

both by your state and ours is a matter worthy of your consideration ... There are many families settled within 9 miles of the Cherokee Nation ... It is vain to say that they must be restrained. Has not all America extended their back settlements in opposition to Laws and Proclamations? The Indians are now become so pusillanimous, and consequently will be more and more encroached upon ... [CR/XXII]

By 1790 the conquest of the eastern seaboard was virtually completed. The white population was powerful enough and more than ready to take up some more of the 'void' occupied by the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks, between the seaboard and the Mississippi River. The tide of further conquest was inevitable. No new plan was needed. Perhaps the whole operation was in the hands of God, and certainly in the capable hands of those early settlers -- who dearly loved a wide stretch of rich bottom land.

In North Carolina, east of the Blue Ridge, a man's scalp was prey only to baldness, dandruff and the like. Not one Indian tribe worth the name was left. The total Catawba population was under a hundred souls. [Recommended: Douglas Summers Brown's book on North Carolina's second most important tribe -- the Catawbas. The only serious defect in the book is the author's heavy reliance on such dubious sources as Mooney and Swanton.]

## 2. A Brief Look at Cherokee Economics

At the opening of the historic period, the Cherokees were chiefly concentrated in North and South Carolina. As the American conquest proceeded, they were more and more shifted into the area they occupied in 1835; that is to say, northern Alabama and Georgia, East Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Following the Henderson Purchase (1775) the Cherokee Chief, Dragging Canoe had taken a considerable number of Cherokees into the Georgia and Alabama section. Later, John Sevier, a Tennessee land speculator, won great and lasting fame as an Indian fighter in this area (prior to 1795).

According to the United States Indian Census, taken in the latter part of 1835, the Cherokee nation was comprised of slightly more than 16,500 souls. This did not include any of an indeterminate number who had already emigrated to the west. *And it did not include the Qualla Cherokees who resided beyond the 1819 treaty boundaries.* Approximately 9,000 were seated in the State of Georgia, the remainder lived in the States just mentioned. They had a total of 44,000 acres in cultivation; they owned 1,590 slaves; during the year 1835, they produced in excess of half a million bushels of corn -- 180 bushels average per farm & 10-11 bushels per acre. They owned 24 grain mills and 66 ferries. It was said that 1,070 could read English, and that 2,914 could read Cherokee. Approximately 2,000 were of mixed blood -- almost exclusively with the white people -- with a bias toward the Scots.

One may question, I think, the degree of validity that can be assigned to the census figures. There is a marked tendency toward clustering of acreage figures, and the appearance of what seems to be the use of formula in estimating corn production. Unless the census taker gave reading tests, the figures shown for those who could read English and Cherokee must be left open to question. Many writers have left the impression that when the Cherokee syllabary was invented by the half-breed Sequoya in 1821, every man, woman and child acquired over night the ability to read anything written in Cherokee characters. But, of course the ability to read seems a very primary accomplishment in any culture -- even first and second graders do it. [Incidentally, Sequoya was a grandson of that same Christopher Gist who rescued the Father of Our Country when the latter fell off a raft into an icy stream.]

There is not much in the 1835 Census that provides direct insight into the manner of life of the Cherokees. We are informed that there were 3,120 farms and 2,809 farmers over the age of 18. The point is, almost every family had a sizeable acreage in cultivation -- chiefly corn. Practically every farm had one or more horses. How many Indians employed oxen for plowing is not known. Each family generally had one or more individuals who could spin or weave, or do both. The size of farms (number of acres devoted to agriculture) is not readily arrived at -- due to the manner of listing, involving as it did, family farm-complexes. One head of a household is shown for a set of farms -- except in the case of Tennessee, which apparently was more advanced in white organization than were the other state areas. Note, for example, in the table (which follows) of farm sizes, one farm in Alabama contained 450 acres. Actually this was a farm-complex, managed or farmed by thirteen individual farmers. North Carolina had 76 such complexes, despite the generally small size of farms in this state. Alabama had 25 complexes. The actual number of single and multiple farm entities was in the neighborhood of 2,500.

Those who scan the putative facts presented in this section will wonder why so progressive and so industrious a people could not have been accommodated in the white man's social order. The Indian was doing on his tillable land precisely what the white man was doing on his. The truth is, I think, that progress and industry and political activity and dedication to religious rituals -- as practiced by the Cherokees in 1835 -- had nothing to do, one way or another, with their removal. The motivations that prompted the Americans to remove them from the east must be sought in a completely different set of conditions. I will discuss this point later.

It may be well to note that in the Indian society every family, as a rule, had its own cornfield and garden. Unlike the whites there was no large class who made their way economically by selling specialized services. At least, that is the impression one gains from a study of the 1835 Census. Among the full-bloods, at least, the Cherokees appear to have been strictly agrarian -- and almost classless.

The 3,644 Cherokees in North Carolina in 1835 lived within the area that is now Cherokee, Clay and Graham counties. If one can trust historical hearsay, they lived in cabins. There is an old unsettled question found in literature concerning the eastern Indians as to whether the white man taught the Indian to build cabins or vice versa. There is no historical evidence that I have seen to indicate that the Cherokees inhabited the upper Hiwassee watershed (upward of the mouth of Peachtree Creek or in Tusquitte and Shooting Creek valleys) prior to, say 1800. The exodus into areas other than Valley River Valley came chiefly as a result of the compression following the 1817 and 1819 treaties. If one can believe the Historical Marker in the center of Murphy NC, Colonel George Chicken came down the Hiwassee River in 1715. He saw no village or town until he reached the area of Murphy. Even the Peachtree mound disclosed in the top layer an inclusion of several "stone graves" -- a feature that is not commonly associated with the Cherokee burial habits. There is reason to speculate that the village in connection with the Mound itself was initially populated with Natchez Indians. But all these things are in the realm of speculation -- and not in my portfolio.

[George Chicken's "Journal of the March of the Carolinians into the Cherokee Mountains, 1715-1716" was published in the *Year Book of the City of Charleston 1894.*]

SUMMARY OF THE 1835 CHEROKEE INDIAN CENSUS -- Taken in the Indian country by R. Rawlins (Alabama), C. H. Nelson & George Underwood (Georgia), Nathaniel Smith, later Superintendent of Cherokee Emigration (North Carolina), and Daniel Henderson (Tennessee).

	Alabama	Georgia	North Carolina	Tennessee	Total
Males, Under 18 .....	363	2257	950	667	4237
Over 18 .....	353	2166	900	573	3992
Females, Under 16 .....	331	2155	825	664	3975
Over 16 .....	377	2368	969	624	4328
Total .....	1424	8946	3644	2528	16542
Slaves, Male .....	141	368	13	242	764
Females .....	158	406	24	238	826
Total .....	299	764	37	480	1590
Whites Connected by Marriage	32	68	22	79	201
Number of Farms .....	259	1735	714	412	3120
Acres in Cultivation .....	7256	19216	6906	10692	44070
Number of Horses .....	598	7702	974	1810	11084
Bushels of Wheat Raised ..	240	1221	65	976	2502
Bushels of Corn Raised ...	88776	267644	78392	129179	563991
Bushels of Corn Sold .....	16790	67359	5883	27288	117320
Amount Received for Corn .	\$ 7237	\$ 30125	\$ 2937	\$ 13070	\$ 53370
Number of Grain Mills ....	2	8	6	8	24
Number of Ferries .....	9	13	0	44	66
Number of Farmers, Over 18	330	1079	819	581	2809
Number of Mechanics, Over 18	9	108	13	209	339
Number able to Read English	218	386	69	397	1070
Number Able to Read Cherokee	320	1378	737	479	2914
Number of Half-Breeds ....	219	557	106	572	1454
Number of Quadroons	188	697	219	388	1492
Full-Blooded .....	915	6807	3253	1488	12463
Mixed Catawbas .....	49	9	0 [?]	13	71
Mixed Spaniards .....	11	45	0	0	56
Mixed Negroes .....	4	3	23	44	74
Weavers .....	158	1463	323	540	2484
Spinsters [Spinners] .....	275	1270	721	863	3129
Reservees .....	23	67	12	21	123
Descendants of Reservees .	157	242	81	170	650

## CHEROKEE SINGLE AND MULTIPLE-FAMILY FARMS. (All farms in Tennessee are singles.)

Size of Farms (No. of Acres)	Number of Farms in Each Category					Size (1)	Ala. (2)	Ga. (3)	N.C. (4)	Tenn. (5)	Total (6)
	Ala. (2)	Ga. (3)	N.C. (4)	Tenn. (5)	Total (6)						
1	2	85	12	7	106	60	3	15	2	7	27
2	7	94	34	13	148	62	-	1	-	-	1
3	6	103	37	12	158	63	-	1	-	-	1
4	5	103	49	20	177	65	1	1	-	4	6
5	13	108	43	13	177	66	-	-	-	1	1
6	6	92	54	10	162	68	-	1	-	-	1
7	5	34	43	5	87	70	-	4	-	5	10
8	7	99	66	26	198	72	-	-	-	2	2
9	1	19	17	4	41	74	-	1	-	-	1
10	38	111	59	25	233	75	1	-	2	2	5
11	-	72	3	6	81	80	1	5	-	1	7
12	4	62	34	15	115	85	1	-	-	-	1
13	1	6	7	4	18	90	1	3	-	2	6
14	2	11	22	4	39	91	-	-	-	1	1
15	15	58	32	21	126	100	2	8	3	4	17
16	1	16	18	5	40	102	-	-	-	1	1
17	1	3	4	-	8	104	-	1	-	-	1
18	-	23	11	5	39	115	-	1	-	-	1
19	-	5	6	3	14	117	1	-	-	-	1
20	22	40	33	24	119	120	-	1	1	-	3
21	-	2	1	1	4	130	-	1	-	-	1
22	-	3	2	2	7	135	-	1	-	-	1
23	1	-	2	-	3	150	2	1	-	1	4
24	-	4	3	5	12	152	1	-	-	-	1
25	6	33	10	12	61	160	-	-	-	1	1
26	1	4	1	1	7	170	1	-	-	-	1
27	-	1	1	3	5	175	2	-	-	1	3
28	-	2	-	2	4	186	-	1	-	-	1
29	-	-	-	1	1	190	-	1	-	-	1
30	8	22	7	21	58	200	2	2	-	2	6
32	-	-	-	1	1	215	1	-	-	-	1
33	-	2	2	2	6	218	-	1	-	-	1
34	1	1	-	1	3	220	1	-	-	1	2
35	-	16	1	7	24	225	1	-	-	-	1
36	-	1	-	-	1	227	-	-	-	1	1
37	-	-	-	1	1	228	-	-	-	1	1
38	-	-	-	1	1	243	-	-	-	1	1
40	7	26	3	11	47	250	1	-	-	-	1
44	-	1	-	-	1	260	-	1	-	-	1
45	2	6	-	1	9	262	1	-	-	-	1
50	7	9	-	12	28	290	-	1	-	-	1
52	-	-	-	1	1	300	-	4	-	-	1
53	-	1	-	1	2	325	1	-	-	-	1
55	-	1	-	7	8	350	-	1	-	-	1
56	-	-	-	1	1	351	1	-	-	-	1
						450	1	-	-	-	1

## 3. The Days Are Numbered

The average educated person who studies the story of the removal of the Cherokees, provided he penetrates the shallows of past and present journalism and the Vacation Land brochures, will sooner or later experience the hope that somehow, somewhere, sometime, the reading public will get a more accurate account than it has been subjected to in the past. Those threadbare mythological passages continuously quoted, hand to hand, from Mooney -- who got his least reliable material from W. H. Thomas and Charles Lanman (who in turn, got his from W.H. Thomas, or out of his own head) -- are so deeply imbued in Cherokee Removal Folklore, I am led to believe here is a place where Truth will not ever rear its bloody, scalped head.

Yes, I think there will continue forever those who savor and accept blindly the words of a self-denoted expert who in years long past labored with such dedication under the banner of the American Bureau of Ethnology. In 1972, at the National Monument called Russell Cave, a bright young employee of the United States Department of the Interior informed me, educationally, that "More than 4,000 Cherokees perished along the Trail of Tears." I had not the brashness to tell him that somewhere along his trail he had been mentally bushwhacked -- which, come to think of it, is more or less a common fate for all of us. But let our young man and others of his persuasion go to Qualla on the Oconaluftee and have their heartstrings twanged by the Cherokee 'drama', and let them buy 'genuine Cherokee craft goods' made in the smelly city of Hong Kong -- if such be for sale. Perhaps one should be content with the reflection that pollution seems to have a more deleterious effect on the lungs and liver than it does upon the brain.

The material used in the remainder of this chapter is drawn chiefly from manuscript sources. The policy of not changing the text was followed. It is set forth here for the purpose of bringing forward the actions and views of individuals who were on the scene and actually participated in the Cherokee removal business. Unfortunately, not one of the excerpts is endowed with a 100% validity rating. Items (A), (B) and (C) are from family papers in possession of the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. Individual items are coded in the text, in conformity with the letter designators assigned in the Source List appearing at the end of the chapter.

Around 1820 the Cherokees embarked on a collision course that was ultimately to prove fatal to the hope they were to experience later of remaining in their homeland. As in a Greek drama, the Cherokee Story reached at this point a clear path of descent that led speedily to the final tragic ending. In that year they initiated the Cherokee Nation as a separate and distinct, integrated political entity, with all the trappings of nationhood. To be a little more precise, they tried to. Their new paper-state was modeled slavishly on the American plan and system of government. It was the latest and most ambitious step in their effort to convince the whites that they possessed the capability to be in all things like their conquerors. They had earlier made the shift to the white man's dependence upon agriculture -- as opposed to the combination of agriculture and hunting [as it once was in ancient Ireland]. They had accepted, despite a natural repugnance, the necessity of at least a pretense of adopting the white man's forked-tongue religion -- that said one thing and did otherwise. They had for more than a century approved and practiced the policy of interracial marriage, in the belief the offsprings of such unions would inherit the cunning of the English.

Where was the hitch? Where was the fatal flaw in the Indian's logic? The Cherokee saw no reason why he might not enjoy the best of two worlds. But for all his willingness to make concessions, to adapt to the white man's ways, he could never escape the hard fact that he was being continually harassed and cheated of

his lands and his property. He was, in a medium-sized word, persecuted. Time after time in Cherokee 'talks' one catches the flavor and sometimes even the paraphrase of Shylock's outcry. Had the Indian spoken with the tongue of Shakespeare, he would have exclaimed:

... I am an Indian. Hath not an Indian eyes? Hath not an Indian hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a white man is? If you prick us do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you shoot us do we not die? ...

He was all of those things, and was doubly susceptible to the white man's diseases and a phenomenal victim of the white man's liquor. He was in everything like his oppressor save in the one necessary essential: he was not white. He was red or brown, or whatever color an Indian is. There were a lot of whites who didn't like Indians and never had liked Indians. Moreover, their fathers and grandfathers hadn't liked Indians. How well the whites have learned to curb their prejudices is debatable.

Not only were these basically attractive red people not white, they were the victims of an impossible dream. They dreamed of a well-stocked hunting ground and comfortable habitations situated in fertile river valleys -- where the white man should come seldom. In the management of their affairs, the Indians wanted nothing of the white man's social and political controls. The paying of tribute and yielding obediently was not part of their political philosophy. They wanted to be left alone, to go their own way -- to live in sequestered vales according to their own customs and ways, as in the old days. But it was not to be.

15 June 1825. -- The Cherokee National Committee (John Ross, President; Major Ridge, Speaker; Elias Boudinot, Clerk) declared all land in the nation under the sole control of the Nation. [That is, all the land still in the legal possession of the Cherokees ...]

This action was taken without regard to the fact that the geographical boundaries of the several concerned States had long since been determined. There existed no available territory free and unencumbered upon which the Cherokees might erect their own national state. The English conquistadores had already contravened their will upon the art of the cartographer. To be sure, the Cherokees claimed they had a claim upon some parts of these several states -- but that was 'a matter that would have to be looked into'.

Concerning the Indian claim, Wilson Lumpkin wrote:  
... The Cherokee Indians ... have renewed their often repeated declaration, that they will never ... relinquish their present possessions ... They have placed this declaration in Constitutional form; and, with all the formality of a sovereign and independent State ... It is high time these unfortunate people should know their destiny plainly and positively ...

What was involved here was not so much physical possession as it was political possession. (Remember it took the South some years and quite a lot of bloodshed to learn that setting up a new and independent nation is not easy. If the South with all its hot temper and dedication could not succeed, how could one expect those "pusillanimous" Indians to succeed?)

8 December 1829. -- Andrew Jackson in his first message to Congress, said:  
... The Constitution declares that no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state without the consent of its legislature ... I informed the Indians that their attempts to establish an independent government would not be countenanced ... (Every President takes an oath to uphold the Constitution.)

In discussion relative to motivations leading to the removal, much has been made of the discovery of gold in Georgia. It has commonly been made to appear that Georgia wanted to remove the Indians so that Georgians might enrich themselves in the gold fields. This is not an uncommon case of over-simplification. There were far more compelling considerations -- i.e., political. Following the discovery of gold, law-and-order became unglued in the Indian part of the State. From all accounts, and they are many, the Wild East in Georgia set a precedent for the oncoming Wild West, replete with saloons, prostitutes, gamblers, speculators, shysters, and the like.

6 May 1830. -- Governor Gilmer of Georgia to the Attorney General of the United States: ... I am in doubt, as to what ought to be done with the gold diggers. They with their various attendants, foragers and suppliers, make up betwixt six and ten thousand persons. They occupy the country between the Chestatee and Etowah Rivers ... It is intimated that they intend procuring the consent of the Cherokee Council to the continuance of their operations ... (The Gov. later wrote: ] ... When this letter was written ... a community was forming in the gold regions, scarcely ever paralleled anywhere. Many thousands of idle profligate people flocked into the country from every point of the compass, whose pent-up vicious propensities, when loosed from the restraint of law and public opinion, have made them like the evil one ...

