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and a ruler of a wide territory."44

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COSTE. A site now inundated, this ancient town was at the upper end of Pine Island in the Tennessee River, in Marshall County. 48 The DeSoto expedition reached this town on July 2, 1540. Ranjel recorded the event of their arrival: "This village was on an island in the river, which there flows large, swift, and hard to enter. And the Christians crossed the first branch with no danger to any of the soldiers, yet it was no small venture careless and unarmed... And when the soldiers began to climb upon the barbaçoas, in an instant the Indians began to take up clubs and seize their bows and arrows and to go to the open square." 49

When threatened by the 1,500 warriors, DeSoto immediately seized the chieftain and about a dozen of the leading men, who were chained and collared. The threat of burning these captives caused the warriors to lay down their arms and a battle was avoided.<sup>50</sup>

CREEK PATH. This Cherokee settlement was situated on the eastern side of Brown's Creek at the crossing of the present road from Warrenton to Albertville, about 4 miles southeast of Guntersville, in Marshall County. Established in 1785, Creek Path soon became a very important community of between 400 and 500 people—one-third of the entire Cherokee population within the present-day boundaries of Alabama. In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions established a school

and church at Creek Path under the superintendency of the Reverend William Potter. This mission continued in operation until the Cherokees left Alabama for Oklahoma.<sup>53</sup>

CROWTOWN (Kagunyi). Situated on Crow Creek, ½ mile from its confluence with the Tennessee River, this town was approximately 4 miles south of Stevenson, in Jackson County. One of the Five Lower Towns of the Cherokees on the Tennessee River, Crowtown was considered one of the most important towns in the Tennessee Valley. Chickamauga Cherokees under the leadership of "The Crow" founded the town in 1782. These Indians were among the greatest enemies of the white settlers in Tennessee and Kentucky, and probably many raiders set out from the town. 55

DOUBLEHEAD'S VILLAGE. This village was on the south side of the Tennessee River, near the place where the Natchez Trace crossed the river at Colbert's Ferry, in Colbert County. 56 In 1790 Chief Doublehead founded the village, with the aid of 40 Creek and Cherokee warriors. Doublehead has been called "the most cruel and blood-thirsty of the Indians" who raided the Cumberland settlements of Tennessee. He was killed in 1805 in a tavern brawl. 57

ECUNCHATI (Ecunchate, Ikan-tchati, Red Ground). On a bluff above the Alabama River, this village was where the city of Montgomery now stands.<sup>58</sup> Its name means "red bluff" or "red ground." This ancient home of the Alabama Indians witnessed the passing of the DeSoto expedition on September 6, 1540.<sup>59</sup>

The French trade regulations of 1761 listed the village with a population of 70 hunters. In 1799, Benjamin Hawkins visited the town and recorded that it was "a small village on the left bank of the Alabama, which has its fields on the right bank in the cane swamp. They are a poor people without stock, are idle and indolent, and seldom make enough bread, but have fine melons in great abundance in their season." 60

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field, hard by the bluff of the river. The surface was strewn with the remains of the former Indian occupation." Two mounds stood at this site until 1833, one being 25 feet high and 90 feet square. 61

FAKITCHIPUNTA (Turkey Town). This Choctaw town was situated on both sides of the Tombigbee River (two-thirds of it lying on the eastern bank), in Choctaw and Clarke counties. Turkey Creek flowed into the river about the middle of the northwest quarter of the town.<sup>62</sup>

In 1830 the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek ceded this large town and the surrounding area to the white settlers. At that time it was the last of the Choctaw possessions east of the Tombigbee River.

FUSI-HATCHI (Fuś-Hatchi, Foutchachy). An Upper Greek town on the north bank of the Tallapoosa River, Fusi-Hatchi was 1 mile north of Wares Ferry, in Elmore County. 63 De Grenay, on his map of 1733, placed the town on the south side of the Tallapoosa River, opposite its later position. The French census of 1760 showed that some of the Kusas people had united with this village, giving it a combined population of 60 warriors. The trade regulations of July, 1761, listed the combined population as 50 hunters. 64

ent site of the town of Guntersville, in Marshall County. <sup>65</sup> John Gunter, a Scottish trader, settled among the Cherokees during the American Revolution because of his Tory sentiments, married a Cherokee woman, and was adopted into the tribe. He founded this village in 1784 along a trading path. His double-log home stood "at the foot of the hill" in Guntersville, about 200 yards from the creek. He died in 1835 and is buried in an unknown grave. <sup>66</sup>

