

GEORGIA'S OLD FEDERAL ROAD



PHASE I: DEVELOPMENT OF A HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE FEDERAL ROAD IN NORTH GEORGIA

Submitted to
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By
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Abstract

The Federal Road was an important route through northern Georgia in the early and mid-1800s. Its most obvious significance lay in four issues: the early history of Cherokee-U.S. social, economic, and cultural relations in the early 1800s, the eventual use of the Road as part of the Trail of Tears, use of the Road during the Georgia Gold Rush, and Union and Confederate use of the Road during the campaigns for Chickamauga in 1863 and Atlanta in 1864.

This report describes important places and moments along Georgia's Old Federal Road, an important part of the state's transportation history from 1805 through the 1860s. It identifies the sites along the Federal Road and describes events that took place at those sites. The report identifies fourteen broad property types: 1. inns, taverns, and stores (inns, taverns, and stores were combined because of their commercial enterprise similarity); 2. ferries; 3. Cherokee homes; 4. missionary stations; 5. U.S. post offices; 6. mills; 7. political meeting sites; 8. U.S. forts; 9. U.S. removal forts; 10. schools; 11. Christian churches; 12. railroad depots; 13. Civil War battle sites; and, 14. Civil War troop movement sites.

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Objectives of Phase I

The Federal Road was an important route through northern Georgia in the early and mid-1800s. Its most obvious significance lay in four issues: the early history of Cherokee-U.S. social, economic, and cultural relations in the early 1800s, the eventual use of the Road as part of the Trail of Tears, use of the Road during the Georgia Gold Rush, and Union and Confederate use of the Road during the campaigns for Chickamauga in 1863 and Atlanta in 1864.

Phase I of the Georgia's Federal Road project, prepared by Ted Ownby and David Wharton of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi, had several goals, all of which were part of an effort to document and publicize the historical significance of the Road. 2005 marked the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Tellico which established the Road. That anniversary encouraged the Georgia Department of Transportation to commission this project. Phase I consists of a history of the Road and life along it from the 1790s through the 1860s, including a discussion of property types along the Road. Phase I also includes the production of a brochure, material for a 27-panel traveling exhibit about the Federal Road, and an audio driving tour that will be available on CD.

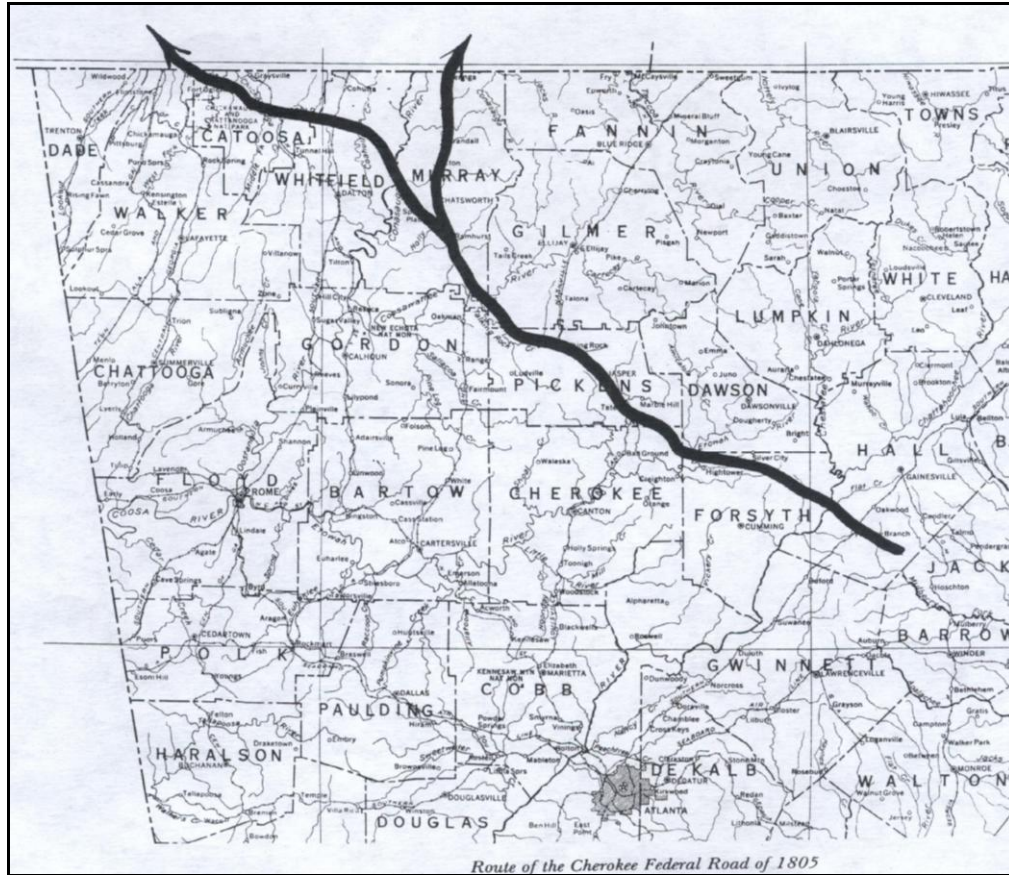
Phase II of the project, prepared by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Mississippi, is a more technical account that uses GIS technology, close analysis of the 1832 land lottery maps, and personal observation to map the precise route of the Federal Road.

Introduction

The Federal Road was an important route in the history of early nineteenth century northern Georgia for Cherokees, frontiersmen, speculators, gold miners, farmers and herders, and Civil War soldiers. In 1805 the Road began and went through Cherokee territory, which later became Cherokee County (eventually subdivided into the nine counties listed below). Today the route of the Federal Road goes through Hall, Forsyth, Cherokee, Pickens, Gilmer, Murray, Whitfield, Catoosa, and Walker Counties.

The eastern beginning point of the Federal Road through Georgia lies in Hall County, between Atlanta and Gainesville near the town of Flowery Branch. From there, travelers took the Road north and west until a point south of Ramhurst, where the Road took two branches north into Tennessee. One headed north toward Tellico, the other went through Rossville and headed into Tennessee at Chattanooga. The western point for travel along the route of the Road in the state of Georgia ends at the Tennessee border between Chattanooga, Tennessee and Rossville, Georgia.¹

The Federal Road was a dirt road, a varying width indentation in the ground made low by repeated travel of people on foot, horseback, wagon and stagecoach. The Road followed an old Cherokee trail called the Middle Cherokee Path that connected trails stretching from Saint Augustine in Florida to the town that became Nashville, Tennessee.² The Road, as a project of the federal government, began in 1805 with a treaty signed at Tellico in Tennessee.



Route of the Federal Road, reprinted from **Placenames of Georgia: Essays of John Goff**, ed., Francis Lee Utley and Marion R. Hemperley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975).

People on the Federal Road witnessed some of the most important events in the history of Georgia in the early 1800s. The Federal Road became an important route for Americans moving into and through Cherokee territory. Along the Federal Road, Cherokees and Christian missionaries, American farmers, tradesmen, land speculators, and starting in the late 1820s, gold miners, tried to learn how to deal with each other. For some, the Road was full of new potential, either as a route to reach new land or as a way to meet and maybe benefit from a growing number and variety of people coming into northern Georgia. For others, the Road brought trouble, encroachment on hunting land, more conflict with the governments of Georgia and the U.S., and eventually, forced

migration out of the state. By the 1830s, the policies of both the state of Georgia and Andrew Jackson's federal government were committed to driving the Cherokees out of Georgia, and west of the Mississippi River. Thus, the Federal Road became part of the Trail of Tears, the route the U.S. government used to force the Cherokees from their home territory. The Road was also important for bringing people and food into Georgia and taking gold out of it during the Gold Rush that began in 1828 and 1829. Later, the Federal Road was a route for Confederate and Union soldiers in the Civil War campaigns for Chickamauga in 1863 and Atlanta in 1864.



The Federal Road near Four Mile Church Cemetery.

Travel on the Federal Road was slow, whether people traveled by foot, horseback, or by carriage or stagecoach. But while moving slowly through the countryside may strike us as a long lost part of history, traveling on a road that was small in width (at minimum, 14 foot wide), no doubt seemed modern in ways that early travelers found either threatening or tantalizing. Travelers on the Federal Road included farmers moving their livestock, planters and hopeful planters, slaves, preachers, land speculators, small farmers and small business people, gold miners, and government employees from Indian negotiators to soldiers to postal workers. Almost everyone was involved in something new.

Some Cherokees resisted the Road and made efforts to stop U.S. citizens from intruding on their land. Others welcomed the Road and hoped to benefit from it in various ways—especially through commerce and education. A few Cherokees took the Road to go to school in Connecticut. Cherokee leaders repeatedly traveled the Road to Washington, D.C. to deal with the U.S. government, used the Road in setting up their own new government with a new constitution in 1827, and used the Road as they grew involved in plantation agriculture and trade. The tragedy is that many Cherokees traveled the Federal Road as they left Georgia. What had been a road full of some promise, some contention, and much uncertainty became, for them, the first leg of the Trail of Tears.

Driving the route of the Federal Road takes today's traveler through a number of historic sites, especially involving Cherokees, gold, and the Civil War, and also along some beautiful and intriguing stretches of contemporary Georgia. Numerous highway markers along the route note the importance especially of Cherokee sites, removal sites, and Civil War sites. Today the route of the Federal Road goes through new suburban

developments, through farm land and mountains, through towns like Tate, Jasper, Chatsworth and Ringgold, past parks, tourist locations, industrial sites, numerous churches and other places important in Georgia's past and present. Sometimes today's traveler may find it easy to feel close to the experience of those traveling the Federal Road in the early 1800s; sometimes, it feels more like the early or mid-1900s. And sometimes, the signs of recent change are so great that one has to look hard for connections to the past. The trip from east to west or west to east takes about three and a half hours, driving the speed limit and stopping only once or twice.

One of the goals of this project is to identify property types associated with the Federal Road. This report identified fourteen such property types:

Property Type 1: Inns, Taverns, and Stores: Vann's Tavern, Vann's Stand, Daniel Love's Stand, Saunders' Stand, George Harlin's Store, Scudder's and the Buffingtons' Inns, Daniel's and Harnage's Stands (inns, taverns, and stores were combined because of their commercial enterprise similarity).

Property Type 2: Ferries: Vann's Ferry, Ross's Landing.

Property Type 3: Cherokee Homes: The Chief Vann House, The Chief John Ross House.

Property Type 4: Missionary Stations: Spring Place, Carmel, Baptist Missionary Station at Coosawattee.

Property Type 5: U.S. Post Offices: Spring Place, Carmel Post Office, Rossville.

Property Type 6: Mills: Saunders Mill, Prater's Mill.

Property Type 7: Political Meeting Sites: Coosawattee, Harnage's.

Property Type 8: U.S. Forts: Camp Gilmer.

Property Type 9: U.S. Removal Forts: Fort Campbell, Fort Newnan, Fort Gilmer, Fort Hoskins.

Property Type 10: Schools: Federal School.

Property Type 11: Christian Churches: Antioch Baptist Church, Four Mile Church, Old Stone Church.

Property Type 12: Railroad Depots: Ringgold Depot.

Property Type 13: Civil War Battle Sites: Pea Vine Creek, Ringgold, Ringgold Gap, Near Dr. Lee's House, Varnell's Station.

Property Type 14: Civil War Troop Movement Sites: Rossville; Ringgold to Tunnel Hill Road; Prater's Mill to Varnell's Station; Tunnel Hill Road.

The report will discuss these property types, including the listed examples of each, as part of the historical narrative of the Federal Road. The discussion of these property types are mentioned in the text in no particular order and examples can be applicable to multiple property types. It must be noted, that the examples listed above for each property type are not intended to be a complete inventory, but representative examples for each theme. Many more property type examples remain undiscovered, unrecognized, or are manifested in the archaeological record today.

Chapter One

Early History: The Idea of a Federal Road, Negotiations, and the Treaty of Tellico, 1791-1805

Representatives of the U.S. government had roads in mind in their earliest dealings with the Cherokees. The Treaty of Holston in 1791 included the stipulation that “citizens of the United States shall have a free and unmolested use of a road” through Cherokee territory.³ Eight years later the U.S. and the Cherokees returned to the issue of roads in a treaty signed at Tellico. And in 1801, the U.S. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn wrote to commissioners negotiating with the Cherokees that they “should not press them on any other subjects than those which relate to roads, and settlers thereon.”⁴

In 1801 leading representatives of Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky wrote the President asking for the federal government to help prepare what they called “a good wagon road” between Augusta, Georgia and Danville, Kentucky. The five authors of the letter said that since the route went through a considerable stretch of Cherokee territory, they hoped the federal government would buy or negotiate access to one mile on either side of the road. Writing that “To obtain the nearest & best road is of the utmost importance,” they emphasized the commercial possibilities of such a road, hoping it could link Kentucky and Tennessee to distant markets and allow easier access to “forrage and Provisions.”⁵ The U.S. government made clear it was pressing the Cherokees for a road. In February 1803, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn wrote to agent Return Meigs, “The opening of the road through the Cherokee Country to Georgia has become highly necessary.” He encouraged Meigs to offer “presents,” to discuss putting up “public houses” for travelers, and concluded that Meigs should tell the Cherokee chiefs, “We

shall not consider the Cherokees as good neighbors unless they will allow their best friends, who are taking every means in their power to make them happy, to make a road.”⁶

Early U.S. policy toward the Indians wanted them to settle on land and farm. The first U.S. treaty with the Cherokee, in 1791, promised to supply Cherokees with farm implements so “that the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining a state of hunters”⁷

Political leaders like Thomas Jefferson believed that a migratory lifestyle of hunting was uncivilized and, not coincidentally, interfered with U.S. citizens who were interested in farming and planting. In 1805, Jefferson said in a message to Congress that “our Indian neighbors are becoming sensible that the earth yields subsistence with less labor and more certainty than the forest” Jefferson continued in a way that made clear he was not simply thinking of the Indians. Many of them, he said, “find it in their interest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands for the means of improving those they occupy”⁸ Three years later Jefferson celebrated what he considered the clearest sign of advancement among all American Indians. “One of the two great divisions of the Cherokee Nation have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in law and Government, in such progressive manner as we shall think best.”⁹

But there were forces in Georgia and other parts of the new nation pressing the U.S. government to force Cherokees and other Indians west to open up their land for settlement by American farmers, planters, and investors. When the state of Georgia organized in 1802, its leaders made a pact with the U.S. government in which the federal

government promised to move all Indians out of the borders of the new state, although the pact was unclear about when and how that might take place. Cherokees knew about those desires on their land, worried about them, and ultimately divided over whether to work with the Americans wanting to move into their area, to resist them, or to move west.

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, Cherokees were divided about whether or not to allow the United States or the state of Georgia to build a road into their territory. In a general way, the Cherokees in the late 1700s and early 1800s divided between the Upper Town Chiefs, including Chief James Vann, and the Lower Town Chiefs, sometimes led by Chief Doublehead. The Lower Town Chiefs offered more opposition to dealing with the United States than the Upper Town Chiefs. Many Cherokees feared what would eventually happen—that Americans coming through Cherokee territory would raise disputes that would lead to new pressure to force Cherokees west. Especially, they feared that Americans wanting to pass through Cherokee land would soon want to own that land, and they rightly feared that the governments of Georgia and the U.S. would support them. A dispute occurred in 1801 in which an American citizen named Wafford settled in northern Georgia with about fifty people, claimed the land as his own, and planned to profit by trading with travelers. A Cherokee Council wrote in 1801, “We have no disposition to encourage they [sic] Travelers should pass through our lands as there is roads enough among the white settlements to go around.”¹⁰ Some Cherokees also worried about unnecessary conflicts over land or livestock or all manner of personal disagreements, and then worried that the Americans would not respect Cherokee sovereignty to resolve those disagreements. The leader of the Lower Town Chiefs, Chief Doublehead, made a long statement against new roads in 1801, arguing that Americans

should not turn existing footpaths into wagon roads, that too much violence and theft had already occurred, and that conflict tended to breed hostility and more conflict. “When you first made these settlements there were paths which answered for them We do not wish to have them [wagon roads] made through our country. Our objections to these roads are these: a great many people of all descriptions would pass [along] them, and that would happen which has recently happened , and you would labor under the same difficulties you do now.”¹¹

On the other hand, many of the Upper Town Cherokees, like James Vann, supported building a road for the Americans because they believed that since the Americans were coming, they should try to make the best deal they could. Specifically, many Cherokees wanted to benefit from a road through their territory by having rights to ferries, hotels, saloons and stores, and by charging tolls for foreign travelers. U.S. negotiators used the potential profits of dealing with travelers as an important part of their negotiations.

Stands, inns and taverns were especially important for several reasons. First, they were commercial establishments in which U.S. citizens paid Cherokees for room and food for people and horses and were thus important ways some Cherokees benefited from the travel of U.S. citizens. They were also important because Cherokee ownership showed, or at least suggested, that northwestern Georgia remained Cherokee territory and made it clear that Americans were only visitors. At Vann’s Tavern Park on the western bank of the Chattahoochee River and what is now called Lake Sidney Lanier in Forsyth County, today’s traveler can creatively envision the commercial possibilities of a road through Cherokee territory. In 1803, agent Return Meigs made a point of recommending

James Vann as someone who would build a successful tavern and ferry. Meigs wrote that Vann “will establish a good House of Entertainment on the Chattahoochee where the road will cross that river & will keep Horses always ready for the mail carriers if required.”¹² In 1957, the Vann’s Tavern building was moved to the New Echota State Historic Site.