The Cherokee Council, to which he referred, was made up of mixed-blood Indians. One can not help asking what course should the Governor of Georgia have taken under the circumstances? I happen to think that the State of Georgia as a political entity has suffered defamation beyond moderation for her part in the removal. Remember that in 1830, the English Conquest of the Old Southwest was still in progress. To over-simplify on the side of Georgia, the State was saying to the Indians:

*... If you live in this State, you must conduct yourselves in accordance with the laws of Georgia. You cannot, nor will you be permitted to be a law unto yourselves ...*

It was as simple as that. This is not to say that had the Indians been willing to become citizens of Georgia, and scrupulous to obey state and local law to the very letter -- that they would have been accepted as 'first class citizens'. That, one may doubt. Nevertheless, under the accepted rules of the game, in force for over two centuries, Georgia was in the mainstream of American Indian policy. She may have stepped up the tempo; physical treatment of Indians may have been harsher in that state than elsewhere. It should be noted that there were three times as many Cherokees in Georgia, and therefore that much greater population from which to find flagrant examples of brutality.

I doubt very much that the discovery of gold changed the outcome of Cherokee history to any measurable degree. The policies involved here were thrashed long before the discovery of gold in their territory. A written plan was on paper as early as 1802. In that year Georgia agreed to cede to the Federal Government that part of the State that later became Alabama and Mississippi in exchange for a clear State title to all the lands within her recognized boundaries. There is little indication that in 1802 there was even a thought that the Indians would ever be permitted to set up a separate nation on the lands they then occupied.

Now a word or two for the Indians. The Red People were quite right in accusing the White Man of having a forked tongue. Many are still so endowed: with one tongue we praise our brave and fearless ancestors for their glorious conquest of this continent from the rude grasp of savages; and with the other, we deplore the methods used, and even the conquest itself.



17 May 1830. -- Wilson Lumpkin (later Governor of Georgia) stated the case as he viewed it:

... My State stands charged before the House, before the Nation, and before the whole world with cruelty and oppression toward the Indians. I deny the charge ... Who compose this 'Christian party in politics' here and elsewhere? ... Do we not find an annual increase of intruders from the philanthropic ranks flocking in upon the poor Cherokees, like catapillars and locusts of Egypt, leaving a barren waste behind them? The inhumanity of Georgia is nothing more or less than the extension of her laws and jurisdiction over this mingled and misguided population, who are found within her acknowledged limits ...

Lumpkin is talking here about the December 1829 Act that extended state law, both civil and criminal over the part of the state occupied by the Cherokees.

Those who incline to grow sentimental over the fate of the American Indians during the first two hundred years of English and American conquest should follow the unhappy story down to our own time. The modern American Red Man is just as dissatisfied with the treatment he has received from the white people in the Western Period as he once was with the treatment he got in the years of his Eastern Period. In 1973 the Indians make the claim that above eightypercent of the Federal Money spent to maintain them as wards of the American Government is spent on non-Indian administration of their affairs -- that their condition is intolerable. But there remains that old hangup, occasioned by their determination to retain their ethnic identities -- a matter 'that will have to be looked into'. In other words, the problem of the Indian is still here. Perhaps the tender-hearted sentimentalists should have a go at finding a solution.

#### 4. Preliminaries

[FOR A CHART SHOWING THE LOCATION OF MILITARY PLACENAMES IN 1838, SEE PAGE 72A]

For the better information of government officials and statesmen, a Federal Census of the Cherokees was begun in the Indian country in June 1835. (The substance of the census was given earlier in this chapter.) It is noted in the report of Nathaniel Smith (later Superintendent of the Emigration), census taker for the North Carolina part, that 400 Cherokees resided out of the Indian country, in that part of the State that was ceded in the treaties of 1817 and 1819. They were commonly called Qualla or Quallatown Indians. Their names do not appear in the 1835 Census. The majority of them lived along the beautiful Oconaluftee River, or thereabout. Under the terms of the mentioned treaties these Indians had been permitted to declare themselves citizens of North Carolina and to receive 640-acre tracts (each householder) in preference to removal to Arkansas. Several score Cherokee heads of families had availed themselves of the opportunity to remain. Initially it was intended that the grants were for lifetime use, thence descending to the children in fee simple. Frequently, however the tracts descended to white people, and finally to the State through purchase. To state a fact, the Indian could scarce hang onto his shirt, particularly if the gambling or liquor urge was upon him. Those who came among the Quallas from the nation proper were at least informed that they should possess a certificate of citizenship. They had no representation in the New Echota Treaty Council, and had thus not voted to go or to stay in the 1835 proceedings. In January 1836 they appointed William Holland Thomas their official mouthpiece and armed him with an updated power of attorney. The Qualla Indians, or at least Thomas, their attorney, wanted for them and/or himself a share of any monies paid to the Cherokees for their land. (Whatever money Thomas was able to get was eventually wrested from him or from his estate through the intervention of the Federal Courts.)



*It must be kept in mind that no military effort was made to remove the Qualla Indians -- since no legal authority existed to do so. They were in fact the nucleus of what was to become the Eastern Band of Cherokees, after the removal of the nation.*

During the 1835-1838 period many advocated the removal of the entire tribe, for their own good. Their security at the time rested, I think, upon the apparent apathy of North Carolina. Also at that date North Carolina was not possessed of any large number of far-seeing statesmen. What few the State did have were not very high in the esteem or councils of the Andrew Jackson Set. You will see later that North Carolina played a minor role in the business of removing the Indians.

17 February 1836. -- Robert Love to Hon. James Graham, NC Congressman:  
... I further request that you give Mr. Thomas a friendly introduction to my much esteemed friend, the President of the United States ... [E]

3 March 1836. -- A. R. S. Hunter to Major Currey:  
... In answer to your enquiry, I have to reply, that I arrived at Red Clay [Ga.] during the annual council of the Cherokees held there in October last ... As regards Mr. John H. Payne ... it was said that he was there to procure material to compile a history of the Cherokee people. Rumor represents him as being an active partisan ... [E]

25 March 1836. -- W. H. Thomas to Mr. J. F. Schermerhorn (United States Commissioner who principally engineered the 1835 Treaty. Rumor hath it that bribes were used) ... For a portion of the Cherokees residing in the State of North Carolina, I have acted as agent since 1831 ... Some whites and half-breeds, who live among them, cultivating the best land, without paying taxes or rent, procuring Indian labor for one pint of spirits per day ... are opposed to the treaty ... [E]

For years Thomas had been one of the chief suppliers of spirits to the Indians. He employed a great many of them to work on his contracted turnpike projects. Whether he paid them a pint a day is a matter to be looked into.

Mid-June 1836. -- Brigadier General Wool to Major General Malcomb:  
... The Governor of Tennessee informs the Secretary of War that 1,000 or 1,200 militia or volunteers will rendezvous at Athens, in East Tennessee, one-half of which are to be mounted on 7 July next ... [E]

20 June 1836. -- War Department (WD). Lewis Cass to Brig. Gen. John E. Wool:  
Wool is ordered to the Cherokee country to take charge ... To procure and distribute such provisions as may be needed ... and to disarm the Indians, to prevent uprisings, etc. \$75,000 is placed at his disposal ... [E]

21 June 1836. -- Wool is making arrangements to buy provisions ... The coffee and sugar will be purchased in Knoxville ... [E]

30 June 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War:  
... It will be difficult to procure supplies for 1200 to 2000 mounted men. To reject them will produce great dissatisfaction among the volunteers ... [E]

1 July 1836. -- Wool to Cass: Requests instruction regarding the number of mounted men to retain ... [E]

4 July 1836. -- W. H. Thomas to Hon. E. Herring:  
Thomas submits papers to show that he is empowered to act for the Indians living in Haywood and Macon counties, in the towns of Qualla, Alarka, Aquorra, Stokoih, Cheoih, and their respective settlements. His power of attorney was given 12 and 13 September

1831, signed by 34 Indians headed by Younaguska. And the later power of attorney, signed by 237 Indians, dated 30 January 1836. The papers were authenticated by Geo. W. Hayes, acting Justice of the Peace for Haywood; W. Welch, Clerk of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; and John L. Dillard, Chairman of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the same county. [E]

4 July 1836. -- Schermerhorn to Elbert Herring, Commissioner:  
 ... I requested some persons whom I knew able to do it, knowing the destitute condition of the Cherokees ... to supply the poor and destitute with provisions, and keep them from starvation. I requested particularly Col. A. R. S. Hunter, of Huntington, N. C. [Murphy]; Mr. Rogers, father of W. Rogers, one of the Cherokee delegates from Chattahoochee, in Georgia; and Mr. W. H. Thomas of Haywood County, to render the Indians in their vicinity aid and assistance ... that they would be paid by the Government a fair price out of money provided by the 18th article of the treaty ... [E]

I have some doubt that Schermerhorn's instruction to W. H. Thomas was intended to include the Qualla Indians, or else the Commissioner had not formulated a distinction between the two kinds of Cherokees.

5 July 1836. -- Wool to Cass: Gen. Wool expects to have about 30-35 companies on the 7th inst. Reports he can get rations for the men but will have difficulty getting forage for the horses. [E]

8 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Major Payne, Acting Adjutant General:  
 ... You will inspect and muster such companies of Tennessee mounted and infantry companies as Governor Newton Cannon may tender. Horses and equipment must be in good order to withstand a campaign in the Indian country. Each company will consist of 1 captain, 1 1st lieutenant, 1 2nd lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 musicians or 1 bugler, and 64 privates ... [E]

Clearly, Governor Cannon of Tennessee was in the inner circle.

10 July 1836. -- Wool to Dunlap (Chief of the Tennessee forces):  
 ... Select 2 regiments of 10 companies each ... including 2 companies of infantry ... for active duty. Put the rest on inactive duty ... to return home ... [E]

10 July 1836. -- R. G. Dunlap, Brig. Gen. East Tenn. Volunteers to Wool:  
 ... The brigade is organized and subject to your orders ... [E]

This is the man whom James Mooney characterized as being too high-principled to sully the honor of Tennessee by helping to remove the Cherokee Indians by force.

12 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Cass:  
 ... Have 20 companies ... organized into 2 brigades. One battalion of each regiment will be sent into the Indian country ... 1 to march to the mouth of Valley River, the other to Rossville on the Tennessee River. Rations have been ordered into the Indian country for the Indians who require same ... Col. Hunter, who resides there, informs me the Indians will not receive them ... [E]

Perhaps if he had offered them cash -- as Thomas later claimed he had -- they would have been less reluctant.

16 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Captain Morrow, Athens:  
 ... You will proceed to Fort Cass and be armed with rifles ... thence to Valley River and Rossville ... [E]

21 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Major Cunningham, Commanding the Volunteers on the road to Valley River:

.. Herewith you will receive a copy of General Order No. 23 ... I will keep no man in service who will not submit to the restraints of discipline, and who will not conduct himself with decency and propriety. I have this day given instructions to Mr. Preston Starritt, Esq. in relation to repairing the road leading to Valley River. He is well acquainted with the route ... and will give you some useful information. Col. Smith will leave tomorrow morning with 3 companies of mounted men ... The teams and the 3 mounted companies must be at or near Valley River on Wednesday next. Your men can assist in getting the wagons over the hills ... [E]

22 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Col. Joseph Byrd, Commanding 2nd Regt. of ET Vols: ... After getting arms and rations at Calhoun (Tennessee) march to Ross' Landing ... It has been the practice of some of the Volunteers to disobey orders and supply themselves with forage ... The company, man, or men who are guilty of such insubordination, must not be permitted to remain in the service of the United States, and will be immediately discharged without pay or allowances ... If you discover any Creek Indians among the Cherokees, apprehend them ... You will be careful to avoid all collision with the Indians, and permit no insults to be offered to them, or any depredations committed on their property, by any part of your command. Should insults be offered: make immediate ample satisfaction and discharge the offenders from the service ... You are charged to exclude as far as practicable all ardent spirits from the camp of the volunteers, and as far as the law will permit, from among the Indians ... [E]

22 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Major M. M. Payne: ... Inspect the troops of Gen. Dunlap. See that all have equipment issued to them ... all men accounted for. Then proceed to Fort Cass and make inspection. Report status of rations ... Then proceed to New Echota and inspect the troops under Capt. Vernon ... then to Ross' Landing and inspect the command of Col. Byrd ... [E]

23 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to the Commanding Officer of the Georgia Militia or Volunteers stationed in the Cherokee nation: ... The President of the United States has directed me to take command of the army of East Tennessee and the Cherokee nation ... In consequence of which, all troops stationed or directed to operate in the Cherokee country, are placed under my command, and subject to my authority, whether regular troops, Militia, or volunteers ... It has been reported to me that a number of Cherokees have been taken prisoners ... unless you can show cause, release them ... [E]

Wool was a forthright individual who didn't pussyfoot around; shaped in the mold of men like McArthur, he will pay a similar price for his lack of political savvy. His approach was little calculated to set with the temper of Georgia political leaders. His entire career in the Indian business is a seminar in polity.

23 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Capt. Vernon, ETV: ... It is reported that a detachment of Georgia Militia is stationed at Spring Place, Georgia. Look into that ... see whether the Georgia Militia has prisoners ... take charge ... [E]

23 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Capt. Vernon: ... Take up march to Fort Cass. In passing through the nation no insults are to be offered to the Indians. Tell them the purpose of the troops is to preserve peace, not to make war ... [He reminds Vernon about the rules pertaining to liquor.] [E]

Undated. Prob. July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to the Commanding Officer of the Georgia Militia or Volunteers: Wool repeats the bit about having complete command, and what about those Indians held prisoners? ... If they are guilty of nothing, turn them loose ... [E] [Apparently no one has yet told the General that the Georgia Militia receives its orders from the Civil Authorities.]

25 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Major M. M. Payne:  
 ... I hear that the Governor of Georgia [William Schley] has stationed 200 men at Rome, 18 at Canton, and 40 men at Spring Place ... Enquire into the matter, especially concerning any prisoners ... [E]

25 July 1836. -- War Department to Wilson Lumpkin, Milledgeville, Georgia, and General William Carroll, Nashville, Tennessee:  
 ... The Ninth Article of the Treaty with the Cherokees of December 29th 1835 provides for the valuation of their improvements and ferries. It also provides for the payment of their debts out of the amount of this valuation ... [E]

Lumpkin and Carroll are given instructions for examining Indian claims for property and loss. They are cautioned to pay out for damage only bona fide debts. No debts accruing since the treaty are to be admitted. The sum of \$300,000 was appropriated to pay claims for spoilation. ... If possession cannot be restored, it is stipulated that the United States will make compensation for losses and damages. We will see later that in James Mooney's version, the whole subject of compensation is ignored.

28 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool orders 20 barrels of flour to be forwarded to Valley River for the use of the Indians. [C]

28 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool decrees that a ration of beef is to be one and one-fourth pounds [as distributed to the Indians]. [C]

30 July 1836. -- Gen. Wool, Valley River, to Cass, Secretary of War: Wool describes his ultimatum to the Valley River Cherokee chiefs. He says he offered them "peace [submission] or war." And added ... If they hesitate or show the least signification of hostility, I will take them all prisoners of war ... [E]

Here, while his object was to gain submission, he was on the wrong foot -- as he very quickly discovers. It is clear that Wool had already formulated a plan and procedures for moving the Indians in what he considered the most expeditious way.

I interrupt the correspondence for a moment to comment on the context. It is difficult, I think, to realize how little splash the Cherokee Indian business made in the day-to-day life of the average American citizens who were removed from the scene of action. In the newspapers, in the legislative halls, in the political offices, yes. Concern among planters and small farmers away from any contacts, no. It was like picking up your morning paper and reading about the latest action of our troops in some far-off land. People were probably saying: "Well, the sooner they get them damned Indians out, the better!"

I should like very much to quote largely from the correspondence of Julia Howe to her husband Lt. C. S. Howe, United States Commissary officer stationed at the Cherokee Agency at Calhoun, Tennessee. Her letters reflect a touching love story and at the same time shed considerable light on the thinking and reaction of outsiders to the Cherokee business. Not wanting to intrude into a delicate area, I have limited the excerpts from this particular source.

1 August 1836. -- Julia Howe to Lt. C. S. Howe:  
 ... Uncle T. is going to Haywood in a few days. Walter to Hillsboro tomorrow and Thomas in a few weeks. Aunt Jones and Sarah are going to South Carolina and Sophia is to take a tour with her father to the mountains in Yancey. She has almost persuaded me to go with her, and but for the fatigue of riding so far on horseback, I should be tempted to go. However, I have not given up all thought of it yet. Gypsy [her horse] and I may still be on top of the Roane ... [C]

The 'top of the Roane' was occupied by a famous ante bellum resort hotel. For the rest, traveling in plantation days was the major pastime of the idle rich.

1 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to the Major General Commanding the Army, Valley Town:  
... I arrived here the 29th with 5 companies. Captain Morrow reports his company ten miles off ... The Indians altogether adverse to removal. Under any circumstances I shall take hostages ... [E] (Still on the wrong foot!)

4 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Gen. Dunlap [The high-minded Tennessee general]:  
... Proceed to New Echota. Give protection to both whites and Indians ... Prevent any interference on the part of the Georgia troops with the Cherokees. [However] the sovereignty of the State [of Georgia] and its laws must be respected... [E] (Is Wool beginning to catch on?)

9 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, Adjutant General, Valley Town:  
... Your communication received last night. I ordered Major Payne to discharge 10 companies of the East Tennessee Volunteers as soon as they can be paid, or by the 31st at the latest ... [E]

12 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Gen. Dunlap, Commanding ETV, Valley Town:  
... John Ridge complains some white man about to take forcible possession of his ferry. Protect him ... [E]

All that one can say about this item is that remuneration for confiscation and spoilation was guaranteed by the Treaty. Later, Ridge was bushwhacked for his part in helping to engineer the 1835 treaty. There is no way of knowing how well Dunlap carried out his orders, or what he thought about the incident.

