹Impartial Review, July 11, 1807.

the price was "reduced." The other reads something like to-day's news items, and is as follows:

"On the sixteenth of this instance an unfortunate accident took place in Sumner County. The powder mill of Mr. Isaac Pierce, containing three hundredweight of powder and other articles, was blown up. A negro man, who was at work in the house, was also blown up, which put an immediate end to his existence."³⁵²

We are far enough away from the event to see the humor of the writer's statement of it.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE HOME LIFE.

Most of us are familiar with the log houses of the pioneers. Here and there over the State the decaying remains of them are still to be found,—many covered over with weather-boarding, and still inhabited. Modern doors, on steel hinges, have taken the place of the heavy old bullet-proof ones, swinging on their wooden pegs, and glass windows have been substituted for wooden shutters. The earliest cabins,—like Bean's on the Watauga,—were, of course, one-story, and generally one-room, though some had two rooms with a roof, or "dog alley" connecting them. They were called "one pen" or "double pen" houses. As the settlements grew, better dwellings were built, the old one-room cabins of logs giving place to two-story houses of hewed logs. In 1773, Christopher Taylor built a good, two-story, log house "one mile west of Jonesboro, on the road that led from that town to Brown's settlement on the Nolichucky River." It is said that Andrew Jackson boarded in this house and attended to his law business there when court was not in session at Jonesboro.³⁵³ It is still standing, is occupied, and the writer himself has seen from the inside, under the modern weather-boarding, the square loop-holes cut in the logs at regular intervals, through which those inside could shoot at the Indians. The old court-house at Jonesboro was a "one-story, log room, twenty-four feet square." A great rock chimney stood at the end of each room in the dwellings, and the large fireplaces furnished, not only the heat, but a place for cooking in the iron pots and kettles as well. The roof was made of "boards" split out by hand and held on to the cross-sticks by poles or beams, laid across their ends and held with wooden pegs. After the iron works began to produce

³⁵²Impartial Review, February 21, 1807.

³⁵³Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 11.

wrought and cut nails, so they were plentiful, it was easier to nail on these home-made shingles.

The better houses were built of stone and brick. There are numbers of them still standing, and while they have been re-covered and new porches have been built about them, the walls are good and the timbering is seemingly as sound as when first put together. A house of this description stands a mile below Telford, in Washington County. One of the stones of the wall on the west gable bears the date "1791," deeply cut. This house was built by Thomas Embree, Allison says in 1780, but there is no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the date cut in the stone near the top of the wall. Elihu Embree, his brother, issued in 1820 what Allison called "the first abolition paper published in the United States" in this house.³⁵⁴ Thomas Embree also built another house a little later about ten or twelve miles further west, and both of these houses are occupied at the present time. Reference has already been made to the large, stone house of General Winchester in Sumner County, which he had Baltimore workmen build in 1802 and which he named "Cragfont." This house still stands and is in excellent condition, considering its age of one hundred and twenty years. F. A. Michaux, a noted French traveler, visited Colonel Winchester while it was under construction, and he made this entry in his notes:

"There are very few of the inhabitants that build in this manner on account of the price of workmanship, masons being still scarcer than carpenters and joiners."³⁵⁵

On the same trip Michaux stopped at Nashville and Knoxville. The former he described as a town of "one hundred and twenty houses, constructed of wood, except seven or eight that are built of brick." The latter, he said, "contained two hundred houses composed of wood, and two or three tanyards." The shops, he said, "got their provisions from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, the price of conveyance being six or seven dollars per hundredweight."³⁵⁶

In the records of the Davidson County Court for the year 1783, there is the following entry:

The Court fixed on a place for building the courthouse and prison, agreeing that in the present situation of the settlement they be at Nashborough; to be built at the public expense, of hewed logs. The courthouse to be eighteen feet square, with a shade of twelve feet on one side of the house, with benches, bar and table for the use of the Court. The prison to be of square, hewed logs, a foot square, both with floor and loft, except the same shall be built on a rock.

³⁵⁴Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 79.

³⁵⁵Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. I., 1915, p. 84.

³⁵⁶American Historical Magazine, Vol. V., 1900, p. 101.

In 1802 there were but four brick buildings in Nashville, one, the public market, twenty by forty feet, and three other small, one-story houses. Most of the dwellings and shops were built of cedar logs, weather-boarded over.³⁵⁷

There are several old buildings still standing in Knoxville that take us back to pioneer times. Governor Blount's later residence is there, his first one,—a log cabin,—having been destroyed. There is also an historic old building at the corner of Cumberland Avenue and State Street that is thought by many citizens of the town to have been the first capitol of the State, but this is denied by some of the older citizens, who say that the capitol building was on the corner of Hill and State Streets.

Daniel Smith, the surveyor, built "Rock Castle," his large, famous, two-story, stone house on Drake's Creek, in Sumner County, about 1784, according to the family tradition. We know that the house had been built for some time in 1794, when the two Bledsoe boys were murdered by the Indians at the quarry, near the house, from which the stone used in building it had been taken. The house was built of cut stones, fitted closely together, and so well was it constructed that it stands to-day, no cracks showing in its straight, wellformed walls.³⁵⁸

The old Washington County records show that as the lots of Jonesboro were granted to the early settlers in the town for nominal fees, the requirement was made that the recipient "build a house" on the lot, "well framed of logs or of brick or stone, sixteen feet square at least, and eight feet clear in the pitch."

The Jonesboro court-house was "built of round logs, freshly cut from the adjacent forest." The requirements were that it be "twenty-four feet square, diamond corners, and hewn down after it was built up; nine feet high between the two floors; body of the house four feet above upper floor; floors neatly laid with plank; shingles of roof to be hung with pegs. A justice's bench, a lawyer's and clerk's bar; also, a sheriff's box to sit in." Gilmore adds that there was not a sash or pane of glass in the entire building.³⁵⁹

Colonel H. M. Doak, discussing the home of John Sevier on the Nolichucky River, likens it to the Cowan home, which was built by John Cowan of southern Virginia about 1812. Colonel Doak secured his description from an old frequenter of the Cowan home. He pictures it as follows:

"It was a large, two-story, frame house, with long upper and lower

³⁵⁷Clayton, *History of Davidson County*, pp. 196-197.

³⁵⁸Garrett & Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, p. 118.

³⁵⁹Gilmore, *Rear-Guard of the Revolution*, p. 155.

porches and an ample back porch, gigantic rock chimneys, a roof of walnut shingles [home-made] fastened on with walnut pegs. A big, two-story, rock spring house contained all the needful dairy paraphernalia. A vast, double, log barn contained hay mows, threshing floors, graneries and horse stalls. There were stored the plows, harrows, harness, flails for threshing grain, sickles, reaping hooks, the scythe with the short blade and crooked snead, the clumsy Dutch one with a short blade and straight snathe; two English scythes, a broader blade and a long, narrow blade known as the "black snake" scythe, and many antiquated implements known to Scotch farmers. In the house all that goes with the production of flaxen and woolen fabrics, hackles, scutches, with long, sword-like wooden scutching knives, brakes, cloth and weaving, the "big wheel" for woolen yarns, the smaller spinning wheels for fine yarns, reels for "hanking" woolen yarns in cuts, looms for weaving all kinds of cloth. On the walls hung sword belts, old musket and flint locks, and on the floor [were scattered] numerous English and a few American periodicals.³⁶⁰

This picture gives us a glimpse of the well-to-do settler's home toward the close of the pioneer period. At this time the homes were better furnished. The ruder, home-made furniture had given place to heavy pieces, brought in by wagon trains from the North. The grandfather clocks of cherry, the high "secretaries," or desks, of maple and walnut, and the high, four-poster beds, some of mahogany and imported from England, were to be found in homes like Doak's, Blount's, Winchester's and Sevier's. Samuel Doak's clock, with its old wooden wheels, and his desk, with its secret drawers and compartments, both made of cherry wood, are still in the hands of his descendants in Greene County. Bureaus with glass knobs and plate glass mirrors and tables were common in the towns after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Pitchers and plates of pewter, decanters of cut glass, and knives and forks of silver were also brought in after the fear of Indian outbreaks had passed. The stores advertised for sale "tin-ware of all kinds," "knives and forks," "queen's-ware," "glass-ware" and "pots and kettles" of iron, copper and brass. The old, blue-flowered china-ware can still be found in the homes of those descended from the early families scattered throughout the State. The large fireplaces furnished much of the "evening light" in the poorer homes, for the pioneers were "early to bed and early to rise." Where more light was wanted, the tallow dips and moulded candles were used. The candlestick moulds and snuffers, like the blue-flowered china, are still preserved in many modern homes.

Roosevelt says of the pioneer:

"If he was poor his cabin was made of unhewn logs, and held but a single room; if well-to-do, the logs were neatly hewed, and besides

³⁶⁰Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 167.

the large living and eating-room with its huge stone fireplace, there was also a small bedroom and a kitchen, while a ladder led to the loft above, in which the boys slept. The floor was made of puncheons, great slabs of wood hewed carefully out, and the roof of clapboards. Pegs of wood were thrust into the sides of the house, to serve instead of a wardrobe, and buck antlers, thrust into joists, held the ever-ready rifles. The table was a great clapboard set on four wooden legs; there were three-legged stools, and in the better sort of houses old-fashioned rocking-chairs. The couch or bed was warmly covered with blankets, bearskins and deer-hides.

In the McAfee Manuscript there is an amusing mention of the skin of a huge bull elk, killed by the father, which the youngsters quarreled for on cold nights, as it was very warm, though if the hairside was turned in it became slippery and apt to slide off the bed.³⁶¹

BOOKS.

The reading matter of the early home was largely religious or professional. The literature in which the pioneer was interested was of a serious nature. Outside of the law-books, school-books and dictionaries, most of the volumes were on philosophy or religion. The school-books will be mentioned later.

In 1792 James Miller and Cowan advertised at their store in Knoxville "Bibles," "Testaments," "Law-books," "Watt's Psalms and Hymns," "Harvey's Meditations," "Wilson's Works," "Marshall's Works," "Buchanan's Family Physician" and "Sermons and several books on Divinity."³⁶²

In 1794 and 1795 the following advertisements appeared in the "Knoxville Gazette":

Just published for sale by Mr. Deaderick, Mr. Stuart and Mr. Cowan, in Jonesborough. Mr. Wylie in Greeneville and Mr. Cowan in Knoxville, a sermon on Psalmody, preached at Salem Church at the opening of the Presbytery of Abingdon, October 12, 1786, by Hezekiah Balch, A.M., pastor of Mount Bethel Church, Greeneville.³⁶³

Just published and for sale for one shilling, by George Roulstone and Company, the sermon given at Knoxville, February 25, 1794, in the presence of the Governor William Blount and Assembly of the Territory South of the Ohio, by Samuel Carrick, A.M., pastor of the church in Knoxville.³⁶⁴

The subscribers for Toplady's Translation of Zanchius on Predestination are informed that the work is now published and ready for delivery. All subscribers are requested to send for their books—at the Printing Office—four shillings per copy.³⁶⁵

It is no wonder that the faces of the frontiersmen were

³⁶¹Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. I., p. 112.