Map showing location of Vann’s Tavern Park. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by Delorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

The Treaty of Tellico that established the Federal Road was finalized in 1805. United States negotiators had grown more insistent about a road through Cherokee territory. In February 1803, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn wrote negotiator Return Meigs, “The opening of the road through Cherokee Country to Georgia has become highly necessary, and you will please to take the earliest opportunity of holding a conference with the principal Chiefs of the Cherokees.”¹³ Of more than 100 Cherokee chiefs, only fourteen, including principal chief Black Fox, signed the treaty, but that was



Photograph of Vann's Tavern Park.

enough for the U.S. government, which was becoming impatient with the process. The U.S. government paid \$500 for the right to build a road, and had over the previous years either paid or made promises to several important Cherokee chiefs as part of the process. Chief Doublehead, long an opponent of the Road, gained the right to a ferry and also the promise of a new boat for his own use. More secretly, James Vann received a series of privileges—ferry rights over the Chattahoochee, a contract to deal with U.S. postal workers, and also some promises to help some of his friends. Rumors of bribes and presents were so widespread that the language of the treaty made a point to rebut them, stating that the Cherokee chiefs were “not influenced by pecuniary motives.”¹⁴ Chief Doublehead was murdered not long after the treaty was signed, at least in part because he

had changed his mind and become a supporter of the treaty and thus seemed to be acting more for himself than for the Cherokees.

Chapter Two

Construction and Maintenance of the Road

Unfortunately the history of the construction and maintenance of the Federal Road remains somewhat murky. This project found relatively few records about the construction and maintenance of the Road, and no other scholars seem to have addressed the issue in any detail. This project brings together the few pieces of evidence on the subject, uses broader scholarly writing on the history of road-building among Native Americans and U.S. citizens in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and draws some conclusions based on the work of trained and untrained observers.

Like many roads U.S. citizens took into the American West, the Federal Road started as a path through Indian territory. The Cherokees had the job of expanding the Federal Road from the Middle Cherokee Path into a wider road capable of handling larger vehicles, including trains of pack animals, the wagons used by mail carriers, and stage coaches. It is clear that U.S. officials, in order to hasten the process of negotiating the rights to have a Federal Road through Cherokee territory, granted numerous commercial privileges to the Cherokees. Ferries, tolls, and construction all became Cherokee businesses.

No records suggest that the U.S. government ever became deeply involved in the construction or maintenance of the Federal Road, as it did for other roads, especially later in the 1800s. Two concerns—Cherokees' concerns over issues of jurisdiction and the

American emphasis on local control over road-building—meant that the Road evolved more through the efforts of various people rather than through a specific design of planners and construction companies.¹⁵ The state of Georgia did not begin funding private companies to build roads until the early 1820s, and the state’s board of public works first met in 1826, so by the time Georgia had formal political structures to deal with road-building, the Federal Road was already an important part of transportation in north Georgia.

Turning a path into a road meant widening the path, clearing brush, stumps and fallen trees, and finding ways to ease the difficulties of traveling over bodies of water. Maintaining a road to keep it clear of new trees—a particular problem in the areas of northern Georgia where pines grew and still grow quickly in sandy soil.¹⁶ The Treaty of Tellico specified that the Cherokees should “form a Turnpike Company for keeping the said Road in constant and good repair.”¹⁷ Once the Road was part of Cherokee law, the Cherokee Council detailed how the road should look: “The road to be cut and opened twenty-four feet wide, clear of trees, and the causewaying to be covered with dirt, together with the digging of mountains and hills, to be fourteen feet wide, clear of rocks, roots and grubs, and the banks of all water courses to be put in complete order.”¹⁸

Although the U.S. government hoped to keep ferry money for American interests, Commissioner to the Indians Return J. Meigs wrote to the Secretary of War in 1805 that the Cherokees kept their right to benefit by charging travelers. “I take this opportunity to inform you that the Road thro the Cherokee Nation is now nearly opened for the traveling of Carriages. By the contract with the Indians for that road the income of the Ferries were reserved to them and to be put up to the highest Bidders.”¹⁹

Vann's Tavern Park is on or very near the site of old Vann's Ferry, by 1832 called Winn's Ferry and later called William's Ferry, where travelers paid to take the ferry across the Chattahoochee River. Vann's Ferry introduces an important point about the Federal Road. Looking across the Chattahoochee, knowing that this was a location for ferries 200 years ago, is a reminder of the difficulties of travel along the Federal Road, which crossed about 80 bodies of water, some large and most of them far smaller than the Chattahoochee. It is hard to tell where travelers used ferries and where they merely forded the rivers. The 1832 land lottery maps, complete with great detail on many topics, mentions no ferries except Winn's Ferry.²⁰ Observations both by archivist John Goff and by the University of Mississippi researchers who produced Phase II of the current project emphasize that the people who decided where the Road should go did so to make travel as dry as possible. Goff writes that the route of the Road "was planned to avoid excessive fordings, which early travelers dreaded because of the delays or dangers of high waters. When such passages were necessary, the road in nearly every instance led to spots where geological structures changed, in order to take advantage of the shoals which often characterize such locations."²¹ But at one point in the 1820s, Cherokee journalist Elias Boudinot claimed that throughout their territory, Cherokees had 18 ferries.²²

Cherokees charged specific rates for travelers. Two tollgates run by Cherokees on the Federal Road charged the following:

Wagon and team	\$1.00
Wagon and two horses	.75
Wagon and one horse	.50

Two-wheel carriage	.50
Man and horse	.12 ½
Loose horses	.06 ¼
Hogs, sheep, goats	.01 each ²³

This list gives a good indication of the range of travelers along the Federal Road. The heaviest and thus most expensive vehicles were wagons with teams, which meant four or more horses. Wagons with two horses and wagons with a single horse cost considerably less, and men on horseback cost only 12 ½ cents.

The relatively few scholars who have written about travel through north Georgia in the early national period emphasize the roughness of the roads. We should use some caution in accepting these conclusions. First, those scholars tended to repeat the criticisms of travelers, who were often on the road looking for colorful characters and events and usually contrasted travel in frontier Georgia with travel in northeastern or European cities. Second, at least some of those scholars tended to see history as the story of progress from primitive conditions toward civilization, so they were not likely to challenge their sources or to look closely for Native American alternative perspectives. Still, it is important to note that all writers seem to have agreed that roads through northern Georgia were hard to travel. In 1908, Georgia-born historian U.B. Phillips wrote, “In view of the thinness of population in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the dearth of capital, the length of the transit, and the forbidding character of the intervening country, the effective improvement of avenues leading to and from the Piedmont was a staggering task.”²⁴ Phillips continued with a general description of east-

to-west roads through Indian territory. “The activity of the federal authorities generally ended with clearing the route; it did not extend to systematic repairs. These roads were exceedingly crude, and developed no traffic aside from migration.”²⁵

Another older scholar, Randle Bond Truett, used travelers’ accounts to argue that the Federal Road, like most roads in the inland South in the early national period, was rough ground that travelers found difficult. Englishman Adam Hodgson traveled the Federal Road in 1820 and described it in an 1824 book called *Letters from North America*. According to Hodgson, “The surface of the ground continues to form a perpetual undulation. The road, which is called the Federal Road, though tolerable for horses, would to us be considered impassable for wheels.”²⁶

The Federal Road through northern Georgia was, to be sure, rough and hard to ride by the standards of most English roads. However, the nature of the Road showed that it developed as a combination of U.S. policy, Cherokee tradition, and Georgia localism. The federal policy demanded a road sufficient for postal workers, U.S. employees, and potentially other American travelers. Cherokee tradition had little use for large vehicles, and Cherokee roads tended to be narrow paths sufficient for traveling on horseback. As Randle Bond Truett summarized, “The early trails usually followed the banks and streams, making detours to avoid low bottoms and swamps. Smaller branches and creeks were crossed by fords when shallow” or by laying tree trunks across the waterways.²⁷ Localism in Georgia, as in many parts of America, suggested that local people should take care of their own roads. Thus, the Federal Road, like much of northern Georgia, evolved through an interaction of all three forces.

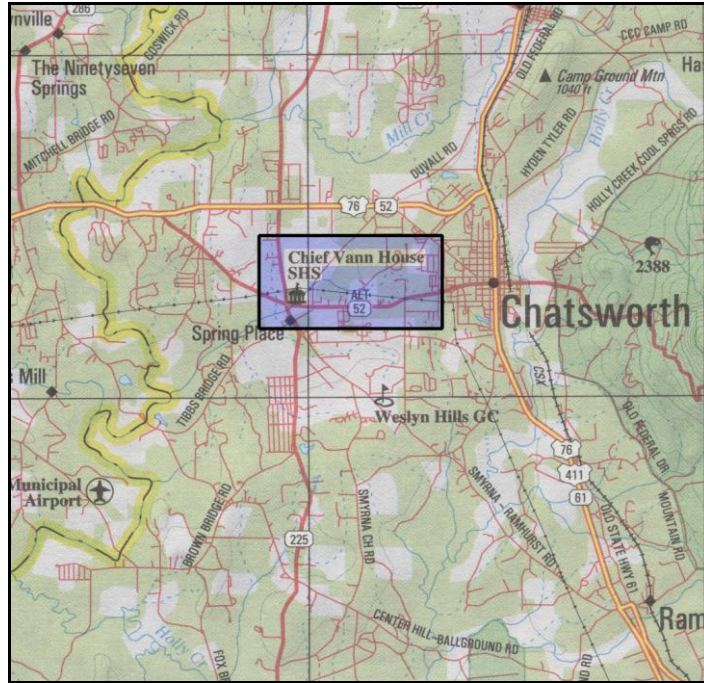
Chapter Three

Interactions and Possibilities: The Frontier, Cherokee Commercial Opportunities, and Christian Missionary Stations, 1790s-1820s

From 1805 until the late 1820s, the Federal Road led through an area of experimentation and possibility, mixed with a range of uncertainties and fears. Many Cherokees and U.S. citizens got to know each other, traded with each other, learned from each other, and some intermarried. Many Cherokees found ways to benefit from the Americans' presence, and many Americans, ranging from tradespeople to missionaries, saw in Cherokee territory a new setting to spread their goods or message. But Cherokees in this exciting period lived with very reasonable fears that U.S. movement into the area would lead to new conflicts and endanger their place in the region. This period represents what recent scholars have referred to as the frontier—not a new place for Europeans to take over and start fresh, but a common ground among various groups, characterized by experimentation, borrowing, learning amid a good bit of suspicion.

Today's traveler can visit two Cherokee homes which exhibit the frontier expression, the Chief Vann House in western Murray County and the Chief John Ross House (both discussed later in this report) in northern Walker County. These Cherokee homes, one a plantation mansion and the other a solid farmhouse, display goods and building techniques that mixed traditional Cherokee life with new influences and possibilities of the early 1800s. A large, attractive, accessible brick building along the Federal Road, the Chief Vann House, built in 1804, was the home of Chief James Vann, the wealthiest member of the Cherokee Nation in Georgia, and after him his son Joseph Vann. The Vann House, now operated by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources,

State Parks and Historic Sites Division, has often been called The Showplace of the Cherokee Nation. The Vann House is located in Murray County just north of today's intersection of Spring Place Road, also called Highway 225, and Highway 52 Alternate.



Map showing location of Chief Vann House. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer** by **Delorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

Chief James Vann was killed in 1809, and his son Joseph, sometimes called Rich Joe Vann, stayed until he was forced out of the house at gunpoint in 1834, ostensibly for breaking Georgia law by hiring a white man, but more generally as part of the effort to remove Cherokees west of the Mississippi River. James Vann and his son Joseph Vann became the largest slave owners among the Cherokees. In 1808, the Cherokees owned approximately 600 slaves; Vann was the largest slave owner, with 100 slaves. The use of slavery by the Cherokees continued and by 1825, the population of the Eastern Cherokees numbered about 15,000, including over 1200 slaves.²⁸ One can view a slave cabin at the Vann House.



Photograph of Chief Vann House.

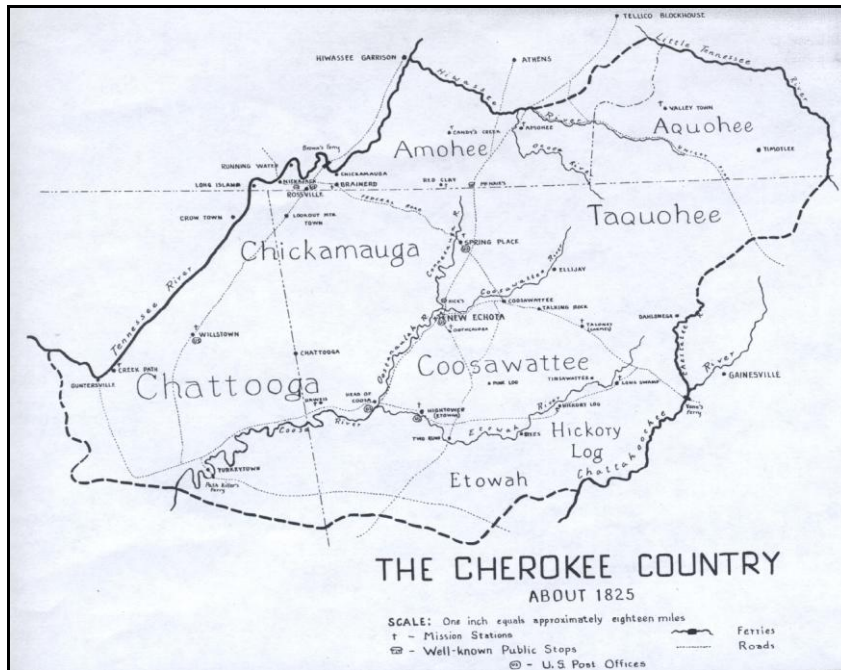
Immediately to the north, also in today's Murray County, was the area around Spring Place and James Vann's various properties. James Vann and his son Joseph were among the wealthiest people in the Cherokee Nation. The 1832 plat map for Section 3, District 9 illustrates the extent of the Vann property. The surveyor noted that Joseph Vann owned eight pieces of improved property, including a stand, a residence, several quarters, and land totaling about 450 acres just in this small district. The Vanns owned property along both forks of the Federal Road, and considerable property between the two forks.²⁹ James Vann had encouraged the U.S. government to build the Federal Road to go through Spring Place along his property. The Road comes from the south, passes

by the Spring Place Moravian mission, and passes just south of the Vann residence, which resided on the largest single site of improved acreage in the area. The Road continued to the northwest in an area where Joseph Vann owned improved land both to the east and west. Just north of the site where the Federal Road turns west, Joseph Vann also owned considerable acreage on what was identified as the Spring Place Road.

Vann also owned 90 acres at Vann's Stand a few miles to the east on the northern fork of the Federal Road around what is today's Chatsworth. Cherokees had numerous residences and improved lots in this area.

The Vann House was a meeting site even before the Federal Road was built. When U.S. commissioners were looking to meet with Cherokee chiefs in 1802, they found "a number of Chiefs and head-men" at Vann's place. The commissioners seized on the opportunity to schedule a meeting with Vann "and such other head-men, chiefs and Warriors as may be present."³⁰

Spring Place was important for many reasons, not all of them related to James Vann. It was the site of the first Christian missionary station in the area. Missionary stations were important along the Road because they brought Americans who offered what they saw as help and salvation to the Cherokees. Christian religion and the English or German language raised intriguing questions for Cherokees who were debating how much of their tradition they should continue, how much they should adapt, and how much they should leave behind. Many of the Christian missionaries became supporters of the Cherokees in dealings with the Georgia and U.S. governments, and many Cherokees took advantage of the forms of education the missionaries offered.



Map of Cherokee territory, reprinted from Henry Thompson Malone, **Cherokees of the Old South, A People in Transition** (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956).

The Moravians, a Pietist, largely German group formally called the United Brethren, had missionary settlements in Maine, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Salem, North Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. They were a relatively small, patient group that first tried to establish a mission in Cherokee territory in 1799. Cherokees told the missionaries they were more interested in schools than in joining a new religion. Moravians hoped the Cherokees would convert to Christianity and move in or near the Moravian compound, and for some time they kept up the hope that they could convert the locals to Christianity first and educate them after that. The Upper Town Cherokee chiefs were far more interested in such schools than the Lower Town Chiefs. Two of the former, James Vann and Charles Hicks, the treasurer of the Cherokee Nation, convinced the Cherokee Council to experiment with a new school. James Vann welcomed the Moravians, led by missionaries Abraham Steiner and Frederick de Schweinitz, onto land

near his home. The Moravians were especially attracted to the land because of the spring. But as the Moravians saw it, it was God and not they or James Vann who should decide where to put their mission. The Moravians had a practice they called “seeking the approval of the Savior,” in which they put answers to important questions on pieces of paper and then drew one of them. When they drew for potential locations for a mission site, they drew the piece of paper that said “Vann’s Place.”³¹

Lower Town Chiefs opposed the Moravian settlement, especially after the Moravians declined to pay to take in and board Cherokee children. The Moravian missionaries settled at Spring Place in 1801 and the first teachers, Reverend John Gambold and his wife Anna, opened a school for a small number of students in 1804. Some of the children from prominent families who attended Spring Place were John and Nancy Ridge, the children of The Ridge, later called Major Ridge, and Elijah Hicks, the son of William and Sarah Hicks. The Ridge children attended from 1810 to 1815. Through the 1820s, the Moravian school taught about 105 students.³² John later attended school at Brainerd mission just across the Tennessee border and showed enough promise to move on to a school the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ran in Cornwall, Connecticut. (Like other Cherokees who left Cherokee territory, John Ridge did so by traveling on the Federal Road.)³³

Like John Ridge, Elias Boudinot first went to school at Spring Place and later took classes in Cornwell, Connecticut. Boudinot became the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, which started printing in 1828 at New Echota. Spring Place was also the site of one of Boudinot’s efforts at uplift among the Cherokee. He helped organize a group called the Moral and Literary Society of the Cherokee Nation, which kept contact with

philanthropists from Boston. Boudinot wrote in 1825, "The Society in question has the main objects of cultivating morality, discountenancing vice, and supporting every thing calculated to enlighten the nation. A library of good books will, of course, be attached to it. Books on Travels, Histories, both ancient and modern, Maps, and in fine, books of all descriptions tending to the objects of the Society, will be gratefully received and acknowledged."³⁴ Boudinot added that people wanting to donate money or books could send them to him at Spring Place.