HATCHITCHAPA (Hatch-chi-chubba, Hatchechubbee). This Upper Creek village was situated at the headwaters of Mitchell's Creek, a few miles south of Central, in Elmore County. <sup>67</sup> This village was destroyed by Red Sticks in 1813, was evidently rebuilt, and appeared in the census of 1832. <sup>68</sup>

HILLABI. This Upper Creek town was on the left bank of Little Hillabi Creek, somewhat opposite Pinkneyville, near the Clay and Tallapoosa county line. <sup>69</sup> In 1540, DeSoto discovered a tribe of Hillabis living on the lower Savannah River in Georgia. It is quite possible that these Indians later migrated into Alabama. The trade regulations of July, 1761, showed the town with a population of 40 hunters. The town contained peach orchards and also livestock. <sup>70</sup>

During the Creek War of 1813-14, the Hillabis fought against the Tennessee militia at the battles of Tallahasseehatchee and Talladega. After the Indians were defeated in both encounters, a delegation of warriors went to General Jackson at Fort Strother asking for a termination of hostilities. Realizing that an expedition under General James White was at that moment on its way to Hillabi, Jackson attempted to halt the proposed attack, but unfortunately was too late.

On November 18, 1813, General White surrounded the town, which contained 65 wounded warriors who were hospitalized in the cabins there. No battle took place. The militiamen went into each cabin, bayoneting the wounded in their beds. The town was then burned. This needless action seriously hurt Jackson's reputation in the eyes of the friendly Indians, and is referred to in history as the "Hillabi Massacre."

HOITHLEWALLI (Huhliwahli, Ulibahali, Olibahali, Cheeawo ola, Telonalis Chevallis). For several centuries Indians lived at this site on the right bank of the Tallapoosa River, on a strip of land east of the influx of Mitchell's Creek (also known as Chubbehatchee Creek), extending back from the river for a mile, in Elmore County. On August 31, 1540, the DeSoto expedition reached this town, and the Gentleman of Elvas wrote in his diary: "The Governor [DeSoto] ordered all his men to enter the town which was enclosed and near which flowed a small river. The enclosure, like that in other towns seen there afterward, was of thick logs, set solidly close together in the ground, and many long poles as thick as an arm placed crosswise. The height of the enclosure was that of a good lance, and it was plastered within and without and had loopholes." 73

creek a "river," for the creek is 200 feet wide at this crossing point.<sup>194</sup>

TAWASA (Tuasi, Teouachis, Touachys, Touacha, Tawwassa). This Alibamu town was on the northern bluff overlooking the Alabama River, approximately 5 miles north of the bridge on the Birmingham highway, on the Maxwell Field golf course, in Montgomery County. 195 On September 6, 1540, Rodrigo Ranjel, of the DeSoto party, recorded in his diary: "Monday, we came to Tuasi, where we were given carriers and 32 Indian women." After a visit of a week in the town, the Spaniards moved westward. 196

Many years later, inhabitants of this town moved far to the south, at the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, where they were friends of the French colonists of Mobile. The De Crenay map of 1733 showed them living on the east bank of the Coosa, approximately 12 miles above Witumka. The French census of 1760 listed the town as lying 7 leagues from Fort Toulouse, and containing a population of only 10 warriors. 197

THLOBLOCCO (Thlobiocco). This Upper Creek village was situated on Thloblocco Creek, a tributary of Cubahatchee Creek, 4 miles east of the highway between Montgomery and Tuskegee (U.S. 80), in Macon County. 198 Very little is known about the village, except that Tustenaggee Emathla ("Jim Boy") made his home there from the mid 1830s until his death in 1851. A Red Stick leader of the Autossees during the Creek War of 1813–14, he served the Americans with distinction against the Seminoles in Florida. 199

TOMONPA (Tomopa). An ancient Alibamu town, Tomonpa was on the west bank of the Coosa River, opposite Fort Toulouse, in Elmore County.<sup>200</sup> Very little is known about the history of the town. It appeared on Danville's map in 1732 and on De Crenay's map in 1733. The French census of 1760 listed it with a population of 70 warriors. It was later overshadowed by its powerful neighboring town, Witumka.<sup>201</sup>