³⁶²Knoxville Gazette, May 26 and August 8, 1792.

³⁶³Knoxville Gazette, February 13, 1794.

See page 138.

³⁶⁴Knoxville Gazette, April 10, 1794.

See page 139.

³⁶⁵Knoxville Gazette, February 3, 1795.

long and their expressions melancholy when they had to spend their Sundays and rainy days reading such literature.

John McDowell, executor of Josiah Love, advertised in the same paper on August 25, 1794, that a large number of Love's "law-books" would "be sold at the house of Captain Hardiman in Davidson County."

Richard Henderson, on March 15, 1784, wrote to Captain John Holder in Kentucky, asking him to deliver the following books, which he had left at Boonesborough, to Colonel Daniel Boone, and if any had been scattered to other places, to assist in collecting them:

One Church Bible, 1 Vol.,
 One Common Prayer Book, 1 Vol.,
 Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 Vols.,
 Smallet's Letters, 2 Vols.,
 Johnson's Dictionary, 2 Sets, 4 Vols.,
 Virginia Laws, 1 Vol.,
 Voltaire's Works, 35 Vols.³⁰⁶

There is in the possession of Judge John DeWitt a bill of sale made out by Robert Campbell and Company of Philadelphia, January 7, 1795, and charged to General Winchester for his store in Sumner County. The bill contains a list of more than six hundred books, of which most are religious and educational. There are listed several Bibles and Testaments, Prayer-books, Methodist Hymn-books and Whitefield's Sermons. Fleetwood's "Life of Christ," Clark's "Erasmus" and Fisher's "Catechism" are in the list, as are Gibbon's "Rome," Chesterfield's "Advice," Scott's "Gazetteer," Clark's "Europe," Lock's Essays, the works of Bollinbroke, Shakespeare and Paine, Voltaire's Philosophy, Hume's "England," "Don Quixote," Gallatin on "Finance" and three American clerks' magazines. The whole bill, including some notions,—such as writing-paper, wrapping-paper, blank-books, ink-stands, sealing-wax, blotting-sand, gum, elastic and the like,—amounts to more than one hundred and eighty-nine pounds, English money.

THE FOOD.

The food of the pioneers increased in quality, variety and quantity,—except wild game,—as the population increased and more soil was cultivated. Corn, parched or made into meal and cakes, was the main article of diet, along with the bear and deer-meat of the hunters and first settlers.

Francis Baily, a Fellow of the Royal Society of England, made a tour of the United States in 1796 and 1797, traveling in an open boat from Pittsburg to New Orleans and returning

³⁰⁶Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. II., p. 155.

by land by way of Natchez, Nashville, Knoxville and Virginia. He speaks thus of the plantation of a Mr. Joslin, situated about six or seven miles south of Nashville:

"His house was formed of logs, built so as to command a view of the whole plantation, and consisted of only two rooms, one of which served for all the purposes of life, and the other to hold lumber, etc. Our fare, when it came to be served up, was such as we might have expected in such a rough country as this. It consisted of nothing more than a large piece of boiled bacon and a great dish of French beans, together with some bread made of Indian meal."

At a house north of Nashville he received "Indian bread and butter and milk, the standing dish in all these new countries."³⁶⁷

Honorable Randall M. Ewing, of Tennessee, wrote Mr. Gilmore that his grandfather, William Ewing, often told him that for the first year after the settlement opened at the French Lick, and before a corn-crop could be grown, "the breast of the wild turkey was used as bread and bear-meat for bacon." "They made salt in small quantities by evaporating the water of the spring known as the 'French Lick.' Bear-meat was regularly cured, salted, smoked and treated in every respect as bacon."³⁶⁸

While some salt was procured in the manner stated above, most of the supply before 1790 was brought in from Kentucky. Carr, discussing the Indian depredations of 1786 and 1787, says:

"There were a few other men killed on the road from Kentucky to Cumberland, who were generally salt-packers. We had to pack our salt from Man's Lick and Bullets' Lick, below Louisville in Kentucky. No wagon ever passed from Kentucky here in those days."³⁷⁰

Crockett's Autobiography gives numerous accounts of his killing bears and salting down the meat for the winter. He killed them as heavy as six hundred and seventeen pounds, and often several on the same hunt. He says:

"Wet got our meat home and I had the pleasure to know that we now had plenty, and that of the best, and I continued through the winter to supply my family abundantly with bear-meat and venison from the woods."³⁷¹

Professor Clayton secured from Dr. J. B. McFerrin, an old pioneer, a good description of the fare of the early days. He mentions the usual game,—elk, venison, bear and wild turkeys—and as civilization advanced and the game became scarce, he states that "hog and hominy became the standing

³⁶⁷Baily, *Journal of a Tour in North America*, pp. 410-417.

³⁶⁸Gilmore, *Advance-Guard of Civilization*, p. 336.

³⁷⁰Carr, *Early Times in Middle Tennessee*, p. 240.

³⁷¹David Crockett's *Autobiography*, pp. 164-165.

dishes." Green roasting-ears were considered a great delicacy. The meat was often "broiled upon the coals or a spit made of a hickory stick," while the bread was baked in the ashes on a journey commonly called "Johnny." The dough was kneaded and placed upon the clean, smooth side of the board, which was about six by twenty inches. "It was set before the coals, baked, turned and cooked brown. It was choice bread on the tables of the most aristocratic pioneers. Made rich by lard, cracklings or bear's oil, it was delicious."³⁷²

After the opening of the stores in the towns and on the traveled roads, spices and condiments of all kinds could be secured. Teas and coffee, rice and sugars, chocolate, mackerel and Spanish "segars" were advertised in 1807 by C. Stump and Company of Nashville, as having "just arrived per the barge 'Willing Maid' from New Orleans."

The "sugar trees" were plentiful in many parts of the State, and it was an easy matter to "notch" them and catch the sap in vessels after it began to flow in the early spring. It was then boiled down and made excellent sugar. W. L. Brown made the following entries in his diary on January 15th and 16th, 1805:

The ground thawed and the sugar trees would have run.

Then I took the pegin [piggin, a small wooden pail] out to Bet's sugar camp and brought home a pegin full of sugar water. Sister Betsy and myself made some sugar.

On the 30th he wrote:

Went out to Stubbs' camp and made some sugar, it being a good day.

On the 17th he entered the following:

Dinah gave me five eggs to ask mamma for to let her spin for herself. Betsy and I quarrelled over parched corn.

This shows that hens had been added to the barn-yard, and eggs were a part of the diet. Chickens, undoubtedly, were brought in with the first families, but there is very little mention made of their contributing much to the family larder. The "varmints of the woods," to quote Crockett, would soon dispose of them unless they were well protected.

The family cow was a necessity from the first, and most of the cabins depended on her for their milk and home-made cheese. Haywood speaks of the Indians sometimes stealing, and more often shooting the cows from the edge of the clearing, and the distress that followed, especially among the children.

Soon after the clearing had been made, the cabin built and the corn-patch planted, fruit trees were set out. As the men

³⁷²Clayton, History of Davidson County, p. 27.

would ride back into Tennessee from trips into Virginia, they would bring on their saddles small bundles of apple and peach seedlings and plant them around their cabins. In the Greeneville lottery, advertised in the "Knoxville Gazette" in 1794 two farms in Greene County and one on the Big Pigeon River in Jefferson County, all containing "large peach and apple orchards," are offered as prizes.³⁷³

LIQUORS.

One of the things that attracts our attention to-day, in this time of legislation against alcoholic drinks, is the great use that the pioneers made of liquors of all kinds. In the words of Silas Dinsmore, writing from the Choctaw Nation, where he was the Indian agent, "Wine and brandy are as necessary to my health in this climate as beef and bread to my subsistence," the real feeling of the early settler is expressed.³⁷⁴

In the Watauga settlement, in the eighties, "good distilled rye whiskey at two shillings, six pence per gallon, and good peach or apple brandy at three shillings per gallon" could be had at almost any tavern.³⁷⁵ The Sullivan County Court ordered the following tavern rates for that county in 1780. The decline in the value of Continental currency at that time makes the prices seem very high. Wine was priced at "nine pounds per quart; West India rum, fifteen pounds per quart; good whiskey, seven pounds, four shillings; rum toddy, three pounds, twelve shillings; good beer, one pound, sixteen shillings per quart; and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity."³⁷⁶ "If the rum floated melted tallow, they could only charge six pence the fluid pint, but if the tallow sank to the bottom they could exact eight pence."³⁷⁷

Reference has already been made to the bars kept in all taverns, as well as in the "cross-road stores." We are all more or less familiar with the way the whites gave whiskey to the Indians. Governor Blount himself promised them large quantities of whiskey at different times, and it was especially helpful when the whites wanted them to agree to certain terms in a treaty. William Maclin, secretary to Governor Sevier, wrote Robertson in 1804:

"I believe the Governor has made arrangements for some whiskey, brandy, coffee, tea, sugar, etc., and I suppose he expects to get beef, etc., in the neighborhood of Tellico."³⁷⁷

This was probably for Tennessee troops.

³⁷³Knoxville Gazette, May 9, 1794.

³⁷⁴Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., October 12, 1805.

³⁷⁵Allison, Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History, p. 30.

³⁷⁶Taylor, Historic Sullivan, p. 97.

³⁷⁷Gilmore, Advance Guard of Western Civilization, p. 337.

Mention has been made of the stills which many of the better-equipped farms had, like Morgan Brown's and General Winchester's and others. Isaac White, as early as 1792, advertised in the "Knoxville Gazette" for the return "of a seventy-five gallon still, weighing seventy-five pounds, and a cap and worm stolen" from his "distill house on the head of Horse Creek in Washington County."³⁷⁸ The papers of Knoxville and Nashville contained many "store notices" of "rum, brandy, teneriffe, malaga and sherry wines, and claret in bottles."³⁷⁹

It was a drinking age. W. L. Brown's notes in his diary like, "Papa very groggy this evening," and "Papa sent for some brandy and sat down with a pint, there was a quart at first; mamma and I kept watering it to the last," are very common, and Dr. Morgan Brown was not a drunkard at all, but, like most men of the time, was accustomed to habitual but moderate drinking. Roosevelt says, "Court day was apt to close with much hard drinking, for the backwoodsman of every degree dearly loved whiskey."³⁸⁰

AMUSEMENTS.