Boudinot and Vann demonstrate the importance some Cherokees placed in prosperity and signs of material progress. Boudinot told a group in Philadelphia that Cherokees were "industrious and intelligent people" who wanted and deserved "equal standing with other nations of the earth." To prove their industrious natures, and to show the achievements of the Cherokees, Boudinot listed Cherokee property and other accomplishments. "There are 22,000 cattle; 7,600 horses; 46,000 swine; 2,500 sheep; 762 looms; 2,488 spinning wheels; 172 wagons; 2,943 ploughs; 10 sawmills; 31 grist-mills; 62 blacksmith shops; 8 cotton machines, 18 schools; 18 ferries, and a number of public roads. In one district there were, last winter, upwards of 1,000 volumes of good books; and 11 different periodical papers both religious and political were taken and read."³⁵ Emphasizing technology, transportation, education, machinery for making cloth, and a wealth of livestock, Boudinot was emphasizing the success Cherokees had made along the lines many U.S. citizens would recognize and applaud.

Even after several years teaching school, the Moravians had little success in encouraging conversions to Christianity. They never learned the Cherokee language, and they apparently did not think highly of Cherokee customs. In 1807, a Moravian criticized

a Cherokee gathering in which “Many were comically painted in the face with black and red designs and likewise with rings around the eyes. Others had square black spots outlined in red on the cheeks and still others red wreaths over the nose and white rings around the eyes. Their dress was just as funny.” Only two Cherokees, one of whom was Margaret Vann (also known as Peggy Scott) the widow of James Vann, converted to Christianity at Spring Place between 1801 and 1819. But twelve had conversion experiences in 1819 and 1820. With the number of religious worshipers growing, Moravians for the first time built a mission church.³⁶ Gideon Blackburn, a teacher at Spring Place, wrote at one point that “Thus far are the Cherokees advanced; further I believe than any other Indians in America.”³⁷

The governments of Georgia and the U.S. also saw the importance of Spring Place, with its place along two important roads and with the wealth of the Vanns and the activity in the Moravian mission. In 1819, the U.S. opened one of the first post offices in Cherokee territory at Spring Place.³⁸ Post offices were important for various reasons; they established permanent federal institutions, they suggested there were growing number of Americans in the area, and they facilitated commerce and information. George Washington had spoken about the importance of establishing post offices in frontier areas both to spread “knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the Government,” to enhance communication, improve defense, and to keep down rumors and suspicions that might develop at the edges of the new nation.³⁹ Because Spring Place fit the goals of “civilizing” American Indians by teaching them to read and write, teaching Christian doctrine, and encouraging farming, the U.S. government began

subsidizing the Moravian station in 1809, first by sending yearly payments of \$100, and increasing that figure to \$250 in 1820.

Other missionaries set up a station along the Federal Road in what became Pickens County. The Carmel Missionary Station was located just north of what is now the town of Talking Rock, where the Federal Road turned west along the route of Highway 136 to Blaine. This intersection, which is marked by a Highway sign for the Old Federal Road, was the site of Taloney, where, in 1819, a Congregationalist and Presbyterian group established a missionary station they named Carmel. Carmel was the

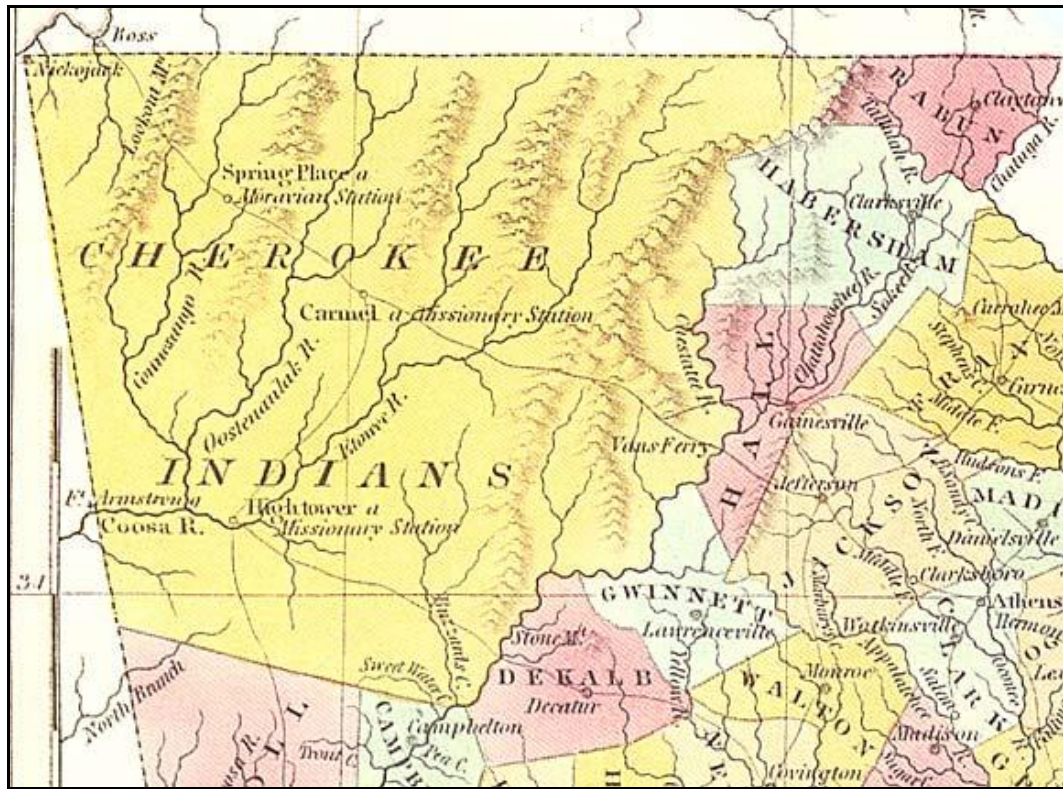


Map showing location of Carmel Missionary Station. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

second missionary station to the Cherokees in Georgia, after Spring Place. Supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Congregationalists at Carmel faced a series of challenges. The ministers at Carmel faced the typical missionary problem of trying to get along with and show respect for people while also trying to convert them to Christianity. Some had a hard time with the first. Reverend

Moody Hall, for example, was especially displeased by Cherokees penchant for ball playing, drinking, conjuring, playing and enjoying leisure on Sundays, and offering and expecting hospitality from all corners, including ministers. When in 1824, Moody Hall refused to share food with some hungry Cherokees, one man named Pritchett threatened him and his wife with a knife. Six months later, one of George Saunders' sons walked toward Hall's home armed with a gun, in what Hall took to be a threatening manner, and Hall believed some Cherokees made or planned another attempt on his life not long after that.⁴⁰ Another minister, Daniel Butrick, tried to be less condescending toward the Cherokees. Dedicating much of his adult life to missionary work at Carmel and a missionary station at Brainerd in Tennessee, he learned the Cherokee language and described the Cherokees as "thoughtful, inquisitive people"⁴¹ who, he thought, were descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel.⁴² Still, Butrick wrote in his diary in 1828 that "My preaching respecting idleness, Sabbath-breaking and especially conjuring, and my determined public opposition to them, has excited some feeling against me."⁴³

Carmel was important as an occasional meeting place in the early 1800s and housed some American missionaries who tended to support the interests of the Cherokees. In this section of Pickens County, the Road crossed several locations important in the history of north Georgia. In the early 1800s, the area around Talking Rock Creek was one of the more heavily settled spots along the Road. Coming from the east, an establishment called Daniel Love's was located where the Road crossed Love's Creek, less than a mile south of a Cherokee residence. The Road passed by at least four more homes before coming to a major intersection.⁴⁴ Standing between the fork of the



1830 Anthony Finley Company Map of Georgia, showing the Federal Road through Cherokee territory. Map from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.

Federal Road to the west and the Ellijay Road to the north was Carmel Missionary Station. A short ride to the west were the homes of Cherokees George Saunders and John Saunders and one more home east of what was at one point called Saundersville. John Saunders attended the mission church at Carmel and ran what one traveler called “a very good house of entertainment” on the Road.⁴⁵ Saunders Mill was on Mountain Creek, just northwest of George Saunders’ home. George Saunders was one of the younger Cherokee chiefs connected to several acts of conflict. The son of a Revolutionary War soldier and a Cherokee mother, he was a creditor and tavern keeper in Saundersville. In 1808 Saunders opposed an American attempt to bring iron workers into Cherokee territory. He was also a vocal opponent of Cherokee emigration, when others were suggesting the only

way to control their communities was to move to the west. George Saunders was one of the men, along with James Vann and Major Ridge, who planned and committed the murder of Doublehead, completing the task in 1807 at Hiawassee in Tennessee. Saunders may also have been the murderer of James Vann.⁴⁶

The 1832 Land Lottery map shows that Saunders Mill was located very near the Federal Road, near the homes and businesses of George and James Saunders and very close to Carmel Missionary Station.⁴⁷ Mills were important both for grinding corn and as central places for people to meet.

Taloney was important as a meeting site. Cherokee and U.S. officials sometimes met there. The U.S. put one of the few post offices in Cherokee territory in Carmel.⁴⁸ And Major Ridge was there, perhaps spending some time at the missionary station, in 1831, when Daniel Butrick received a newspaper with a story about the federal government's decision to move all Indians west of the Mississippi River.⁴⁹ Later, Butrick was one of the Christian missionaries who signed a letter protesting the policy of Indian removal.

There were Cherokee stands and stores along most sections of the Federal Road. South of Chatsworth was a considerable amount of land owned by Cherokee George Harlin, one of the wealthier Cherokee planters and store owners. Near the site of today's town of Ramhurst, Harlin owned considerable property and five or six buildings in the early 1830s, and as a store owner he profited from trading with and entertaining travelers taking two routes. Harlin, it is clear, saw the coming of Americans into north Georgia as an opportunity for profit.⁵⁰

Chapter Four

Early Conflicts: Scudder's Inn, Hightower, and Issues of Jurisdiction, 1801-1809

Almost from the beginning of U.S. travel along the Federal Road, jurisdiction became a crucial issue. Did the Cherokees or the United States have authority over law, land, and the resolution of conflicts along the Road? The question of jurisdiction remained a point of contention until Cherokee removal. The 1791 Treaty of Holston tried to make clear that a U.S. citizen who settled on Cherokee land would “forfeit the protection of the United States; and the Cherokees may punish him or not, as they please.”⁵¹ But many U.S. citizens were never satisfied with that idea, so conflict came quickly. The intersection at Hightower was one of several intersections along the Federal Road, which by the early 1830s crossed about fifteen roads in the state of Georgia. Located today in the northwestern corner of Forsyth County, where the Old Federal Road meets Highway 369, the crossroads at Hightower was the site of Scudder's Inn, an early establishment along the Road. Jacob Scudder was an American citizen, a veteran of the War of 1812, who kept a hotel among the Cherokees from 1817 until 1831. Unlike many owners of stands and stores, Scudder was not a Cherokee and never accepted Cherokee laws. At least once he refused to pay a tax the Cherokees expected him to pay, and they responded by fining him and seizing some of his property.⁵²

Issues of jurisdiction were crucial just a few miles west along the Road past Scudder's Inn, where Cherokees Thomas and Joshua Buffington owned two stands. An incident at one of the Buffingtons' stands shows the conflicts over jurisdiction that took place along the Road. In 1808, a U.S. citizen named Charles Wheeler was deeply in debt



Map showing location of Hightower. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

to a man named James Olive and his partner, William Strother. Wheeler decided to escape from the debt by taking off into Cherokee territory along the Federal Road, taking with him eleven slaves, six horses, and some money in his saddlebags. His creditors Olive and Strother tracked him down and demanded that he return the money, horses, and slaves, and Wheeler did so. But when Olive and Strother headed back east toward Hall County, the Buffingtons stopped them and challenged their right to take property away from Wheeler. James Olive told the Buffingtons “I was authorized by the Laws of the United States,” but one of the Buffingtons rejected the claim and cursed both Olive and American law. Along with Lewis Blackburn and George Harlin, two other Cherokees who owned stands along the Road, the Buffingtons seized control of the money, horses, and slaves. James Olive said they also took his gun and threatened his life. Strother intervened to say he would ride back to Georgia territory to find more evidence to show their claim to the slaves, horses, and money, but the Buffingtons told them that in any case they needed a passport to be traveling in Cherokee territory. Charles Wheeler

continued to claim ownership of the seven slaves, and he started renting them to various members of the Cherokee nation. The whole issue continued for years when Olive and Strother sued the Cherokees for over \$2000 to cover their losses. Demonstrating uncertainties about the issue of whose law governed such questions, Olive wrote a captain in the U.S. Army, asking, “I wish you to state the circumstances to some person acquainted with the Indian Laws, and their relation to, or connexion [sic] with, our Government, and particularly our rights on the Federal road.”⁵³

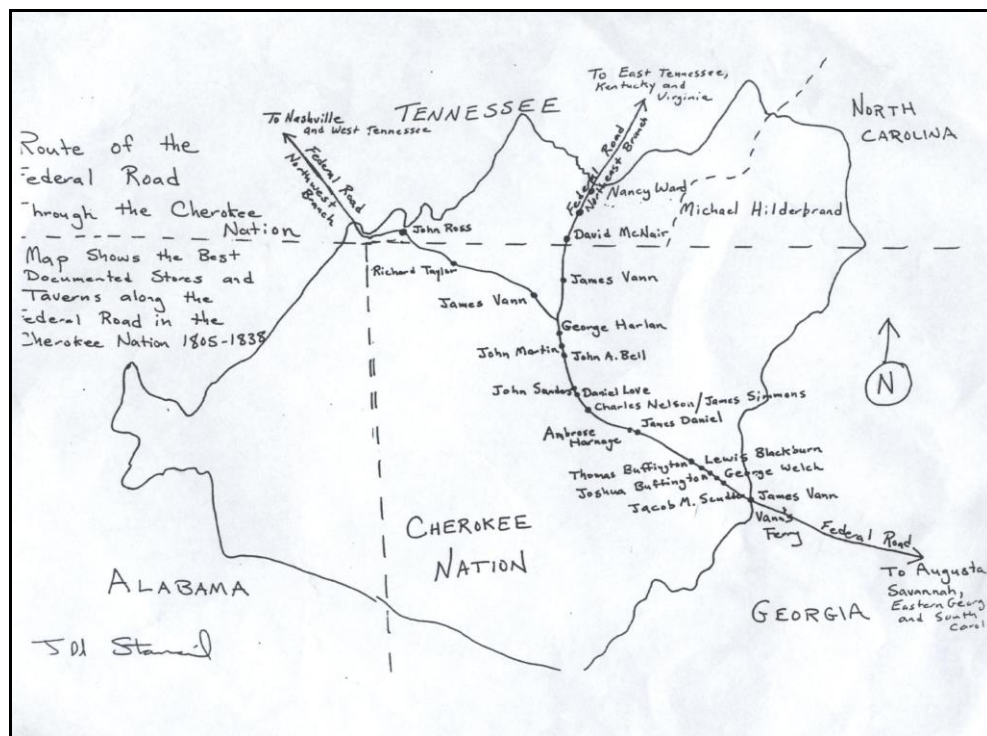
James Vann’s correspondence with Return Meigs again showed tensions over the issue of jurisdiction. In 1801, Vann pressed Meigs to have the United States prosecute the U.S. citizens the Cherokees accused of murdering a Cherokee woman. Over the next few years, Meigs, on the other hand, pressed Vann about how to deal with some Cherokee men suspected of stealing horses from U.S. citizens.⁵⁴ Ultimately James Vann’s role in U.S./Cherokee jurisdiction disputes ended in 1809 when he was murdered near Frogtown Ford, apparently at Thomas Buffington’s tavern, near Hightower.⁵⁵

Chapter Five

Cherokee Government: Innovation and Conflict, 1810s-1820s

At a spot where today’s Highway 136 crosses Talking Rock Creek near the border of Gilmer and Murray Counties, the Federal Road crossed the Coosawattee River. Today, Carter’s Dam Road goes over the Dam and allows an excellent view (see photo on page 39) of a place where all Federal Road travelers crossed the Coosawattee River. This was an important place for Cherokee government in the early 1800s. Prior to this period Cherokees lived in about 50 towns and villages with relatively little connection or

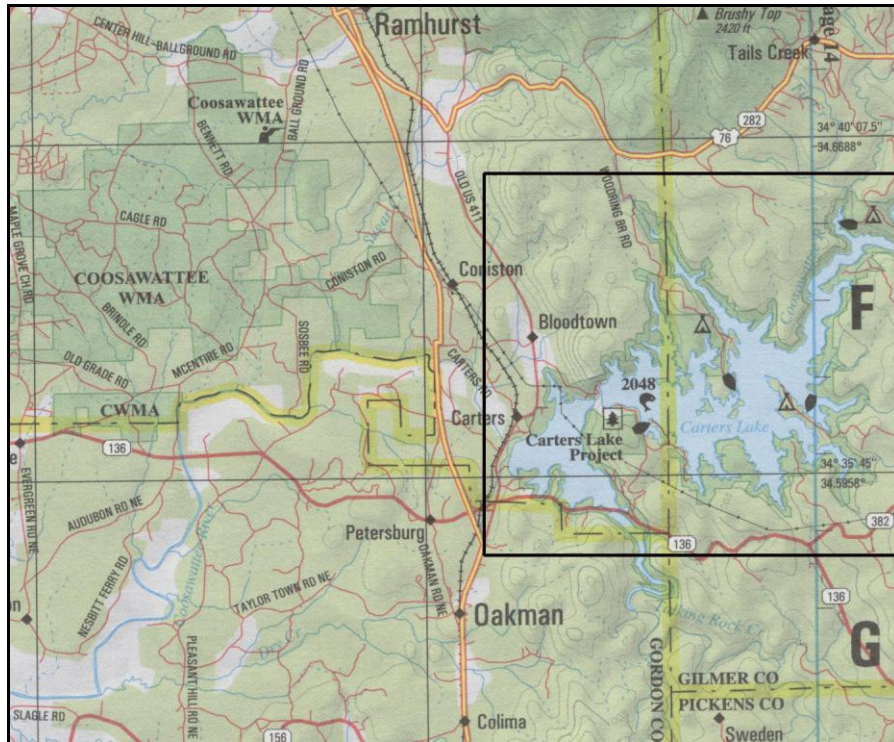
cooperation among their communities. Coosawattee and Old Coosawattee became important Cherokee towns and the site of council and judicial meetings in the 1820s. In what became southern Murray County, where the Road crossed the Coosawattee River, Cherokees had made a number of improvements. One was an improved area of 100 acres the 1830 surveyor attributed to “Downby and other Indians.” This was the largest block of improved acreage in this area. Three neighboring notations refer to several plots of improved land, some 20 acres, up to 50 and 60 acres, owned by Cherokees.⁵⁶



Map showing locations of a number of stands and taverns along the Federal Road (provided by/attribution to Jeff Stancil 2002).