TUKABATCHI (Totepache, Tuckabatchee, Tugibaxtchi, Tukipahtchi, Tukipaxtchi). This Upper Creek town was on the west bank of the Tallapoosa River, approximately 2½ miles below the falls, just below Tallassee, in Elmore County.<sup>202</sup> The early maps indicate that this town was moved a number of times. The French census of 1760 stated that it lay 10 leagues from Fort Toulouse and contained a population of 200 warriors. The following year it was listed in the English trade regulations in combination with Pea Creek and several plantations with only a population of 90 hunters.<sup>203</sup> Hawkins, in 1799, said that it contained 116 warriors.<sup>204</sup>

Around the year 1812, Big Warrior, the chief of this town, became the Speaker of the Upper Creeks, and Tukabatchi became the capital of the Creek Nation.<sup>205</sup> Tecumseh addressed 5,000 people there in 1811, exhorting them to make war on the whites. However, Big Warrior was a steadfast friend of the Americans, so the Shawnee failed to stimulate the Indians into making war on the settlers.<sup>206</sup>

Civil war came to the lands of the Upper Creeks when 29 towns joined the Red Stick movement and only 5 remained friendly with the Americans. Big Warrior sought means of reuniting the tribe, but a council of Red Sticks condemned the chieftain and 6 of his followers to die. A fort was erected at Tukabatchi, which was later besieged until saved by friendly Creeks from Coweta.<sup>207</sup> After the war, the town became the largest of the Upper Creek towns. The census of 1832 showed it to contain 386 houses.<sup>208</sup>

TURKEY TOWN. Situated in a bend of the Coosa River, this Cherokee town was opposite and 1 mile south of Centre, in Cherokee County.<sup>208</sup> The town was established around 1770. Many raids were organized there under "The Turkey" to strike the settlements in Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>210</sup> In November, 1813, a detachment of Tennessee militiamen, belonging to the command of General John Cocke, used the town as a base from which they set out to fight the Red Sticks, with the Cherokees enlisted on the American side.<sup>211</sup>

WAKO KAYI (Acocayes, Waccoy, Ouako kayes). Although this town was moved several times, the most important site of this Upper Creek town was on Flat Top Mountain, on the west fork of Hatchett Creek, in the vicinity of Chambers Spring, in northwestern Clay County. <sup>214</sup> In 1733, De Crenay's map showed the town on Chestnut Creek in Chilton County. Eleven years later Belen placed it on Potchushatche Creek between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. The French census of 1760 stated that it was 15 leagues from Fort Toulouse, and contained a population of 100 warriors, while the British trade regulations of 1761 said that the town consisted of 60 hunters. <sup>215</sup> In 1799, Benjamin Hawkins wrote that the inhabitants "have some horses, hogs and cattle . . . "<sup>216</sup>

WEEMOOKA (Wi-wux-ka, Wewoka, Weowoka, Wewocau, Ouyouka). The site of this Upper Creek town was on the left bank of Wewoka Creek, 4 miles from the Coosa River, in Elmore County.<sup>217</sup> The name means "roaring waters." Little is known about the history of the town. The British trade regulations of 1761 stated that 40 hunters resided there.<sup>218</sup>

WEOGUFKI. This Upper Creek village was situated on Weogufki Creek, about 5' miles above its confluence with Hatchett Creek, in Coosa County.<sup>219</sup> Very little is known about the village other than the fact that it was founded by Indians from the town of Wako Kayi. The census of 1832 listed 132 heads of families residing there.<sup>220</sup>

WILL'S TOWN. This Cherokee town was on Big Will's Creek, sjust above the community of Lebanon; 6 miles south of Fort Payne, in De Kalb County. 221 Established around 1770, the town was named in honor of the chief, Red-Headed Will. During the

American Revolution, Colonel Alexander Campbell, the British agent to the Cherokees, resided at Will's Town.<sup>222</sup>

WITUMKA (Wetumpka Council House). The site of this Lower Creek town has often been disputed because of frequent changes found on the early maps of the area. A survey, dated 1833, placed the town on Little Uchee Creek, once called Wetumpka Greek, about 9 miles west of Phenix City and due east of Moffitt's Mill, in Lee County.<sup>223</sup> The town was the site of the "Green Corn Dance" celebration of the Lower Creeks. General Thomas Woodward attended a council there after the land cession of 1832 to advise the Indians to comply with the treaty.<sup>224</sup> Witumka's importance increased with the decline of old Kawita. After 1832 it was regarded as the leading town of the Creeks who did not remove to the West.<sup>225</sup>