The "child of the forest" and the settler of the frontier are generally spoken of as being reserved and silent and given to "melancholy mien."³⁸¹ One would think that their pleasures were few and far between. Such, however, was not the case. The literature describing their lives makes many references to "apple bilin's," "quiltings," "house-raisings," "log-rollings," and "husking-bees,"—or "corn-shuckings," as they were generally called,—festive occasions when neighbors with altruistic intentions gathered at a man's place of abode and helped him with his work, expecting him to return the compliment when they should be in need. "Many hands made light the tasks," and the chance was given for "gossip," for news was scarce and the opportunities for social enjoyment were few. While the women worked and talked, the men would engage in shooting matches, blotting out the cross-mark at fifty or a hundred paces. Spence, discussing the early history of Hickman County, says:

"The procedure [of the shooting-match] was as follows:

Each participant contributed one dollar to what was called the "pony purse," taking in exchange five shots, or chances. He then took a board and burned it on one side till it was blackened. Upon this blackened surface he put a cross . . . and placing this board sixty, or sometimes one hundred yards away, he fired at the spot.

Judges were chosen to decide between the contestants thus shoot-

³⁷⁸Robertson's Letters, Vol. II., October 5, 1804.

³⁷⁹Knoxville Gazette, August 11, 1792.

³⁸⁰Roosevelt, Winning of the West, Vol. II., p. 323.

³⁸¹Elson, History of United States, p. 30.

ing for the purse. Sometimes a beef was substituted for the "pony purse," the hides and tallow being the first prize, the hindquarters the second and third, and the forequarters the others.³⁸²

Ramsey, in describing the social life of the early pioneers, says:

"The sports of the frontier men were manly, athletic, or war-like, the chase, the bear-hunt, the deer-drive, shooting at the target, throwing the tomahawk, jumping, boxing and wrestling. Playing marbles and pitching dollars, cards and backgammon, were little known, and were considered base and effeminate. The bugle, the violin, the fife and drum furnished all the musical entertainments. These were much used and passionately admired. Weddings, military trainings, house raisings, chopping frolics were often followed with the fiddle and dancing and rural sports."³⁸³

John Sevier, in his diary, mentions attending balls and dances no less than twenty-three times, to say nothing of the "little hops," as he calls them. He also mentions attending the circus and theatres when in Philadelphia, and an "elegant ball" at Judge McNairy's on the evening of May 17, 1797, when in Nashville. He tells of playing at ball, and of himself and son, John, beating Messrs. Aiken and Anderson in four games. He makes record of engaging in games of billiards and whist and of betting on horse-races and cock-fights, which were common means of gambling in those days.³⁸⁴

W. L. Brown's diary has these entries under date of February 1-3, 1805:

"I fought chickens and mine won. I was to have fought cocks but didn't. Cock fighting with Mr. Moses."

And under February 24th,

"Playing push pins and cock fighting."

In 1790, when King's Iron Works were dedicated in Sullivan County, two days were spent in "jollification and races and feats of strength and agility. Baxter Bean won the distance races, Jacob Akard the wrestling, William Smith the foot racing and a negro, "Cuff," in lifting the heaviest weight. After the furnace was charged with charcoal and ore, Mrs. Blount broke a bottle of rum against it and christened it "Barbara" in the name of Blount's mother, Mrs. Deery."³⁸⁵

Judge Allison, in describing the horse-race in 1788 between the horses of Andrew Jackson and Colonel Love in Greasy Cove, in what is now Unicoi County, says:

"As was the custom of the day, the fellows, 'spilin' for a fight,'

³⁸²J. D. Spence and D. L. Spence, *History of Hickman County*, p. 100.

³⁸³Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 720.

³⁸⁴Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, Vol. II., *Diary of John Sevier*, p. 511.

³⁸⁵Taylor, *Historic Sullivan*, p. 154.

stripped to the waist-line and fought in a ring, and when one cried, "Take him off," the mill ended, the bitten, gouged and bleeding combatants "made up," washed, dressed, and sealed the pact of peace with a drink of whiskey from the same gourd."

In this description he refers to those who had collected to witness the great horse-race. The race itself created much excitement, and people gathered for miles to see the contest that had been so widely advertised. Andrew Jackson's horse was beaten. He and Love swore at each other and would have fought had not friends separated them. The best feature of it all was the pleasure and diversion that the people of that part of Washington County had enjoyed.³⁸⁶

Jackson's love of fine horses and his enthusiasm for horse-racing did not desert him when he went to Nashville, as subsequent history shows. The Clover Bottom racing grounds on the Lebanon Road, seven or eight miles from Nashville, are still pointed out to the visitor on his way to the "Hermitage," Jackson's famous home, in which he died in 1845. The "Impartial Review" of March 29, 1806, contained the following notice in regard to a great race held there:

On Thursday next will be run the greatest and most interesting match race ever run in the Western Country, between General Jackson's horse, "Truxton," six years old, carrying one hundred and twenty-four pounds, and Captain Joseph Erwin's horse, "Ploughboy," three years old, carrying one hundred and thirty pounds. Those horses run the two mile heats for the sum of three thousand dollars. No stud horses can be admitted within the gates but such as contend on the turf, and all persons are requested not to bring their dogs to the field, as they will be shot without respect to the owners.³⁸⁷

These races were great events. Large crowds assembled and much money changed hands. It was against the state law to wager on them or on games of chance, but that did not seem to prevent the practice. The General Assembly of the State had passed "an act to suppress gaming" in 1799, establishing the law that "every promise, bill, note and agreement" should be void that was obtained by playing at cards, dice, billiards, horse-racing, wagering, betting, or any other species of gaming whatever"; any "person encouraging" would forfeit five dollars and "any one offending" twenty dollars, and any "tavern keeper or public tippling house" aiding and abetting the practice would be fined ten dollars and have their licenses revoked for one year.³⁸⁸

FAIRS.

County fairs in Tennessee are not creations of the modern

³⁸⁶Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History*, p. 104.

³⁸⁷*Impartial Review*, March 29, 1806.

³⁸⁸Acts of Third General Assembly, October 26, 1799.

day. They started with the State. The first session of the General Assembly gave to the citizens of Blount County "the privilege of holding two fairs in each and every year for the purpose of selling all kinds of goods, wares and merchandise." They were to be "free to every citizen of the State" and were to be held "the last Wednesdays in March and October and to continue for two days."³⁸⁹ The second session passed an act for the establishment of fairs in Knox County, the first being on the fourteenth day of February and the second being on the fourth day of July. In case either day should "fall on the Sabbath," the fair was to be held the succeeding day."³⁹⁰ Provision was made for fairs in Greene County the next year, in Sullivan County the one following that and in the other counties in succeeding years.

CLOTHES.

Skins were used by the hunters and trappers for clothes, and the first settlers followed their example. Deer-skins made the best garments. They were soft, pliable and easily tanned, and of sufficient size not to require much sewing. The leggins and shirts were cut out, holes were punched along the edges of the pieces, and they were sewed together with thongs and tied. The men and women both became expert in tanning and dressing these skins. In the words of Gilmore:

"They used the brains of the beast as an emollient, so as to give them a most pliable texture and velvety softness. They fashioned them into all kinds of raiment,—waistcoats, trousers, hunting-shirts, and even garments to be worn next to the person; and this was the work of the men as well as of the women as they gathered around the great wood-fires. The settler presented a very picturesque appearance with his cap of fox or wolf-skin, the tail dangling behind. His trousers and hunting-shirt were of deer-skin, fringed with the fur of the bear or panther, and the latter garment was belted about with a strip of buffalo-hide, tanned and dyed some bright color. His feet were shod with buffalo-skin. When he went abroad he threw the buffalo robe over his left shoulder, and wrapped in it he could sleep in a snow-bank."³⁹¹

Colonel James Smith, of Virginia, exploring in Tennessee in 1766, left his companions at the mouth of the Tennessee River, as they were pushing north into the Illinois country, and he and a mulatto boy spent eleven months in the wilderness before they got through to North Carolina. He described their clothes, which he said were in rags by the time they reached the settlements, as follows:

"The boy had on buckskin leggins, moccasins, a breach clout, a

³⁸⁹Acts of First General Assembly, 1706.

³⁹⁰Acts of Second General Assembly, October 27, 1797.

³⁹¹Gilmore, *Advance-Guard of Western Civilization*, p. 52.

bear-skin dressed with the hair on, which he belted to him, and a raccoon-skin cap. I had an old beaver hat, buckskin leggins, moccasins, and an old blanket.³⁹²

Moccasins were worn a great deal. They were made of the heaviest buffalo-hide, with the seams in the back and the tongues outside. They were much easier to make than shoes, which were stiff and heavy. Shoes were "polished" for Sunday by rubbing them with bear's oil blackened with soot from the fireplace, and peppermint was used to counteract the bad odor of the rancid grease.³⁹³

W. L. Brown, in 1805 tells of his difficulty in getting shoes for a wedding. He says:

"I did not know what to do for shoes to go to the wedding, but I got D. Wells to cut them out and I went and got old Fox to make them, and I was to give him one bushel of corn. I went to the wedding and there were great doings. They were married by Mr. Harvey, and after night."³⁹⁴

John Buchanan Murray, of Franklin, Tennessee, an old pioneer, adds his personal testimony:

"The clothing was made at home by the women. They carded, dyed and spun, mixing the threads of the desired colors, the blue dye being obtained from the indigo plant. I have seen my mother and the neighbors get together and make cloth in this way, counting the threads."³⁹⁵

David Crockett married about 1801 or 1802 in eastern Tennessee, and seven or eight years later went to Franklin County to live. He says of Mrs. Crockett:

"My wife had a good wheel and knowed exactly how to use it. She was a good weaver, as most of the Irish are, whether men or women, and being very industrious with her wheel she had in little or no time a fine web of cloth ready to make up."³⁹⁶

Another glimpse of the clothing of the early rural pioneers of the State is given by Guild, writing from memory in 1878:

"Our mothers and sisters spun cotton and wool, which they wove into jeans for the men and boys and cotton stripes and linsey for the women and girls. Silks, muslins, crepes, poplins, and other expensive dress-goods were then unknown to our people. If a calico dress was bought at our country store or from a peddler, it created great excitement and was "narated" through the neighborhood. The 'store bills' of the family did not amount to twenty dollars a year."³⁹⁷

These things could not be said of the towns like Knoxville

³⁹²J. G. Cisco, *Historic Sumner County, Tennessee*, p. 100.

³⁹³Taylor, *Historic Sullivan*, p. 152.

³⁹⁴Diary of W. L. Brown, February 6, 1805.

³⁹⁵John B. Murray, *Nashville Banner*, July 6, 1922.

³⁹⁶Crockett's *Autobiography*, p. 68.

³⁹⁷Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee*.

and Nashville. Sevier mentions in his diary buying articles of dress at least twenty times, some being for himself and some for Mrs. Sevier and his daughters. Of course, when he went to Washington in 1812, he purchased "jackets and britches and silk stockings," and when he dined with President Madison, James Monroe and Henry Clay, he certainly must have been dressed as fitted the occasion. He makes a note of "paying two dollars and a half for a pair of pumps" when he went to the "President's levee," and "thirteen dollars and thirty-two cents for a pair of silk britches"; also of buying "one pair of white silk stockings at four dollars and twenty-five cents," and "a pair of set knee buckles at two dollars and a half." In 1796 he paid nine dollars at a Greeneville store "for a muslin habit bought by his daughter, Cately," and the following March he sent from Knoxville "a muslin pattern to Joanna and a dimity one to Polly.