This cluster of improvements shows the continuing importance of the Cherokee town of Old Coosawattee. In 1817, the Cherokee divided their nation into eight districts, including the Coosawattee District. Coosawattee, located in today’s Murray County, was one site of Cherokee councils and courts. Cherokees had meetings in Coosawattee prior to voting, and tried people charged with breaking of Cherokee law there. In the early

1820s, Major Ridge was speaker of the Coosawattee Council, and William Hicks, Terrapin Head and Rising Fawn were members of the Council. George Saunders and John Martin were judges.⁵⁷



Map showing the location of Coosawattee. Carter's Lake now covers the location of the Cherokee town of Coosawattee. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

Several Cherokee leaders opposed further incorporation into the scope of the United States authority from Coosawattee in the 1820s. White Path, the figure for whom the White Path Rebellion was named, was an older Cherokee chief from Turniptown near Ellijay. He was angered at unspecified developments among the Chickasaws—some scholars suspect he did not care for Cherokees' growing efforts to organize their government and assert authority over all Cherokee affairs. Members of the Cherokee National Council removed him from that body in 1825. Other Cherokees opposed new developments in which the Cherokees seemed to be working too closely with Christian

missionaries. In 1823, when some Baptists opened a new mission, the Cherokee Council meeting at Coosawattee opposed the building of new mission schools. The missionary site, under the authority of Thomas Dawson, an Englishman, had the support of Judge John Martin, one of the wealthiest Cherokees, with over 60 slaves and over 300 acres of land. But the Baptist missionary site remained small, until 1836, when a number of Cherokees in the area converted to Christianity and were baptized in Talking Rock Creek.⁵⁸



Photograph of Carter's Lake (former site of Coosawattee).

Chapter Six

Toward Removal: Desire for Indian Land and Demand for Gold, 1828-1830

The legislature of Georgia had wanted the U.S. government to buy or take all land belonging to the Creeks and Cherokees. The federal government had promised Georgia it would take steps to encourage the Indians to leave the state. In 1808, the U.S. persuaded a substantial group of Cherokees, primarily those aligned with the Lower Town Chiefs, to give up their land in exchange for land in Arkansas. Treaties with the Cherokees in 1817 and 1819 and with the Creeks in 1826 established land west of the Mississippi where Indians could move, and a second group of Cherokees left for western territories. Other Cherokees, especially those organized under the Upper Town Chiefs, rejected the government's offer. In 1808, when a council of chiefs, including Major Ridge, left to negotiate about the issue with officials in Washington, D.C., he left Georgia by traveling the Federal Road. Many Cherokees remained in Georgia in the 1820s and 1830s, and in fact many had made a number of the changes the U.S. government had encouraged—English language, Christianity, more farming rather than hunting. And in 1827, the Cherokees in northern Georgia established a new governmental system in part by modeling it on the U.S. system, complete with a written constitution.

Two crucial changes intensified the recurring demands to remove Indians from land in Georgia. First, Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828. A successful military general, Jackson was a great believer in moving Indians west, and his election encouraged the legislature of Georgia to become more aggressive not simply in demanding control over Cherokee land but in taking control of it. When the Georgia legislature passed laws saying its sovereignty reached throughout the entire state,

including the Cherokee Territory, Andrew Jackson did not object. Andrew Jackson's Indian policy held that land in Georgia was best reserved for the U.S. citizens in the state and that the state of Georgia had the power to decide how to govern Georgia institutions. Jackson said the Indians would be better off farther west so they could avoid the conflicts that occurred as more U.S. citizens moved among them. The second change that helped increase U.S. demand for Cherokee land was the discovery of gold in the north Georgia hills in the late 1820s.⁵⁹



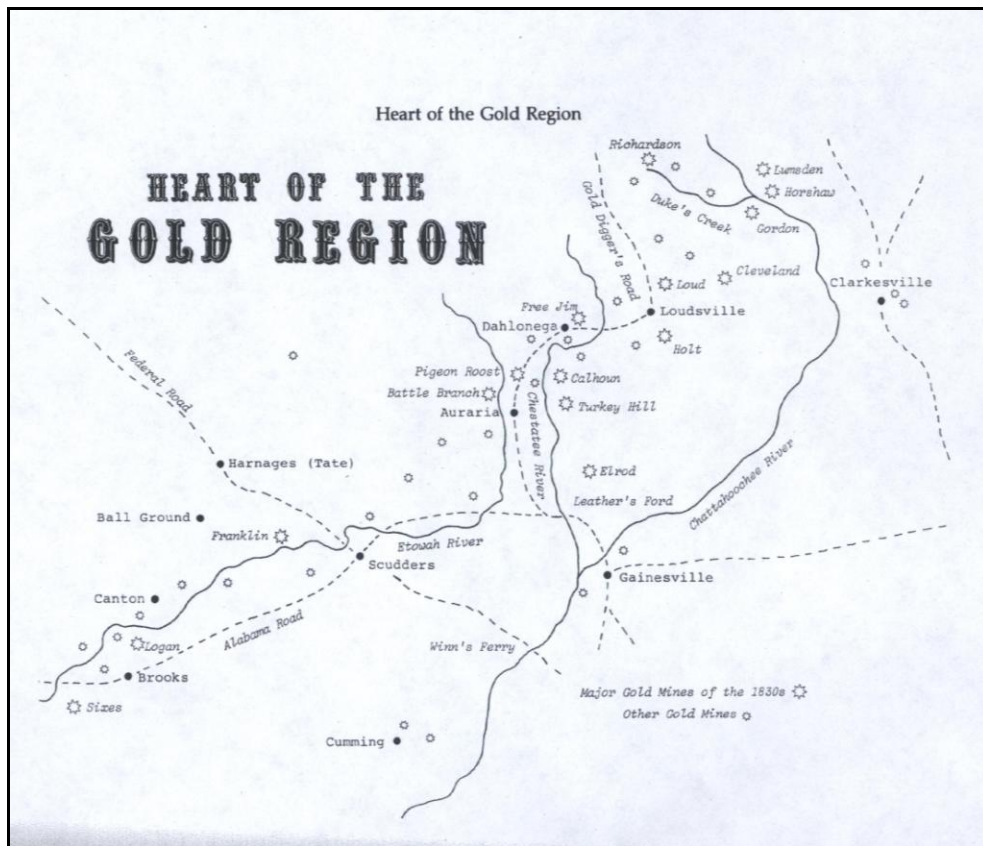
Photograph of historic building at the location of the Yellow Creek Road and Lawson/Old Federal Road intersection. Yellow Creek Road was named after the Georgia Gold Rush.

The name of Yellow Creek Road refers to the gold that brought prospectors into the area in the late 1820s and 1830s. The Federal Road was crucial in transporting goods into and out of northern Georgia. Most famously, the Georgia Gold Rush, beginning in

1828 and 1829, brought a large number of prospectors into the region, and some succeeded. The phrase, “Thar’s Gold in them thar hills” first referred to the hills of northern Georgia, and the miners became known as the Twenty-Niners. Of course gold was not actually discovered in 1828—Cherokees had known about it for years. But its potential for new wealth was crucial both to the settlement of the region and to efforts to force the Cherokees out of the region. Between 1829 and 1832, perhaps 10,000 Americans moved into Cherokee territory looking for gold. Some came and went quickly, but many stayed. In its brief heyday, the gold rush produced about \$500,000 in gold.

Because gold mining followed rivers more than roads, there were gold mines near but not directly along the Federal Road. Several mines were located along the Chattahoochee River, at least one of them close to Winn’s Ferry, which by 1832 was the successor to Vann’s Ferry. Others were located along the Etowah River. One mine was located on the Etowah River about a mile north of Scudder’s, and especially productive mines were located along Sixes Creek south of the Federal Road.⁶⁰ One of the larger and more successful of the gold mining operations near the Federal Road was the Franklin Mine, located southeast of Ball Ground near the Etowah River, just a bit southwest of the Road. Forty acres of land in Cherokee Territory (later, Cherokee County just west of the Forsyth County line and just north of the town of Boardtree) became the property of Mary G. Franklin, a widow from Clarke County, in the Georgia Land Lottery in 1832. She and others quickly recognized its value, and she turned down several offers for the property before she even saw it. When she arrived to look at her new land, she discovered a number of miners already at work panning for gold. Before long, Franklin

turned the property into a successful gold mine. But economic success had its tragedies: the Franklin Mine was one of the many gold mines that used slaves as primary labor, and at least once its roof collapsed and killed a gang of slaves. By 1840, Forsyth County had nineteen gold smelting businesses, second in the state, employing 21 men, and Cherokee County had six gold smelting businesses, with 15 employees.⁶¹



Gold region map reprinted from David Williams in **The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever** (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

The Georgia Gold Rush had a range of consequences for life in the area. Some Georgia leaders found the Gold Rush an ugly form of land-grabbing, money-grubbing ambition likely to cause trouble. Governor George Gilmer later recalled gold prospectors

as “idle, profligate people . . . whose pent-up vicious propensities, when loosed from the restraints of law and public opinion, made them like the evil one in his worst mood. After wading all day in the Etowah and Chattahoochee Rivers, picking up particles of gold,” they gambled, got drunk, and fought a lot.⁶² For their part, most Cherokees were intensely displeased about an influx of people with designs on Georgia gold and no interest in Cherokee claims to the land. Those concerns grew stronger after some violent incidents and a broader pattern of miners’ stealing Cherokee horses and cattle. Some Cherokees referred to the gold rush as the “Great Intrusion,” and leaders asked the U.S. government to protect their control over Cherokee land by removing the prospectors. Governor Gilmer, not wanting to appear soft on the interests of Georgians, started the Georgia Guard, a new military company designed to keep order but especially to protect the interests of Georgians. His political opponent, Wilson Lumpkin, was more aggressively pro-pro prospector, and he defeated Gilmer in part by saying he would serve the interests of Georgians with designs on Cherokee land.⁶³

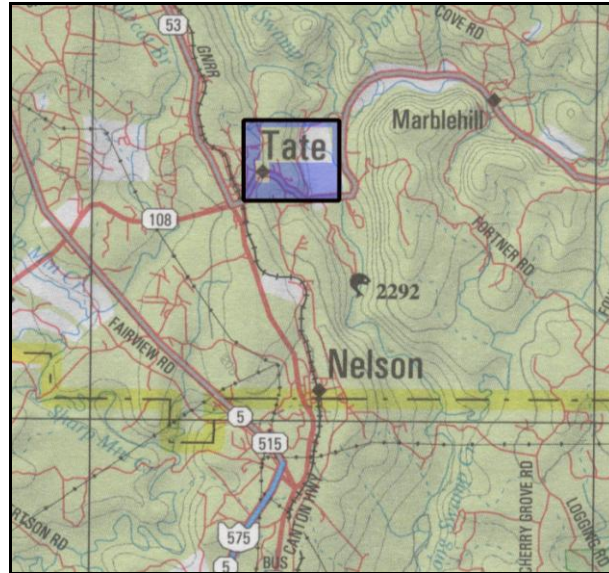
Chapter Seven

Harnageville and the Land Lottery in Cherokee Territory, 1830-1832

Entering Tate one passes the sites of two early stands owned by James Daniel and Ambrose Harnage. These stands served the functions of stores, inns, and also stops for stagecoach travelers. The town of Tate was initially called Harnageville, after the storekeeper Harnage. In 1831, the state of Georgia made the entire Cherokee territory into one huge county, newly named Cherokee County. In February of 1832, a small number of voters in the sprawling new county gathered at Harnage’s for the first elections

for several positions, including justices of the peace, sheriff, tax collector, and coroner. The period from 1830 to 1832 was a crucial one for this area. In 1830, the governor and legislature of Georgia made the decision to claim all Cherokee land in the state and to work more aggressively to move Cherokees from Georgia. Georgia had already used five lotteries to divide smaller areas of Indian land and returned to the device a final time. In 1832 the state divided the area that had been Cherokee territory into 160-acre lots (or in areas with gold, 40-acre lots) and made them available in the Georgia Land Lottery. All free white men who lived in Georgia were eligible for the land lottery, and widows and free white men with families could put their names in the lottery twice. About 85,000 people submitted names, and 18,309 were lucky winners of plots of what had been Cherokee land. Most of the land was not actually made available until 1838.⁶⁴

Harnage sold his business to the Tate family in the mid-1830s, and the town of Tate still carries their name. The Tate cemetery is located along the route of the Road, just behind the town's railroad depot. The U.S. military first used the intersection at Hightower in 1830-1831, when it built a small fort to protect the interests of gold miners. The military camp was called Camp Gilmer, named after Governor George Gilmer. Existing as a way to support U.S. citizens who had conflicts with Cherokees, this camp differed from the removal forts the U.S. government built later in the decade. Those conflicts continued when, in 1833, about thirty Cherokees near Scudder's Inn fought a similar number of U.S. citizens in a serious but ultimately not deadly dispute over access to gold mining land.⁶⁵ Scudder's Inn was also the location for some of the early elections in 1832 after the formation of Forsyth County from Cherokee County.



Map showing location of Tate. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

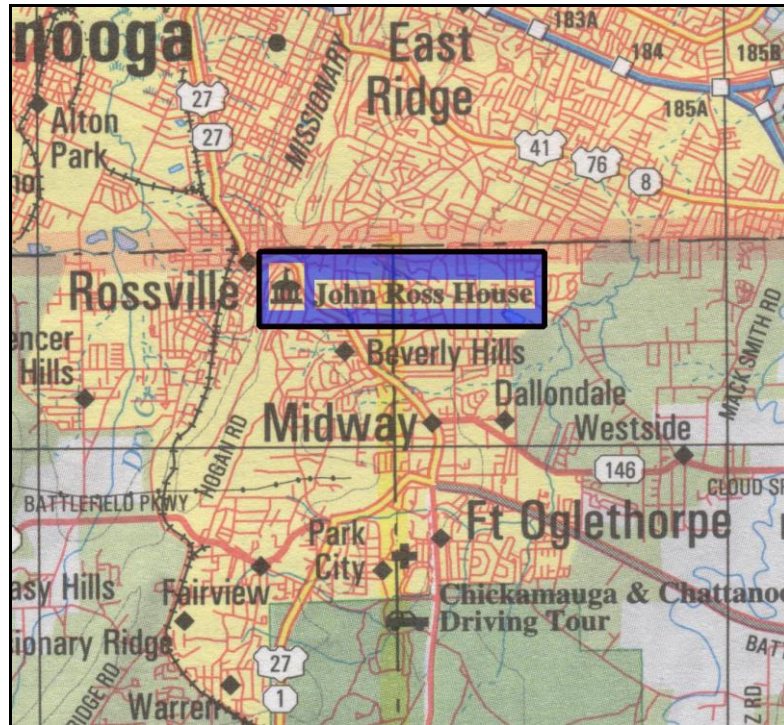
Chapter Eight

Demands for Removal, and Responses to Removal: Chief John Ross and Ross's Landing, 1820s-1835

Along with the Chief Vann House, the John Ross House is an essential Cherokee site along the route of the Federal Road. Located in Rossville just off Highway 27 in Walker County, the John Ross House is the northernmost Georgia site on the Old Federal Road. The John Ross House was on the Federal Road but has been moved to a poorly marked location just south of Highway 27. The House is located on Spring Street, just behind a large supermarket.

One of the ironies of the Federal Road lies in the fact that past Chief John Ross's house, through Rossville, is Ross's Landing, the original name of Chattanooga. At Ross's Landing, many roads converged into the most centralized location for American Indians to gather or be forced together to move west on the Trail of Tears. Chief John

Ross was the Cherokee chief who worked hardest to resist the forced resettlement of the Cherokees to Oklahoma. The John Ross House, open to the public, is an essential place for travelers to visit.



Map showing the location of the Chief John Ross House. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

The attractive four-room, central-breezeway home has a number of original furnishings and some period pieces, pictures, some clothing, and a copy of the Cherokee alphabet developed by the Cherokee Sequoyah. John Ross's Scottish father, Daniel Ross, built the home around 1797, and John Ross lived there from 1808 until 1827, when he moved to New Echota to be in the middle of the new developments among the Cherokees. In the 1810s, Ross started a trading business as an intermediary between the Cherokees and the U.S. government; he worked with Timothy Meigs, the son of Return Meigs, the U.S. Commissioner to the Cherokee Nation. From this beginning, Ross

started a store and a ferry landing known as Ross's Landing for passengers on the Federal Road. The U.S. postal service put a post office in his store. In 1827, Ross sold the house to Nicholas Scales, a Methodist minister.⁶⁶



Photograph of Chief John Ross House.