13 August 1836. -- Gen Wool to Lt. Howe, Valley River:  
... I shall order the bacon deposited for the Indians to be issued to the troops. The Indians are not inclined to take rations in this section of the country ... The troops have been improving the roads. Col. Hunter with a team of 5 horses brought over the mountains 2400 pounds ... [C]

16 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to C. A. Harris, Valley Town: Wool relates how he incarcerated several Valley Town chiefs over the night:  
... In the morning they admitted their error, and promised a compliance with the treaty ... I permitted them to return home with orders that they should require their young men to bring in their arms ... About 100 [arms] have been surrendered ... [E]

For this action Wool suffered severe censure. He was informed that it was not his task to remove the Indians. Their rights were inviolable until May 1838.

23 August 1836. -- War Department to General Wool:  
... The removal of the Indians has been committed to Major Currey ... I beg you that you would not carry into effect your intention to arrest Mr. Jones, or any other individual, unless this is done by the civil power. If any person commit offences against the laws, which are injurious to the Indians of the Government, let them be prosecuted; further the military ought not to go ... [E]

The military, by these instructions, had very little power to protect the Indians from misdeeds perpetrated by white civilians.

27 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Harris, New Echota:  
... Wool airs his views concerning the propriety of impressing on the Indians the irrevocable nature of the treaty, and that they must inevitably yield ... I would convince them that they must go, and I would try to convince them that a part should

go this fall. In the meantime I would protect them in the full enjoyment of all the rights secured to them by the treaty, and above all, I would prevent the white men from turning them out of doors, which has been done too often in this State (Ga.) ... [E]

In retrospect, Wool's views and his general approach to the problem of removal, seem reasonable.

27 August 1836. -- Gen. Wool to C. A. Harris, New Echota:  
... Major Nelson reported his command to me, consisting of 3 companies of mounted men and 2 companies of infantry, all Georgia troops, and stationed by order of General Jessup, in the Cherokee country -- and subject to my command -- also a company under the command of Capt. Matthew Gout ... I don't consider them necessary, but since Gen. Jessup stationed them ... [E]

29 August 1836. -- Orders promulgated by the HQ Army East Tennessee and Cherokee Nation:  
... Subsistence and clothing to be issued only to the poorer classes of Indians ... No issue for longer than 3 days to any person or family ... Records required: showing number of men, women in the family; a roll to be maintained of families and issues of subsistence. The ration will consist of 1 pound of fresh beef, or three-fourths pound of bacon and three-fourths of a quart of cornmeal, or 1 pound of flour to each grown person and four quarts of salt per 100 grown persons over the age of 14. The ration for children to be one-half the adult ration. Clothing to be distributed under controlled conditions, according to need and age ... [E]

1 September 1836. -- Report from Valley Town HQ, Camp Huntington [later to be called Fort Butler], to Howe:  
... Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you a return of provisions issued at this place to the East Tennessee Volunteers by Col. A. R. S. Hunter, Agent of the Commissary Department and 2nd Lt. C. Haskins, Acting Assistant. 1st to 14th August: 5747 rations of flour, bacon, salt, soap, sugar, coffee ... (Supplies for the camp hospital were also listed) [C]

4 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Brig. Gen. Dunlap, Comdg. ETV, New Echota, Georgia:  
... Having but 10 companies in the 2 regiments, your brigade is not considered a command equal to your rank ... you and your brigade will be discharged from the United States service after the 8th inst ... [E]

Dunlap has been on active duty nearly three months, and had ample opportunity to make his presence felt on the side of the Cherokees. So far he has been quiet.

4 September 1836. -- 2nd Lt. Hoskins reported to Lt. Howe that he had not one pound of soap at Camp Huntington. [C] (Which accounts for those purchases of soap at Hunter's trading post.)

8 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Lt. Howe:  
... Note [that] your abstract of issues for Indians must be accompanied with a roll containing the number and name of the head of each family and the number of rations issued ... [C] (Wool had a genuine affection for the young Lt. Howe, who seems in all respects to have been a competent and knowledgeable officer.)

8 September 1836. -- Benjamin F. Currey, in his list of Cherokee districts and the valuing agents for Cherokee property, shows for the North Carolina part: William Welch and Nimrod S. Jarrett. Both were recommended by Col. Robert Love of Franklin. The North Carolina appraisers of property reported for duty 24 August 1836. [E]

10 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. New Echota: ... The duty I have to perform is far from pleasant ... Only made tolerable with the hope that I may stay cruelty and injustice, and assist the wretched and deluded beings called Cherokees, who are only the prey of the most profligate and most vicious of white men. [The reader should not be too hard on the mentioned persons -- their descendants may be those people who now sell you the best of all mouth washes & aspirin.] The whole scene, since I have been in this country, has been nothing but a heart-rending one, and such a one as I would be glad to be rid of as soon as circumstances will permit ... If I could, and I could not do them a greater kindness, *I would remove every Indian tomorrow, beyond the reach of the white men*, who like vultures, are watching, ready to pounce upon their prey, and strip them of everything they have or expect to have from the government ... Nineteen-twentieths, if not 99 out of every hundred, will go penniless to the west ...

Interrupting this letter for a brief comment: There was not at that moment perhaps in the entire country any man by reason of knowledge, humanity, and practicality, better able to sum up how matters stood with the Cherokee Indians. I believe the thinking of Wool and Jackson had much in common; but whereas Jackson reasoned from a cool deliberate, dictatorial viewpoint, Wool was dominated by warm human sentiments. If one closely observes the latter's relations with his inferior officers, he sees that General Wool thinks first of a man as a fellow human being -- and finely tempers his censure of shortcomings. I give Jackson full credit for the realization that, treaty or no treaty, an ultimate confrontation between the white people and the Indians was inevitable, with consequent destruction of the latter. The excerpt from Wool is quoted primarily to indicate his honest conviction that removal was the logical solution. The language is overwrought -- in an effort to underscore his point; we know very well that 99 percent of the Cherokees did not go penniless to the west.

10 September 1836. -- Wool to Cass (Continued): ... I have a Georgia battalion 306 men hitherto attached to General Jessup, stationed in the Cherokee country to hunt refugee Creeks ... retained at the request of Gen. Jessup ... Their time will expire on 4 October. At that time I will discharge them unless I get counter-instructions. ... If I could have 400 regular troops, all volunteers under my command could be dispensed with ... [E] (And more economical.)

12 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Brig. Gen. R. Jones. New Echota, Georgia: ... If I had 400 regular troops away would go the volunteers ... The position at or near the mouth of Valley River would be the most suitable and commanding place to station troops. It is near the center of the Indians residing in that section, and commands the passes of the Hiwassee, the Valley River, and the roads to Georgia and Tennessee. The only objection is the difficulty of transporting provisions to it in winter ... [E]

12 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Cass. New Echota. Wool comments on the Cherokee Council called at Red Clay on the 15th, and asks ... Will regular troops be sent in the course of the fall? I think a part of Jessup's forces might be sent ... [E]

24 September 1836. -- War Department to Gen. Wool: ... In reference to your proposition to send an agent to New York to purchase blankets, etc., for the Cherokees ... seems expedient ... By the 13th Section of the Act of 1834, it is provided that all merchandise required by any Indian treaty, shall be purchased under the direction of the Secretary of War. You do not state what part of the \$30,000 is to be spent in New York. It seems to me that you are already spent to a reasonable limit. Will deposit \$5,000 in the Merchant's Bank, New York subject your order ... [E]



26 September 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Secretary Cass. Red Clay [south of Cleveland Tennessee, Near the Georgia line]:

... The Council held here broke up on the 23rd inst. A committee was appointed to go to Washington to appeal for a new treaty. The Cherokees seem to think they will move if they have to ... About 1800 voted on a rejection of the [current] treaty... [E]

30 September 1836. -- From an Address prepared by Brig. Gen. Dunlap for the East Tennessee Volunteers:

... My course in the nation has excited the hatred of a few of the lawless rabble in Georgia ... I had determined ... that I would never dishonor the Tennessee arms in a servile service aiding to carry into execution at the point of a bayonet, a treaty made by a lean minority against the will and authority of the Cherokee people ... I soon discovered that the Indians had not the most distant thought of a war with the United States ... You have been ordered home to await further orders, after nearly one month of service, without pay for your time, your service and your feelings ... I trust that Governor Cannon will ask the Tennessee Legislature for your compensation ... [E] (I think what hurt most was the fact that he, also, had been ordered home.)

11 October 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Gen. Jones. Fort Cass:

... The roads through the mountains of North Carolina are, at the present time, tolerably good, having been recently repaired by the volunteers ... [E]

12 October 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Malcomb. Fort Cass: The General takes occasion to praise the services of the East Tennessee Volunteers: ... I have ever found them subordinate and obedient ... though unacquainted with the duties of a soldier ... [Commenting on the Indians:] ... I have done everything in my power to conciliate the Cherokees ... Scarcely a day passes that some complaint is not made that a Cherokee has either lost a horse, a cow, or a hog, or his house and lands, which requires my interference ... [On military matters:] ... I discharged 9 companies of East Tennessee Volunteers on 31 July, one on 30 August, and on 8 August Brig. Gen. Dunlap and staff. I have now in all 10 companies. Of these it is probable I shall discharge 6 companies at the end of this month; leaving 2 mounted and 2 infantry for the winter ... [E]

12 October 1836. -- War Department to Gen. Wool:

... There is no portion of the regular army that can be placed at your disposal ... The number of volunteers that you require will in accord with Lumpkin's suggestion be drawn from the states, respectively, in which they are to be stationed ... You had authority to call for volunteers from Tennessee, North Carolina and Georgia ... The number you call will be in service for 12 months ... *As respects North Carolina, this arrangement will not be carried into effect, if you and the Commissioners should be of the opinion that, in consequence of the small number of Indians in that state, every necessary service can be rendered by the troops from the other states. I presume it will be necessary to keep a greater number of Tennessee troops.* Deal promptly with those who oppose execution of the treaty ... [E]

This is a fine example of bureaucratic double-talk--presumptive, disingenuous, and loaded with veiled suggestion and inconsistency. For example, North Carolina had far more Cherokees than did Tennessee. One sees that Lumpkin is not without influence.

19 October 1836. -- The Emigration Office to Major Currey: Currey is instructed how to keep his accounts. Contains a corrected version of his latest report. (So much for greenhorns.) The communication contains also information on current prices of military supplies: rifles, \$13.22; blankets, 3.55; 425 camp kettles, 89 and three-fourth cents each; etc. ... [E]

25 October 1836. -- War Department to Gen. William Carroll:

... Your resignation as Commissioner has been accepted ... [E]

25 October 1836. -- War Department to John Kennedy at Jonesborough, Tennessee:  
 ... You are appointed Commissioner in the place of Carroll ... Join your associate,  
 Governor Lumpkin at New Echota ... [E]

2 November 1836. -- General Wool to C. A. Harris, Act. Secretary of War. Ft. Cass:  
 ... It is evident from communications I have received and the restrictions imposed on  
 me that I do not possess that confidence which should belong to a military commander  
 in this country ... [He invites the War Department to send someone who has more of the  
 President's confidence.] ... The instructions of the 12th ultimo, relating to the with-  
 drawal of the East Tennessee Volunteers from Georgia I have complied with, to the  
 extent of consulting with Governor Lumpkin ... It was agreed that I should request  
 the Governor of Georgia to have in readiness ... 3 companies of mounted and 2 infan-  
 try, to serve 12 months. I have not called upon the Governors of North Carolina and  
 Alabama, *Lumpkin not deeming it necessary*... [E]

Jackson probably had a soft spot for generals; in any case, he lacked Truman's  
 finesse in the art of disposing of generals who got too big for their britches.

5 November 1836. -- War Department to Lumpkin and Kennedy, Commissioners:  
 ... In a letter to the President, Major Currey has represented that Mr. Jarnigan has  
 erected a trading post on the Agency Reservation ... [Mentions Wool's failure to  
 remove him] ... The President has directed that all intruders who, before the late  
 treaty, were not entitled to be thereon by existing laws, shall be removed ... If  
 Jarnigan is out of line, remove him ... [E]

Apparently the removal of individuals from any Indian territory was a very  
 selective process. There was a high premium on trading concessions. I believe  
 Jarnigan stayed on. The same condition prevailed at Murphy, where Hunter was able  
 to prevent Thomas from erecting his grog shop in the middle of the encampment.

6 November 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Hon. B. F. Butler, Act. Secretary of War. Ft. Cass:  
 ... Your instructions of 20 June contemplates the application of military force  
 only in the event of hostilities ... The treaty provides that they shall be pro-  
 tected in the peaceable possession of their country within a two year period ...  
 This communication deprived me of all power, except in the event of hostilities ...  
 Nothing was left for me to do but to stand and look on until the Indians had raised  
 the Tomahawk ... The people as soon as they knew I was divested of all discretionary  
 power would relax into the arms of John Ross ... I can only say that I cannot be  
 recalled too soon from this command ... For a military commander to be held respon-  
 sible for the peace and defense of a country, at the same time to be placed under the  
 control of civil officers, has no parallel in the whole military annals of our  
 country ... If I am culpable let me be arraigned and tried, but do not degrade me  
 until I am proved guilty ... [E]

15 November 1836. -- Gen. Wool to B. F. Butler:  
 ... I can compare myself to nothing but a ship at sea, in a storm, without rudder or  
 compass ... [E] (A Cherokee couldn't have said it better!)

Undated. -- Statement made by John Ridge, John Gunter, Turtle Field, Te-loh-ta-ske,  
 L. W. Ball, G. W. Adair, J. A. Fournon, Brice Martin to Elias Boudinot:  
 ... We are on the eve of leaving the land of our forefathers for the west ... We  
 understand Wool has requested recall ... (They express their regard for General Wool,  
 for whom the Cherokees generally had great respect. The above named Indians went  
 early to the west. They traveled first-class, with their personal possessions, their  
 remuneration for damages, their black slaves (and possibly their bribes). They had  
 supported the treaty. [E]

17 November 1836. -- War Department to Huntington & Buckingham, New York -- which said in effect:

... We are returning the draft of General Wool of 2 November 1836, for \$15,159.81 on account of clothing for poor and destitute Cherokees. We are prevented from honoring the draft, by law ... The purchase should have been made under the direction of the Secretary of War ... The matter will be submitted to Congress at an early date with a strong recommendation from the Department for paying ... [E] (The Department had more or less passed on the matter when Wool first proposed the purchase.)

21 November 1836. -- Gen. Wool: General Order No. 75:

I. The Commanding General has observed with regret that many of the Volunteers are not sufficiently clad to meet the rigours of the winter, and in some cases with not changes of clothing enough to appear decent. This will no longer be permitted. It is the duty of the Captains to see that each soldier is provided with at least one pair of good strong shoes, two pairs of winter stockings, two pairs of pantaloons, two shirts, one vest, a close-bodied coat or substantial woolen hunting shirt, a stock, a blanket, an overcoat and a decent hat. II. Hereafter at all regular parades and all guards, whether camp guards, guards of honor, or of safety, the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates will appear decently clothed with a clean shirt, stock, and shaved. [C]

23 November 1836. -- Gen. Wool to B. F. Butler. New Echota. General Wool justifies his New York purchases of clothing and blankets, saying that it would save the Cherokees \$10,000. ... Every article purchased is sold here at 50 to 100 percent above the cost and charges. I have been accused of buying in New York to make a profit!!! [E]

29 November 1836. -- Wool to Maj. M. M. Payne. New Echota: The General establishes the criteria for qualifications of state militia and state volunteers who are to be mustered into the United States Army:

... No man will be received who is not able-bodied, not over the age of 45, well clothed, including a blanket, an overcoat, at least one spur, and a good horse, saddle, bridle, martingale, halter, saddle-blanket ... Officers to be well clothed, and armed at least with a good sword, and in possession of a good horse ... [E] (At the end of the removal story you will see how important it was to have a good horse.)

30 November 1836. -- Gen. Wool curtly returns a communication he received from Commissioners Lumpkin and Kennedy, with the notation that it was issued as an order when it should have been issued as a request. [E] (As I often heard in U. S. military circles: Officers do not take orders from civilians.)

30 November 1836. -- Julia Howe to her husband, Lt. C. S. Howe:

... Who is this Mr. Littlebridge and why did he go to Calhoun in such haste? I understood he was from Washington and hearing that he had said something about the President's being displeased with General Wool I cannot help fearing that his mission is connected in some way or other with the General ... That base Currey ... But I will hope for the best both for the General and for you ... May all good angels defend you from that and every other danger, but I do believe there are many more to be feared than the arts of an unprincipled and designing man ... [C] (If Julia approved of General Wool, why then, so do I. She mentions Martha Hunter's wedding.)

1 December 1836. -- Gen Wool to B. F. Butler. New Echota:

... I am most happy to find that the President still has confidence in my capacity, fidelity, and zeal to discharge the important trust confided in me ... [E]

14 December 1836. -- War Dept. to B. F. Butler:

... It had been pointed out to Gen. Wool that he should not make the purchase in

New York ... But the circumstances in this case do not present any reason for holding Gen. Wool accountable for these expenditures, as his purchases of provisions and goodshave been reasonable and fair, and the individuals of whom they were made ought not to be made to suffer ... [E]

16 December 1836. -- Gen. Wool to Butler. Fort Cass:  
... Major Currey died this afternoon about 4 o'clock ..." (There followed a mad scramble for the office thus vacated. Applicants included: Currey's brother, C. S. Howe, A. R. Turk, David Campbell, Col. W. N. A. Bishop, and doubtless a dozen others.)

3 January 1837. -- War Department to Nathaniel Smith:  
... You have been appointed Superintendent of the Cherokee emigration in the place of B. F. Currey, deceased. If you accept, proceed to Calhoun, Tennessee ... [E]

16 January 1837. -- N. Smith to B. F. Butler. Athens, Tennessee:  
... Thanks for appointing me ... [E]

30 January 1837. -- Office of the Commissioners, New Echota, to C. A. Harris, Acting Secretary of War:  
... Payments have already been made under terms of the treaty, to an amount exceeding \$100,000 ... [E] (For property and spoilation.)