YUFAULA (Eu-fau-lau-hatchie, Yufalahatchi, Eufaulee Old Town). This Upper Creek town was situated on the north side of Talladega Creek about 15 miles above its confluence with the Coosa River. It existed just south of Talladega, and 2 or 3 miles east of Mardisville, in Talladega County.<sup>226</sup> In 1799, Benjamin Hawkins stated that this town was "15 miles up the Eufaulau-hatchie, on the left side of the creek, and bordering on a branch. It is well watered and the residents have a fine stock of cattle, horses and hogs."<sup>227</sup>

YUFALI (Nafolee, Upper Ufala). This Upper Creek town was on the east bank of the Tallapoosa River, near the mouth of Eufaubee Creek, in Macon County.<sup>228</sup> During the early eighteenth century this town was inhabited by the Amissi (or Massi) tribe, a band of unknown origin. In the census of 1760, there were 100 warriors living at Yufali. Tradition states that Osccola was born near this town.<sup>229</sup>

YUFALI (Yufala). The remains of a number of Lower Creek towns are found along the banks of the Chattahoochee River in Houston County, including the town of Yufali, which was situated 5 miles below the mouth of Omussee Creek.<sup>230</sup> A band

SAUTA (Santa). This small Cherokee village was near the mouth of North Santa Creek, approximately 5 miles from Scottsboro, in Jackson County. Sauta was founded about 1784. Tradition states that Sequoyah first made known his new invention, the Cherokee alphabet, at Sauta. Later the Episcopal Mission School was established there. Sequoyah first made known his new invention, the Cherokee alphabet, at Sauta. Later the Episcopal Mission School was established there.

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PART I

SAWANOGI (Petit Chaouanons, Sawanoki, Souvanoga). A Shawnee town situated on the south side of the Tallapoosa River, 2 miles above Likasa Creek, Sawanogi was near Ware's Ferry, in Montgomery County. 161 It was part of the Creek confederacy. The French census of 1760 listed the town as "Little Shawnees," a town located 3 leagues from Fort Toulouse, with a population of 50 warriors. The British trade regulations of 1761 stated that it contained only 30 hunters. 162

In 1799, Benjamin Hawkins wrote that the inhabitants were industrious, worked in cornfields, and raised horses and hogs. The fields, he stated, were on both sides of the river. During the Creek War of 1813–14, Sawanogi was a Red Stick town. The antebellum historian, Pickett, said that it was the home of Savannah Jack, "the most blood-thirsty, fiendish and cruel white man that ever inhabited any country." 164

SAWOKLI (Chaouakale, Chauakle, Sauwoogelo, Great Sawokli, Saukli, Chewakala). This Lower Creek town was on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River, just up from the mouth of Hatchichubbee Creek, in Russell County. Sawokli first appeared on De Crenay's map in 1733. The French census of 1760 listed the town as being 31 leagues from Fort Toulouse and containing a population of 50 men. In 1832, the town was under the control of 2 chieftains and consisted of 56 families. The name appears in a variety of forms on old maps, but its meaning is "raccoon town." 166

SUKA-ISPOKA (Suk-at-Ispoka). This Upper Creek village was situated on the right bank of the Tallapoosa River, between Welch and Whaley ferries, 12 miles upstream from Okfuski, in Tallapoosa County. The name of this village means "hog

gathering place." Probably a branch of the Indian town of Okfuski, this village appeared on Mitchell's map in 1755. In the French census of 1760, it was listed along with Okfuski, the combined two having 300 warriors. The British trade regulations of the following year showed it alone with 130 hunters. A white trader was killed in this village on May 14, 1760. Benjamin Hawkins, in 1799, found but few inhabitants living in the village. He stated that the others had moved away to Imukfa. 169

TALATIGI (Kalalekis). The site of this Upper Creek town was within the present-day limits of Talladega, in Talladega County.<sup>170</sup> The word "Talatigi" means "border town." The French census of 1760 listed this town with a population of 30 warriors.<sup>171</sup>

In November, 1813, many friendly Creeks took refuge in Fort Lashley, which was erected at Talatigi. They were surrounded by 1,000 hostile Red Sticks, who demanded that they surrender. During the night, Selocta Chinnabee, a well-known scout, slipped out of the fort, dressed in a hog skin, crawled through the enemy line, and reached General Andrew Jackson at Fort Strother, telling of their plight. On November 9, Jackson's army, consisting of 1,200 infantrymen and 800 cavalrymen, surrounded the enemy. A battle ensued in which 15 militiamen were killed. The bodies of 299 of the Red Sticks were later counted. The