Beginning in the 1810s, Ross played a role in all major events of the Georgia Cherokees, from their awkward alliances with the U.S. government through their forced movement to Oklahoma. Along with Major Ridge and Charles Hicks, Ross was one of 600 to 800 Cherokees who fought with the U.S. military against the Creeks in the Creek War in Alabama. One of many ironies is that Ross was an adjutant to Andrew Jackson, who later was his primary nemesis on the issue of removal, and that Ross and the other Cherokee forces took the Federal Road when they went off with Jackson to fight the

Creeks. Returning to Georgia, Ross and other Cherokees were angered to find that U.S. soldiers had helped themselves to Cherokee cattle and hogs.⁶⁷

John Ross was a member of the Cherokee National Committee in 1810s and 1820s. In 1823 he reported that he had traveled to Arkansas to witness a relocated group of Cherokees and found them unhealthy and troubled. In response to a U.S. effort to write and encourage him to sign a new treaty guaranteeing Cherokee removal, he rejected some lucrative bribes—or “presents”—and told the U.S. negotiator, “It is the fixed and unalterable determination of this Nation never again to cede one foot more of land.”⁶⁸ Through the 1820s and 1830s, Ross made several trips to Washington, D.C. to negotiate with Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson and their representatives. Always Ross reminded them that the Cherokees were part of the Cherokee Nation and as such deserved respect. In Georgia, Ross was a leading supporter of the new Cherokee constitution in 1827, became Principal Chief in 1828, and was chief in the crisis period in the 1830s. When other Cherokees (known politically as the Treaty Party) who had resisted removal for years, grew weary of the controversy and decided the Cherokees should move west, Ross led the opposing group, National Party, which kept up the struggle.

It was the state of Georgia, its governors and other political officials, its investors interested in collecting gold or speculating in land, and its farmers, planters, and gold miners with designs on Cherokee land, who pushed hardest for Cherokee removal.⁶⁹ In 1828 Georgia Governor John Forsyth signed an important bill saying that, beginning in 1830, all Cherokees were subject to the laws of Georgia. The bill had the effect of saying there was in fact no Cherokee Nation, no Cherokee government, and no Cherokee

territory. The Georgia legislature continued this effort, passing laws in 1830 that said Indians could not testify against American citizens and had no right to the gold in Georgia. The legislature also organized the Georgia Guard, a militia group to protect the state's interests against the Cherokees.

Finally, the U.S. government's Indian Removal Bill of 1830 and the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 sealed the Cherokees' fate—they would have to leave the state of Georgia. Andrew Jackson's administration pressed for the Indian Removal Bill, and had the considerable support of Georgia Senator Wilson Lumpkin. The Bill offered money to individual Cherokees to go west. It offered compensation for buildings and fencing and other improvements on Cherokee land, but not for the land itself. It told the Cherokees they would have to set a date for leaving the region and offered land west of the Mississippi River and financial help in making the trip.

John Ross fought removal, within and outside the Cherokee Nation and in the U.S. courts. He wrote a memorial to Andrew Jackson in the summer of 1830 stating, "We wish to remain in the land of our fathers." It continued, "Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams and our beautiful forests?"⁷⁰ He encouraged supporters, including northeastern missionaries, political figures, writers, and various other allies, to reject the Removal Bill.⁷¹

Most dramatically, Ross tried to use the U.S. Constitution and judicial system to help the Cherokees remain in Georgia. Two court cases represented the last substantial legal efforts to keep control over their land, and the resolution of the second case seemed

a great Cherokee success. The first case, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, in 1831, involved a case in which the Georgia Guard had arrested a Cherokee man for killing another Cherokee. The lawyers for the Cherokee Nation argued that Georgia law did not apply to them. The decision of Supreme Court John Marshall was sympathetic but ultimately did not overturn Georgia law because, Marshall wrote, the Court could not make decisions about individuals from a “foreign nation” such as the Cherokee Nation. The second case, *Worcester v. Georgia*, in 1832, offered more promise. The Georgia Guard arrested several missionaries, including Samuel Worcester, for refusing to sign an oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia while they were in the territory the Cherokees considered their own. The Court ruled against Georgia, significantly arguing its laws did not apply within the Cherokee Nation. Thus the legal precedent that the Cherokee Nation existed, and that Cherokees were not subject to Georgia laws was established. It was these legal precedents that Chief John Ross had hoped the Cherokees could use to remain on their land in Georgia.⁷²

The governments of both Georgia and the U.S. refused to accept the consequences of the Supreme Court’s decision. Andrew Jackson famously said, “John Marshall had made his decision, now let him enforce it,” and Georgia’s governor Wilson Lumpkin condemned the decision. When the two governments continued to press the Cherokees for a decision, some Cherokee leaders, most importantly Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and editor Elias Boudinot, agreed that the nation should make the best deal they could. A series of negotiations led to the 1835 Treaty of New Echota, an agreement John Ross rejected and never signed. That treaty was the official document in which Cherokees agreed to give up their claims to land in Georgia in exchange for a financial

settlement and land in Oklahoma. The treaty also stipulated that the U.S. government promised peaceful relations with the Cherokees and gave the Cherokees two years to leave Georgia.

Chapter Nine

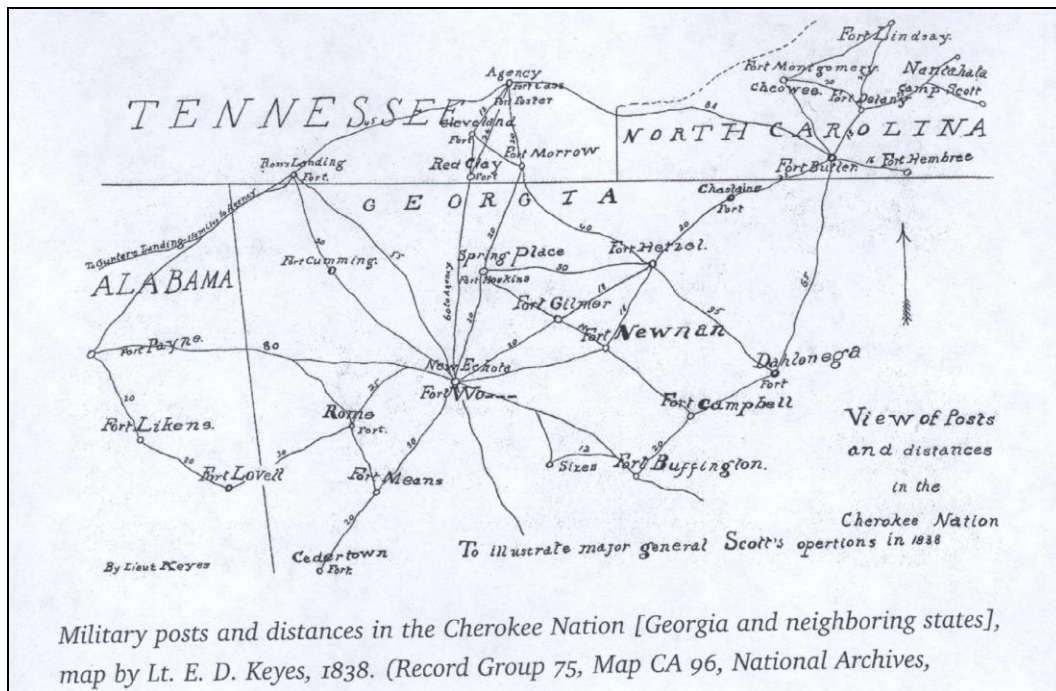
Forced Migration and the Trail of Tears, 1835-1838

John Ross led the way toward one last petition to the U.S. government—an actual petition with over 15,000 names. Between the signing of the Treaty and 1837, only about 2000 Cherokees left the state, leaving about 16,000. Many of those who left were members of the Treaty Party, led by people like Elias Boudinot and John Ridge. To hasten the removal of the rest of the Cherokees, the U.S. military put up a series of forts. Four of those lay along the Federal Road. In May 1838 U.S. General Winfield Scott went to Georgia to oversee the process, supported by about 2000 U.S. troops. The process was sometimes brutal, sometimes disorganized, and the Cherokees suffered in the forts and on the trip. Scott sent out a general order in 1838, “The commanding officer at every fort & open station will first cause to be surrounded and brought in as many Indians, the nearest to his fort or station, as he may think he can secure at once, & report the operation until he shall have made as many prisoners as he is able to subsist and send off, under a proper escort, to the most convenient of the emigrating depots, the Cherokee Agency, Ross Landing, and Gunter’s Landing.”⁷³

The same combination of missionaries and writers who had opposed the forced migration wrote angrily about the forts. Daniel Butrick, long a friend of the Cherokees, said the forts represented “a most expensive and painful way of putting these poor people

to death.” It was Butrick or another missionary who wrote about seeing some Cherokees heading toward Ross’s Landing. “We were disturbed by the arrival of a company of soldiers with 200 poor prisoners, Indians, soaked through by the rain, whom they drove through the Chickamauga River before them like cattle It was pitiful to see the poor folks, many old and sick, many little children, many with heavy packs on their backs, and all literally exhausted.” Another missionary, Evan Jones, wrote in June 1838 about the process of incarcerating Cherokees and forcing them into forts. “The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses, and encamped at forts and military posts, all over the nation. In Georgia, especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take any thing with them, except the clothes they had on. Well-furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers, who, like hungry wolves, follow in the train of the captors Females, who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence, are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men.”⁷⁴ Another observer, William J. Cotter, recalled much later in his autobiography that the removal process seemed particularly harsh and arbitrary. Soldiers, he wrote, approached Cherokees and “handled them gently, but picked them up in the road, in the field, anywhere they found them, part of a family at a time, and carried them to the post. Everything in their homes was left only a day or two and then hauled to the post.”⁷⁵

The Federal Road connected the removal forts the U.S. government used to round up the Cherokees in preparation for their trip to Oklahoma. Georgia had fifteen removal stations; of them, ten were in forts. Four of those forts, from southeast to northwest, Fort Campbell, Fort Newnan, Fort Gilmer, and Fort Hoskins, lay along the Federal Road.



Map showing the Removal Forts in the Cherokee Nation reprinted from Barbara R. Duncan and Brett H. Riggs, **Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press with the Museum of the Cherokee Indian, 2003.)

Fort Campbell was located at Hightower, the location of Scudder's Inn, where the Federal Road heading north toward Nashville crossed the Federal Road heading west to Alabama. Today, the location is in northwestern Forsyth County where the Old Federal Road intersects with Highway 369. Hightower was the site of Fort Campbell, one of the forts the U.S. government used to round up Cherokees prior to sending them west along the Trail of Tears in 1838. About 500 Cherokees lived in the vicinity of the Fort in the late 1830s. Of those, U.S. troops forced more than 200 to spend time in Fort Campbell before moving them along the Federal Road to Ross's Landing in Chattanooga.⁷⁶

In Pickens County on Highway 136 in Blaine, north of Talking Rock, one travels near the site of Fort Newnan, one of the removal forts the U.S. military used to gather Cherokees in the late 1830s prior to forcing them to move west. The Fort was located on the outskirts of the town of Blaine off Antioch Church Road south of Highway 136. U.S.

troops went to the area in the spring of 1838, quickly built a fort and began the process of rounding up Cherokees who had not left the area. The troops left the fort, forcing a number of Cherokees up the Federal Road to Ross's Landing by mid-summer of that year.⁷⁷ Like several of the churches along the route of the Federal Road, Antioch Baptist Church dates back to the antebellum period.

On Old Highway 411, about four miles to the north of the reservoir recreation areas of Carter's Lake, in a particularly appealing stretch of farm and woodland in Murray County, one passes a sign announcing the site of Fort Gilmer. Located just east of the highway, this is another of the removal forts from the late 1830s that held Cherokees before they were moved west. At Fort Gilmer, located not far north from Coosawattee, the U.S. military forced more than 600 Cherokees to wait for their final migration from the state in the late 1830s. Named for Georgia Governor George Gilmer, the fort was an important site for rounding up Cherokees who were opposed to the forced migration to the west. Troops came to Coosawattee in March 1837 and began building the fort in the spring and summer. The troops gathered more than 300 Cherokees into the fort, feeding them with supplies found locally and purchased in Tennessee. U.S. forces allowed some Cherokees to bring their livestock into the fort, but conditions were hard. In the summer, U.S. military forces loaded the Cherokees into wagons and headed toward Ross's Landing, in groups of about 100 at a time.⁷⁸

Not far south of the Chief Vann House, and immediately south of today's intersection of 225 and Spring Place-Smyrna Road in Murray County, was Fort Hoskins, a U.S. fort used to round up Cherokees and send them on the Trail of Tears in 1838.⁷⁹ The Moravians left the Spring Place area when the U.S. government divided and

redistributed Cherokee lands,⁸⁰ and Spring Place became more of a military location. In 1833 the Georgia Guard started a headquarters and built a fort called Camp Benton at Spring Place. The colonel at Camp Benton was William N. Bishop, who made the decision in 1835 to arrest Cherokee Chief John Ross and writer James Howard Payne, author of “Home Sweet Home,” among other songs, for working against Georgia’s efforts to force the Cherokees west.

Soldiers gathered Cherokees into large groups and sent them to Ross’s Landing, the departure point for the West. Cotter recalled that “when a hundred or more families had been collected, they were marched to Ross’s Landing.” Once there, they faced the prospect of being hurried on boats with little thought to their organization or comfort. Lieutenant Edward Deas had the job of transporting Cherokees. He wrote in June 1838 about the departure of a large boat full of Cherokees from Ross’s Landing. “The number of the Party is about six hundred, but it is not yet accurately known, as it was not thought expedient to attempt to make out the muster-rolls before starting. The Indians were brought into the Boats under guard & being necessarily somewhat crowded, any delay whilst in that situation was by all means to be avoided on account of the health of the people.”⁸¹

It is unclear how many Cherokees died along what came to be known as the Trail of Tears. At least 2500 died in the forts and in the process of imprisonment, and at least 1500 more died on the trip. Some scholars think those figures, mostly coming from U.S. government sources, are likely low, and they argue that perhaps 8,000, including Cherokees from other parts of the South, died as part of the trip to Oklahoma.

John Ross himself helped organize some of the details of the movement, and left with a large group in August 1838, where he remained as Chief of the Cherokees in Oklahoma for years. By the fall of 1838, few Cherokees remained in Georgia.

The removal forts are one of the clearest reminders of the Trail of Tears. The stories and memories of people in Oklahoma and beyond are another. A third reminder comes from a discovery of Georgia archivist and researcher John H. Goff. On the northern branch of the Road, near the town of Tenna on the Tennessee border, the family of David and Delilah McNair printed the following inscription on the slab that covers the graves of their Cherokee parents:

“Sacred To the memory of David and Delilah McNair who departed this life the former on the 15 of August 1836 the latter on the 31 of November 1838. Their children being natives of the Cherokee Nation, and having to go with their people to the West, leave this monument not only to tell their regard for their Parents [but?] to guard their sacred ashes [against?] the unhallowed intrusion of the white man.”⁸²

Chapter Ten

A New Society: Yeoman Farmers and Christian Churches, 1838-1850s

With the great majority of the Cherokees forced to leave the state, a new population poured into the area. Most were white American settlers and investors, small numbers brought slaves, and the newcomers quickly changed the nature of economic and cultural life in northern Georgia. By 1850, the population of what had once been Cherokee territory in Georgia was over 58,000.⁸³

The Federal Road is well known as part of the Trail of Tears and also as a route for gold miners a few years prior to the Trail of Tears. A bit less dramatic but also important were the hogs that drovers from Tennessee drove into north Georgia. By the 1840s, there were twice as many hogs as people in northwestern Georgia, and many, maybe most, of those hogs traveled the Federal Road. Hogs were crucial in the antebellum South as a source of food. Most of the smaller farmers, often called yeomen, raised corn, vegetables and chickens and let their hogs feed themselves running free in the woods. Yeomen generally owned small farms with large families and no slaves or very few slaves. This region had far fewer slaves than most sections of the state. In 1850, slaves made up about 42% of the population of the state of Georgia, but in five counties the Federal Road ran through, Forsyth, Cherokee, Gilmer, Murray, and Walker, slaves made up only 10% of the population. With hilly terrain and relatively few slaves, the farmers in these counties did not join large parts of the South in turning the region into the cotton kingdom. These counties had the lowest cotton production in Georgia, but the highest production of corn—known as Indian corn. In Murray County, for example, farmers in 1850 grew only 159 bales of cotton, but grew over 500,000 bushels of Indian corn. Much of their manufacturing involved corn as well: the area had a large number of grist mills and distilleries. In 1840, Cherokee County was fourth in the state with 26 distilleries, making over 8500 gallons of distilled spirits, and Forsyth County ranked sixth in the state, with 18 distilleries.⁸⁴

Some historians have described high numbers of hogs and high production of corn as the clearest signs that yeomen households dominated a region. Yeomen were self-sufficient or almost self-sufficient farmers whose families produced food crops for the

household first, before thinking of growing cash crops for a market. They hated debts and taxes and valued independent life with no one telling them what to do. Yeomen males seem especially to have taken pleasure in the relative leisure of lives in which women and children produced vegetables and eggs in the gardens and chicken yards, while hogs fed themselves by roaming free in forests treated as common land. People in yeoman communities traded more with each other than with people outside the local areas.⁸⁵ Certainly many features of northwest Georgia fit this picture. Walker County, for example, had the largest number of homemade goods in the state in 1840. Another indicator of a largely agricultural economy was the small number of industrial workers. In 1850, the Cherokee territory counties employed 200 people in manufacturing—200, out of a total population of almost 50,000, and most of those worked either in gold or in building houses.

Despite all this orientation toward agriculture, people in northwestern Georgia were builders of schools. By 1850, the area was home to over 100 schools, most of them small affairs averaging about twenty students each.⁸⁶ In 1950, John Goff described the Federal School, a rural school that no longer exists, as being located along the Federal Road in the mountains of Pickens County, just a bit north of the Four Mile Church.⁸⁷

Another clear and dramatic sign that northwestern Georgia became a new place in the years after Cherokee Removal was the building of numerous Christian churches. While Christian groups had built a handful of missionary stations along the Federal Road during the Cherokee period, they put up dozens of new churches in the 1840s. Three Protestant denominations, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, built new churches in northern Georgia, but it was the Baptists who had the largest numbers. According to the

1850 Census, the counties along the route of the Federal Road were home to 138 churches. Of those, eight were Presbyterian, 58 were Methodist, and 72 (the majority) were Baptist, and it is notable that there were no other denominations in northwestern Georgia at the time.⁸⁸

Today's traveler along the route of the Federal Road sees many churches, some of them the old churches or their successor buildings and many of them far newer congregations with newer structures. Three churches along the Road with roots in the antebellum period are the Antioch Baptist Church in Pickens County, the Four Mile Church in the mountains south of Tate, and the Old Stone Church in Ringgold in Catoosa County. There were many other antebellum churches in the area, but these three are examples along the route of the Federal Road.