30 January 1837. -- Commissioners Lumpkin and Kennedy, New Echota, to C. A. Harris:  
... In attempting in the *most humble and modest manner* to avail ourselves of the services of the military, in the execution of civil duties, we have found ourselves repulsed and insulted at every attempt which we have made to obtain the co-operation of General Wool. When we politely requested ... an escort to guard public funds ... the communication was sent back, in contempt, accompanied by a written insult to ourselves *and the President of the United States* ... [E] (Compare this with Wool's version, dated 30 November 1836. Insulting the President? Very doubtful!)

31 January 1837. -- William Holland Thomas, Scott's Creek P.O. to C. A. Harris:  
... *Mr. Shermerhorn advised me to furnish the Indians ... When I ran out of goods, I supplied them with money to purchase supplies from the adjacent part of Tennessee.* I presented my claim to Gen. Wool who concluded that he was not authorized to pay me ... [E] (The Commissioners and Gen. Wool felt that this was a fraudulent claim.)

1-15 February 1837. -- In the list of Cherokee Indians who were paid travel money, at \$53.33 per head, are the following persons:

Joshua Buffington	.....	5	Indians/12 slaves	.....	\$	906.66	
Jas. A. Thompson	.....	11	" / 9	"	.....	1,066.66	
Major Ridge	.....	6	" /18	"	.....	1,080.00	
William Rogers	.....	5	" / 7	"	.....	640.00	
Jacob W. West	.....	7	" /15	"	.....	1,173.33	
John Martin	.....	11	" /74	"	.....	4,533.33	[E]

1 February 1837. -- Gen. Wool, New Echota, to Major Payne:  
... Repair to Valley River and take general superintending charge of the troops under Maj. Cunningham. Those stationed for the protection of the stores and hospital at Camp Huntington, should be attended to by the officer of the day. The surrendered arms of the Indians are deposited at Camp Huntington ... We are now issuing rations and blankets to all those who have given their assent to go west ... [E]

8 February 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith, Cherokee Agency East, to C. A. Harris:  
... When I came here I found about 360 Cherokees prepared to move west. They are being subsisted by Gen. Wool and the Commissioners. I am sending them west ... [E]

- 17 February 1837. -- James Graham, North Carolina Congressman to the President:  
... I propose a portion of the militia of North Carolina be stationed in western North Carolina in July next to protect the rights of the white people ... [E]  
(From whom? The Indians, the Tennessee Volunteers?)
- 18 February 1837. -- Order No. 8: Physician Hitchcock [husband of Martha Hunter] is ordered to inspect all hospitals, including the one at Camp Huntington ... [C]
- 18 February 1837. -- War Department to William H. Thomas:  
... I have received your letter of 31st ultimo, respecting your claim for provisions furnished the poor Cherokees ... I have transmitted to Gen. Wool a copy of your letter, and requested him to state the facts in the case ... [E]
- 18 February 1837. -- Gen. Wool reports that the Indians persist in their determination not to remove ... Many have said they will die before they leave the country ... [E]
- 21 February 1837. -- Lumpkin and Kennedy, New Echota, to B. F. Butler:  
... Attorneys at law, claiming to have rendered legal services to the Cherokee nation, have already presented claims against the Cherokees to the amount greatly exceeding \$60,000 ... What constitutes a just claim for legal service? ... Is it necessary that the claimant should have been employed by the authority of the nation? ... [E]
- 21 February 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith, Superintendent of Cherokee Emigration, to Nathan Peake:  
... You will in one month after receipt of this communication remove from the improvement claimed by Nancy Spears ... [E] (Nathaniel Smith, also, had a few facts of life to learn.)
- 22 February 1837. -- N. Smith to Lt. Howe (commanding at Calhoun):  
... Inclosed you will find the complaint of George Candy, will you please send a military force and put him in possession of his field, etc. ... [C] (Smith was a good man -- he made requests and not demands to the military. Very shortly now, Lt. Howe will explain some of the facts of life to him.)
- 23 February 1837. -- Lt. C. S. Howe to John Kennedy, resident of Cherokee County -- not the Commissioner:  
... Complaint has been made to General Smith, Supt. of Cherokee Removal, that you are now an intruder upon the improvements of George Candy a Cherokee ... You are requested to give George Candy possession of the property within one week from this date or otherwise you will be removed by a military force ... [C]
- 24 February 1837. -- Gen Wool to Lt. Howe:  
... I am pleased with your whiskey expedition ... I am very much surprised that Doctor Hitchcock should take exception to my last order ... It never entered my mind that he would be independent of the Commanding Officer of the post. It would be no less improper than it would be unmilitary ... I have a high opinion of the Doctor both as a man and a physician ... [C]
- 27 February 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith to Lt. Howe:  
... Sundry Cherokees have made complaints to me that white men have intruded on them ... will you please to hear evidence and decide on their claims ... until I return ... [C]
- 28 February 1837. -- John Ross with his associates and advisers in Washington complain to Secretary Butler that the President would not recognize them in any official capacity ... [E]

3 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to C. A. Harris. Wool deals with W. H. Thomas' astounding claim that he had advanced \$750 to the Cherokee Indians [Qualla Town Indians, presumably] to go down into East Tennessee and buy provisions for themselves. The letter is quoted in full in the chapter called "The Sale of the Land." [E]

9 March 1837. -- Complaints from the Indians continue to come in against Wm. P. Harris, John Kennedy, and John Stancel. [C]

It should be noted that the actual number of such complaints and the number of individuals named as aggressors is actually relatively small. Occasionally, such incidents have been seized upon by writers and blown out of all proportion to their importance in the over-all story of the removal. Those Indians who suffered real damage as a result of dispossession, spoilage, etc., were fully reimbursed when their claims were proved and properly authenticated.

12 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to John R. Delany, Commanding at Ross' Landing:  
... The prisoner Bridgemaker, can be released on his promising not to oppose the execution of the treaty ... In relation to gamblers, or black-legs, you have all the authority necessary to prevent them from establishing themselves in your neighborhood, and to drive them out of the country. There is no State or United States Law to protect them within the limits of the nation. Gambling and selling them ardent spirits must be prevented ... [E]

15 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Col. Joseph Byrd, 2nd Regt. of ETV. Fm New Echota:  
... You will proceed without delay and take command of the troops under Major Cunningham, at or near the mouth of Valley River. You will treat the Cherokees kindly and give them all the protection guaranteed by the late treaty ... You will inform them that rations, blankets, shoes and other articles, will be furnished the poor of the nation on application ... [E] (Does this sound like the military is treating the Indians like cattle?)

18 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool, New Echota to Butler:  
... About 500 Cherokees have embarked on board steamboats; and about 200, perhaps 300, including slaves have gone by land to Arkansas ... [E] (The rich Indians with their blooded hounds and horses, violins and copper stills, valuable household goods and slaves -- moved out in style.)

20 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Lt. Shaw, of the Georgia Volunteers:  
... You will take charge of the prisoners, John G. Smith, John Oxford, Barrel Smith, and Jesse Griffin ... Charged with killing a Cherokee ... You will deliver them over to the civil authorities of Walker County for examination ... [E] (I for one, have no doubt the matter was properly looked into.)

22 March 1837. -- Dr. C. Lillybridge, physician to the Cherokee Emigration, reported from Little Rock, Arkansas, that he had 31 sick of various ailments, mainly influenza. That 27 were cured and 5 remained sick. He added that ... gonorrhoea which is very extensive in the detachment, I have not entered upon the register, unless the cure for inflammation and required particular attention ... [E]

23 March 1837. -- J. F. Schermerhorn to C. A. Harris: Commenting on the claims for \$60,000 in legal fees, quotes from the 10th Article of the Treaty:  
... But no claims against individual persons of the nation shall be allowed and paid by the nation ... [E]

23 March 1837. -- War Department to General Wool:  
... Enclosed are copies of a letter from this Department and of the documents to which it is a reply ... I have to invite your attention to the complaints respecting the

conduct of the troops in the United States service stationed in North Carolina, and that you will take proper measures to prevent its repetition ... [E]

30 March 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith complains to Lt. Howe that John Kennedy refuses to give up the field ... He requests military assistance to remove him ... [C]

30 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool, New Echota, to Shaw:  
... You will procure a rifle and a pot taken from Dick, and deliver the same to his mother, Old Sarah ... [E]

30 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Lt. Deas:  
... You will take charge of collecting refugee Creeks scattered through the Nation  
... You are authorized to purchase clothing for covering the nakedness of the Indians, if needed ... [E]

30 March 1837. -- Wool to Quartermaster Vaughn at Ross' Landing:  
... You have not hitherto discharged the duties of quartermaster correctly, I trust we shall not in the future have similar complaints against you ... [E] (Gen. Wool was far from being the martinet type. He appears in all his dealings with other human beings as reasonable and moderate. )

30 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool, New Echota, to Major Delany:  
... Proceed to Red Clay to collect Creeks in the neighborhood (twenty miles or more)  
... furnish them provisions ... When you have a sufficient number ... conduct them to Ross' Landing. After they are taken, they must be treated with kindness, and on no account must the soldiers be permitted to offer any insult to them, or allowed to commit any depredation on their property ... [E]

31 March 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War:  
... I have this day discharged, except one company, the East Tennessee Volunteers, ordered home agreeably to Order No.66, issued 1 November 1836. I would [now] refer to a case ... which occurred a few days since within a few miles of this place [New Echota], an Indian, at his own house was shot down and basely murdered by a party of white men ... These men were arrested by my order, and immediately turned over to the civil authority ... It is extremely doubtful that justice can be done in the case ... (The civil authorities were less dedicated to the administration of justice for the Indians than they were eager to have them gone.) On a different topic, Wool estimates that ... 1000 Creek refugees have fled to the mountains of Georgia and North Carolina ... I have several parties of Volunteers in pursuit of them ... [E]

Some writers have confused Creek refugees with fleeing Cherokees. Note that the pursuit and hunting down of Creeks occurred chiefly more than a year before the actual removal of the Cherokees.

1 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Paymaster Bennett:  
... The East Tennessee Volunteers will be entitled to pay and rations. I presume, however, it is not intended to preclude their getting the full allowance of clothing ... [E] (Clothing allowance for privates and corporals, on 6 months service, was approximately \$35.00 -- regular pay in the same classification was 6/8 dollars per month.)

3 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool, New Echota, to Captain Jacob Peake:  
... You will furnish up to 30 men, including non-coms for apprehension of Creek refugees. Lt. Howe will furnish rations and forage. Use wagons to carry provisions ... [E]



3 April 1837. -- Gen Wool, New Echota, to Col. Byrd (near Valley River):  
 ... Furnish Lt. Deas with military aid to apprehend Creeks in the mountains of North Carolina. If not able to purchase provisions in your neighborhood, get them at Camp Huntington, in charge of Lt. Montgomery, without interfering with the depot for the poor Cherokees. No doubt fresh beef can be procured, and corn from Hunter or Starritt ... [E] (At the moment, the military was not trading with W. H. Thomas.)

7 April 1837. -- Lt. Howe to Superintendent Nathaniel Smith:  
 ... I have not complied with your request relative to John W. Kennedy ... If Kennedy were taken to Knoxville without some civil process against him, he would be immediately released upon a habeas corpus, and the military force of the country be again put at defiance ... (Now, Smith has had some of the hard facts explained to him.) ... It is almost unnecessary to add that I feel disposed to aid you with the limited military force under my command, in protecting the Cherokees in their person and property ... [C]

Nowhere in any of the military records that I have seen is there the slightest indication that any member of the military force -- officer or private -- ever prodded a Cherokee Indian. To the contrary I see that the military people made very effort to treat the Indians in North Carolina with consideration, without which hundreds must have starved to death. There were a few people among the whites who were less kindly.

8 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Jones, AG:  
 ... Captain Peak's Company, 2nd Regiment of East Tennessee Volunteers has been called into service. It is 86 strong ... [E]

20 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Poinsett, Secretary of War:  
 ... 300 Creeks apprehended, these with the 150 at Gunter's Landing will be sent to Arkansas. Those found in Cherokee country generally in wretched condition. I ordered sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness ... [E] (These figures fall short of the 'thousands' that some writers have used.) The General adds ... The period is approaching when the term of the East Tennessee Volunteers will expire. I have requested a regiment of United States infantry ... I would prefer 500 disciplined troops to 2000 undisciplined and uninstructed volunteers ... [E]

21 April 1837. -- War Department to Gen. Wool, Athens, Tennessee: Wool is notified that he will be replaced by Colonel William Lindsay:  
 ... Turn over to him all official papers and copies of your instructions ... [E]

*The civil authorities* have at last caught up with the General. The fatal flaw in his course was the attempt to exercise reason and judgement -- in a situation where these qualities were not too highly prized.

22 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool informs Lt. Howe of his need for a mounted, armed escort for his visit to Governor Clay of Alabama -- where the politicians were also after his hide.

24 April 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith to C. A. Harris:  
 ... Wool is making a tour through the nation ... The Indians both love and fear him, and will I think, pay attention to what he says ... [E]

26 April 1837. -- War Department to Gen. Wool:  
 ... Sir, I am induced to call your attention to your Order of 22 March respecting the sale of spirituous liquors, and request that you will cause it to be modified as to prevent any infringement of the rights of the citizens of Alabama and Georgia. You have no right forcibly to prohibit within the states such retailing as is licensed and authorized by their laws and can only prevent the sale ... to Indians, or to soldiers in the United States service ... [Signed by J. R. Poinsett] [E]

Plainly, the Indian country was a no man's land. The only acceptable service a military officer might perform without criticism was the prevention of an uprising. Civil authority was fractionated among the several states, not one element of which was willing to permit the federal government to regulate in any way the conduct of the civil population. Wool had made the mistake of trying to regulate the unscrupulous whites and to deal with them in a military manner. Note Lt. Howe's letter to Smith on 7 April. The outstanding defect in the entire procedure, to pick the worst, was the overall failure to provide that the Indian property should be protected intact until the civil authorities could arrive on the scene and render an official appraisal. It is also well to reflect that the removal operations could have been a hundred times more unsatisfactory. Under the given circumstances, the results must be considered, at least, tolerable.

28 April 1837. -- Gen Wool to Lt. Howe:

... The total number of troops in service is 566. The total in Valley River is 199  
... [C]

29 April 1837. -- Gen. Wool, Calhoun, to Lt. Howe:

... The Medical Director, Doctor Hitchcock, has reported that the building for a hospital is unfit for that use. As soon as practicable you will remove your company from its present quarters and to the new building erected for that purpose, and convert the former into a hospital ... [C] (Every major installation had a hospital.)

1 May 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Lt. Howe:

... You will discover by all possible means ... the report that two large wagon loads of arms have been brought into the Cherokee country ... [C]

5 May 1837. -- Gen. Wool sends Howe to consult with Governor Dudley of North Carolina, and to go to Winston Salem ... if possible to find out what arms have been furnished from that place to the Cherokees, or to persons residing in the Cherokee country ... [C]

17 May 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Col. Byrd (at Fort Butler);

... In relation to the conduct of Captain Powell's company in burning the bacon, I have only to observe that I expected a different course of conduct from a company having at its head an officer for whom I have always entertained great respect ... I hope notwithstanding all that has happened with that company, that I shall not be disappointed, and that when I arrive at Fort Butler, I will find it all I could desire ... [E]

18 May 1837. -- War Department to Colonel William Lindsay:

... You will proceed to the Cherokee country and relieve Gen. Wool. You may engage such of the troops whose terms expire, on a 6-months tour of duty ... [E]

20 May 1837. -- War Department to Captain William E. Derrick, et al:

... We agree that Wool did a good job. He asked to be relieved. We think you will like Col. Lindsay. We believe he likewise will do a good job ... [E]

21 May 1837. -- General Wool to Capt. Derrick:

... You will go with your men to Hightown, via Cassville. Mr. C. D. Terhum, the Georgia State Agent for executing the laws of Georgia as regards the disposing of the white people, and restoring to the Indians, will accompany you to investigate the claims and complaints of the Indians. Defer to his opinion in all cases ... [E] (The General learned his lesson a bit too late.)

23 May 1837. -- From the Commissioners' Certificates (for payments), it appears that Felix Axley was paid under the 9th Article of the Treaty, \$1,000 for legal services. [E] (Axley served also as W.H. Thomas's lawyer in the Cherokee county area.)

13 June 1837. -- Julia Howe to her husband, Lt. Howe: Guessing how he occupied himself during the return ride on the stage coach, imagines him:  
 ... turning over the pages of *Vivian Grey* ... or humming his favorite tune, "Wake Up Susy." (Clearly, the literary fare of the South was not limited to sermons, tracts, newspapers, etc. ) [C]

27 June 1837. -- Dr. Hitchcock relieved and replaced by Assistant Surgeon Martin. [C]  
 (For some while after the removal, Hitchcock dabbled in local real estate. One piece of that dabbling was sold by his daughter in the early 1900s for over \$100,000.)

1 July 1837. -- General Wool on this day relinquished his command of the Army of the Cherokee country to Col. William Lindsay of the Second Regiment of the United States Artillery. (*Ave atque vale!*)

17 July 1837. -- Alexander Malcomb, Major General Commander-in-Chief to Wool:  
 ... In relation to certain transactions of the military force of the United States within the State of Alabama ... You are to remain at New Echota until a court of enquiry arrives ... Appear with such witnesses as you may judge proper to bring in your justification ... [E]

19 July 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Poinsett:  
 ... I have seen a letter from C. C. Clay, Governor of Alabama, in which it is represented that in consequence of certain orders of mine issued whilst in command in the Cherokee Nation, 'A contest has taken place in the County of Marshall, which resulted in the death of two individuals, besides the injury to others, who may yet die of their wounds'... [E]

22 July 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Col. Smith:  
 ... March with 3 companies of your regiment to the mouth of Valley River ... You will examine the road ordered to be repaired, and if not done make it passable for wagons. Avoid all collision with the Indians and prevent your men from insulting them ... [E]  
 (Wool was now serving in the capacity of consultant.)