The stores at Knoxville and Nashville were advertising in 1806 and before, "Leghorn bonnets of newest fashions," "feathered velvet bonnets," "split straw Gipsy with straw trimming," "elegant bugle ribbons for the head," "a rich assortment of gold and silver lace trimming," "velvets and plushes, different colors muslins, calicoes and Cambricks," and braids and twists, to say nothing of ivory beads and buttons.³⁹⁸

H. Tatum's account-book for 1793 shows that he sold to Andrew Jackson in Nashville, "ten yards of cambrick and four yards of ribbon," and to others "green cloth, scarlet cloth, silk, linen, and coarse cloth; silk thread, silk handkerchiefs, gimp and cassmere."³⁹⁹ But the social conditions in the towns which boasted tailors and shoemakers and green plush and velvet bonnets were quite different from those of the rural sections, where the home was the economic and social center. There are many men living to-day in the State who have been reared in mountain counties and isolated districts, and who can remember well many of the pioneer customs much like those of Robertson's time. The western section of the State was not opened for settlement to any great extent until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and Crockett, in his autobiography, pictures real frontier life in Obion County as late as 1825 and 1830.

EDUCATION.

The pioneers of Tennessee were not as ignorant as many people believe. Many of them came from centers in Virginia and North Carolina where they had access to village and

Henderson, *Conquest of the Old Southwest*, pp. 39-40.

³⁹⁸Impartial Review, September 20, 1806.

³⁹⁹Knoxville Gazette, February 11, 1792.

private schools, in which they had learned not only the three "R's," but some Latin and Greek. It is probable that a census would have shown as many men able to read and write then, in proportion to the population, as now. The letters in the Sevier, Robertson, Jackson and Winchester collections show that the people not only wrote a fair hand, but used well-chosen words and phrases. In an age before typewriters and printed circulars were used, the hand-writing had to be clear. The spelling, it is true, is oftentimes amusing, but spelling was far from standardized in those days, and who can question their good sense, when no dictionary was near, for spelling a word as it sounds? Phonetic spelling certainly is "simplified spelling." When the early inhabitants in the Washington District sent a petition to North Carolina in 1776, asking to be annexed to that State, one hundred and eight signed it with their names and only two with their marks, and four years later out of two hundred and fifty-six signing the Cumberland Compact, only one had to sign with his mark.⁴⁰⁰

There are a good many references to private schools among the early settlements in the letters, diaries and early records. We know that the Bledsoe boys were killed by the Indians at the quarry near Colonel Winchester's home in Sumner County in 1794 as they were "returning from school," and W. L. Brown crossed the line into Kentucky in 1806 and "went to school and paid Wilson ten dollars for the session." These schools,—and there must have been many of them, for each settlement had its children, and parents anxious for them to learn,—were decidedly local and no two of them probably were much alike. The needs of the community and the whims of the instructor doubtless were the largest factors in determining the kind of school the settlement had.

The story of Crockett's school-days in the nineties in East Tennessee gives us some information. He says:

"My father . . . took it into his head to send me to a little country school, which was kept in the neighborhood by a man whose name was Benjamin Kitchen. I went four days and had just began to learn my letters a little, when I had a falling out with one of the scholars, a boy much larger and older than myself. I waited till evening, and when the larger scholars were spelling, I slipped out."

Later he says:

"I thought I would try to go to school some, and as the Quaker had a married son, who was keeping a school, I proposed to him that I would go to school four days in the week and work for him

Tennessee Historical Society, Box T 1, No. 5.

⁴⁰⁰Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 100-102.

the other two to pay my board and schooling, so at it I went, until I had been with him nigh on to six months. In this time I learned to read a little in my primer, to write my own name, and to cypher some in the first three rules in figures."⁴⁰¹

This school was taught in a private home,—as were most of the early schools. Many of them were taught by the preachers, who knew something of English and the classics. The pioneer preacher was supposed to be able to teach as well as preach. Knowledge was considered more important than pedagogical training in those days.

Samuel Carrick, who founded Blount College,—which afterwards became the University of Tennessee,—put the following notice in the "Knoxville Gazette" in 1792:

A Seminary will be opened January the first at the seat and under the direction of the subscriber, near Knoxville, where will be taught a complete introduction to the Latin and Greek languages, attending particularly to the grammatical construction, the true pronunciation, the design and connection of the author; the English language, grammatically, applying the rules in reading, parsing, correcting and composing; the liberal arts and sciences, geography, logic, natural and moral philosophy, astronomy and rhetoric.

The Seminary will be open two sessions in the year, consisting of five months each. The terms of tuition will be seven dollars per scholar for each session, paid at the entrance. Beginners in Latin will be admitted at the commencement of a session only, which will be the first of January and the first of July annually.⁴⁰²

The following three advertisements in the "Impartial Review" of 1807-08 show that the people of Middle Tennessee had also been interested in education:

To the Inhabitants of Nashville and Vicinity:

Wyatt Bishop intends to open an English School on the first of January next, where he has formerly taught with great encouragement. Those gentlemen wishing to favor him with their children may rely on faithful services.⁴⁰³

Wants to be employed as a private tutor in a genteel family, a man who can teach the Latin and Greek classics, the French and English languages grammatically, the belleslettres, logic, arithmetic, geography and astronomy. A line directed "T. S." and left at the printer's hereof will be attended to.

The Rev. Andrew H. Davis has opened a Grammar and Scientific School in Williamson County, a mile and three-quarters from the town of Franklin, immediately on the road towards the mouth of West Harpeth, in which he proposes to teach the Latin, Greek and English languages grammatically; also the various branches of mathematics and science. Those who entrust him with the education of their children may depend on his particular attention to their morals and progress in literature.

Terms of Tuition are: For the Greek and Latin and English lan-

⁴⁰¹Crockett's Autobiography, pp. 29, 49.

⁴⁰²Knoxville Gazette, December 1, 1792.

⁴⁰³Impartial Review, April 14 and October 13, 1808.

guages, taught grammatically, fifteen dollars per annum. Reading, writing and arithmetic, ten dollars per annum. Boarding can be had reasonable in the neighborhood.⁴⁰⁴

The last advertisement was signed by Thos. H. Perkins, Daniel Perkins and Nicholas Perkins.

The first school in Robertson County was taught by Robert Black, on Sulphur Fork, near Captain Isaac Dortch's, about 1798. It, like many others, was a small, rural, school in which only the simplest branches were taught.⁴⁰⁵

THE COLLEGES.

There are four great, outstanding characters among the pioneer preacher-teachers. Each one of these was the founder of a school out of which grew an institution of higher learning which exists to-day. Samuel Doak created Martin Academy in Washington County about 1779 or 1780; Hezekiah Balch established Greeneville College in Greene County in 1794. Samuel Carrick formed Blount College out of the seminary mentioned above, and Thomas Craighead founded Davidson College.

Samuel Doak graduated from Princeton College in 1775, married the same year, and a little later set out for southwestern Virginia. His diploma, which is still in the hands of his descendants in Greene County, was signed by the trustees of Princeton College, two of whom were Robert Morris and John Witherspoon, signers of the Declaration of Independence. From Abingdon Doak went down to Washington County, North Carolina, about 1778 and located, establishing Salem Presbyterian Church and a small school, which he called Martin Academy, about seven or eight miles southwest of Jonesboro. The Academy was chartered by the State of North Carolina and trustees were appointed,—one of whom was Hezekiah Balch,—at its regular session, held at Hillsborough in 1783.⁴⁰⁶ After the government of Franklin was organized, that State re-chartered the Academy in 1785, and ten years later the Territorial Assembly passed the following act:

An act for the establishing of Washington College in honor to the illustrious President of the United States at Salem in Washington County.

Whereas, the Legislature of North Carolina established an academy in Washington County by the name of Martin Academy, which has continued for ten or twelve years past under the presidency of the Reverend Samuel Doak, and has been of considerable utility to the public, and affords a prospect of future usefulness, if invested with powers and privileges appertaining to colleges.

⁴⁰⁴Impartial Review, January 31, 1807.

⁴⁰⁵American Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 318.

⁴⁰⁶State Records of North Carolina, Vol. XXIV., Chap. XLIV., p. 535.

Be it enacted by the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Territory South of the River Ohio, that there shall be a college by the name of Washington College at Salem, in Washington County.⁴⁰⁷

The act goes on to name the trustees and declare them a body politic, and to empower them to transact legal business. In 1818, because of the religious difficulties between Doak and some of his flock, he left the school in the hands of his son, and, moving fourteen miles westward, founded another school four miles east of Greeneville, which he called Tusculum College after Cicero's old villa in the Alban Hills. This college is still in the same place and doing a good work.

One year before the Territorial Assembly chartered Washington College, it chartered another,—Greeneville College,—which had been started by Hezekiah Balch, a trustee of Washington College. Doak and John Sevier were trustees of this school, as were Gideon Blackburn and Samuel Carrick, who will be mentioned later.⁴⁰⁸ In 1795 the following notice appeared in the "Knoxville Gazette":

To the Trustees of Greeneville College.

Gentlemen: You are hereby earnestly requested to meet at Mt. Bethel Church in the vicinity of Greeneville on Tuesday, the 10th day of February.

HEZEKIAH BALCH, *Prest.*⁴⁰⁹

Balch went north in 1796 "in the interest of the college,"—as do the modern Tennessee college presidents,—and when he returned he wrote from Greeneville to Governor Sevier, at Knoxville, as follows:

"Through the great goodness of Heaven I have returned. Had a prosperous journey and safe return. A great number of gentlemen, particularly members of congregations, had their kind complements to you. I have requested the trustees to convene at Greeneville on the thirsday of the May Court. I hope, Sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company, if in your power."⁴¹⁰

BLOUNT COLLEGE.

On September the tenth, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, an act was passed "for the establishing of Blount College in the vicinity of Knoxville." The preamble declares that,

Whereas the Legislature of this Territory are disposed to pro-

⁴⁰⁷Acts of Territorial Legislature, July 8, 1795.

⁴⁰⁸Acts of Territorial Legislature, September 3, 1794.

Greeneville College was united with Tusculum College on the grounds of the latter after the Civil War. The name "Greeneville and Tusculum College" was changed to "Tusculum College" a few years ago.

⁴⁰⁹Knoxville Gazette, February 3, 1795.