TALI. This ancient village was on McKee's Island, in the Tennessee River, near Guntersville, in Marshall County. The site has been inundated by the river.<sup>174</sup> On July 9, 1540, the chieftain of this village tried in vain to send the women and children across the river in canoes to safety after learning that Spanish soldiers under DeSoto were approaching. However, as Ranjel recorded on the occasion, "the Governor [DeSoto] forced them all to turn back." The chief was then forced to furnish DeSoto's party with canoes in order to enter the village.<sup>175</sup>

TALIMACHUSY. Situated at the mouth of Emauhee Creek, at the point where it enters Tallaseehatchee Creek, this ancient town was just to the east of the highway linking Talladega and

Civil War, when operations at the Dahlonega (Georgia) Mint ended.12

ARCOLA. The site of this "Vine and Olive" town is on the south bank of the Black Warrior River, a mile northeast of the mouth of Yellow Creek, approximately 41/2 miles northeast of Demopolis, in Marengo County.13 Arcola was first established by the French Bonapartists (see Aigleville),14 but was soon used as a river landing by the planters living in the vicinity.

During the Annual Convention of the Episcopal Church, which met in Tuscaloosa in 1832, the Reverend Albert A. Muller stated that official acts had been performed during the year "in the village of Arcola." In 1843, he reported two baptisms and one funeral at the Arcola mission. Again, in 1844, the mission was briefly mentioned, but it never again appeared in the church records after that year.15

ASHFORD SPRINGS. This popular watering place was situated in the eastern half of the southeast quarter of Section 15, Township 15, Range 2 West, in Choctaw County. 16 The famous springs were once the favorite resort of wealthy planters of Choctaw and Sumter counties. One of the springs contained white sulphur, another sulphur-chalybeate, and another vichy. Today nothing remains of the resort except a marble basin at one of the springs.17

BAINBRIDGE. Situated on the south bank of the Tennessee River, this early town was 6 miles east of Florence, in Lauderdale County. An overgrown cemetery is all that remains today of Bainbridge, once a popular river crossing. When settlers first rushed into the Tennessee River Valley just before 1819, they had dreams of establishing a great commercial city at the Muscle Shoals. Land promoters grew wealthy as they sold off lots at high prices in the town of Bainbridge, and citizens erected large homes and several substantial brick stores.18

On January 16, 1819, the commissioners of the town issued a report stating that Bainbridge was laid out on an inclined plain "so that the streets when filled will resemble the seats of a theatre."19 They boasted that the water supply was excellent, with Hawkins' Creek and 20 springs as the source. A ferry operating on the site could cross the Tennessee River in eight to nine minutes.20

A great rivalry existed between Bainbridge and nearby Melton's Bluff, the county's first seat of justice (see Melton's Bluff). While Andrew Jackson, the future President, and his associates backed the settlement of Melton's Bluff, the Reverend Turner Saunders and John Donelson sought to prove that Bainbridge was on a more promising site.21

The building of a railroad from Tuscumbia to Decatur settled the issue when it bypassed Bainbridge. By 1840, merchants had begun an exodus to the more favorable towns of Tuscumbia and Florence. The number of inhabitants rapidly dwindled, the ferry ceased operations, and Bainbridge became a ghost town.22

BELLEFONTE. The site of this town was 11/2 miles from Hollywood, just northeast of the Tennessee River, approximately 14 miles southwest of Stevenson, in Jackson County. On December 13, 1821, Jackson County commissioners selected the infant town of Bellefonte, which was situated on the principal stage road through North Alabama, as the county seat.23 Incorporated earlier in the year, the town had a population of approximately 200 people. The courthouse was constructed in 1828, and soon the town contained 6 mercantile stores, a drugstore, a blacksmith shop, a tavern, a church, a Masonic hall, and an academy.

Bellefonte remained the county seat until 1859, when the county offices were removed to Scottsboro. During the Civil War, Union troops destroyed the former courthouse. By 1869 most of the citizens had abandoned the town and moved their businesses to nearby Hollywood, a town on the Southern Railway.24 In 1870, Bellefonte contained only 72 inhabitants.

BENNETTSVILLE. This small town and road junction was 1 mile north of Attalla, and 10 miles north of Gadsden, in Etowah County. Appearing at the junction of a road leading northward to Fort Deposit on the Tennessee River and a road from Ashville to the Coosa River at Brown's Ferry, Bennettsville was first on the state map in 1838.25 It died when Attalla, founded in 1870,