5 August 1837. -- Dr. C. E. Isaacs, Huntington, to C. A. Harris:  
 ... There has been for some time, and is at present much dysentery among the Indians in this part of the country, and is rapidly increasing; there is no physician nearer than 50 miles [Not quite true.] ... I have given them medicine and advice, and have attended upon them as much as my duties in the army would permit. Having left the service on the 12th of July last, I have since that time been constantly engaged in visiting the sick, and administering to their relief as far as was in my power ... [E] (The Indians were not alone in being prey to summer sickness. The entire area was in the grip of the sickliest part of the 'sickly season'.)

6 August 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Poinsett: He complains of the fact that the President will not grant a court to enquire into his conduct in the Indian country. And it is most obvious why the President would not. He complains that his tender of resignation from the command was retroactively acted upon. And that Col. Lindsay had been instructed to look into his shortcomings ... [E]

10 August 1837. -- Gen. Wool to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, AG: Wool now complains that he has not received ... a copy of complaints upon which my conduct is to be investigated by a court of enquiry, of which Maj. Gen. Scott is President ... [E]

12 August 1837. -- War Department to John Ross, Chief of the Cherokees, Red Clay:  
 ... You are too well acquainted with the character of the white people by which the Cherokee people are surrounded to desire, or expect them to remain where they are now, and too well aware of the power of this Government, not to be convinced of the

utter hopelessness of that nation being able, for any length of time, to evade the execution of the treaty ... [E] (There is little doubt that Ross held out as long as he did, in the vain hope of getting better terms, as well as the necessity of saving face among his followers.)

22 August 1837. -- War Department to Colonel Lindsay:  
... Request that at the earliest you will make a particular examination of the Cherokee country -- and furnish this department with the best topographical sketches ... [E] (A military survey was made of the North Carolina part by Captain W. G. Williams of the United States Topographical Corps, later in the year. Material from Williams's report is quoted elsewhere in these notes.)

15 September 1837. -- War Department to Col. Lindsay:  
... Sir: complaints have been made from North Carolina of insults having been offered by the Tennessee Volunteers under your command, to the citizens of Macon County. Captain Powell is alluded to as having used boastful and insulting language in his intercourse with the people of North Carolina ... You are advised of the complaints, that the cause may be removed, and Capt. Powell kept from that frontier, and a more discreet officer sent there in his stead ... (Signed) Poinsett ... [E] (Cf. Wool's letter of 17 May on the subject of Capt. Powell.)

30 September 1837. -- War Department to Lumpkin and Kennedy:  
... It has been represented that the valuation of improvements in North Carolina has been too low ... [E]

30 September 1837. -- War Department to Hon. James Graham, House of Representatives of the United States:  
... *[We] respectfully decline use of North Carolina troops at this time ... But if those troops are desirous of serving their country, they will be immediately mustered for the ensuing campaign in Florida ... [E]*

Not only were the citizens of Macon County being offered insults by the United States Military personnel -- the fashion had caught on in Washington. I wonder what the Washington-Set (Jackson, Van Buren, et al) had against the people of this State?

1 October 1837. -- Nathaniel Smith to the Hon. C. A. Harris:  
... Within the last ten months there have been divers persons traversing the Indian country, east and west of the Mississippi, hunting up Indians, where living or dead, or their descendants, inducing the ignorant Indians to give them powers of attorney to prosecute their claims before the Commissioners ... Some have bribed their interpreters, and obtained powers of attorney from the Indians without their knowing what they were signing; for not one Indian in twenty knows what a power of attorney means ... [E] (I have just applied his formula to the 237 Indians who signed a power of Attorney for W. H. Thomas. The answer is approximately, twelve? Too high?)

10 October 1837. -- Five Prominent Georgians, at Spring Place, Murray County, Georgia, to Secretary Joel R. Poinsett:  
... Captain Buffington, apparently under orders of Colonel Lindsay brings his company to Spring Place to aid the Civil Authorities, if required. We believe Col. Lindsay has exceeded his orders, and do us the justice to have his conduct inquired into ... [E]

18 October 1837. -- Superintendent of Emigration, Nathaniel Smith, directs Lt. Howe to apprehend Thomas Gibson, Joseph Gibson, and James Gibson and deliver them over to the Civil Authorities at Fort Cass, for violation of the intercourse laws of 1802 and 1834 ... And that you have the roof torn off the house where the said Thomas Gibson family now lives and the Gibson family turned out of the Cherokee nation at

the nearest point ... [C]

I very much regret I cannot report on the fate of the Gibson roof -- but on this delightful exhibition of N. Smith's righteous indignation, let the 1837 excerpts end.

During the remainder of the year and into January 1838, the army post at Fort Butler [Murphy] was occupied by the Topographical Survey teams under the command of Capt. W. G. Williams, mentioned above. I have quoted him at some length in the chapter called "First Settlements". The well-known pen sketch of Fort Butler contained in his report antedated by some months the conversion of the former Camp Huntington and subsequent Fort Butler into the compound where were gathered the Cherokees during the roundup later in 1838. I think there is little question that a picket fence was a feature at the Murphy fort. Other camps were so enclosed, as we shall see later, and there is no reason to suppose that Butler was unique in this respect. The question is relatively unimportant, of course, except to those enterprising citizens who have a care to enhance the locality with an attractive tourist center.

#### 5. The Time Has Come

The Cherokees under the terms of the 1835 treaty had two years to wind up their affairs and remove, or be removed, to the western territory selected for them. Perhaps, as many as three or four thousand - offered as a consensus of available estimates - had removed prior to the expiration date set by the treaty. The figures for those who remained were possibly more reliable, since several counts were effected during the actual removal, which were somewhere in the neighborhood of between 11 and 13 thousand. The bulk of those who held out to the last were under the dictatorial leadership of John Ross -- a half-breed Cherokee who had indeed inherited some of the white man's political cunning -- but not quite enough to make possible the realization of the Cherokee dream.

Beyond the disinclination of the Cherokees to be driven, they procrastinated for two compelling reasons: they hoped that the white people would somehow relent and permit them to remain; and in the event that they must go, they hoped for better terms. But all efforts on Ross' part to reopen negotiations on the treaty were entirely futile.

The flowery month of May is now about to rush upon them. Their preparations are unmade, their flocks are in the field, their children at play, their hills are steeped in the enchantment of springtime -- the gale winds of conquest will at last sweep them westward like a blast that passes over a heap of dry autumn leaves.

2 March 1838. -- Dr. C. M. Hitchcock's request for quartering disallowed on the ground that he had enjoyed the privilege of quartering with the family of his father-in-law, A. R. S. Hunter, in the immediate vicinity of the post ... [D]

6 March 1838. -- From Fort Butler it is reported that corn is selling at \$1.50 per bushel, but little can be obtained at that price. [D]

15 March 1838. -- Instructions from the Adj. General's Office, Raleigh, North Carolina, relative to the selection of volunteers for the Cherokee Campaign: ... *You will name only such men as are men of education and standing* ... [B] And thus, Children, the North Carolina Volunteers were among the finest!

24 March 1838. -- Hon. C. A. Harris to Gen. Nathaniel Smith (known as 'The Old Roof Puller'):

... I have submitted the proposition in respect to the 200 old and infirm Cherokees being permitted to remain and become citizens, to the Secretary of War and I am directed to state in reply that no law forbidding such a course is known to this department, that if they wish to remain and are willing to submit to the State laws and are able to purchase lands, it is presumed that no objection would be made in any quarter to their doing so ... At the same time it is his decided opinion they had better emigrate if physically able to do so ... [D]

Somewhere along the line, Smith and Gen. Scott -- and later, Gen. Eustis -- were authorized to grant immunity to removal, and in the Cherokee County area an estimated 200 were given the privilege of remaining. Again, this had nothing to do with the status of the Qualla Indians, who were already citizens of North Carolina.

? April 1838. -- Alexander Malcomb, Commander-in-Chief to Major General Winfield Scott:

... You will repair without delay to Athens, Tennessee, or any other point most convenient for making your arrangements ... Orders have been given for the four regiments of Artillery, the 4th Regiment of Infantry and 6 companies of the 2nd Dragoons, now in Florida, to repair as early as practicable, to the Cherokee country ... You are authorized to call on the Governors of the States of Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama for such Militia and Volunteers, not exceeding 4,000, in addition to the regular forces, as you may deem necessary ... Col. Lindsay will be of great assistance to you ... [D]

1 April 1838. -- Lt. Montgomery, Fort Butler, to the Quartermaster [Howe]:  
... Please direct the teamster employed to haul camp and garrison equipage to this post to call upon Mr. Bridges at Athens for some office furniture which I purchased at that place ... [D]

7 April 1838. -- Gen. Winfield Scott, writes:

... I shall probably call for the following detachments of militia to rendezvous at the places mentioned. Two regiments or 1480 Georgians at New Echota; one regiment or 740 Alabamians at Belfont; one regiment or 740 North Carolinians at Franklin, North Carolina; one regiment of Tennesseans at Ross Landing ... In all 3700 plus 2200 regulars ... Subsistence for the foregoing troops at the places mentioned will be required for at least 90 days, commencing about the middle of May ... [D]

12 April 1838. -- Alfred Iverson applies for the contract for moving the Cherokees to their new home, at \$26 per capita. He will provide at that price, one wagon, five horses, and transport 1500 pounds of baggage per each group of 75 Indians. For \$30 per head, he could make it 50 Indians. He specifies that his outfit will travel 14 miles per day [D] (Iverson had gained experience in the Creek Indian removal.)

13 April 1838. -- Preston Starritt, Hiwassee Valley Town, to Secretary Poinsett:  
... I have delayed for ten months past, of upwards of \$2,000 for no good cause at all, but because I was not the pet of a few drunken swindling, gambling West Point Officers of the Army, some of whom ... have played away at cards the money placed in their hands to support the Army\* ... Etc. [D] (The Government owes Starritt \$2,000.)

Starritt appears in several places in these notes. He and Featherstonhaugh spent some time together examining evidence of early mining in the area. The latter, in a memo prepared for Gen. Scott, gratuitously or otherwise, described Squire Starritt as ... An acute man, residing near Brasstown Creek, about six miles eastward of Fort Butler. He knows the Indians of the mountainous part of the Cherokee country and has influence with them. Starritt is, I think, a man to be depended upon ...

\*(Judging from the number of decks of cards sold by Hunter, gambling was probably a popular pastime at Fort Butler.)

13 April 1838. -- John Ross and his associates communicate an offer to President Martin Van Buren to negotiate the difference between the Cherokee nation and the United States. [D] (Throughout all the later appeals made by Chief Ross, the government maintained a deaf ear, and the highest officials made themselves inaccessible.)

[Local historians who might happen to read the foregoing item should take note that the removal of the Cherokees was accomplished during the Van Buren term of office and not that of Andrew Jackson.]

17 April 1838. -- S. Cooper, Acting Secretary of War, to Ross, et al:  
... The Department does not see the practicability of being more clear and explicit  
... The decided determination of the President to execute the laws of the land, and carry into effect the treaty ... [precludes further discussion] ... [D]

18 April 1838. -- Office of Commanding General of Subsistence, Washington, to Gen. Scott:  
... To ensure to your command in the Cherokee country a full supply of hard bread and other subsistence stores, I have dispatched Lieut. A. E. Shiras to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville. He will procure supplies and accompany them up the Tennessee river to their destination ... [D]

3 May 1838. -- *The Governor of North Carolina writes:*  
... *The Adjutant General has this morning reported to the Department, that the regiment of detached militia for the service of the United States is composed of all volunteers as follows: from Rutherford 3 companies, Wilkes 2, Burke 3, & Buncombe 1 ... Colonel Lindsay was positive in his exception to receiving troops from counties contiguous to the Cherokee district ... [D] (North Carolina ended up with 13 companies, including two independent companies -- that got in under a political wire, somewhere. The names of participating North Carolina troops appear in an annex.)*

12 May 1838. -- Colonel John Gray Bynum, Commanding the North Carolina Troops, Franklin, N. C., to HQ:  
... I arrived at this place today, Lieut. Montgomery has declined to muster me into service or any part of my staff, because the 10 companies constituting the Regiment has not arrived ... some misunderstanding exists between the United States and the State authorities ... [A]

The plain truth is, Col. Bynum did not do much commanding in the Cherokee campaign. After the mustering in, he was immediately shunted into Cheowa Valley, where he more or less sat out the campaign. At least that is my opinion.

15 May 1838. -- Captain Connelly's Company was issued: 2 wall tents, 12 common tents, 12 camp kettles, 24 mess pans, 6 axes, and 4 spades. [B] (Note the accounting of these items, 5 July 1838.)

15 May 1838. -- John Kennedy, Commissioner, to General Scott:  
... It is known that at the time the treaty was made a number of the tribe resided in what was called Oconalufly, in Haywood County, North Carolina, without the limits of the ceded territory, and it is an historical fact that at the time the treaty was made, they were represented at the City of Washington by Mr. W. H. Thomas ... In the Eighth Article of the treaty is the following clause: 'Such Cherokees also as reside at present out of the Nation and shall remove with them in two years ... shall be entitled to allowances ... the same as is allowed to other Cherokees of the Nation.' [It seems to me that the key phrase here is, "and shall remove with them".] And in the preamble to the supplement to the treaty it is set forth by the President, and assented to by the Nation, that the whole Cherokee People shall remove together ... From all these facts and treaty stipulations ... it is obviously the design both of the Government and the Cherokees, that the provisions and object of the Cherokee Treaty



can only be carried into full effect by the entire removal of the tribe ... I am of the opinion that they are bound to go ... [D]

I don't pretend to know what kind of bee was buzzing in Kennedy's bonnet, but his summation is slight, to say the least. It should be noted at the outset that his proposal apparently did not anywhere receive serious consideration. Thomas at no time represented the Oconalufly Indians with respect to their participation in the removal. Whether Thomas himself wanted the Qualla Indians removed, I am unable to say, but his business was getting a part of the money that was being paid to the Cherokees *for their land*. Remember the Qualla Indians were outsiders at this point in time to the concerns of the Cherokee nation. I have seen no indication of any sort of communication between Thomas and John Ross, and I think I understand why there was none. From a legal standpoint the federal government had no grounds or basis for removing North Carolina citizens without the State's consent. It seems reasonable to suppose that had there been any intent on the part of the treaty makers to encompass the Cherokees who had become citizens of North Carolina, their inclusion would have been entirely explicit.

[Continuation of Kennedy's letter:]

... It is believed [hearsay] that many Cherokees are at the Iron Works of Mr. Foute in Cade's Cove, Blount County, Tennessee and in the neighborhood of Gideon Morgan's and John McGhee's in Monroe County and at various places in McMinn County [There are too many Iron Works here -- iron working in the Appalachian mountains were small operations in 1838]. Mr. W. H. Thomas has a great number of Cherokees employed on various turnpike roads he is constructing in North Carolina without the limits of the territory ceded by the treaty of 1835 [believable].

Thomas had stated in Washington that white men were working the Indians for a pint of spirits per day [see 25 March 1836].

20 May 1838. -- J. Rowan, Acting Quartermaster to Tennessee Volunteers, Fort Butler, to the Quartermaster:

... I have the honor to inform you that the ovens required to be erected at this post are finished, with the exception of a good permanent cover ... I have discharged the hands employed to do the mason work ... though I have no funds to pay for their services ... [D]

22 May 1838. -- Col. Bynum, Franklin, to Lt. Montgomery:

... The troops in this place consisting of 4 companies are almost entirely out of provisions and none can be secured in the country ... [A] [As indicated earlier, North Carolina was on the short end of the stick.]

23 May 1838. -- Captain E. H. Cunningham to Gen. J. McKay:

... We have at length arrived at our station in the Cheowee Valley and have designated it Fort Montgomery [That should have got a couple of wagonloads of provisions] ... We were detained on Valley River for the space of 10 days during which time we were engaged in making a road across the mountains to our present station ... We have commenced hauling timbers and ditching for the picket works, and all the men are in high spirits and show great anxiety to forward the business [One might expect no less from 'men with education and of high standing'] ... [D]

Charles Lanman reported seeing a lot of demolished pickets at Fort Hembree, at Hayesville. I think it probable that all proposed collection points were provided with "picket works".

27 May 1838. -- Col. Bynum, Franklin:

... The 4 companies encamped here were at considerable hardship to procure subsistence

for some days. Many also suffered a good deal from sickness ... The measles has been prevailing to a high degree, but no very considerable losses have occurred ... [A] (Can anyone believe the Quartermaster was in ignorance of the situation at Franklin?)

27 May 1838. -- Col. Bynum to General Scott:

... Nine companies of the North Carolina Volunteers have been mustered into the service of the United States ... [A]

28 May 1838. -- From the Officer in Charge, Fort Hetzel, Georgia to HQ:

... I commenced on the 26th securing the Indians. I have made prisoners of 425 or perhaps 450. I think by the time I get in the outstanding members of the families that I have broken up I will have as many as I can manage ... They run in every instance where they have the best opportunity ... It will take me a few days to collect their little plunder as we captured them in the mountains I could not bring off their property at the same time ... hast[e] .. [D] (Of military men who had little regard for Cherokees -- score one for Georgia. Later, Nathaniel Smith will concern himself with undoing some of this officer's breaking up of families.)

29 May 1838. -- Orders No. 8:

... The property of the Indians such as hogs, cattle, corn, fodder which cannot be moved with them, will be attended to for them by agents appointed by the Superintendent of Cherokee Emigration [Smith]. The military will have nothing to do with Indian property, except as may be necessary to their regular consumption and in taking possession of which the instructions in Order No. 25 [summarized elsewhere in these notes] referred to above will be strictly observed ... [D]

It would have been impossible, I think, that the Superintendent could have had his agents waiting at every homestead visited by the military. There were some who advocated and some of the military officers who practiced the policy of leaving soldiers at the homesteads to protect the Indian property until the appraisers or their agents arrived. This practice was particularly observed by Col. Bynum. The military ought not to be held responsible for the poorly planned operation -- they had their particular task to perform -- and Smith had his.