The Mt. Bethel Church was an old Presbyterian Church that stood one mile east of Greeneville. It has been destroyed. The graveyard remains.

mote the happiness of the people at large, and especially of the rising generation, by instituting seminaries of education, where youth may be habituated to an amiable moral and virtuous conduct and accurately instructed in the various branches of useful science and in the principles of ancient and modern languages,

Be it enacted that the Rev. Samuel Carrick, President, His Excellency, William Blount, the Honorable Daniel Smith, Secretary of the Territory, General John Sevier, Colonel James White, Archibald Roane, George Roulstone, Willie Blount, [and ten others shall] be and they are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, by the name of President and Trustees of Blount College, in the vicinity of Knoxville.⁴¹

These trustees were all prominent men, and they had no small part in the development of the early history of the State. The act also "exempts the President, professors, tutors and students from military duty while connected with the College, except in general invasion of the Territory."

Professor Sanford in his history of Blount College tells us not to regard the school as "an institution giving a general education to the mass of the people." He says:

"It was, on the contrary, a classical academy for the sons of the comparatively wealthy, giving them a classical training and acquaintance with polite and liberal arts."

He says again that William Parker, "the first and only graduate of Blount College," was reported by President Carrick "as having been examined and approved in Virgil, Rhetoric, Horace, Logic, Geography, Greek Testament, Lucien, Mathematics, Ethics and Natural Philosophy."

It is interesting to note, too, that young women were admitted as students on equal terms with the young men. Miss Barbara, the daughter of Governor Blount, was described as an "attentive" and "diligent" student, and associated with her were Polly McClung, Jennie Armstrong, and some other girls. But after Blount College became East Tennessee College, in 1807, the feminine names disappeared from its rolls.⁴¹²

The United States and Tennessee made an agreement in April, 1806, by the terms of which Tennessee ceded to the United States the territory in West Tennessee called the "Congressional Reservation," in exchange for all the vacant lands, including those south of the French Broad, which North Carolina had ceded to the United States. Among other things, Tennessee agreed to appropriate one hundred thousand acres in one entire tract in the southeastern part of the State for the use of two colleges, one in East and one in West Tennessee, and one

⁴¹⁰Sevier's Letter's, April 11, 1796.

⁴¹¹Acts of General Assembly of the Territory South of the River Ohio, Chap. XVIII., p. 89.

⁴¹²Sanford, Blount College and the University of Tennessee, pp. 13-23, 36-39.

hundred thousand acres more in the same territory for the use of academies, to be established, one in each county in the State. None of these acres was to be sold for less than two dollars. But, as one dollar per acre was considered at that time a high price for land, and none had been sold in the State for more than fifty cents per acre, the legislature cut the minimum price that the federal government had laid down in two, thus reducing the income intended for the colleges by half. In addition, of the land set aside, the best portions had already been occupied, and the settlers regarded it as theirs and begged for extensions of time, which the legislature readily granted, beginning the very next year. Consequently, the existence of these schools was maintained by a constant struggle. The trustees of Blount College,—which by the legislature had agreed should be the East Tennessee College,—tried different means of securing funds, one of which was by selling lottery tickets. Thomas Jefferson's reply of May 6, 1810, to Mr. Hugh White, of Knoxville, who had asked him to sell some of the tickets, is printed in full:

"I received some time ago your letter of Feb. 28, covering a printed scheme of a lottery for the benefit of the East Tennessee College, and proposing to send tickets to me to be disposed of. It would be impossible for them to come to a more inefficient hand. I rarely go from home and consequently see but a few neighbors and friends who occasionally call on me, and having myself made it a rule never to engage in a lottery or any other adventure of mere chance, I can, with the less candor or effect urge it on others, however laudable and desirable it's object may be. No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do and none has greater confidence in it's effect towards supporting free and good government. I am sincerely rejoiced therefore to find that so excellent a fund has been provided for the noble purpose in Tennessee. 50,000 Dollars placed in a safe bank will give 4000 D. a year, and even without other aid must soon accomplish buildings sufficient for the object in it's early stage. I consider the common plan, followed in this country, but not in others, of making one large and expensive building as unfortunately erroneous. It is infinitely better to erect a small and separate lodge for each professorship, with only a hall below for his class, and two chambers above for himself; joining these lodges by barracks for a certain portion of the students, opening into a covered way to give a dry communication between all the school. The whole of these arranged around an open square of grass and trees would make it, what it should be in fact, an academical village, instead of a large and common den of noise, of filth, of fetid air. It would afford that quiet retirement so friendly to study, and lessen the dangers of fire, infection and tumult. Every professor would be the police officer of the students adjacent to his own lodge, which should include those of his own class of preference, and might be at the head of their table if, as I suppose, it can be reconciled with the necessary economy to dine them in smaller and separate parties rather than in a large and common mess. These separate buildings too might be erected successively and occasionally, as the number of professorships and students should be increased, or the

funds become competent. I pray you to pardon me, if I have stepped aside into the province of counsel: but much observation and reflection on these institutions have long convinced me that the large and crowded buildings in which youths are pent up, are equally unfriendly to health, to study, to manners, morals and order: and believing the plan I suggest to be more promotive of these and peculiarly adapted to the slender beginnings and progressive growth of our institutions, I hoped you would pardon the presumption in consideration of the motive, which was suggested by the difficulty expressed in your letter of procuring funds for erecting the building. But on whatever plan you proceed, I wish it every possible success and to yourselves the reward of esteem, respect and gratitude due to those who devote their time and effort to render the youths of every successive age fit governors for the next. To these, accept in addition the assurances of mine."⁴³

The name of the East Tennessee College was later changed to East Tennessee University, and in 1879 it became the University of Tennessee. It has had a glorious history and is still making its influence felt in the State and the South.

The twenty-seven academies received very little of the funds expected, and those that were built and maintained were kept alive by tuition fees and private subscriptions. They became, in fact, private schools. Some perished early in the century, and others were gradually incorporated into the public schools.

DAVIDSON ACADEMY.

The school that was chosen in 1806 in West Tennessee by the State was Cumberland College, which had been Davidson Academy. The last man we shall mention of Tennessee's four great pioneer founders of schools that still live is Thomas Craighead, the founder of this academy. He, like Doak and Balch, was a student of Princeton University, and he came to the Cumberland settlement at the suggestion of James Robertson, between 1780 and 1785. He located at Haysborough, six miles northeast of Nashville,—now known as the Springhill Cemetery,—where he established the Spring Hill meeting house, a rough stone building, in which he preached and began his school. In 1785 the legislature of North Carolina passed an act "for the promotion of learning in Davidson County," choosing Craighead's meeting house as the place for an institution to be known as Davidson Academy, appointing him president and naming nine other men,—among whom were James Robertson and Anthony Bledsoe,—as trustees. The school was granted exemption from taxation for a period of ninety-nine years, and two hundred and forty acres of land on the Cumberland River for its support. The trustees had several meetings and made regulations for the carry-

⁴³Tennessee Historical Society, Box J, No. 84.

ing on of the work. A ferry was established at the foot of what is now Broad Street in Nashville, the toll from which was to go to the support of the school. The tuition was "four pounds per annum, hard money or its equivalent." The fields were leased and the rental price was generally paid in corn, while the income from the ferry varied, being, in 1805, six hundred and fifty dollars. The larger part of the student body came from Nashville, and as this place grew the parents began to object to their boys crossing the ferry and walking the six miles from "The Bluff," so the academy was moved to the hill above the town, "on the road leading to Buchanan's Mill." New buildings were erected, more trustees were added, and three auditors were appointed, who should report to the General Assembly concerning the affairs of the school.⁴¹⁴

In 1806 the General Assembly was asked to make Davidson Academy the West Tennessee College, which it did, changing the name to Cumberland College, appointing Craighead president and choosing nineteen trustees. The trustees met at Talbott's Hotel in Nashville, and ordered the purchasing of books and supplies to the amount of one thousand dollars.

They passed the following regulations:

It will be improper to suffer the students to attend assemblages, balls, theatricals, parties of pleasure and amusement, and more, to frequent gaming tables, taverns and places of dissipation. The committee recommends that tutors in their official duties wear a college habit, or loose upper garment of some light black stuff, or fille model, after the manner of the surplice or gown worn by gentlemen of the literary professions, distinguished by black tassels on the shoulders or sleeves as badges of office, and that the students also wear black gowns of similar material, but without the tassels, when they attend on recitations, prayers, public speaking, public worship, and when they walk in the town.

SCHOOL-BOOKS.

The old lists of school-books we can lay our hands upon give us a good idea of what the courses of study included. One of the trustees of Davidson Academy, Lardner Clark, left for safe keeping with Bennet Searcy, in 1795, the following list of books belonging to Davidson Academy:

1 Vol. Ferguson's Astronomy	1 Vol. (2 Vol.) Harvey
3 Lexicons	2 Cicero's
3 Vergil Delphini	1 Terence
2 Vols. Davidson's Virgil	2 Ovids
1 Vol. Hutton's Logarithms	3 Nepos's
1 Vol. Simson's Euclid	3 Sallusts
1 Vol. Xenophon	3 Lucians
7 Maire's Introduction	5 Greek Grammars
1 Dillworth's Assistant	2 Erasmus
1 Aesop	3 [illegible]. ⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴Acts of First General Assembly, March 28, 1796.

⁴¹⁶American Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 212.

In the list of books purchased by General Winchester in 1795, there were,

6 Doz. Assorted History	6 Sheridan's Dictionary
6 School Bible	6 Doz. Dillworth's
6 Morses Geography	6 Smith Geography
2 Schoolmaster's Assistant	1 Ferguson's Astronomy
6 Doz. Webster Spelling Book	1 Doz. Websters Selections
1 Doz. Ashe's Grammar	12 Constitution of U. S.
1 Gross Primer	1 Love's Surveying. ⁴⁷

The "Impartial Review" in 1806 advertised for sale at the printing office:

Webster's latest and most improved spelling book at 25 cents, short and easy Geography for the use of schools at 50 cents, and the "Kentucky Preceptor," containing a number of useful lessons in ready speaking for 50 cents.⁴⁸

W. L. Brown made a note in his diary that he purchased from Duncan Robinson, in Nashville, on January 11, 1805:

Gibson's Surveying at \$3.00	Pike's Arithmetic	3.00
Staunton's Embassy " 4.00	Park's Travels	2.75
Simpson's Euclid " 4.00	The Man of Feeling	1.25

The "Impartial Review" for May 26, 1808, notified the public that subscriptions could be "taken for Arrowsmith's Grand Map of the World on a globular projection of upwards of six feet by three feet. at the Post Office, for two weeks only, ready for delivery at Philadelphia the first of July.

One of the most interesting text-books of the pioneer times extant is an old home-made arithmetic that was used in the Donelson family, which is now preserved in the state archives in Nashville. It contains about one hundred and twenty pages, seven by twelve inches, is covered with old sacking, and was written by hand with black ink and a quill pen.

On the fly-leaves are,

William Donelson, his cyphering book.

Commend nor discommend.

Frequent commission of sin hardens men in it.

Drunkenness reveals what soberness conceals.

This moment came one Clark into this fort and made oath before John Eakin.

Miss Sally Smith, the flower of . . . of the love to William Donelson.