The Old Stone Church was built as the first Christian church in the area other than the missionary stations for Cherokees. The Presbyterian congregation that started it organized in 1837, and began building the Stone Church in 1850. Now operated as a museum, the Church is located just east of Ringgold at the intersection of Highway 2 and Highway 41. Inside is a museum open Thursday to Sunday in the afternoons, and one can see blood from Civil War surgeries and, perhaps more surprising, the places where horses bit into church pews that were being used to feed the horses of Civil War soldiers. Confederate and Union soldiers used the Stone Church or passed by it several times. Nathan Bedford Forrest's forces retreated past the Church in September 1863. Union General Horatio Van Cleve set up headquarters in the Church for a day before the Chickamauga campaign, and Confederates used the building as a hospital after those

battles. Then in November 1863, both Patrick Cleburne's Confederate forces and Union forces passed the Stone Church.

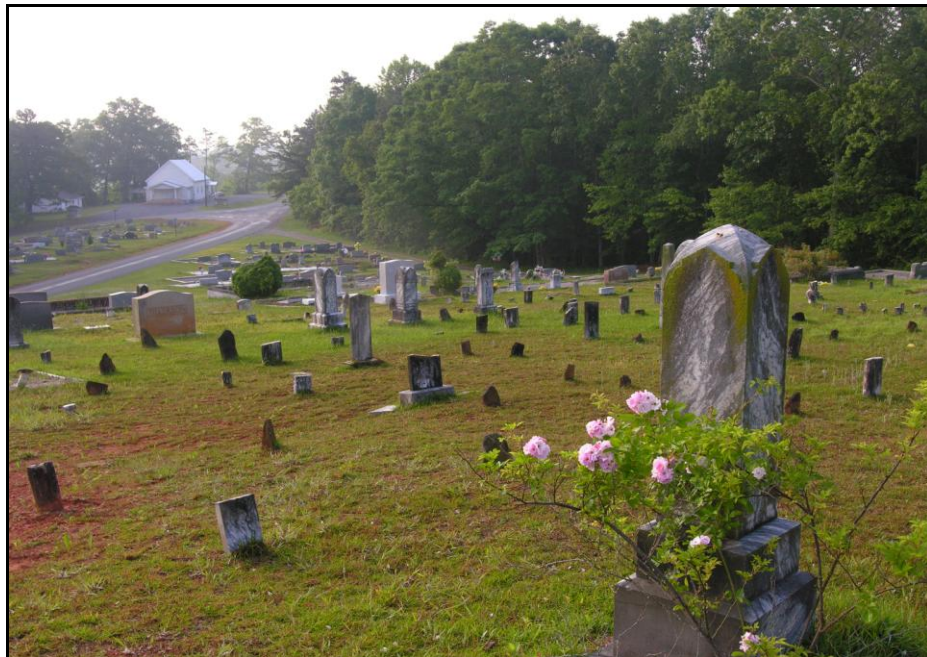


Photograph of the Old Stone Church, Ringgold.

Four Mile Church, organized in 1850, is a Baptist church, the leading denomination along the route of the Federal Road. The Four Mile Church Cemetery, one of the larger and more impressive cemeteries along the Federal Road, dates from the mid-1800s. It is located in the mountains south of Tate, south of Highway 53 and west of Yellow Creek Road at the intersection of Lawson/Federal Road and Fortner Road. Antioch Baptist Church is located on Antioch Church Road near Blaine off Highway 31.



Photograph of the interior of the Old Stone Church, Ringgold.



Photograph of the Four Mile Church Cemetery.

Chapter Eleven

The Federal Road and the Civil War: The Chickamauga Campaign, 1863

The Federal Road from Varnell to Ringgold and on the Tennessee border near Rossville contains a number of important Civil War sites. Between Varnell (then called Varnell's Station because it had a railroad station) and the Ringgold area were Catoosa Springs, the Tunnel Hill Road, the Stone Church, Taylor's Station, the Ringgold Gap, the Ringgold Depot, and Pea Vine Creek, all of which were important Civil War locations in the Campaigns for Chickamauga in 1863 and Atlanta in 1864. The Road received a rare compliment in May 1864 when General William Tecumseh Sherman told Major General J.M. Schofield, "The road from Ringgold to Varnell's is very good, and so are all the roads."⁸⁹ The property types along the route of the Federal Road related to the Civil War are battle sites, sites of military travel, hospitals, and a railroad depot.

Northwestern Georgia was vital to Civil War strategy for three reasons: railroads, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. Both Federal and Confederate troops used the road, fought along it, camped and tended to the wounded along it, and briefly used Rossville and especially Ringgold as centers of military operations. Most of the Civil War activity along the Federal Road took place in two short stretches, one in the Fall of 1863 during the Chickamauga campaign and the other in the late Spring of 1864 as an early part of the Atlanta campaign.

The Union forces pressed the military action in the Chickamauga campaign in Fall, 1863.⁹⁰ Union forces of about 60,000 men commanded by General William S. Rosecrans of the Army of the Cumberland had spent the Summer of 1863 moving south through central Tennessee, toward Knoxville and Chattanooga. The Union goals were to

seize the railroads, split Confederate forces from each other and deal a serious blow to a major part of the Confederate army, and take control of areas where there was substantial Union support. Knoxville fell to the Union easily in early September, but the Confederates were determined to put up a fight for Chattanooga. Confederate troops led by General Braxton Bragg had been slowly retreating, often to the displeasure of Confederate leaders, searching for a strategic place to fight for a significant victory.

In September 1863, the Union General Rosecrans divided his troops into three corps, sending one north of Chattanooga and the other two south through two mountain passes in northern Georgia. The Confederates sent spies out among the Union forces, pretending to be deserters with stories of declining moral and disorganization. More importantly, the Confederate General Bragg moved his troops south from Chattanooga into an area around LaFayette, Georgia and also convinced Confederate authorities to send substantial reinforcements by train from Virginia.

Ringgold held considerable importance to the Chickamauga campaign for several reasons. It served as a site for Confederate hospitals. Perhaps 20,000 Confederates received medical care in buildings in Ringgold. One place to visit to see the blood of the injured is the Old Stone Church, now a museum just east of Ringgold. Even before there were battles over Chattanooga, General Braxton Bragg came to town to stay in a hospital in August, 1863, trying to recuperate from various ailments after a series of failed military maneuvers and visiting his wife, who was recuperating from her own ailments.⁹¹ Ringgold was also important because the Western and Atlantic Railroad stopped at the Ringgold Depot. The Georgia legislature created the Western and Atlantic in 1836. Construction in the mountains was long and difficult, and its trains did not run until 1850.

The W & A superintendent called it “the crookedest road under the sun.”⁹² The railroad connected northern Georgia to Nashville and Chattanooga to the north, as well as many locations to the south and west.

The main battle on the Federal Road in 1863 took place along Pea Vine Creek about two miles northwest of Ringgold, on September 10 and 11. A Union colonel, J.T. Wilder from Indiana, described the earliest fighting along the Federal Road after his troops moved south from Chattanooga. “On the 10th we moved south toward Ringgold, and camped that night at Taylor’s Gap, sending a party consisting of four companies of



Photograph of the Ringgold Depot.

the Seventy-second Indiana...forward to Ringgold that night; they returning that night, reported no rebels. The next morning, 11th, we started forward at daylight, and when 2 miles from Ringgold met Scott's brigade of rebel cavalry, drawn up in line of battle, their left resting on Chickamauga Creek and their right on a ridge of hills. Colonel Atkins' regiment being in advance, immediately formed line, dismounted, and gallantly attacked them, while the Seventeenth Indiana, under Major Jones, was sent to flank their right. They soon fell back, leaving 13 dead. We pressed them, hoping to cut them off from retreating through the gap at Ringgold, when General Van Cleve, coming up from the direction of Rossville, drove them in confusion through the gap before my flanking party could intercept them. We immediately passed General Van Cleve, and above 3 miles from Ringgold from them drawn up in line of battle in a strong position, with artillery. Here they made a stubborn resistance, but we flanked them and drove them, pursuing them to Tunnel Hill ”⁹³

General Horatio Van Cleve's division had, as the general described it, “encamped in the valley of Pea Vine Creek,”⁹⁴ where his forces were joined by those commanded by Colonel Sidney Barnes. Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest was injured in the skirmish at Pea Vine Creek. The Confederate forces led by Forrest and, under him, Colonel John Scott, retreated to the south and west, but not before they succeeded in burning at least four railroad bridges. This relatively minor skirmish, if one can describe as minor a clash that killed at least 13 soldiers, was the first fighting along the actual Federal Road during the Chickamauga campaign of September 1863.

More fighting along the Road occurred on September 17 when another Union division under General James Steedman moved through Ringgold, encountered more

Confederate forces, and drove them back south of the town before having to retreat east of East Chickamauga Creek.

Most of the fighting took place a few miles south and west of the Federal Road, in the area that is now the Chickamauga National Military Park. Confederate forces led by General James Longstreet arrived in Ringgold to supplement Bragg's soldiers, and those soldiers proved vital to an important Confederate victory. As the Union forces, somewhat dispersed because of the strategy of General William Rosecrans, moved east to try to circle the city of Chattanooga, Confederates were able to break through Union lines, separating many of the Union forces from each other and send them hurrying north. The fighting on September 18-20 was some of the bloodiest in the War, with over 1600 Union soldiers and over 2300 Confederate soldiers dying. Both sides claimed partial victory, the Union for keeping Chattanooga, the Confederacy for fighting off a Union advance. Most historians agree with those who saw the Chickamauga campaign as a substantial Confederate success because they were able to hold their ground and drive back the Union forces that had moved so quickly through Tennessee. Sites along the Federal Road were important one more time in the Chickamauga campaign when Union forces, including those led by former President James Garfield, retreated from defeat through Rossville, and likely went on or very near the Federal Road in their trip to Chattanooga.

After the Chickamauga campaign, the Confederate and Union armies sent more soldiers to the area around Chattanooga, and tried to feed and supply them in preparation for the next major campaign. But in October and November, the forces of Ulysses Grant, William T. Sherman, and William Thomas fought to retain Chattanooga against the

forces led by Braxton Bragg and Patrick Cleburne. A dramatic Union victory at the Battle of Missionary Ridge November 25, 1863 sent the Confederates back into Georgia.

On November 27, the Federal Road in Georgia was the site of one more Confederate military success, at the Battle of Ringgold Gap, just east of Ringgold (today a small park and a highway sign along Highway 41 mark the battle). This was the bloodiest battle on the Federal Road itself. Union forces led by Major General Joseph Hooker were pursuing the Confederates, hoping to score another victory over a defeated army. Confederate Major General Patrick Cleburne had the job of stopping the Union advance. He stationed soldiers and cannons at the Ringgold Depot, where they launched a successful attack against Hooker's men. After about five hours of combat, some maneuvering around the hills around Ringgold, and over 200 Confederate casualties and about 500 Union casualties, Hooker had to give up his advance. One Confederate described the scene: "The ground was piled with dead Yankees; they were piled in heaps From the foot to the top of the hill was covered with the slain, all lying on their faces. It had the appearance of a roof of a house shingled with dead Yankees." But before they left, the Union forces burned down many of Ringgold's buildings.⁹⁵ The Ringgold Depot was damaged in the fighting. Built with local sandstone blocks in 1849, after damages in the Battle of Ringgold, repairs added other colors to the building's materials.



Photograph of cannon at the Ringgold Depot.

Chapter Twelve

The Federal Road and the Civil War: The Atlanta Campaign, 1864

The Federal Road around Ringgold was crucial again in the early moments of the campaign for Atlanta in 1864.⁹⁶ By the beginning of that year, Union forces wanted to conquer Atlanta for at least three reasons, all of them vital to their efforts to push the war toward its conclusion. First, the strategic reason was that Atlanta had become a significant railroad center. The growing city's previous name had been Terminus because it was the end point of an important railroad, and by the 1860s, Atlanta was a major southern city for railroads. Secondly, the campaign for Atlanta was also crucial to Union forces for political reasons. As the war dragged on, Union opposition was

intensifying, and Abraham Lincoln faced the real possibility of losing the presidency to forces that wanted to make the best compromise they could with the Confederacy. Some decisive victories were important to Lincoln's chances in the 1864 election, especially after the military's failure at Chickamauga. Finally, 1864 was the year General William Tecumseh Sherman made his efforts to destroy Confederate resources to a degree that would demoralize as many Confederates as possible. Sherman tended to make grandiose statements, one of which was the prediction that the Atlanta campaign "would probably decide the fate of the Union."⁹⁷

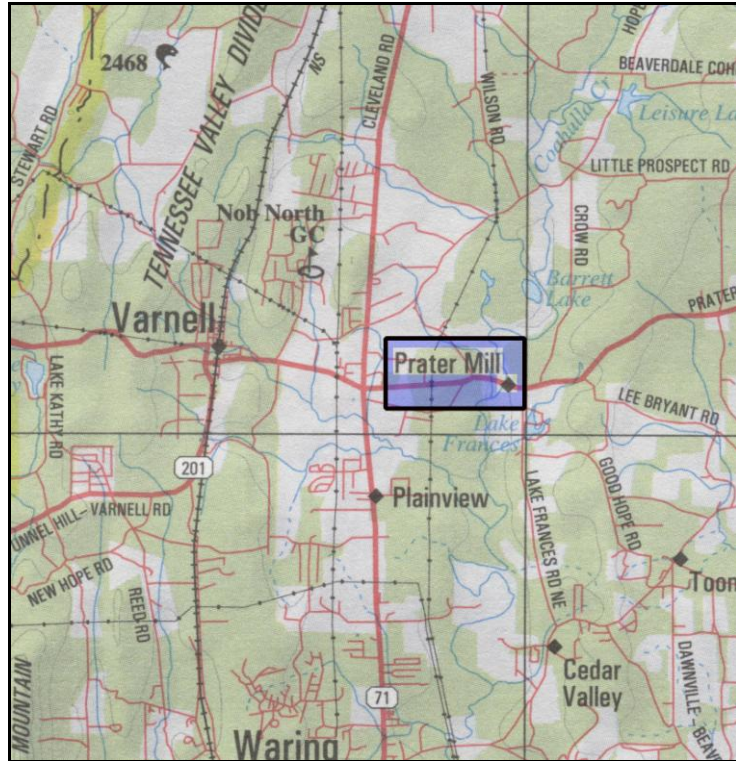
The Union forces under Sherman's command spent the early months of 1864 amassing and strengthening about 110,000 troops in preparation for pushing the Confederate forces in northern Georgia led by General Joseph E. Johnston back toward Atlanta. Johnston had taken over Confederate forces in Georgia after General Braxton Bragg had failed to capitalize on the victory at Chickamauga to attack and take Chattanooga. The Confederates had only 40,000 soldiers, although they had a number of strategic advantages in trying to hold off Union advances. Sherman's plan was to surround the Confederate forces by sending troops from the east, north, and west. Johnston's plan was to retreat strategically, forcing the Union armies to spread out and grow weaker by leaving some soldiers in sites all over north Georgia. Johnston also hoped to receive a large addition to his forces when Jefferson Davis, seeing the importance of Atlanta, sent reinforcements led by General Leonidas Polk from the western fronts in Alabama and Mississippi.

In May 1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman, positioned in Ringgold, ordered Union troops to start moving through northern Georgia toward Dalton and

eventually Atlanta. The troops led by General William Thomas and Major General John Palmer were among a large number who moved through Ringgold, along what several Union military officials referred to as “the Alabama or Old Federal Road.”⁹⁸ An 1864 report by a Union commander described the massing of troops along the Road. “On the morning of the 2d of May, in compliance with orders, Morgan’s and Mitchell’s brigades and the batteries marched to Ringgold, Ga., and went into camp on the East Chickamauga Creek. On the morning of the 3d McCook’s brigade marched from Lee and Gordon’s Mills, and joined the division at Ringgold. On the morning of the 5th the division passed through the gap at Ringgold, and went into bivouac near the stone church, at the forks of the Dalton and Cleveland Roads.”⁹⁹

Another 10,000 troops, led by General John M. Schofield, came from Cleveland, Tennessee through Red Clay past Prater’s Mill and toward Varnell’s Station. Located on Coahulla Creek, Prater’s Mill was a landmark then as now. Benjamin Franklin Prater built the mill in the 1850s with three underwater turbines. It briefly became a Civil War landmark, when Confederate Clem Bassett noted that Union troops left Red Clay “and moved down the Dalton road as far as Mr. Prater’s,” where they turned toward Varnell’s Station.¹⁰⁰ The forces of Major General O.O. Howard went to Catoosa Springs. Many of those forces met at the home of a Doctor Lee, very near the road that headed south toward Tunnel Hill.

There was some skirmishing as these forces moved into place on May 2 and 3, with two or three casualties on both sides. It was along the Federal Road near Dr. Lee’s house that some of John Palmer’s forces, under Colonel Dan McCook, encountered Confederate soldiers and, according to Union sources, “fired the first shot of the Atlanta



Map showing location of Prater’s Mill. From **Georgia Atlas & Gazetteer by DeLorme** (New York: Rand McNally, 2003).

Campaign”¹⁰¹ early in the morning of May 7. A historical marker stands at this spot on Highway 2, slightly east of the Old Stone Church just east of Ringgold. The journal of Union Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Fullerton summarized the skirmishing along the Federal Road. “Movements were made at 4:30 and 5 a.m. as directed. Our cavalry skirmishers met the enemy’s cavalry skirmishers at Doctor Lee’s house and Widow Gillilan’s at 6 a.m. and skirmished all the way to Tunnel Hill.”¹⁰² Most military activity after May 7, 1864 took place south of the Federal Road, as Union troops pushed farther toward and eventually into Atlanta. But a few places along the Federal Road saw more military action. At one point on May 9, Confederate forces drove a Union brigade back toward Varnell’s Station. A Union colonel recalled the retreat: “The enemy at once becoming aware of our situation rushed forward in overwhelming numbers, with an

impetuosity not to be checked by our single line, capturing many of the dismounted skirmishers and driving the remainder in some confusion to the woods in the rear, where they rallied and checked the enemy.” The brigade lost its commander, Colonel LaGrange, and his replacement, “Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, assuming command, retired with the brigade to Varnell’s Station, with a loss of 5 men killed, 1 commissioned officer and 41 men wounded, and 11 commissioned officers and 82 men missing”¹⁰³ Those soldiers headed south two days later. After those early days of the Atlanta Campaign, the Federal Road saw relatively little military action, although Union forces continued to cross it to support the troops moving toward Atlanta.