29 May 1838. -- General Scott's Staff have some words to say to the high-handed officer in charge at Fort Hetzel [some 40 odd miles southwest of Fort Butler]:

... Wagons must be procured to the extent necessary to transport the subsistence, the aged, the infirm and children unable to march; *keeping constantly in view the instructions communicated in Orders No. 25 and 34* ... You will please to have the Indian prisoners removed to Calhoun as early as may be consistent with humanity and a suitable regard to their comfort ... [D] (It may be the Staff was concerned to get the Indians out of his hands as soon as possible -- he was so busy breaking up families and ignoring "their little plunder" that he could easily overlook the amenities of Christian conquest.)

2 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ North Carolina Volunteer Regiment, Cheowa Valley, to Brig. Gen. Eustis [Established at Fort Butler]:

... I reached my station last night and assumed command this morning ... There are provisions in the camp now only for three days ... A wagon can haul only about 1200 pounds and make a trip in two days ... [A]

2 June 1838. -- Nathaniel Smith to General Scott:

... The majority of the 23 volunteers who caused the disturbance and behaved so badly at the Cherokee encampment yesterday, can be identified by several respectable Cherokees ... [D] (When it came to a showdown, Major Shaw who investigated the incident could not find one of the culprits.)

2 June 1838.-- Nathaniel Smith, Superintendent, to Gen. Scott:  
 ... Sarah of Valley River represents that her mother is very old and that her brother is a cripple. She wishes to have citizenship privileges in accordance with the letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 24 March 1838 ... (Scott's notation on Smith's letter reads, ... The above named Indians their families and property will not be disturbed by the troops until further orders ...) [D]

3 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ Cheowa Valley. Order No. 2:  
 ... In pursuance of orders from Gen. Scott and from Brig. Gen. Eustis, the collection of Cherokee Indians preparatory to the emigration will commence in Cheowa Valley on tomorrow morning. [word unidentified] is ordered to *appoint the regular number of persons to accompany the several detachments and take care of the property of the Indians. Such persons are to be appointed with the assistance of the commander of the detachment and to account to the Quartermaster* ... Each detachment will take with them as many horses as can be provided -- and gather up all the Indian ponies on their march which can be of use ... [A] (Bynum's instructions are in line and are consistent with Gen. Scott's General Order No. 25.)

*I want to say in passing, that Col. Bynum goes down in my book as a decent and competent human being. How many of his kind were engaged in the removal, I cannot say.*

3 June 1838. -- Brig. Gen. Eustis to Col. Worth, Chief of Staff:  
 ... The instructions of Gen. Scott to defer the collection of Indians by the troops until the 12th inst reached me an hour ago ... Orders have been forwarded to every post and detachment of troops in North Carolina by Express ... [D] (There may have been some problem in logistics -- provisions, transportation, housing -- who knows?)

4 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ Fort Montgomery [near present Robbinsville]:  
 ... I have this morning set a large number of hands at work upon the picketing ... I have also commenced a hospital for the accommodation of our sick ... I think I was mistaken as to the number of Indians within this valley ... I am desirous of knowing whether there are particular instructions to be given as to the manner of disposing of the property of the Indians, whether the prisoners are to be detained until their property is gathered up or whether they are to be marched off ... and their property taken care of afterwards? ... [A]

Had the excellent Col. Bynum been running the whole show, it is extremely doubtful that any subordinate would have needed to ask such a question. As to the number of Indians in Cheowa Valley proper, Nathaniel Smith listed 500 when he took the census in 1835.

5 June 1838. -- HQ Fort Montgomery. Orders No.-- :  
 ... Captain Killian will take 25 hands of the fatigue party and attend to putting up the picketing on the south side of the fort ... [A]

6 June 1838. -- Nath. Smith, Ross' Landing [Near present Chattanooga] to Gen. Scott:  
 ... This morning I started a party of near 1000, and there are now over 900 in camps, and a thousand more expected within the next two days ... [D]

It is almost next to impossible to keep up with the arithmetic of the removal. It should be noted that the transshipments accounted in Smith's communication are independent of the figures that later appear in John Ross's accounting in connection with his removal contract.

Smith's 6th June letter quoted above, is continued on the next page.

... I fear great injustice has been done to very many of the Cherokees collected in Georgia. It has happened to me here to witness more distress within the last two days, than in all my life before. There are several families now in camps ... who have been possessed not only of fine stocks, and other varieties of property, requisite to the most comfortable living, who have not been suffered to bring along with them personal clothing sufficient for a change, or bedding enough to accommodate at once half the family ... The military so hurried them away there was no time to gather up their effects ... when they were allowed to return later to look after their property, they found their houses stripped and robbed of everything left ... *In reference to the dis-membered families, I resolved at once, and have retained here all such, till the scattered members of the families shall be again reunited* ... [Continued below]

For all Smith's admirable humanity, he was himself partly to blame, as Superintendent of the Emigration, for not having worked out with General Scott and other authorities the appropriate procedures -- prior to the collection. The Indians themselves bear part of the responsibility for their sudden unhappy situation -- they had had two years to prepare for the present eventuality. I write this, because I deplore the custom followed by many writers of seizing upon such passages merely for the purpose of evoking pity in the hearts of their readers. Such writers should also reflect upon what we as a nation have done in Indo-China, and on what we are likely to do again -- somewhere -- sometime.

[Continuation of Smith's letter] ... It might be advisable to leave an armed soldier or two, at the Cherokee habitation, and a member of the family to protect the premises from robbery and violence until the Appraising agents shall arrive ... [D]

Col. Bynum had already instituted this procedure in the beginning of his operations in North Carolina. To what extent the suggestion that Smith made to Scott was adopted, I have no way of knowing.

9 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum to Quartermaster Stimson [stationed at Ft. Montgomery]:  
... In future when you require fatigue hands for any purpose whatever, you will make a special requisition request of me for them. No non-commissioned officer or private belonging to this post is to be ordered out for any duty but by my command or that of a superior officer. I am not aware of any authority you have to order said men from my command without so much as consulting me upon the subject. Very Respectfully,  
John Gray Bynum ... [A] [There will be more on this subject later.]

10 June 1838. -- Lt. Montgomery, Fort Butler, to Hetzel:  
... The General requires that I shall have in readiness transportation for each company in service besides some teams to be employed in removing the effects of the Indians to places of departure. I have therefore, in all, public and private about 30 teams. I shall have enough corn to forage those troops and teams now in North Carolina and the 10 companies of Dragoons expected, but the fodder is nearly all consumed already ... [D] (Some Indian effects at least, will be transported by the military -- the robbers will not get everything.)

11 June 1838. -- A petition signed by 145 Indians awaiting transshipment at Ross' Landing to Colonel Lindsay:  
... *We your prisoners wish to speak to you. We wish to speak humbly for we cannot help ourselves. We have been made prisoners by your men, but we do not fight against you. We have never done you any harm. Sir, we ask you to hear us. We have been told we are to be sent off by boat immediately. Sir, will you listen to your prisoners. We are Indians. Our wives and children are Indians and some people do not pity Indians. But if we are Indians we have hearts that feel. We do not want to see our wives and children die. We do not want to die ourselves and leave them widows and orphans. We are in trouble, Sir, our hearts are very heavy. The darkness*

*of the night is before us. We have no hope unless you will help us. We do not ask you to let us go free from being your prisoners, unless it should please yourself. But we ask that you not send us down the river at this time of the year. If you do we shall die, our wives will die or our children will die. Sir, our hearts are heavy, very heavy. We want you to keep us in this country until the sickly time is over, so that when we get to the west we may be able to make boards to cover our families. If you send us now the sickly time is commenced, we shall not have strength to work -- We will be in the open air in all the deadly time of sickness, or we shall die, and our poor wives and children will die too. And if you send the whole nation, the whole nation will die. We ask pity. Pity our women and children if they are Indians -- do not send us off at the sickly time. Some of our people are Christians -- They will pray for you. If you pity us we hope your God will be pleased and that he will pity you and your wife and children and do you good. We cannot make a talk, our hearts are too full of sorrow. This is all we say... [D]*

On the surface a simple plea to the military to postpone further movement of the Indians until a more salutary season of the year. In the depths, one hears the music that tells of the despair and the humility of a conquered people. In almost every sentence one perceives the most basic sort of irony. It is impossible not to feel the bleak, dark indictment of the white oppressors. *Your God will pity you!*

11 June 1838. -- A similar petition was sent to Gen. Scott, signed for the most part with characters from Sequoya's syllabary. [D]

13 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ Ft. Montgomery, to Brig. General Eustis: ... The Quartermaster, J. R. Stimson, at this post ever since I came [has] manifested a disposition to disoblige me as much as is in his power ... I respectfully ask that some other person be placed here in his stead ... [A]

13 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum to HQ: ... I collected yesterday about 80 Indians. They had all received orders from Welch on Valley River to leave home and take to the mountains. I have sent a large number of runners, if in their first alarm they have not gone too far, I think most of them will come in tomorrow. Big George, the chief of this valley has promised me that they shall ... A great deal of sickness prevails among the children ... *I permit the females to remain at home with these sick children and the Indian physician to attend them* ... [A] (It should be noted that there was such a thing as a sickly time of the year in the 1830s. It was a constant threat to all ages and all colors. There will be more along this line.)

15 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, Ft. Montgomery to HQ: He requests delay in forwarding the prisoners, because he wishes to secure the women and children and to permit the men to go out and gather in their property and have it sold on Monday or Tuesday and the money paid over to them -- and start the next day. They are desirous of selling their own property and I have promised them that liberty, provided some officer of this post witnesses the contract ... Almost every child and many grown persons in the valley are sick with the whooping cough ... [A] (North Carolina can take pride in the possession of this Col. Bynum!)

15 June 1838. -- (Continuation of preceding letter): ... Relative to Mr. Stimson, I beg you not to consider me as impeaching [his] official conduct, I only stated that he was my enemy and did all he could to disoblige me. As it is your desire that I should have an enemy to maintain that relationship Mr. Stimson maintains to me, I submit however great may be the mortification I have to suffer. I did think there was no impropriety of having a Quartermaster with me who was appointed by me according to the order of the Governor of North Carolina in obedience to the requisition of Gen. Scott, and who is abundantly able to discharge the duties

of the office. As I understand your letter my conduct is indirectly censured in several particulars. I shall tomorrow forward you some papers which I think will satisfy you that your impressions are hastily drawn and do me injustice ... [A]

It is clear that Bynum had been thrust into a political situation -- the solution of which lay far beyond his power to resolve. My admiration for the man increases when I consider how well he conducted himself.

16 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ Ft. Montgomery: The Colonel writes at considerable length in justification of his procedure in dating the several commissions of the officers in his command. Apparently Captain Cunningham had made an issue of the date on his commission. Having explained his reasons in the case (to my satisfaction) he pursues the matter of his feud with Stimson:

... When my Regimental Quartermaster was about setting out for this post from Fort Butler, Lt. Montgomery gave him some written instructions, which you understood as directions to proceed to this place and enter upon the duties of quartermaster, you spoke up with a good deal of spirit and said: 'No, Sir, I want Mr. Stimson to remain and take care of the public property.' I was desirous of knowing whether he was placed here as an overseer to see that we did our duties, and whether you considered us capable of taking care of property belonging to the public. I had always thought that our State maintained as fine a character for honesty as any New England State ... At last I am happy to see from your letter that I am held responsible for this post and assure you that I will see that trust shall not be forfeited ... [A]

17 June 1838. -- Gen. Eustis, Fort Butler, to Lt. Col. Worth, Chief of Staff: ... According to reports I have received, the number of Indians collected at the several posts in North Carolina, amounts to about 2500 ... I shall start the first detachment of them from this post for Calhoun, this afternoon or tomorrow ... [D]

18 June 1838. -- Nathaniel Smith, Supt. Cherokee Emigration, to Gen. Scott: ... I had the honor to receive your note of this date communicating your opinion that further emigration of the Cherokees ought to be stopped until the 1st of September ... [I] most cheerfully give my assent to their remaining until that date, and I have no doubt the Department will approve of the proceeding. *I also discover that it will be impossible to get teams at this season, so fearful are the teamsters of their health ... I do not believe that 100 teams could be procured at \$6 per day, each and found [with board] ... Every Physician, with whom I have spoken on the subject, is of the opinion that emigration ought to be suspended until September ... [D]*

18 June 1838. -- Captain G. Porter, 1st Artillery, Valley River, to Major Kirby: ... I have taken position here convenient to two points (one of which is Welch's and the other, Colvard's) where the Indians are fed and harboured, and where the trails, on both sides of the river, concentrate ... I contemplate today making an expedition on Peach Tree Creek. Welch's family and Nancy Colvard who is a divorcee of a white (I cannot say man) should be apprehended and sent in ... Welch's people I understand have liberty from Gen. Eustis [Eustis had the authority to grant exemption to removal]. These two families are doing a great deal of mischief ... [D]

18 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum, HQ Ft. Montgomery, to John Starrett, Esq., (The Deputy Agent for North Carolina): Colonel Bynum requests permission for 23 Cherokees to remain and become citizens of North Carolina ... [A]

18 June 1838. -- Gen. Eustis, Fort Butler, to Col. Worth, Chief of Staff: ... The first detachment of Cherokees left here this morning under escort of Capt. Munroe's Company, 4th Artillery. Another party of about 690 will move tomorrow under escort of Cap. Webster's Company, 1st Artillery ... It is estimated that at least 7

days march from here to Calhoun [12 miles per day] ... Except for a party of about 30 from Fort Dulany [about 12 miles up Valley River from Fort Butler], no Cherokees have yet been sent here from either of the other posts but I expect large bodies in a day or two ... [D] (Thus far the mentioned movements are local. The Cherokees were being gathered and concentrated at points along the Tennessee River down which they would have gone had it not been for the postponement.)

19 June 1838. -- Some 60 concerned citizens in and around Athens, Tennessee, including three physicians, sign a petition addressed to Gen. Scott to postpone the westward movement until September. About half of the names on the petition are identical with family names seen among the early Cherokee County settlers. [D]

19 June 1838. -- Col. Bynum sends his collection of Cherokees down to Fort Butler under escort of Capt. Cunningham. [A]

24 June 1838. -- Col Bynum, HQ Ft. Montgomery, 3rd Regiment North Carolina Volunteers to Gen. Eustis:

... Since I saw you yesterday when you announced to me your intention to discharge my regiment forthwith and stating at the same time that they would not in all probability be paid at the place of discharge ... Very few of them are in a situation to get home if they are turned loose at Franklin, North Carolina ... *I shall have all the companies at Franklin during the week...* My preference would be to march them to Asheville before they are discharged ... I do not believe the country between Franklin and Asheville can supply them ... Many of the men are sick ... [A]

24 June 1838. -- Gen. Eustis reports to Col. Worth, Chief of Staff:

... Captain Washington with Companies B and G, 4th Regiment Artillery, left here yesterday for the Cherokee Agency having in his charge about 1100 Indians ... 300 more will arrive here today from Cheowah, and in two days about the same number from Ft. Lindsay and Camp Scott. *The whole number of Indians, which have been collected in North Carolina is something more than 3000. A few are still hiding in the recesses of the mountains. A number of families have obtained permission from the Superintendent of Emigration, or his Agents, to remain and become citizens of North Carolina* ... It is my belief that in four or five days everything will have been done, which can be accomplished, by the troops in the district, and I hope by the 1st of July to have discharged the several companies to march to Franklin, to be mustered, and as soon as I hear from Col. Bynum I will inform you of the point most convenient for their payment ... [D]

Here we probably have the nearest approximation of the number of Cherokees removed from North Carolina and of the number of refugees from Scott's forces. The known total in 1835 of North Carolina Indians was 3,644. Between 1835 and 1838, an indeterminate number moved voluntarily to the west. Altogether Scott gathered up somewhere between 3,100 and 3,300. Indications are that at least an additional 200, or more, were granted exemption -- excluding those who were erroneously exempted by Preston Starrett. The mathematics of the removal is an unrewarding exercise.

27 June 1838. -- The War Department instructs General Scott that he is to have a free hand in making arrangements for the transportation of the Indians to the west. That if he deems it feasible, he may use the Indians themselves in the operation. [D]

29 June 1838. -- Gen Eustis, Ft. Butler, to HQ:

...I expect to be able on 2 July to send off the last detachment of North Carolina Indians (about 400) under the escort of a company of Tennessee Mounted Volunteers ... There is a large surplussage of bacon and flour which must be moved from this place to Calhoun ... I request all public wagons at the Agency may be sent here ... [D]



3 July 1838. -- Gen. Eustis, Ft. Butler, to Gen. Scott:

... Your last instructions to me to disregard permissions to the Indians to remain in the country unless signed by you, the Superintendent of Emigration, or myself, will bring in another considerable detachment. Mr. Preston Starritt, who signs himself Agent for Emigration has, as I have been informed granted permission to some hundreds of Indians to remain in the country. I send herewith eleven of those papers signed by him, and giving permission for 113 Indians to remain, which I took from the heads of families this afternoon ... Some time ago I personally cautioned Mr. Starritt that he was in my belief, exceeding the spirit if not the letter of his authority ... He has been for several days at Welch's on Valley River distributing permissions with a liberal hand to Indians coming from Fort Lindsay and Camp Scott under charge of the Volunteers ... [D]

4 July 1838. -- Gen Eustis to HQ:

... All North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia Volunteers and Militia, except Capt. Derrick's Company, have now left for their several stations and are on the march to the points at which they are to be mustered for discharge ... [D]

5 July 1838. -- Captain Connelly's Company turns in to the quartermaster their GI gear: 12 camp kettles, 24 mess pans, 4 axes, 3 spades -- not one camp kettle or mess pan is missing. [B]

9 July 1838. -- John Kennedy, Thomas W. Wilson and James Liddell, Commissioners, to Gen. Scott:

... Sir: We have received information that some of the Indian improvements in the State of North Carolina which have been sold by David McReynolds and Eli Sanderson, Agents appointed for the purpose, have since been wrested from the purchasers by individuals who profess to have previously purchased them from the Cherokees who owned them ... The scene of this alleged outrage is some 15 miles southeast of Fort Butler ... [D]

13 July 1838. -- Captain John Pope, Indian Agency, to Gen. Scott:

... Report on the number of Cherokees on hand: In the vicinity, 6853; that draw rations at Fort Payne, 800; at Ross' Landing, 2300; at Camp Ross, 2000; total, 11,953 ... The above statement is as correct as it is possible for me to make at this time ... [D] [Thus, on 13 July there were approximately 12,000 Cherokees on the banks of the Tennessee River awaiting shipment. Put that in the computer!]