Samuel Donelson

Jane Donelson

Stockley Donelson

John Donelson

Leven Donelson

David Smith

George Smith, son to General Smith.

Billy May is a scribbler.

⁴⁷See page 125.

⁴⁸Impartial Review, September 13, 1806.

These names and scribblings, written more than a century and a quarter ago, take us back to the old pioneer school, with its rude furnishings, and show us the children working off surplus energy by scratching on the blank pages in their books. It impresses upon us again that human nature is much the same generation after generation.

The tables in the book and the problems are suggestive of the eighteenth century.

The table for cloth measure is,

4 nails	equal	1 quarter
4 quarters	"	1 yard
3 quarters	"	1 ell (Flemish)
5 quarters	"	1 ell (English)
6 quarters	"	1 ell (French).

The table for liquid measure is,

10 gals.	equal	1 anchor (Brandy or Rum)
18 "	"	1 runlet
82 "	"	1 puncheon
42 "	"	1 tierce
8 "	"	1 firkin (of ale).

Here are two problems in the book, both giving us information of the times:

I have a legacy of 1000 pounds payable to me the 20th day of next year, but my executor is willing to pay me down if I allow him a discount at 6%, to which I consent. What must he pay me in hand Aug. 12, 1785?

Bought goods in Philadelphia consisting of several articles as per invoice paid:	Pounds.	Shillings.	Pence.
For hampers and package	3	—	18
Carriage to Redstone Old Fort	31	—	10
To waggoners for pocket expenses	5	—	10
Freight to Falls of Ohio	8	—	16 — 8
My own expenses to same from Philadelphia			
For horse	9	—	15
For carriage to Danville (own expense)	14	—	6
Store rent	6	—	10
Boarding, Washing and Sewing	7	—	6 — 8
Clothes and Pocket Expenses	12	—	16 — 0.

These problems were taken from the daily experiences of the people of that time, as most of those in our modern arithmetics are based on our own experiences. The date, 1785, is about the time the Donelson children were using the old book, and the one who wrote it probably had made the trip from Philadelphia down into Tennessee, or had listened to the talk of others who had.

EDUCATION IN LAW.

Mention has been made of the way boys were bound over to tradesmen as apprentices until they learned the trade them-

selves. In the same way they were sent to the homes or offices of the well-known lawyers, and there they "read Blackstone's Commentaries" and received practical instruction in legal business. W. L. Brown tells of his mother's lamenting because she did not have money enough to send him "to study law with Judge Overton." A week later he says his father and mother discussed "sending him to study with Major Tatum." In the end he went up into Kentucky to the home of Mr. Joseph H. Hawkins, where he boarded and studied law, paying "one hundred dollars per annum" for board, and another "one hundred for books and attention paid when studies are completed, or some time after."⁴¹⁹

RELIGION.

The pioneers of Tennessee were essentially religious. It is true that they did not appear so to the French Catholic, Michaux, who passed through Nashville in 1802, for he said, "The Tennesseans appear not so religious, although they are strict observers of Sunday. There are few churches in Tennessee and itinerant preachers wander in the summer through the country, preaching in the woods."⁴²⁰ It is natural that Michaux should have felt as he did, for he saw very few of his own faith after he left New Orleans and Natchez. The early Tennesseans were practically all Protestants, being Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Methodists and Baptists from Virginia and North Carolina. Religion occupied more of their time than it does of the time of the average persons to-day. The old family Bible,—a large volume, covered with calf-skin, containing the family registry of births, marriages and deaths,—was kept ready for use near the fireplace, and was not only the book of religion, but was a source of entertainment for the older people on Sundays and rainy days. Books were few; papers were scarce; and periodicals were almost unknown in many places on the frontiers.

Sevier mentions in his diary "attending meeting" in 1794 and "hearing Mr. Doak" preach, and speaks later of taking communion, Doak and Balch officiating. In 1808 he entered in his diary:

Self, Mrs. Sevier and Betsy went to hear Mr. Edge preach at Mr. Reagin's. Mr. Edge is to preach again in six weeks, the eighth of July. I give the minister one dollar.

Evidently Mr. Edge was one of the "itinerant preachers" to whom Michaux referred, and he was to make Knoxville again "in six weeks." The one dollar was good pay in those days, and the "every member canvass" plan was unknown.

⁴¹⁹Diary of W. L. Brown, January 12, 1805, February 12, 1812.

⁴²⁰See page 149.

People gave voluntarily, occasionally money, but more often produce, eatables, cloth and such things. Hospitality has always been a common thing on the frontiers, but a preacher, or "exhorter," was doubly welcome at most any house at which he stopped.

Roosevelt, paying his tribute to the pioneer preacher, says:

"The whole West owes an immense debt to the hard-working frontier preachers, sometimes Presbyterian, generally Methodist or Baptist, who so gladly gave their lives to their labors and who struggled with such fiery zeal for the moral well-being of the communities to which they penetrated. Wherever there was a group of log cabins, thither some Methodist circuit rider made his way or there some Baptist preacher took up his abode. . . . As a rule the preacher who did most was a stalwart man, as strong in body as in faith. One of the continually recurring incidents in the biographies of the famous frontier preachers is that of some particularly hardened sinner who was never converted until, tempted to assault the preacher of the Word, he was soundly thrashed by the latter, and his eyes thereby rudely opened through his sense of physical shortcomings to an appreciation of his moral iniquity.

PRESBYTERIANS.

It is generally conceded that the Presbyterians were the first preachers in the territory that is now Tennessee.⁴²² Honorable C. W. Heiskell, in an address at the Nashville Centennial, said:

"In 1770, the van of Presbyterian immigration from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas entered this State. It occupied the right bank of the Holston in the present counties of Sullivan and Hawkins. The Reverend Charles Cummings and Reverend Joseph Rhea were the first Presbyterian ministers, and so far as I can find, the first ministers of Christ who preached in the State. In 1776 they accompanied Colonel Christian as chaplains into the Cherokee country south of the Little River. . . . As early as 1790 a cordon of Presbyterians stretched from Watauga to Nashville, and by 1797 there were twenty-five Presbyterian congregations in Tennessee."⁴²³

The Reverend Charles Cummings, referred to, came down to Wolfs Hills,—later Abingdon, Virginia,—about 1772, and from there he served the small settlements on the Holston and Watauga in what is now Tennessee.

Samuel Doak, however, is the pioneer preacher who is generally given credit for founding one of the first churches and the first institution of learning west of the Appalachians. He graduated from Princeton in 1775, in the same class with Hezekiah Balch and Thomas Craighead, and came down to Jonesboro about 1778. Roosevelt says:

"He walked through Maryland and Virginia, driving before him an old "flea-bitten grey" horse, loaded with a sackful of books;

⁴²²Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. IV., pp. 250-251.

crossed the Alleghanies, and came down along blazed trails to the Holston settlements."

Among the books were six heavy volumes, about twelve by eighteen inches, bound in calf-skin. They were commentaries of the Bible and were secured by him while at Princeton University. They are to-day in the possession of Mrs. Robert Doak in Nashville.

He built a log church and began preaching, establishing also a school, which the legislature of North Carolina chartered in 1783, calling it Martin Academy. The church he named Salem, and from that day there has been a Presbyterian congregation meeting house on the spot, the present building being of brick and having been built with funds given by Mrs. Cyrus Hall McCormick, the wife of the inventor of the reaper.

Abingdon Presbytery was formed in 1785, and is remembered for the great pioneer preachers that belonged to it,—Doak, Balch, Carrick, Cummings, Craighead, Blackburn, Joseph Lake and David Rice were all members. Transylvania Presbytery was formed from it a year or two later, as the settlements widened. Heiskell says that Doak preached also at the upper Concord and Hopewell Churches, in what is now Sullivan County, for two years, beginning in 1778, but he does not say who established these churches. He says again that the New Bethel Church, founded in the forks of the Holston and Watagua rivers in 1782, was, as far as he could find out, the first church established within the bounds of Tennessee, with the exception of a Baptist Church erected on Buffalo Ridge in 1779. If Doak preached to two congregations in 1778, and established Salem about the same time, the date given for Bethel (1782), if it was the second in the State, is clearly wrong. Rev. W. S. Doak, grandson of Samuel Doak, in preaching the dedication of New Mount Bethel Presbyterian Church, near Greeneville, in 1852, made the statement that the original Mount Bethel Church near Greeneville was dedicated between 1780 and 1785 (the traditional date is 1782) and that three ruling elders were elected and ordained, Anthony Moore, Major Temple and Joseph Hardin.⁴²⁴ After 1783 the men of Abingdon Presbytery spread up and down the East Tennessee Valley and across the plateau to the Cumberland district. In that year Rev. Samuel Houston came, preaching at Providence Church in Greene County. About 1785 Hezekiah Balch came, locating at Greeneville; and the next year John Crosson began preaching at New Bethel. In 1789 Samuel Carrick was preaching at the confluence of the French Broad and Holston,

⁴²²Garrett & Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, p. 155.

Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. II., p. 222.

⁴²³C. W. Heiskell, *Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee*, pp. 17-21.

where Knoxville now stands, and we know that he organized a church there soon after that time. His school was also founded about 1792⁴²⁵

Gideon Blackburn is said to have founded New Providence Church at Maryville, Blount County, in 1786. The records of the Presbyterian General Assembly bear this out:

"A rifle as well as Bible were carried by the pastor. Dr. Blackburn is said to have been "equipped for double warfare as with Bible and hymn-book, knapsack and rifle, he set out with a company of soldiers to defend a fort at the place where Maryville now stands, which was threatened by the Indians. Here he fixed his headquarters, and having first erected a log house for a dwelling and afterwards another for public worship, he made constant tours with the soldiers, going from fort to fort, preaching to the soldiers and to the scattered groups of early settlers. On these occasions he associated on familiar terms with the soldiers and people, diligently instructing them both in the truths of the Bible as he could find opportunity, and his labors among them were very acceptable and greatly blessed. Both he and his hearers came to the places of preaching armed with rifles and ready for any sudden attack of the savages."

Maj. W. A. McTeer, elder in the Providence Church, who has prepared an interesting history of it says:

"Tradition, coming down from previous generations, also gives the date of organization as 1786. In 1886 Eusebia held a homecoming, at which there were five octogenarians who were brought up under the gospel as preached in that church, all bright and intelligent old men, and they agreed that the church was founded in 1786.

The Providence Church was located near Fort Craig, where Eusebia was located twelve miles to the east, near McTeer's Fort, and in the general line of the Indian war trail."⁴²⁶

Dr. Blackburn went to Middle Tennessee, locating at Franklin, in Williamson County, in 1811, and preaching there and at Nashville once each month. In 1814 he organized the First Presbyterian Church at Nashville, with six women and one man as charter members, taking as a basis the work already done by the Reverend William Hume, who, coming direct as a missionary to Tennessee from Edinburgh, had reached that city in 1801 and had become "pastor of a small circle of Scotch seceders."⁴²⁷

Gideon Blackburn was often called "The Chrysostom of the pioneer pulpit." He possessed not only the fire and energy of his great teacher, Samuel Doak, but with it a spirit of kindness and sympathy generally foreign to the pioneer preachers. He, like Hume, was a close personal friend of Andrew Jackson, who said that he was one of the "most eloquent men" he

⁴²⁴The sermon in the original manuscript is in the hands of Mrs. Robert Doak of Nashville.