Photograph of Prater’s Mill.



Photograph of Lee's Chapel.

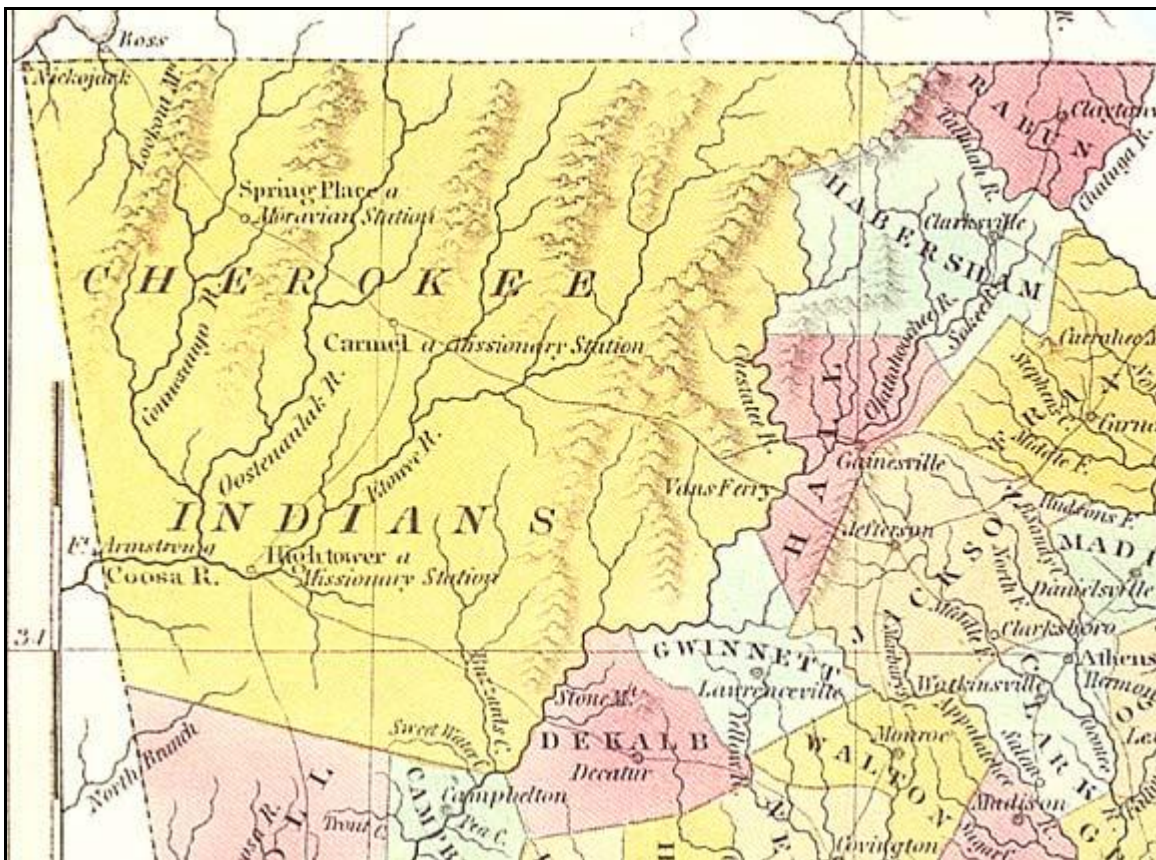
Chapter Thirteen

Becoming One Road among Many

Of the dozens of Confederate and Union officials who mentioned the Road in their letters collected in official records of the Civil War, only one used the term "Federal Road." Others simply referred to the Road by its various destinations, for example, Alabama, Rossville, and Ringgold. This is one of several ways one can see that the distinctiveness of the Federal Road had declined.

The route of the Federal Road continued to be an important part of travel in northern Georgia through the antebellum period. However, the Federal Road was

beginning to lose some of its distinctiveness and its significance in Georgia's economic and transportation systems. Maps from the period demonstrate the growing complexity of travel in Georgia from the Cherokee period until 1865. The Anthony Finley Company Map of Georgia in 1830 shows that anyone who wanted to travel a road through Cherokee territory had little choice but to use the Federal Road. Americans would also have had little choice but to stay at Cherokee stands, shop at their stores and taverns, and rent their horses.



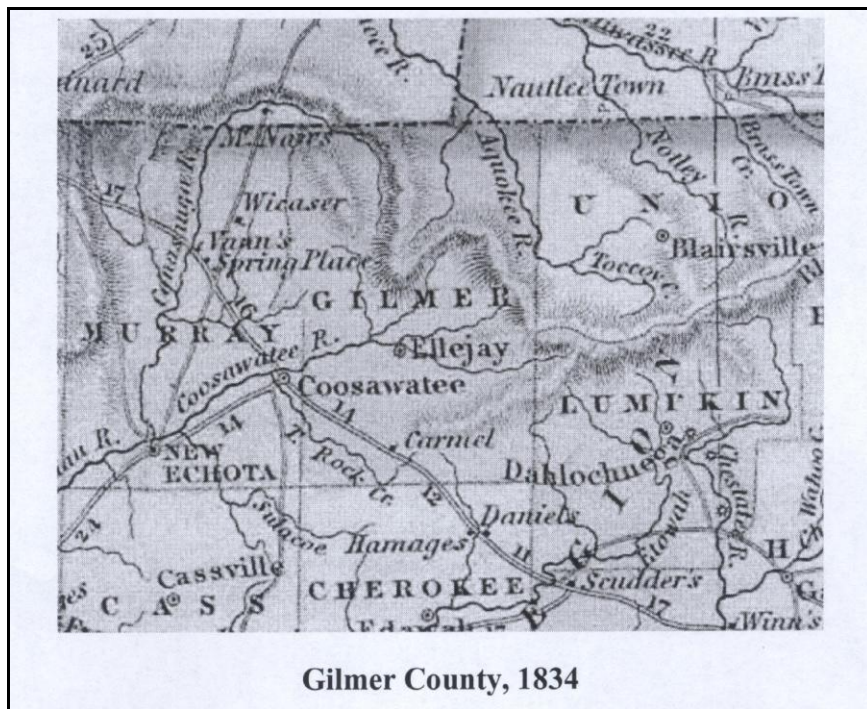
1830 Anthony Finley Company Map of Georgia, showing the Federal Road through Cherokee territory. Map from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.

By 1832 the Georgia Land Lottery maps show the existence of more roads, but they demonstrate the centrality of the Federal Road in all road travel in the area. In 1832

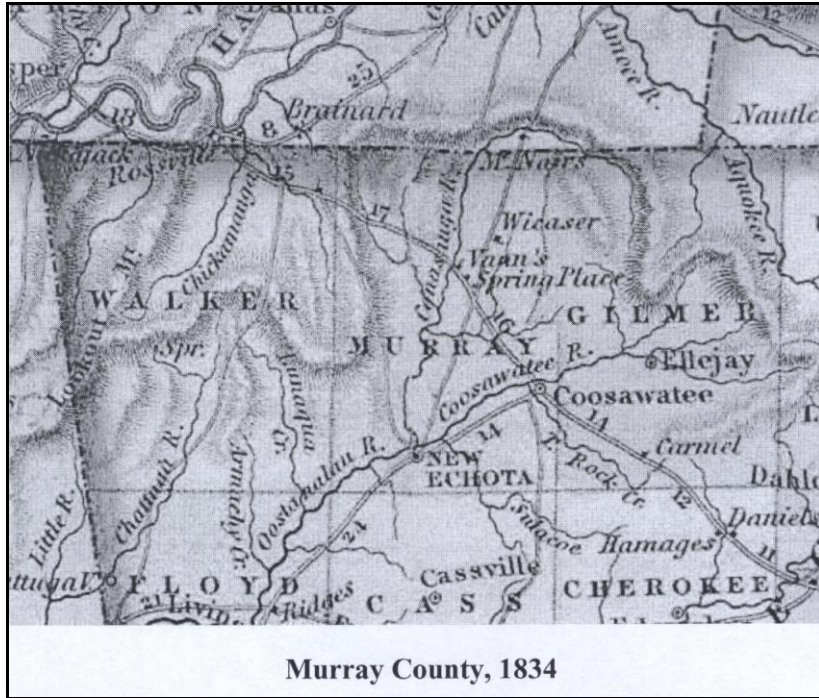
the Federal Road crossed no roads between Winn's Ferry until, at Hightower, it crossed a federal road heading to Alabama. After that intersection, it passed through the mountains to Saundersville, where it intersected with Ellijay Road. Then it passed through Harnage's and Coosawattee and did not intersect another road until after it split to take its northern and northwestern routes. The northern route heading due north into Tennessee went parallel the Spring Place Road and at one point intersected a road the map-makers identified as Bean's Road. In 1832, the northwestern fork of the Federal Road intersected a few more roads, crossing Spring Place Road at the Vann House, then crossing the New Town Road, the New Echota Road, and then very near the Tennessee border near Rossville, crossing the Brainerd Road, the Calhoun Road and Crawfish Road. With that important exception of the area of the Road near Rossville, to conclude, the Federal Road in 1832 did not intersect many roads—at least, not paths that U.S. surveyors considered to be roads.¹⁰⁴

By the mid-1830s but especially by the 1840s, maps show the increasing complexity of roads and the growing number of towns in Cherokee territory. H.S. Tanner's map in 1834 shows a small but growing number of population centers. More dramatically, the S. Augusta Mitchell Map in 1846 shows that Walker, Murray, Gilmer, Cherokee, and Forsyth Counties all have several roads going in multiple directions; the Federal Road was no longer the primary way of moving through the areas. By the Civil War years, maps are even more complex, with rapidly growing numbers of towns and roads. On Lloyd's Topographical Map of Georgia in 1864, it is even difficult to distinguish the Federal Road, because there are so many other roads in the area.¹⁰⁵ Numerous observers and writers have made the same important if imprecise point: the

Federal Road did not suddenly become irrelevant to travel in the area, but it gradually lost its distinctiveness as the primary route of transportation through northwestern Georgia. At least three major changes help explain the declining distinctiveness and importance of the Road. First, removing the Cherokees removed the people who relied on the Federal Road both for commercial opportunities and for identifying outsiders. Some of the storekeepers stayed, but many, including Chief John Ross, went to Oklahoma. Many of the taverns, stores, and inns owned by the Cherokees either became agricultural buildings or were used for firewood. Several of the central places along the Road lost their importance as gathering places and economic centers. Coosawattee became a center not for Cherokee political life but for Cherokee removal. The Moravians left Spring Place, and many of the missionaries in the area left Georgia, some to go to Oklahoma with the Cherokees.

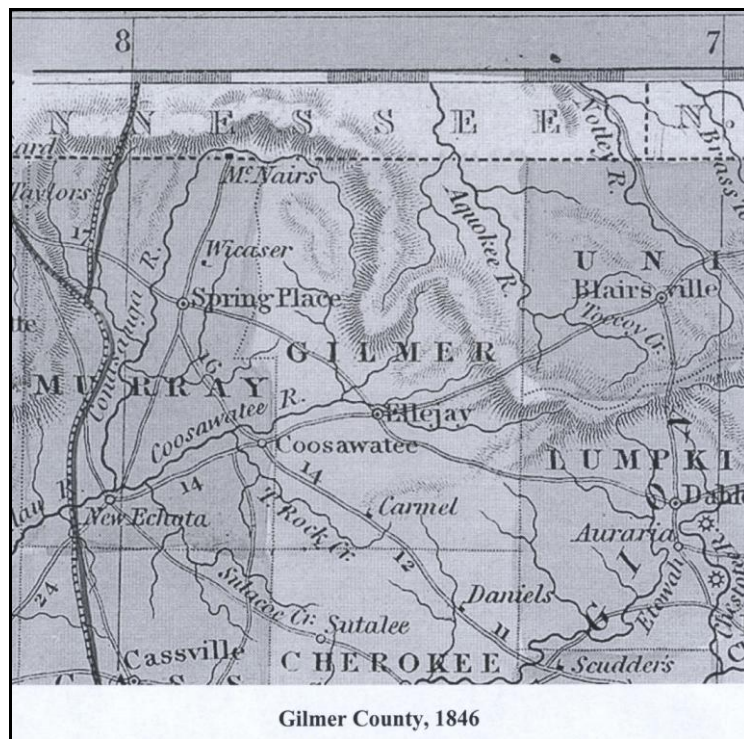


Map of Gilmer County, 1834, H.S. Tanner Map of United States of America, from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.



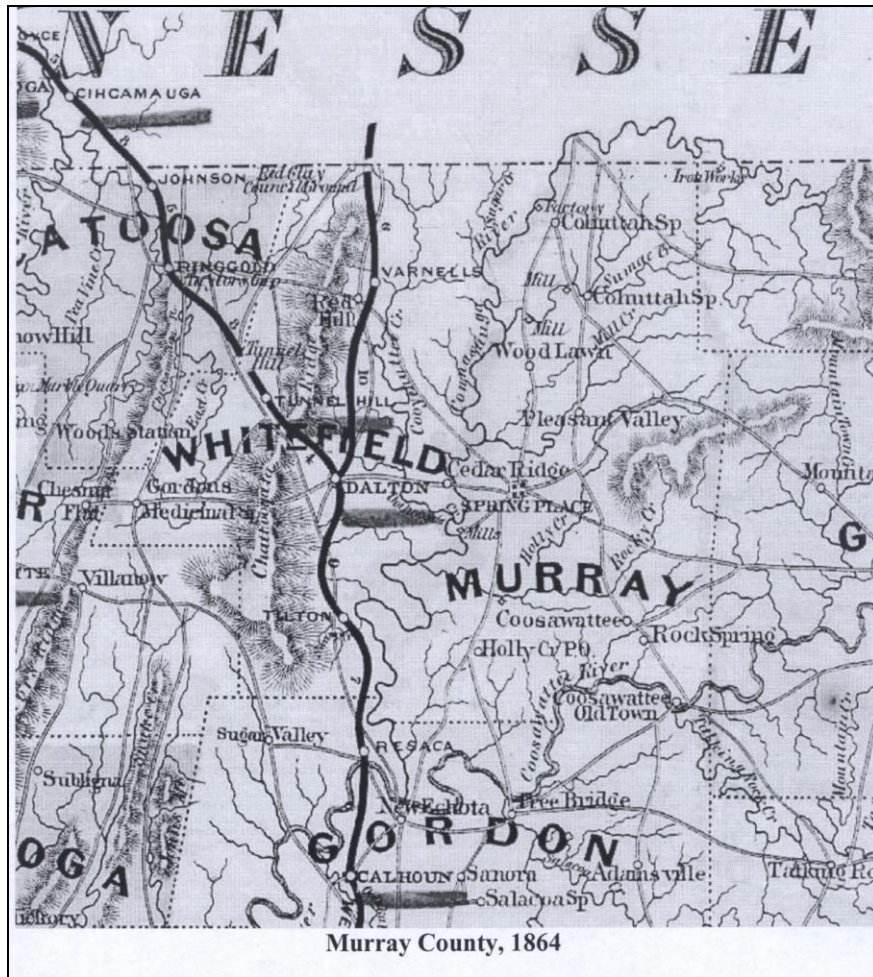
Murray County, 1834

Map of Murray County, 1834, H.S. Tanner Map of United States of America, from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.



Gilmer County, 1846

Map of Gilmer County, 1846 from S. Augustus Mitchell Map of Georgia, from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.



Map of Murray County 1864, from Lloyd's Topographical Map of Georgia, 1864, from Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.

It is revealing to note that farther to the west, another Federal Road running through Creek territory into and through Alabama suffered the same decline. After the removal of the Creeks, that Federal Road declined through disuse and relative irrelevance to the population and economy.¹⁰⁶

A second important change was that after Cherokee removal, U.S. citizens could travel the area without having to take specific routes where the U.S. government guaranteed they were not encroaching on Cherokee land. In 1850, the U.S. Census Bureau counted about 58,000 people, free and slave, in Cherokee, Forsyth, Gilmer,

Murray, and Walker Counties.¹⁰⁷ Those 58,000 people spread throughout the region, with the free people looking for a combination of good land and commercial opportunities. When Americans traveled in northwestern Georgia by the 1840s and 1850s, many were traveling to their homes and did not have to stay at a tavern along a specific road. They lived in small but growing towns and scattered farms. Thus, there were numerous towns and villages, with numerous roads connecting them.

Third, the railroads created new meeting points and transportation hubs, and only a few of the railroads crossed the Federal Road. Many of the railroads, and much of all forms of transportation, revolved around the growing new city of Atlanta, so a great deal of the longer-distance transportation became oriented toward Atlanta.

Of course, much of the route of the Federal Road continues to be important today, as one can tell by driving on or near the route of the road along major highways like 369, 53, 136, 411, 52 Alternate, 76, 2, 41, and 27, and numerous smaller roads—the Yellow Creek Road, the Lawson/Federal Road, Fortner Road, Harrington Road, the Smyrna-Ramhurst Road, Lake Francis Road, and Cloud Springs Road. A few stretches along the route of the Federal Road are still called the Old Federal Road. One section goes from 369 to Ophir on Yellow Creek Road. Lawson/Federal Road heads into the mountains heading toward the Four Mile Church from Yellow Creek Road. Stretches of road north of Chatsworth, winding through some fairly populated areas east of Highway 411, are identified on road signs as the Old Federal Road. And a short, one-mile stretch identified as the Old Federal Road passes by a church and lodge building just south of Jasper.