14 July 1838. -- Preston Starritt [or Starrett] was appointed a deputy agent in North Carolina on 1 March 1837; he was fired 14 July 1838. [D] (He tried.)

15 July 1838. -- Major Vaughn, Fort Hembree [Hayesville NC], of the Tennessee Vols:

... I have to say in answer to your enquirer with regard to my having an interest in a store at this post, that at the time of the enquirer made by you: I had indirectly an interest in the store ... at least I had furnished one-third of a small capital and had placed my son in the establishment not being apprised that it was contrary to the regulations of the Army ... I have since examined the regulations and ... I have disposed of my interest that me and my son had ... and have sent my son home ... [D]

18 July 1838. -- Col. Lindsay to General Scott:

... To bring to your mind the case of the Indians who are confined in the penitentiary and jails of Georgia for various offences ... [D]

19 July 1838. Gen. Scott writes that two regiments (20 companies) of Georgia Volunteers were all discharged as of 14 July. [D]

21 July 1838. -- Sick Report from the Indian Camp near Ross' Landing, for the period 1-21 July, lists 10 died. It was indicated on 13 July that there were 2300 Indians in the camp [less than 5 per 1000].  
 ... They obstinately refused to take medicine ... They were all old persons and small children ... [D]

21 July 1838. -- Gen Eustis to Gen. Scott:  
 ... I am informed that the last party of North Carolina Cherokees, consisting of families detained by sickness, and by permission, amounting to 110 would be sent off from that post [Fort Butler] yesterday. *The duty assigned to the troops in North Carolina has thus been completed. The Militia volunteers have been discharged and the public supplies at the post have been disposed of. I have now the honor to report the 1st and 4th Regiments of Artillery disposable for any service to which you may think proper to assign them ...* [D] (\* Rejects from Starrett's largess)

The removal of the Cherokees from North Carolina was now virtually completed. It is very probable that less than 200 hundred Indians had illicitly evaded the removal operations. I have before me a small pamphlet labeled *New Dimensions in American History*, issued under the sponsorship of Amherst College, 1965, which contains the following summary of the foregoing events:

... In 1838 the Cherokees, rounded up by the United States Troops under General Scott, set out for their western home ... A small group were able to elude the law and the army and finally to gain a legal footing in a reservation in western North Carolina, where they have ever afterwards kept alive their ancient manners and customs ...

This statement is so patently inept that it scarce deserves comment, were it not for the fact that so many similar statements have been made by so many similar historians. Of the title one may paraphrase what was once said of the Holy Roman Empire, as relates to the excerpt, it is neither *new, dimensional nor history*. No mention of Oconaluftee Indians who were citizens of North Carolina and Cherokees who were exempt from removal -- who became the Eastern Band -- not living on a 'reservation' and not keeping alive their ancient manners and customs.

Another common error, of which I will have much to say, is to the effect that *a noble martyr by the name of Tsali won through personal sacrifice of his own life a reprieve for those Indians who managed to evade the army, through negotiations conducted by General Scott.*

I repeat, by the 21st of July 1838, the army had completed its task of removing the Cherokees from North Carolina. The militia volunteers (except those out of Tennessee) had been sent home. The regular army awaited orders to depart out of the State to other posts -- and while waiting, continued to round up any available strays. The Quallatown Indians and those given permission by Scott, Eustis and Smith remained safe and relatively secure in their homesteads and in their possessions. Any military action which followed is in the nature of a postscript, with no bearing on the removal. There was never a reservation at Cherokee, N.C. As a group they live on land owned by the group -- paid for primarily by their 'share' of funds deriving from the 1835 treaty. Legal possession did not become effective until after 1870. [Recommended: *Land of the North Carolina Cherokees* by Fred B. Bauer.]

22 July 1838. -- Medical Report, from Y. H. Jordan, Physician at the Middle Encampment, on the eastern fork of Moss Creek:

... There is at the present time something over 1600 North Carolina Indians, a considerable number of whom especially their children were sick with whooping cough and dysentery *before they left their homes* ... a considerable number of whom have died since they came here -- refusing to take medicine or have anything done for them.

... There is at this time between one and two hundred sick and complaining ... [D]

23 July 1838. -- John Ross and his associates propose that the per capita expense of removal be based on the calculation of one wagon and team and six riding horses being required for each group of fifteen persons ... [D]

27 July 1838. -- John Ross to General Scott:

*... To the conditions mentioned in your letter upon which you are willing to place the whole business of managing the emigration in our hands we are not disposed to object ... with this further understanding that we be allowed the entire months of September and October to get all our people in motion for the west ... [D]*

If the gentle reader has been looking forward to reading that the soldiers were prodding the poor Cherokees with their bayonets all the way to Arkansas -- forget it! The Cherokees had the contract to move themselves -- which they did!

28 July 1838. -- John Ross to Gen. Scott:

*... Certain persons styling themselves Agents are said to be now on the lines of the Encampments with the avowed purpose to gather up and sell off Cherokee Indian ponies, etc. ... The Cherokees can dispose of their own surplus property within their reach, themselves, during the period for their continuation in the several Encampments ... [D] (The 'encampments' were located on the Tennessee River.)*

31 July 1838. -- *Some of the Indians who had status -- i.e., had not been compelled to remove with the nation -- were employed to hunt out other Indians not so eligible, who were thought to be or were actually hiding out in the mountains. [D] (It is my belief, though I have no proof, that Euchella was so employed.)*

31 July 1838. -- Sick Report, from the Cherokee Indian Emigrants at the Cherokee Agency, commencing on the 23rd of May and ending 31 July 1838: The attending physician writes that generally he has little difficulty in persuading the Indians to take the necessary remedies. Among the more prevalent diseases and the number contracting, he lists: remittent fever, 11; 'diarhea', 60; dysentery, 100; wounds, 25; measles, 63; whooping cough, 40; dead, 6. He says he had under his charge three or four thousand Indians. [D]

17 July through 17 August 1838. -- Sick Report, from Camp Ross, for about 600 soul: 7 dead, seen by the physician; 9 dead, who were under the care of native doctors. That the Indians were still bathing the children in cold water to cure measles, etc. Reporting for the same period, for the Camp at Red Clay, 3 are listed as died. [D]

7 August 1838. -- Superintendent Nath. Smith to Gen. Scott:

*... Having just returned from accompanying two parties of Cherokee Emigrants [started prior to the postponement] ... [I] left the first party conducted by Lt. Whitely, which started from Ross' Landing on the 12th June, at Little Rock on the 6th July, and that 728 arrived there in good health, 11 having died on the way ... I returned and met Capt. Drane's party of about 800 at Waterloo, Alabama, which was 30 days traveling but little over 200 miles by land. Twenty-two deaths had occurred and a great many of them were sick ... I was told that between Waterloo and Little Rock, five died on the boat ... [D] (The total deaths reported here is 38 out of a population of 1538 -- around 25 per thousand.)*

18 August 1838. -- Messrs. N. A. Bryan, R. E. Clements, A. Anderson, and Pierce B. Anderson offer the Rosses \$40,000 for the exclusive control and privilege of carrying out the contract to emigrate the Cherokees. The offer was curtly refused -- by return mail. Evidently these business men knew as much about the Indian temperament as did the Indian historian, John Lawson.

22 August 1838. -- Lt. Scott to Captain R. Anderson, at Fort Cass:  
... On my arrival at this place [Welch's on Valley River] I found that the families of Welch, Morris and Watchucher had fled at daylight yesterday morning ... This flight I understand was caused by information communicated by Morris who I understand immediately after the arrest of Welsh, left Calhoun at 12 o'clock on one day and reached this place by 3 o'clock next morning. On learning these facts ... I caused Mrs. Welsh to send an express after her family telling them I would wait at their place four days for the arrival of the family and that if it did not reach here in time I should proceed to Calhoun with herself and slaves ... *I am told there is about 50 or 60 Indians with the Lufty Indians in Haywood County, North Carolina, and that they left this section within the last three or four months ...* [D]

I regret I am unable to shed some light on the situation discussed in Lt. Scott's report. A number of isolated facts stand out. Welsh has been arrested. He had throughout the whole period been opposed to the treaty. He had advised and had harbored refugee Indians. He had been exempted from the removal by Gen. Eustis. It is also a known fact that he and his family were never deported. The same is true for Morris and Watchucher. My guess is, that these individuals who had been active sympathizers were being pressured to support the roundup of the stubborn strays who were still at large.

3 September 1838. -- Lt. H. L. Scott reports that he has rounded up 59 Indians and 7 of Welch's slaves:

... I proceeded to Valley River with a detachment of soldiers, and on my arrival at Welch's I was informed by the Agents appointed to sell the Indian property in the district, that the families of the Welch, of Morris and Wat-Chu-cha had all fled the day before. Believing that pursuit would be useless, I caused Mrs. Welch to send a runner after them, while I employed my command during the next five days in scouring the country. The runner sent for Welch's family having returned without the family, and I having ascertained that Morris's family were living within 9 miles of Franklin, I dispatched Lt. H--- after them. He succeeded in capturing the whole family except one daughter of Morris's. Several of Mr. Ross's runners reported to me the same day that I arrived at Valley River, I informed them that I should be prepared to issue provisions at that place to all who came in within the next five days. On the fifth day a camp was formed near Welch's consisting of 59 Indians from the mountains. ... Two families are still within the mountains near Welch's. Between 30 and 40 others, I have been informed, are now near Fort Scott, they having been left there by the Volunteers, when they were discharged ... Others have been reported to me as being on the Iron Mountain in Tennessee, and some about Duck and Turtle Town, besides those I before reported to you as being at Lufty ... [D] (See above, 22 August)

3 September 1838. -- James Liddell and Thomas W. Wilson, Commissioners, to Gen. Scott:  
... In answer to complaints by Ross of failure to treat Indians fairly ... We cannot perceive that Mr. Ross, or any other individual Cherokee has the right to complain of the course pursued by us in relation to their claims. Valuing Agents have been in the field for more than two years, and we are yet kept in the service ... This Board has been sitting during the whole of that period for the purpose of receiving and adjudicating claims of every description ... Time after time the Commissioners have publicly addressed the Cherokees on the subject of their claims, and exhorted them to come forward and submit them for adjudication ... Mr. Ross ought to know that those claims for valuation, even if we were authorized to adjudicate them without the assistance of Valuing Agents, have not been presented to us in a shape that would authorize our acting on them -- the depositions or affirmations sustaining them have been made before individuals who are not recognized by the laws of the United States, or any of the States, or by the treaty as officers authorized to take depositions or affirmations, and consequently those depositions or affirmations thus taken, could not be received by the Department of War as vouchers to sustain our decisions ... [D]

3 October 1838. -- Lieut. C. H. Larned, Ft. Butler to Gen. Scott:

... I have this day succeeded in apprehending and bringing to this place 16 Indians after whom no less than four successive searches have been made ... after three weeks of the most arduous and fatiguing duty; traversing the country in every direction -- searching the mountains on foot in every point where the Indians could be heard of ... Thus far not one Indian has come in of his own accord ... I start tomorrow into that extensive bed of mountains at the head of Hanging Dog Creek in which, it is reported, about seventy Indians have taken refuge ... Lieut. Smith with ten men I have stationed at or near Oconelufti; a report received from him today informed me that about twenty Indians have been collected there ... [D]

11 October 1838. -- Lt. H. L. Scott to General Scott:

... I have the honor to report that in obedience to your instructions I proceeded on the route taken by the Emigrating Cherokees, for 80 miles, and the observations made by me while going and coming, are as follows: The first party crossed the Tennessee River at Blythes Ferry, consists of 850 Cherokees conducted by Mr. E. Hicks, a native. The march of this party through the country was perfectly orderly, and at the time I overtook them they were at McMinnville, five days march from Blythes Ferry. The second party was conducted by Mr. Colston, a native, and the march of his party through the country was characterized by the same orderly conduct, that distinguished the party that preceded him. This party at the time I passed them on my return was two days march from McMinnville. The greatest harmony and cheerfulness prevails in these two detachments, and with the exception of 4 deaths among the children they have met with no mishaps and encountered no difficulties on the route. In both parties they have established among themselves a species of Police Guard whose duties are to seize and promptly punish any offenders against good order; the interior management is therefore most excellent, and the facilities afforded them for removing are as ample as they can desire. Depots are established at convenient distances along the route and the means of transportation that they possess are as follows: The first party consisting of 850 persons has with it 46 wagons and 7 carryalls; the second party consisting of 700 persons has with it 40 wagons and 11 carryalls ... He concludes his report with the information that a third party six miles from Blythes Ferry is being readied for marching. [D]

Scott had suffered some criticism for having awarded the contract for removal to the Indians themselves, and doubtless was concerned that the operation should proceed smoothly.

15 October 1838. -- General Winfield Scott to G. R. Gilmer, Governor of Georgia:

... You inform me that many statements have been given to the public of the dissatisfaction of the Cherokees of the contract I made with their Chiefs for removing them, and add 'I take it for granted that the principal dissatisfaction has been on the part of disappointed speculators.' ... The conjecture is just, as far as it goes. Those who were expecting new jobs are exasperated. They now revenge themselves upon me through the newspapers ... A journal in Rome, Georgia, and another at McMinnville in Tennessee, are, I learn, the principal organs of the vindictive misrepresentation -- all of which can be traced to two persons officially connected in the civil department with the emigration ... The Cherokees, as is known, were divided into two political parties -- friends and opponents of the treaty. Of the former there were remaining east, in May last, about 500 souls; of the latter including 376 fugitive Creeks (the whole number found here, most of whom had long been domesticated with the Cherokees) a little more than 15,000. About 2,500 of the anti-treaty party were emigrated in June last, when on the 19th the movement was suspended, until the 1st of September, on account of the heat and the sickness of the season ... The Indians had already, with but very few exceptions, been collected by the troops, and I was further instructed to enter into arrangement with the Delegation (Mr. Ross and his colleagues) which placed the removal of the 12,500 immediately into their own hands

... The drought which commenced in July and continued until the end of September, caused the loss of a month ... Four detachments are now in march for the west ... all by land, 900 miles: for the rivers are yet very low ... [D]

31 October 1838. -- Lt. R. H. Graham, Kingston, to General Scott:

... I have succeeded in capturing 25 of the Indians, that I was sent in pursuit of, this side of the Clinch River and about 14-15 miles from this place ... I have been compelled to hire a wagon for them, as one of the old women is very sick, too sick I am afraid to travel. I shall remain yet myself, endeavoring to obtain some information about the remainder ... [D]

4 November 1838. -- Chief John Ross to General Scott:

... Sir: With much regret, I have this moment been informed by Major Anderson, your Aid-de-Camp, that the reported tragical act, has proved too true, in the death of two of your soldiers at the hands of certain individual Cherokee captives, under the charge of Lieut. Smith ... This melancholy affair, as I am informed took place at some point on the road from Valley River to this post -- as to the particulars which gave rise to it I am wholly uninformed -- but be they what they may, the act can only be viewed as one of those unfortunate individual occurrences which often take place among men of every nation, and for which the perpetrators alone can be held responsible to the laws of the land and to their Gods -- I am sure you will believe me when I tell you that I sincerely hope that the offenders may speedily receive their award at the bar of justice -- and that no effort shall be wanting on our part to carry on the orderly and peaceable Emigration which has commenced and is on the eve of being completed ... [D]

Whatever may have been Ross's private feelings, his letter puts the Tsali incident in its proper perspective. The following is Lt. Smith's version of what happened. I would presume that Smith put his best foot forward in telling his side of the story. One fact stands out clearly, despite the lack of reliable testimony regarding the precise details, two of the soldiers had been murdered in an act of senseless violence.

5 November 1838. -- Lt. Smith's account of the Tsali incident. [See Lt. Larned's letter of 3 October.]

... Agreeable to your instructions dated 17 September I repaired immediately to Oconolufte North Carolina for the purpose of collecting all Indians in that neighborhood belonging to the nation. After two weeks unsuccessful search at Oconolufte I started to South Carolina in pursuit of a number of Indians that had been reported to me to be in the vicinity of Picking [Pickens?]. I found a camp of sixteen, and brought them on to Oconolufte. On my return to that place I found orders for us to return home as soon as practicable ... [Had he obeyed these orders promptly we might never have had something called *Unto These Hills*.] ... On our way down the Little Tennessee River [which Featherstonhaugh called the 'Tennessee'] I heard of a party of Indians within a few miles of us and thinking it my duty to collect them if possible I proceeded in company with Mr. Thomas and three men to their camp, sending the other party on down the river in charge of a sergeant. I found but eight at their camp, but understanding that there were twenty belonging to the company, I concluded to stay with them until the next morning, hoping that they would all come in. I was however obliged to start with only twelve. This day I expected to overtake the other command, but was forced to stop at Joseph Welch's. There I found an express with a repetition of your previous orders. From thence I made my way with all possible speed down the river, ordering by express [How this was accomplished and by whom, he does not say], a portion of my men from the First Command to join me immediately. On the evening of the first, I discovered an unwillingness among the Indians to travel, and in order to make greater speed I put some of the children on horses, but it was with great difficulty that I could get them along. I suspected



that all was not right, and frequently cautioned the men to be on their guard. Shortly after sunset I discovered a long durk knife in the possession of one of the Indians, and I ordered it to be taken from him. He turned it over without any hesitation, and we proceeded but a short distance before I spied an axe which I also ordered to be taken from them, but I am sorry to say too late. For I had scarcely finished the order, before I saw the axe buried in the forehead of one of my men. This being the signal for the attack, the others fell to work and in less time than one minute they killed two [including the first] and wounded a third, and commenced searching them and carrying off any article they could lay their hands on. I fortunately escaped unhurt, and owe my life in a measure to the spirit and activity of my horse ... [D]

I am constrained to repeat an earlier statement that the only 'truth' we are left with is the truth of murder, in the first degree. Certainly Smith's behavior as related by himself reflects no credit on him or on the military: the man was mounted and had a sword -- if no other weapon -- yet he flies, leaving a wounded companion.