⁴²⁵See page

⁴²⁶Nashville Banner, October 11, 1922.

⁴²⁷W. E. Beard, History of Nashville First Presbyterian Church, p. 48.

⁴²⁸Gilmore, Advance-Guard of Western Civilization, p. 337.

had ever heard preach in his life.⁴²⁸ He was also the pastor of and very dear to Jackson's wife.

Dr. McNeily, writing about Blackburn, says:

"In his preaching tours and travels he was often escorted by Indians. He organized churches, evangelized Indians, established schools. He came to Middle Tennessee and had charge of the Harpeth Academy at Franklin for twelve years. On Friday afternoons he would ride twenty miles to one of his five preaching points, administer communion, preach five or six times and be back at his class-room on Monday. On one occasion three thousand people were present and forty-five were taken into the church."⁴²⁹

Rev. Hume, Blackburn's forerunner in Nashville, also became a firm friend of Andrew Jackson and later defended him in a letter to the London "Christian Observer." His church was one of the earliest in Nashville, and in 1818 he, with his flock, joined the church founded by Gideon Blackburn. His descendants have been members and officers in that church in an unbroken line to the present day.

Mention has already been made of Thomas Craighead, who Davidson Academy. When Craighead preached in Nashville—between 1780 and 1785 and established a meeting house and school, which the legislature of North Carolina chartered as Davidson Academy. When Craighead preached in Nashville he used the court-house, which would be filled, even to the doors and windows.

METHODISTS.

The Methodists soon followed the Presbyterians into Tennessee. "One of the traveling preachers reached the Holston in 1783, and in 1787 a Methodist missionary was assigned to the Cumberland region."⁴³⁰ Price says that a class was organized in Sullivan County about 1785, near the place where Blountsville is located, and a house built, which was probably the first Methodist church erected in the State. It was called Acuff's Chapel, and the pulpit was often filled by Rev. Francis Asbury. The society was composed chiefly of emigrants from Virginia, among whom were the Acuffs, Hamiltons, Vincents and Crafts. Another church was established at Nelsons, near the present site of Johnson City in Washington County, the second Methodist Church in the Holston district of which we have any record. A third was organized in Greene County in 1792 and was called Van Pelts Chapel.⁴³¹

McFerrin says that Jeremiah Lambert was appointed to the Holston circuit in May, 1783, and "at the end of his year returned sixty members." In 1785 Richard Swift and Michael

⁴²⁸James McNeilly, *History of First Presbyterian Church*, pp. 74-76.

⁴²⁹A. H. Noll, *History of Tennessee Diocese*, p. 23.

⁴³¹Price, *Holston Methodism*, Vol. I., p. 135.

Gilbert were appointed to the Holston circuit, and the membership rapidly grew. The next year two hundred and fifty members were returned, and a new circuit, the Nolichucky, was formed. "In 1787 Benjamin Ogden passed the Wilderness from Kentucky and began to preach in the Cumberland country. At the end of his year's labors he reported sixty-three members, four of whom were colored persons."⁴³²

Carr mentions Ogden, Haw, Massie, Williamson, Lee, McHenry and O'Cull as being other pioneers who first labored in and near Nashville. He describes the first Methodist church in Nashville, built in 1789 or 1790, as being a stone building located in what is now the city square. There was another Methodist church four miles north of Nashville on the opposite side of the river.

The first Assembly at Knoxville, in 1796, passed the following act to protect the Methodists in their property rights at Nashville:

Whereas the religious society called the Methodist have erected a meeting house on the public square, in Nashville, and ought to have the use thereof secured to them.

Be it enacted, that the trustees of the town aforesaid shall, and they are hereby authorized to execute a deed to five persons, such as the said society shall appoint, for the land whereon the said house stands, to include twenty feet on each side and end of said house, which shall vest in the said appointees of the said society, a title to, and for the use, and with the express limitations following, viz.: Said meeting house shall be and remain to the use of the said society, so far only as to give a right to their ministers to preach therein; but shall not extend to authorize them to debar or deny to any other denomination of Christians the liberty of preaching therein, unless when immediately occupied by the said society; nor shall the said appointees have power to alien their title to the same to any person or persons whatsoever, except to the trustees of Nashville, to and for the use of said town.

10. Be it enacted, that the trustees of Nashville shall have power to lay off and appoint suitable places on said public square for any religious sect, to erect a house or houses of public worship on under the same rules and restrictions that are above described for the society aforesaid.⁴³³

While the different sects and denominations could not agree among themselves as to points of doctrine, it is evident that there were enough members of different denominations in the General Assembly to secure rights to all in regard to property.

Colyar gives an amusing incident of Peter Cartwright, a great pioneer Methodist preacher, who attended a Methodist conference at Nashville in the early days. The Bishop said,

⁴³²McFerrin, History of Methodism in Tennessee, p. 28.

⁴³³Acts of First General Assembly, April 23, 1796, Sec. 9, Chap. 29.

“Now, Cartwright, I want you to be just as polite as possible, and respectful to those Presbyterians as you can. Don’t say anything about doctrine and don’t say anything that will be unpleasant, but just go along and be a decent man.” Cartwright said, “Well, sir, you’ve sent me to preach to them Presbyterians, and I am going to preach my own sermon, and I tell you that I will give them Presbyterians something on the damnation of infants (a part of their doctrine) which they will remember.”⁴³⁴

The number of Methodist members in 1792 is given by McFerrin as follows:

Holston	214 whites,	13 colored,
Greene	266 whites,	8 colored,
Russell	115 whites,	2 colored,
Cumberland	370 whites,	57 colored,
<hr/>		
Total	925 whites,	80 colored,
Holston circuit	780 whites,	52 colored,
Powell’s Valley	70 whites,	
Nolichucky circuit	636 whites,	31 colored,
French Broad circuit	648 whites,	14 colored,
Clinch circuit	500 whites,	53 colored,
Nashville circuit	637 whites,	87 colored,
Red River	289 whites,	11 colored,
<hr/>		
Total	3560 whites,	248 colored. ⁴³⁵

In 1804:

The figures for the whole western conference, including Kentucky, amount to more than seven thousand, five hundred souls, showing clearly how faithfully and zealously the Methodist pioneer preachers must have labored.

BAPTISTS.

The Baptist pioneer preachers were at work in lower Virginia and upper East Tennessee about the same time that the Presbyterians and Methodists were. J. J. Burnett includes Daniel Boone in his book of pioneer Baptists, though he admits that Boone was a Baptist only in principle,—what principle, he doesn’t say,—and “was never identified with the Baptists.” His brother, however, Squire Boone, was a noted Baptist preacher in Kentucky. He mentions the forming of the Holston Association in October, 1786, at the Cherokee meeting house in Washington County, five miles below Jonesboro. There were seven churches, extending from the north fork of the Holston River to the lower French Broad (now Dandridge). The Rev. Tidence Lane was moderator and William Murphy was clerk of the Association. One of the minis-

⁴³⁴Colyar, *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. I., p. 100.

⁴³⁵McFerrin, *History of Methodism in Tennessee*, pp. 87, 523.

ters was preaching in southern Virginia before the Declaration of Independence. Jonathan Mulkey and Isaac Barton had established the French Broad Church a short time before, with twelve constituent members. The old records show that in this church a brother was "taken under dealings for his making a shooting match" and excommunicated; and another "for drinking too much liquor," and a sister for "speaking disrespectfully of a sister member of the church, contradicting her own words and refusing to hear the church."⁴³⁶

Burnett says that the first church in the State was a Baptist one, established on Buffalo Ridge in 1779, and Heiskell makes the same statement. Hale and Merritt give the names of seven Baptist ministers who came into East Tennessee from Virginia during 1780. They give Tidence Lane, who came from North Carolina about the same time, credit for being the "earliest minister in the State to preach regularly to a Tennessee congregaton."⁴³⁷ The Goodspeed History says that there were six Tennessee Baptist Churches in 1781, holding relations with an association in North Carolina, and ten years later there was in the lower part of Virginia and upper Tennessee a membership of almost nine hundred members, and in 1800 there were thirty-seven churches and two thousand, five hundred members.⁴³⁸

Rev. Robert Semple, an early minister in Virginia, writing in 1810, places the Baptist Church established on the north fork of the Holston in 1783 as the first, and gives the name of John Frost as the founder. He points to the fact that the Holston Association had eighteen churches in 1791 and twenty-five in 1807,—fifteen in Tennessee and ten in Virginia,—with an average membership to each church of about sixty-five.⁴³⁹

The first Baptists in Middle Tennessee located on the Sulphur Fork of Red River. They were organized in 1786 by Joseph Grammer. A meeting house was built in 1790 or 1791. Soon after this another was built on Mill Creek, four miles south of Nashville, and a third on Richland Creek, six miles west of Nashville. In 1803 the Cumberland Association was formed.⁴⁴⁰

OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

The three denominations mentioned were the earliest on the ground and prepared the way for the Great Revival of

⁴³⁶J. J. Burnett, *Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Baptist Preachers*, pp. 63, 559-562.

⁴³⁷Hale and Merritt, *History of Tennessee*, Vol. I., p. 223.

⁴³⁸Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, p. 687.

⁴³⁹Robert Semple, *History of Baptists in Virginia*, p. 275.

⁴⁴⁰*American Historical Magazine*, Vol. V., 1900, p. 318.

1800. While preachers of other faiths came in and expressed their views and defended their doctrines, very little heed was paid to them till much later. Most of the settlers were Scotch-Irish, Calvinistic, and therefore against Romanism and Anglicanism. They were conservative by nature and position. They might listen to strange doctrine, but few were ready to adopt a religion different from that which their fathers had accepted.

This notice, however, taken from the "Impartial Review" of Nashville, dated July 14, 1808, will suffice to show that others tried to get a following:

At the request of some good characters, Doctor Cavender, the Unitarian, will preach on Sunday 24th, inst., at Nichol's Ferry, to begin at twelve o'clock, where he intends to detect errors and expose hypocrisy, by advancing stubborn facts, and with scripture and reason as his guide, he hopes to succeed in reconciling men to truth in preference to error.

THE GREAT REVIVAL.