Afterword

Today, travelers along the route of the Old Federal Road have a chance to consider comparisons between past and present. Many of the property types mentioned in this report are open to visitors. Any traveler can visit Vann's Tavern Park, Spring Place, the Chief Vann House, Prater's Mill, the Stone Church, the Ringgold Gap and Ringgold Depot, and the Chief John Ross House. The Chief Vann House is particularly effective at raising a range of important issues—Cherokee life, plantation slavery, Cherokee relations with various U.S. groups including missionaries, and removal. Other existing property types include churches such as the Four Mile Church and the Antioch Baptist Church, and the sites of Civil War battles and troop movements. Other sites exist today only in the archeological record. Those include all of the removal forts, the inns, taverns, and stands, the political sites at Coosawattee and Harnage's, all of the post offices, and the Federal School.

The most compelling way to relive part of the experience along the Federal Road is simply to drive, or sometimes to walk, as close as possible to its original route. As Phase II of this project demonstrates, several stretches of the old road still exist, and a few of them are accessible to travelers. The physical landscape holds numerous similarities, and travelers can climb hills and cross waterways that were common to travelers on the Federal Road. On the other hand, the traveler must imagine crucial features of life along the Road—there is no easy way to visit gold mines, removal forts, missionary stations, and countless Cherokee sites. Thus, one can come closest to the history of the Federal Road only through a mixture of informed imagination and personal observation.

This report concludes with suggestions for future research or future efforts to commemorate and interpret the history of life along the Federal Road. It seems likely that the most potential for new ways to mark historically significant places along the route of the Federal Road would be to emphasize the places that combined the story of the frontier, the story of experimentation in Cherokee-U.S. relations in economics, religion, and politics, and the story of the Trail of Tears. Such stories may be more difficult to document than single-faceted stories of success or drama or tragedy, but they seem to have potential for thoughtful engagement with history. Three sites seem especially likely as possible sites for future archival or archeological research, with the potential of leading to new efforts at commemoration and interpretation.

1. Hightower/Scudder's Inn/Fort Campbell. Located today at the intersection of 369 and the Old Federal Road, this intersection was in the early 1800s the intersection of two federal roads. This was the location of inns, Cherokee-U.S. conflict over jurisdiction and access to land, the murder of James Vann, and a removal fort.

2. Taloney/Saundersville/Carmel. Located today just north of Talking Rock, this small community was home to several important Cherokee leaders, at least two stands, a mill, an important missionary station, and a U.S. post office. Commemoration and interpretation might stress the experimentation of new economic activity, the interaction at the missionary station, and the ultimate tragedy of removal, with the location of Fort Newnan only slightly north of this location. The proximity of this location to the existing

tourist destination of Talking Rock might make this an especially appealing possibility for new efforts to note the history of this site.

3. Coosawattee. Located today in and near Carter's Lake, this Cherokee community was the center of experimentation in the form of efforts to reorganize the Cherokee government, the location of a Baptist missionary station, and also, with Fort Gilmer very near this area, the location of a removal fort. Again, the proximity of this location to the existing recreational area of Carter's Lake might make this an especially good possibility for noting and interpreting the history of the site.

Other possibilities would be the expansion of efforts to commemorate and interpret the story of gold-mining, to commemorate and interpret the relationship between the first elections at Harnage's and the land lottery to divide Cherokee land, and the expansion of efforts to tell the story of the Trail of Tears in connection to the Chief John Ross House.

This Federal Road historic context brings together a large quantity of historical documentation that is, for all practical purposes, already known to the cultural resource management and academic communities. As such, the property types and associated examples have been identified in historic literature. Although this study is the first attempt to list associated Federal Road property types, more investigation is needed to refine, clarify, and further identify many of the property types listed in this work. It is painfully clear that little or no work has been conducted along the route of the Federal Road, beyond the signature sites noted in this report, to inventory property types that

have low visibility (generally property types that aren't easily recognized for their association with the Federal Road). Additional research could broaden many of the property type examples, if not create new types.

In 2007, the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation listed Cherokee structures of north Georgia among its "10 Places in Peril", an annual list the organization publishes to raise awareness about endangered historic resources around the state. Recent research conducted by the Georgia Trail of Tears Association has focused on the identification of Cherokee cabins in northwest Georgia. This research has been promising and has keyed into utilizing Cherokee roads to aid in this identification. The Federal Road transportation corridor is a perfect candidate to utilize for that effort, not only for Cherokee sites, but other sites associated with the Federal Road as well.

As noted in this report, many of the property types exist today only in the archaeological record; few archaeological sites have been documented as associated with the Federal Road. To date, archaeological research, beyond the flagship sites (Chief Vann House, Spring Place, etc.), has primarily focused on the Indian removal forts, but that investigation has been restricted to the survey level. For the most part, this work has been inconclusive in determining the exact location of the resources in question. There is unlimited potential to learn about the Federal Road and its associated property types through archaeological investigation, but first appropriate research questions, strategies, and refined archaeological techniques and methodology designed to identify low visibility artifact assemblages is needed.

Currently, the National Park Service, National Trails System Office is in the process of amending the 1986 Trail of Tears Historic Trail Feasibility Study and

Environmental Assessment pursuant to President Bush's P.L. 109-378 to add routes, trail segments, and sites to the Trail of Tears Historic Trail in Georgia. As this report notes, the Federal Road was the primary artery for American Indian removal in Georgia. Consideration of the Federal Road as part of the Trail of Tears Historic Trail in Georgia by the National Trail System Office should provide greater cultural awareness of the importance of this resource. Regardless of the road's inclusion, further consideration and recognition of the Federal Road in local/state/federal government comprehensive planning and development in north Georgia is vital to ensure the protection of this resource.

The opportunity exists for local governments to become higher profile stewards of the Federal Road itself through property acquisition for greenspace needs, preservation in-place, or heritage tourism. Heritage tourism potential is especially high for intact sections of the Federal Road (identified during the Phase II portion of this study) that can be incorporated into the Federal Road Driving Tour. Local governments could enhance the Federal Road Driving Tour by developing interpretive roadway (pull-off) kiosks along existing transportation corridors associated with the Federal Road. In that instance, citizens would have access to an interactive interpretive experience that would bring the importance of the Federal Road to Georgia's history alive, as well as deepen the respect for this resource that is primary to our shared cultural heritage.

End Notes

- ¹ The first extended scholarly description of the Federal Road—still very useful because it was based on a combination of personal travel and close attention to maps—was John H. Goff, “Retracing the Old Federal Road,” **Emory University Quarterly** (October 1950), vol. VI, no. 3. The article is reprinted in Francis Lee Utley and Marion R. Hemperley, **Placenames of Georgia** (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).
- ² Marion Hemperley, **Historic Indian Trails of Georgia** (n.p.: Garden Clubs of Georgia, 1989), 22-24.
- ³ Treaty of Holston, 1791, **American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 1**, 124.
- ⁴ Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, to “Gentlemen,” July 3, 1801, **American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume I**, 650.
- ⁵ Jos. Anderson, et al., Letter to the President of the United States, February 10, 1801, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- ⁶ William McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic** (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 86.
- ⁷ Treaty of Holston, 1791, **American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 1**, 125.
- ⁸ Thomas Jefferson, Message Communicated December 3, 1805, 9th Congress, 1st Session, **American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Volume 1**, 67.
- ⁹ Thomas Jefferson, Message Communicated November 8, 1808, 10th Congress, 2nd Session, **American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Volume 1**, 72.
- ¹⁰ William McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 79. See also Thurman Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People** (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, first ed., 1970).
- ¹¹ McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 82; McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 72-75.
- ¹² Return Meigs, Letter, October 25, 1803, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- ¹³ McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 86.
- ¹⁴ McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 88.
- ¹⁵ Goff, “Retracing the Old Federal Road,” 151.
- ¹⁶ U.B. Phillips, **A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908); Randle Bond Truett, **Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians Before 1830** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935).
- ¹⁷ McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 88-89.
- ¹⁸ Malone, **Cherokees of the Old South**, 149.
- ¹⁹ Return J. Meigs to U.S. Secretary of War, January 15, 1805, South West Point, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835, Correspondence and Miscellaneous 1805-1807. National Archive Microfilm M208, Roll 3. Drawer 100, Reel 41, Georgia Archive.
- ²⁰ 1832 Land Lottery Map, Cherokee County, Georgia Archive.
- ²¹ Goff, “Retracing the Old Federal Road,” 157.
- ²² Goff, “Retracing the Old Federal Road;” Samuel Carter III, **Cherokee Sunset, A Nation Betrayed: A Narrative of Travail and Triumph, Persecution and Exile** (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, NY, 1976), 65. It is important to note that Boudinot did not specify where those eighteen ferries were located, and that he did not say they were located along the Federal Road.
- ²³ Henry Thompson Malone, **Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition** (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 148-149.
- ²⁴ Phillips, **History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt**, 67.
- ²⁵ Phillips, **History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt**, 69.
- ²⁶ Hodgson, quoted in Truett, **Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians**, 81.
- ²⁷ Truett, **Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians**, 117.
- ²⁸ McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 61; Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 63.
- ²⁹ Cherokee Sections, Surveyor’s Field Notes, Section 3, District 9, David Duke, Surveyor, Georgia Archive, Record Group 3-3-25.

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- ³⁰ Report from Thomas P. Carnes, et al., December 22, 1802, **Cherokee Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties, 1786-1839 in Three Parts, Part I**, compiled with authority of John B. Wilson under direction of Mrs. J.E. Hays (Georgia Department of Archives and History), 40.
- ³¹ C. Daniel Crews, **Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission among the Cherokee** (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Archives, 2000); McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**; S. Scott Rorher, **Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry** (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).
- ³² Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy**; McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 147.
- ³³ Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy**, 120.
- ³⁴ Elias Boudinot, **Cherokee Editor, The Writings of Elias Boudinot**, ed., Theda Perdue (University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 47.
- ³⁵ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 65.
- ³⁶ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 71.
- ³⁷ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 49.
- ³⁸ **American State Papers, Post Office Department**, 1827, 173-174.
- ³⁹ George Washington, Speech of President Washington, Delivered October 25, 1791, Second Congress, 1st Session, **American State Papers, United States Congress, Foreign Relations, Volume 1**, 17.
- ⁴⁰ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 130-134.
- ⁴¹ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 137.
- ⁴² Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 15.
- ⁴³ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 205.
- ⁴⁴ 1832 Land Lottery Maps, Cherokee County, Section 2, District 4, Georgia Archive.
- ⁴⁵ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 127-128.
- ⁴⁶ Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy**.
- ⁴⁷ 1832 Land Lottery Maps, Cherokee County, Section 2, District 4, Georgia Archive.
- ⁴⁸ **American State Papers, Post Office Department**, 1827, 173-174.
- ⁴⁹ Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy**.
- ⁵⁰ Cherokee Sections, Surveyor's Field Notes, Section 3, District 8, George M. Duncan, Surveyor, Georgia Archive, Record Group 3-3-25.
- ⁵¹ Treaty of Holston, 1791, **American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 1**, 124.
- ⁵² McLoughlin, **Cherokee Renaissance**, 137.
- ⁵³ Letters in **Cherokee Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties, 1786-1839 in Three Parts, Part I**, compiled with authority of John B. Wilson under direction of Mrs. J.E. Hays (Georgia Department of Archives and History), 99-113.
- ⁵⁴ Vicki Rozema, ed., **Cherokee Voices: Early Accounts of Cherokee Life in the East** (Winston-Salem, NC: John E. Blair, 2003), 106.
- ⁵⁵ Charles O. Walker, **Cherokee Names Remain in Georgia, Volume III** (Jasper, GA: Privately printed, 2005), 53.
- ⁵⁶ Cherokee Sections, Surveyor's Field Notes, Section 2, District 25, D. McDowell, Surveyor, Georgia Archive, Record Group 3-3-25.
- ⁵⁷ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 193-205; Malone, **Cherokees of the Old South**, 79-84.
- ⁵⁸ McLoughlin, **Cherokees and Missionaries**, 193-205.
- ⁵⁹ This summary comes largely from Perdue and Green, **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁶⁰ David Williams, **The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever** (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 73-76.
- ⁶¹ Williams, **Georgia Gold Rush**.
- ⁶² Williams, **Georgia Gold Rush**, 26.
- ⁶³ Williams, **Georgia Gold Rush**, 28-36.
- ⁶⁴ Theda Perdue and Michael Green, eds., **The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents** (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995); Williams, **Georgia Gold Rush**, 51; Walker, **Cherokee Names**, 86; Lloyd G. Martin, **The History of Cherokee County**, (Atlanta: Walter Brown Co., 1932), 141.
- ⁶⁵ Sarah H. Hill, **Cherokee Removal: Forts Along the Georgia Trail of Tears** (a draft report under a Joint partnership between the National Park Service and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources/Historic Preservation Division, 2005); Williams, **Georgia Gold Rush**.

- ⁶⁶ Gary E. Moulton, **John Ross, Cherokee Chief** (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1978).
- ⁶⁷ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**; Wilkins, **Cherokee Tragedy**.
- ⁶⁸ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 56.
- ⁶⁹ A useful short introduction, with documents, to the forces that led to Cherokee removal is Perdue and Green, ed., **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁷⁰ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 103.
- ⁷¹ On missionaries opposing Cherokee removal, Jeremiah Evarts, **Cherokee Removal: The 'William Penn' Essays and Other Writings**, ed., Francis Paul Prucha (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981).
- ⁷² Perdue and Green, ed., **Cherokee Removal**, 68-75.
- ⁷³ Vicki Rozema, ed., **Voices from the Trail of Tears** (Winston-Salem, NC: John E. Blair, 2003), 20.
- ⁷⁴ Perdue and Green, ed., **Cherokee Removal**, 165.
- ⁷⁵ Carter, **Cherokee Sunset**, 245, 238; William Cotter reprinted in Rozema, ed., **Voices**, 21.
- ⁷⁶ Hill, **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁷⁷ Hill, **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁷⁸ Hill, **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁷⁹ Hill, **Cherokee Removal**.
- ⁸⁰ Crews, **Faith and Tears**.
- ⁸¹ Quoted in Rozema, ed., **Voices**, 21, 101.
- ⁸² Goff, "Retracing the Federal Road," 9.
- ⁸³ **Compendium of the 7th Census, 1850**.
- ⁸⁴ **Compendium of the 6th Census, 1840; Compendium of the 7th Census, 1850**.
- ⁸⁵ On yeoman independence as a cultural ideal, Grady McWhiney, **Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South** (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988); Frank L. Owsley, **Plain Folk of the Old South** (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965, orig. pub., 1949). Emphasizing the economic and communal more than the cultural aspects of yeoman life is Steven A. Hahn, **The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- ⁸⁶ **Compendium of the 6th Census, 1840; Compendium of the 7th Census, 1850**.
- ⁸⁷ Goff, "Retracing the Federal Road."
- ⁸⁸ **Compendium of the 7th Census, 1850**.
- ⁸⁹ **War of the Rebellion**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part IV, 47.
- ⁹⁰ Useful histories that describe the Chickamauga Campaign are James M. McPherson, **Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Peter Cozzens, **This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Steven E. Woodworth, **A Deep Steady Thunder: The Battle of Chickamauga** (Abilene, TX: McWhiney Foundation Press, 1998); Woodworth, **Chickamauga: A Battlefield Guide with a Section on Chattanooga** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); William M. Lamers, **The Edge of Glory: A Biography of General William S. Rosecrans, U.S.A.**, with a new introduction by Larry J. Daniel (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, orig. pub., 1961) Judith Lee Hallock, **Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Volume II** (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); John Allen Wyeth, **That Devil Forrest: Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, orig. pub., 1959).
- ⁹¹ Cozzens, **This Terrible Sound; Braxton Bragg**; Jim Miles, **Fields of Glory: A History and Tour Guide of the Atlanta Campaign** (Nashville: Routledge Hill Press, 1989).
- ⁹² James Boyle, "The Western & Atlantic Railroad in the Campaign for Atlanta," in Theodore Savas and David Woodbury, eds., **The Campaign for Atlanta and Sherman's March to the Sea** (Campbell, CA: Savas Woodbury Pub., 1994); Phillips, **History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt**, 303-334. Also on the Western & Atlantic in the Civil War, James Lee McDonough and James Pickett Jones, **War So Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta** (NY: Norton, 1987).
- ⁹³ **War of the Rebellion**, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part 1, 446.
- ⁹⁴ **War of the Rebellion**, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part 1, 802; also, Wyeth, **That Devil Forrest**.
- ⁹⁵ Quote from <http://www.us-civilwar.com/ringgold.htm>; Mauriel Phillips Joslyn, **A Meteor Shining Brightly: Essays on the Life and Career of Major General Patrick R. Cleburne** (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000), chap. 6;

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- ⁹⁶ Useful histories that describe the Atlanta Campaign are McPherson, **Battle Cry of Freedom**; McDonough and Jones, **War So Terrible**; Albert Castel, **Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864** (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992); Richard McMurry, **Atlanta 1864, Last Chance for the Confederacy** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Miles, **Fields of Glory**.
- ⁹⁷ McDonough and Jones, **War So Terrible**, 74.
- ⁹⁸ **War of the Rebellion**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part IV, 43, 44, 45.
- ⁹⁹ **War of the Rebellion**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 626.
- ¹⁰⁰ **The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 676; Prater's Mill Country Fair Souvenir Program, October 2004.
- ¹⁰¹ Castel, **Decision in the West**, 128.
- ¹⁰² **War of the Rebellion**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 841.
- ¹⁰³ **War of the Rebellion**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, 781.
- ¹⁰⁴ 1832 Land Lottery Maps, Cherokee County.
- ¹⁰⁵ These maps are available to view at <http://www.cviog.uga.edu/Projects/gainfo/working.htm>.
- ¹⁰⁶ Henry deLeon, Jr. and Jerry Elijah Brown. **The Federal Road through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806-1836** (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 137-143.
- ¹⁰⁷ **Compendium of the 7th Census, 1850**.

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