The Great Revival, a testimony to the efficiency of the pioneer preachers and the religious attitude of the settlers, really started in Kentucky. It was not planned or premeditated. James McGready came from North Carolina to Logan County, Kentucky, in 1796, preaching at the Red River and Gasper River churches. William and John McGee, from the same state, came to Tennessee about the same time, the former reaching Sumner County in 1794 and the latter moving to Smith County in 1798. The McGee brothers visited McGready and they joined forces. The result was a great spiritual awakening. People came great distances, bringing provisions and prepared to remain for weeks. Out of this meeting grew the annual camp-meetings that followed, when thousands of people gathered and united in religious frenzy, dwelling for several days near some large spring on a good camping ground, and spending the time in singing, visiting, listening to the preaching and exhortations, and praying for and pleading with the unconverted. McFerrin gives us the daily program from the trumpet call at daylight to the last prayer-meeting with the penitents in the late evening. One of the singular characteristics of the revival was the emotional excitement experienced by those brought under conviction by the strong eloquence of the fiery preachers. Violent physical exercises, such as leaping, dancing, jerking the head sideways and backward,—called the "jerks."—accompanied by singing, shouting and loud expostulations, were indulged in by a greater part of the listeners, till they would fall from exhaus-

tion and lie in large numbers on the floor. These manifestations attracted much attention over the whole country and spread the fame of the revival. McFerrin says the revival served "to bind the hearts of all of the pioneer Christians in unity. Methodists and Presbyterians, especially, labored together with harmony and sweet concord and as brethren in Christ; had one end and one aim, God's glory and man's salvation."⁴⁴¹

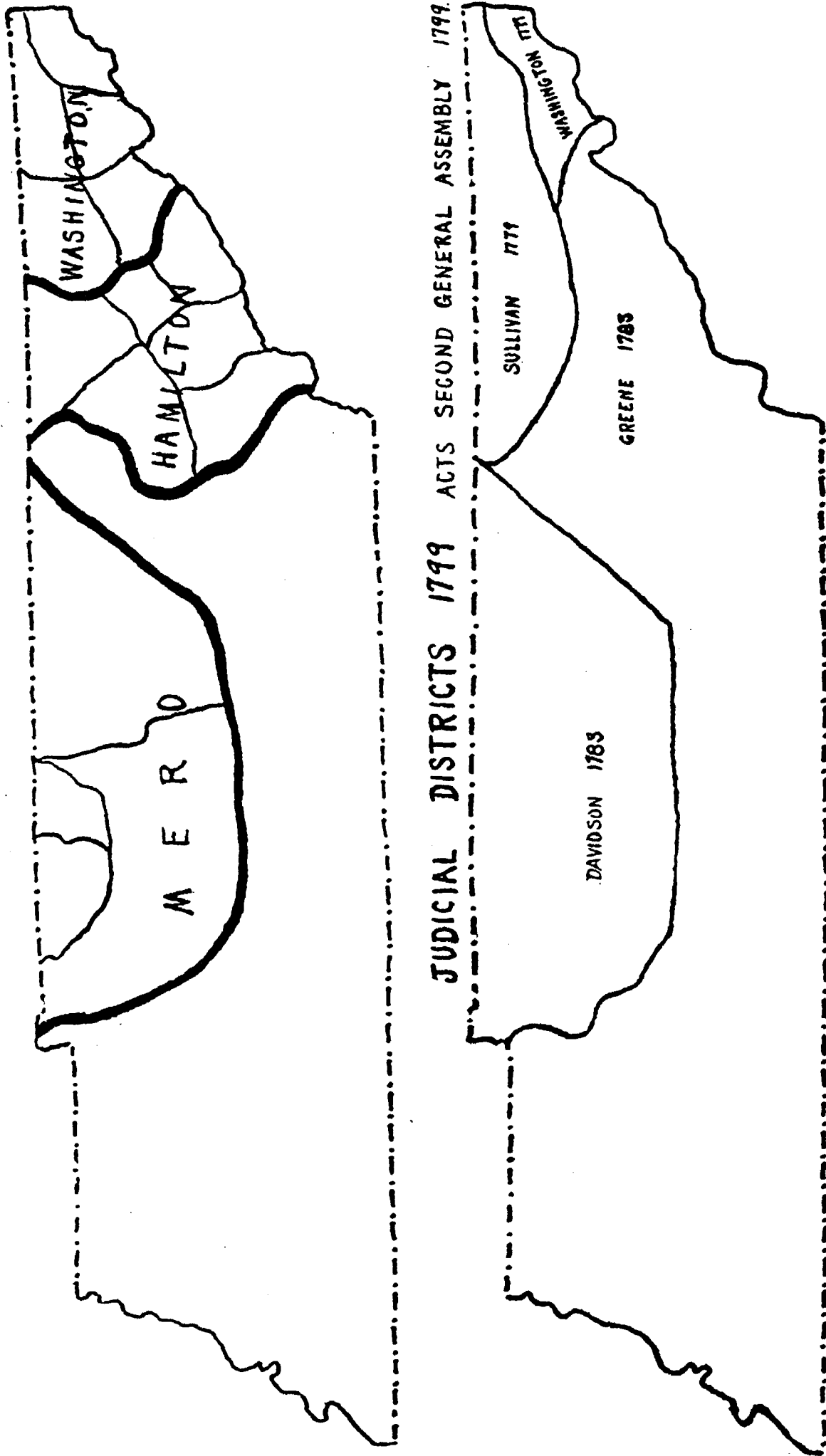
We have been following the growth and development of the social and economic life of the people of Tennessee from the earliest beginnings in the northeastern part of the State to the extension of the settlements as far west as the Tennessee River, as it flows northward across the State. The period covered begins about the time of the opening of the War of the American Revolution, and extends to the close of the War of 1812.

Two or three things stand out very clearly. One is the ready ability that the American pioneer had to adapt himself to a new environment. His inventive genius enabled him to build his home and furnish it; his faculty for organization led him to establish a government and to live under it; and his desire for culture induced him to found schools and educate his posterity.

Another thing that is striking is the short space of time in which the rugged frontier, with its occasional stations and block-houses, gave place to an organized State, with its capital at Knoxville and its two legislative houses meeting in regular sessions. In less than twenty years after the early "Long Hunters" prowled through the forests along the banks of the Holston and French Broad, and forced their way through the cane-brakes on the Cumberland, Tennessee had become a State and had taken her place among the other States of the new Union.

And again, the rapid development of the institutions of the State, their moderateness and stability, guaranteed the permanent securing of the great West to the new Federal Government. Tennessee was the opening wedge to the great Southwest. Her settlement doomed to failure the attempts of Spain and France to colonize the Mississippi Valley. Her institutions, breathing the free air of the West and being filled with the spirit of "backwoods democracy," found their expression in one of her own sons, Andrew Jackson, who typified the strong, virile elements of the new lands which he had helped to cultivate. And who can measure the effect on our growing nation of these strong influences of the West?

⁴⁴¹McFerrin, *History of Methodism in Tennessee*, Vol. I., pp. 338, 352.
Garrett & Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee*, p. 158.



TENNESSEE IN 1783 BOUNDARIES FROM SCOTT'S LAWS

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF WORKS REFERRED TO IN PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

A.

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Diary of W. L. Brown. Personal diary of Judge W. L. Brown of Tennessee when a boy. He was a son of Dr. Morgan Brown, who founded Palmyra in 1796. The diary covers the period from the beginning of the century till after the War of 1812. It was published by the "Leaf Chronicle" of Clarksville, October 5-26, 1916. A copy is in possession of Vanderbilt University.

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APPENDIX II.

A.

BLOUNT'S CENSUS⁴²
OF
THE TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO.
July 1, 1791.

Eastern Section.	Cumberland.	Total.
Whites	Slaves	
25,584	3,417	7,042
		36,043

B.

CENSUS
OF
THE TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO.
July 11, 1795.

Counties ⁴³	Free White Males 16 Yrs. and Up- wards.	Free White Males Under 16 Yrs.	Free White Fe- males.	All Other Free Per- sons.	Slaves.	Total Popu- lation.
Jefferson	1,706	2,225	3,021	112	776	7,840
Hawkins	2,666	3,279	4,767	147	2,472	13,331
Greene	1,567	2,203	3,350	52	446	7,638
Knox	2,721	2,723	3,664	100	2,365	11,573
Washington	2,013	2,578	4,311	225	978	10,105
Sullivan	1,803	2,340	3,499	38	777	8,457
Sevier	628	1,045	1,503	273	129	3,578
Blount	585	817	1,231		183	2,816
Davidson	728	695	1,192	6	992	3,613
Sumner	1,382	1,595	2,316	1	1,076	6,370
Tennessee	380	444	700	19	398	1,941
Total	16,179	19,994	29,554	973	10,613	77,262

C.

CENSUS
OF
1800.

Counties	Free Whites	Slaves	Total
Davidson	6,861	3,087	9,965
Sumner	3,332	1,284	4,616
Smith	3,693	597	4,294
Wilson	2,523	729	3,261
Williamson	2,174	693	2,868

⁴²See Haywood, p. 269.⁴³Acts of the Assembly of the Territory South of the River Ohio.

Robertson	3,414	863	4,280
Montgomery	1,998	821	4,819
Knox	11,128	1,298	12,445
Blount	5,240	345	5,587
Sevier	3,255	162	3,419
Grainger	6,871	496	7,367
Jefferson & Cocke	8,295	695	9,017
Hawkins	5,667	811	6,553
Carter	4,509	208	4,813
Sullivan	9,710	491	10,218
Washington	5,821	533	6,379
Greene	7,137	471	7,610
Total	<u>91,709</u>	<u>13,584</u>	<u>105,602</u>

1810.

Davidson	9,173	6,305	15,608
Sumner	9,961	3,734	13,792
Smith	9,424	2,201	11,649
Wilson	9,271	2,297	11,952
Williamson	2,156	3,985	13,153
Robertson	5,623	1,608	7,270
Montgomery	5,386	2,629	8,021
Knox	8,876	1,271	10,171
Blount	11,058	1,011	12,098
Sevier	4,296	294	4,595
Grainger	5,678	537	6,397
Jefferson	6,442	783	7,309
Hawkins	6,697	930	7,643
Carter	3,828	262	4,190
Sullivan	6,071	773	6,847
Washington	6,854	850	7,740
Greene	9,046	655	9,713
Cocke	4,702	436	5,154
Campbell	2,507	103	2,668
Claiborne	4,436	327	4,798
Anderson	2,694	260	3,959
Roane	4,896	670	5,581
Rhea	2,290	214	2,504
Bedford	7,057	1,180	8,242
Dickson	3,536	980	4,516
Franklin	5,020	709	5,730
Giles	3,813	733	4,546
Hickman	2,332	245	2,583
Humphreys	1,366	132	1,511
Jackson	4,912	481	5,401
Lincoln	5,382	720	6,104
Overton	5,282	365	5,643
Rutherford	7,527	2,701	10,265
Stewart	3,465	779	4,262
White	3,745	283	4,028
Warren	3,745	283	4,028
Maury	9,722	2,626	10,359
Total	<u>215,875</u>	<u>44,535</u>	<u>261,727⁴⁴</u>

⁴⁴Niles Register, Vol. I., 1800-1810.

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