11 November 1838. -- Deposition of James McKaney [?] taken at Blythes Ferry:  
... I hereby certify that I have been acting as the principal clerk in Hildebrand's Detachment from the 10th day of August until the 11th day of November 1838 and I am the man who took the numbers, 1st and 2nd days of this month, which was 1440 Cherokees - 38 persons belonging to Peter Hildebrand and George Hildebrand's families also 72 wagoners also 63 Cherokees which came to our camp Tuesday the 6th day of the month which makes a total of 1613. And I do also certify that I know of no disposition or desertion by any Cherokees. But all appear to be willing to remove west -- nor do I know of any desertions since I commenced business in said detachment ... [D]

11 November 1838. -- Deposition of A. S. Parsons, Agent for the Contractor:  
... I hereby certify that I have been with Peter Hildebrand's detachment since the 15th of October & that I know of no Desertations of Cherokees in that time ... But entirely to the reverse, for there has followed on after the Detachment and joined it since it left Ocoa from 150 to 200 Cherokees from the mountains & elsewhere, they have been daily dropping in since the Detachment started ... [D]

11 November 1838. -- Deposition of William Carter, at Blythes Ferry:  
... It has been stated that I reported at the Agency that two or three hundred Cherokees of Hildebrand's and George Hicks' Detachment had deserted which is not correct for I never knew or heard of any Cherokees deserting until I went to the Agency a few days ago - Where it was rumored that some had deserted and I was asked about it afterwards and I merely stated what was the report there and I certify that I do not know of any Cherokees deserting or having any disposition to desert of any of the detachments and from the movements I have witnessed there is every reason to believe that all are going on well ... [D]

12 November 1838. -- The testimony set forth in the foregoing depositions was liberally supported by Gen. Scott's official observer. [D]

19 November 1838. -- Communication from HQ 4th Infantry, at Camp Scott, on the Little Tennessee River, Near Joseph Welsh's house:  
... Sir: I have the honor to report that I have captured (through the aid of Mr. Thomas, Euchella's band -- headed by himself -- and the Oconolufy Indians) two of the murderers of the soldiers ... The prisoners (murderers) are Nan-tay-a-lee John, the oldest son of Charley, and the Indian called Big George. These two men were the principal actors in the murder. I have also as prisoners, Old Charley's wife, the wife of George, and a little girl the daughter of George ... Euchella's Band and the Oconolufy Indians, about 40 in all, together with the mounted Company (I) of the 4th Regiment of Infantry, are in close pursuit of the remaining murderers ...

... I have every reason to believe I can close my trip into the mountains effectively within a few days ... [D]

30 November 1838. -- Capt. Page, Cherokee Agency, Tennessee, to Gen. Scott:  
 ... Sir: I have the honor to report Col. Foster's arrival yesterday. He captured the murderers (five in number, four of which were executed by the Lufty Indians and the fifth was pardoned), the families of the murderers (9 in number) were brought on as prisoners and I presume will accompany the Troops ... John Ross starts the Water Party on the 3rd of December ... and from that date there will be neither Troops or Indians at this place ... [D]

The 1835 Indian Census lists a *Charley*, and one only, in the vicinity of Nantahala, who had living with him two males above the age of 18, and three females. All were full-bloods, who could neither read nor write English nor Cherokee. This "Tsali" had 14 acres under cultivation, and owned two ponies. The younger son, Washington, was pardoned for his part in the affair by reason of his age.

Postscript. -- The foregoing items were selected from seven or eight hundred to a thousand documents examined in the course of preparing these notes. I am fully aware that they fall far short of telling a complete story. I had several objectives in view, and fell in with others as they came to my attention. First of all I hoped to make clear the distinction between the Oconoluftee Indians who were in 1838 citizens of North Carolina and did not come within the scope of Scott's operations. Further, I was convinced that the military people were throughout, far more considerate of the Cherokees than is commonly believed. It was necessary also to make the point that *the long march* was conducted by the Cherokees themselves -- that they were not prodded half way across the United States by soldiers armed with bayonets. All the data brought together here is a prelude to what I shall have to say later about James Mooney. I have found no evidence that Mooney had sound knowledge of the removal. As far as Tsali is concerned, he had nothing to do with the removal -- that far from being a hero, he met a fate appropriate to his deeds. Much of this matter will be more fully discussed in the chapter called *Literary Autopsies*. Beyond carping points, I was possessed of a desire to bring upon the stage as many characters as had, in my opinion, illuminating and meaningful lines to deliver.

## 6. Indian Arithmetic

How many Cherokees died en route to the West? How many died whose deaths can be directly attributed to the entire operation of removal? It is doubtful that even a close approximation is possible -- or that an accurate count, devoid of considerable qualification is requisite. In 1848, Charles Lanman, a romantic journalist, who got his information from W. H. Thomas (whose reliability is questionable), said 1,850. In 1900, James Mooney, a romantic scholar, who got his information from W. H. Thomas, said, *Not less than four thousand died as a direct result of the removal*. But by this date Thomas had been more than once institutionalized for mental incompetency. Even had Thomas been in full possession of his faculties, it is extremely doubtful that he had any reliable data on the subject to transmit to either Lanman or Mooney. The latter misquotes Charles C. Royce (cited by Mooney as an authority) from the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to the effect that the number who died *was in excess of 1,600*. Actually Royce made a qualified statement:

... The removal ... cost the lives of *perhaps ten percent of the total population* ... [P. 375]

Royce also stated that at the beginning of the year 1838, 2,103 Cherokees had been removed, of which 1,282 had been permitted to remove themselves. I have included



some medical reports, and statements made by Nath. Smith, Superintendent of the Emigration, bearing on the death rate among the Indians in transit. These spot counts are lower than what one might expect.

Counts were made at the beginning and termination of the trek, by US Military Officers [Page and Stevenson]. An 'official count' was made also by Chief Ross and his associates. The military counts differ, but they vary in a normal manner; Ross's count is consistently higher in each instance -- which had something to do I suppose with the per capita payment in accordance with the removal contract -- held by Ross and Company.

The tabulation which follows is from Emmet Starr's *History of the Cherokees*. Starr, a Cherokee, comes close to being the 'official historian' of the nation. Extrapolation in Starr's table in the cols. which show neither births nor deaths, yields a total of 613 deaths. This figure is possibly closer to the facts, but still far enough away to preclude acceptance. Whatever the correct figures are, it is plain that Mooney was simply making a wild guess. Guesswork is inexcusable in a historian whose word carried as much weight as did his. The reader should keep in mind that the death rate among all classes of people was then many times what it is today.

Before setting forth Starr's tabulation, I should point out that the accounting of Desertions and Accessions has been omitted, since these were in close parity. It is a safe assumption that some Indians moved from one detachment to another, for various reasons. Note that these figures do not include Scott's figure of 2,500 removed prior to the date when the Cherokees assumed the contract for removal. Those that Scott mentions were transported primarily by boat. Also, these figures do not include those that emigrated prior to the military occupancy.

GROUP NO.	START (PAGE)	TERMINAL (STEVENSON)	CHIEF ROSS	BIRTHS	DEATHS	STARTED	ARRIVED IN THE WEST	DAYS
1	710	654	729	9	54	28Aug38	17Jan1839	143
2	859	744	858	5	34	1Sept38	4Jan1839	126
3	846	898	950	6	38	3Sept38	27Feb1839	178
4	1079	1132	1200	3	33	28Sept38	11Jan1839	106
5	1205	1033	1250	5	71	7Sept38	2Feb1939	149
6	841	921	983	19	57	24Sept38	23Feb1839	153
7	1031	924	1035	6	48	20Sept38	2Mar1839	164
8	1120	970	1150	-	-	14Sept38	1Mar1839	162
9	745	717	850	3	34	10Sept38	5Mar1839	177
10	1031	1039	1118	-	-	7Sept38	14Mar1839	189
11	897	942	1029	15	55	20Sept38	24Mar1839	186
12	1449	1311	1766	-	-	23Oct38	25Mar1839	154
13	---	219	231	-	-	5Dec38	18Mar1839	104
TOTAL	10813	11494	13149	71	424			

One can play with these figures all day and be not one grain wiser. Note that Page's count plus the number of deaths accounted for is still several hundred less than Stevenson's terminal count.

There is not only the question of how many Cherokees died while they were moving themselves to the west -- there is doubt about any Cherokee statistics. It has been so frequently said that "more than a thousand Indians eluded Scott's army and hid out in the mountains" that it is not necessary to identify a source. Royce, in the 5th Report of the BAE, quotes from a letter dated 12 September 1839, from the

*Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of War:*

... Scattered through the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee, were many who fled to avoid removal, and who nearly a year later, were represented to number 1,046 ...

My guess is, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs also got his figures from W. H. Thomas. The figure 1,046 is probably very close to the total number of Cherokees in North Carolina -- if we assume there were six or seven hundred Qualla Indians and several hundred in Cherokee County that had been exempted from removal. If there were ever 1,000 Indians hid out in the mountains -- they stayed hid! Lanman reported (via Thomas) that there were 800 Quallas in 1848. The 1850 North Carolina Census lists 1,409 Indians.

As a final exercise in resolving the Indian arithmetic, I have gathered together a few estimates (or whatever they are) garnered from several sources, in the hope that an intelligent reader will be able to make more sense of the figures than I can.

NUMBER OF INDIANS

Emigrated prior to 1838 (Royce -- see above).....	2,103
Number sent west between 1 June and the postponement (see Scott's letter to Governor Gilmer , 15 October 1838).....	2,500
Indians arriving in the West under Ross's Contract (Ross count) .....	13,149
Number died during the long march (Starr's count) .....	(424)*
Granted exemption in Cherokee County (from Lanman) .....	200
Qualla Indians, counted in 1835 by Nath. Smith, Census Taker .....	400
Hid out in the mountains, 1839 (Royce: see preceding page) .....	1,046
Died as a result of the removal (James Mooney) .....	4,000
(* Not counted)	
	TOTAL
	23,398

The 1835 Census gave a total of 16,542, plus 400 Quallas.

Where did I go wrong? If Monsieur Moet were only here! We would soon get this matter straightened out!

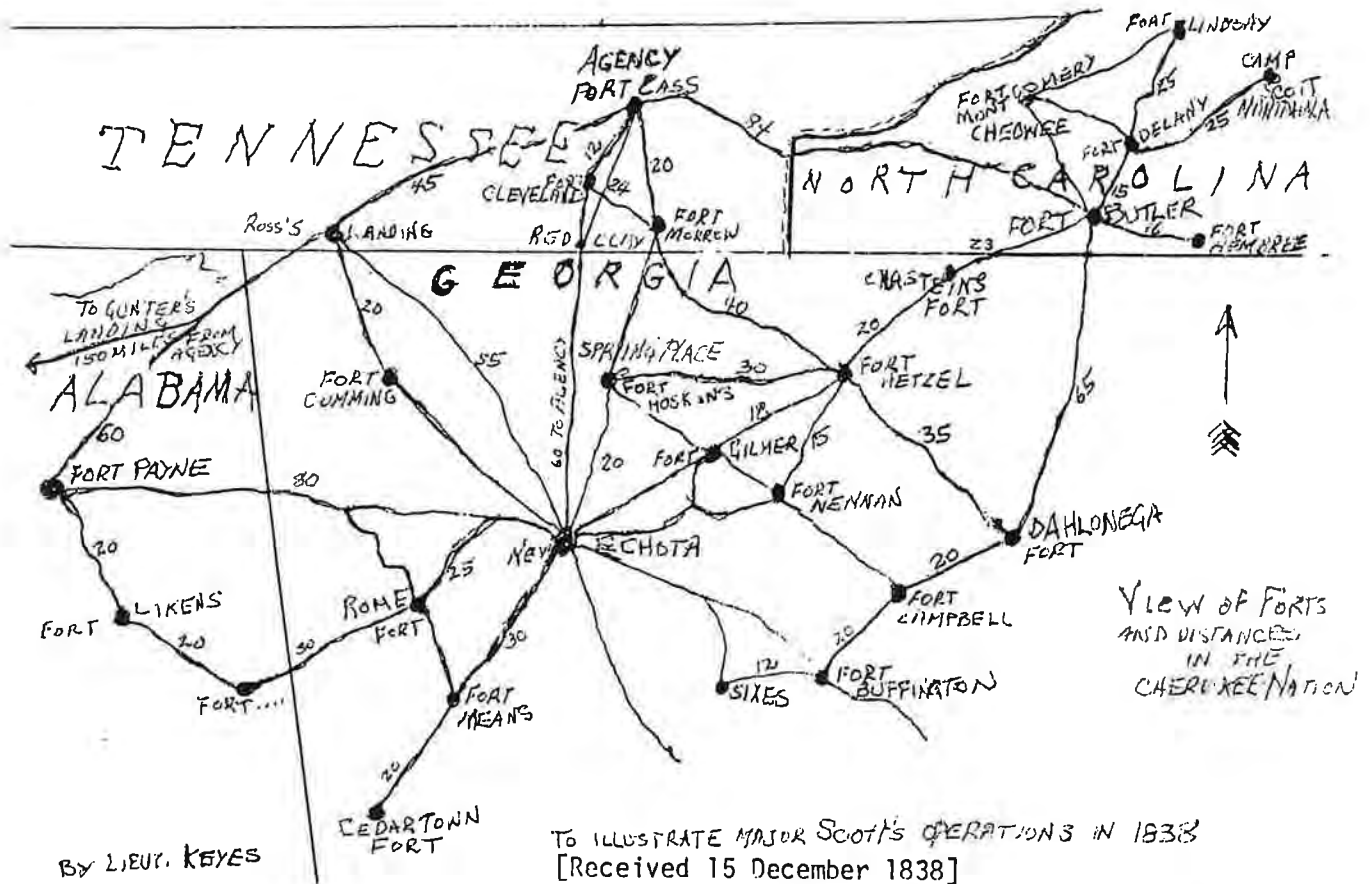
7. Sources

Code

- (A) -- William Preston Bynum Papers. Letters and Reports from Col. John Gray Bynum, in command of the North Carolina troops in the removal Campaign.
- (B) -- William L. Connelly Papers. Captain Connelly commanded a volunteer company from Burke County, N. C.
- (C) -- Chilib Smith Howe Papers, 1836-1838. United States Commissary Officer for the Cherokee country.
- (D) -- Records of the Quartermaster General's Office, Consolidated File, Record Group No. 92, U. S. National Archives.
- (D) -- Records of the United States Army Continental Command, Department of the East. Letters and other papers of General Winfield Scott relating to the Cherokees 1838. Record Group No. 393. National Archives.
- (E) -- United States Senate Document No. 120, 25th Congress, 2nd Session.
- Not Coded -- George Gilmer, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 1855. Gilmer was governor of Georgia 1829-1831 and 1837-1839.
- Not Coded -- Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia*. Savannah, 1907. Lumpkin was governor of Georgia 1831-1835.
- Other sources identified in the text.

8.

## FORTS ESTABLISHED IN THE COURSE OF GENERAL SCOTT'S OPERATIONS 1838



The original chart of which the map portion is 10" by 16" is in the National Archives, Record Group No. 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs CA 96. The document is badly worn along the creases and several distances and names are unreadable; notably the name of the fort at New Echota, which I believe was Fort Wool. The artist, Lt. Keyes, locates the fort at Red Clay in Tennessee. J. W. Powell (19th Annual Report of the BAE) places the Red Clay council ground in Whitfield County, Georgia, adjoining the Tennessee line.\* Ross's Landing was at the present city of Chattanooga; it was named for Lewis Ross (brother of Chief John Ross) who kept a store there. Gunter's Landing, also on the Tennessee River, was named for a mixed-blood Cherokee; it was located at the present Guntersville, in Marshall County, Alabama. New Echota, the capital of the Nation for some years before the removal was located at the junction of the Oostanaula and Conasauga rivers in Gordon County, Georgia.

\* Atlas makers prefer to put Red Clay in Georgia.

## I

In 1835, North Carolina was divided into military districts. In the counties, with some exceptions, all male citizens to the age of fifty-five were required to be a member of a militia company. Normally these companies met quarterly for drill, muster, inspection, etc. Officers were elected by ballot. In the case of volunteer companies, age, equipment, willingness to serve the officers who formed the company, were the chief criteria for the composition of a company. Volunteer companies were formed as the need arose.

On 7 April 1838, General Winfield Scott informed his superiors:

*... I shall probably call for the following detachments of Militia to rendezvous at the places mentioned. Two regiments or 1840 Georgians to rendezvous at New Echota; one regiment of 740 Alabamians to rendezvous at Belfont; one regiment of 740 North Carolinians to rendezvous at Franklin, N. C. One regiment of 740 Tennesseans to rendezvous at Ross' Landing -- 3700 plus 2200 regulars ... Subsistence for the fore-going troops at the places mentioned, will be required for at least 90 days, commencing about the middle of May ...*

On 3 May 1838, the Governor of North Carolina wrote:

*... The adjutant General has this morning reported to the Department, that the regiment of detached Militia for the service of the United States is composed of all Volunteers as follows, from Rutherford three companies, Wilkes two, Yancey one, Burke three, and Buncombe one, makes ten. You will learn by my letter of the 28th that a company has already been received by Col. Lindsay, and a company has also been offered from Ashe, from whence none were asked or ordered ... Col. Lindsay was positive in his exception to receiving troops from counties contiguous to the Cherokee district, consequently the order was placed to the next adjoining and most convenient counties to reduce the distance to march ...*

In the end, North Carolina furnished thirteen volunteer companies, composed of approximately 824 men and 173 officers. The indexed list of participating soldiers which follows is keyed to the following companies, listed in the name of the commanding officers, who were all captains:

A - Enoch Cunningham	E - Isaac Hicks	J - John J. Bryan
B - James W. Killian	F - Thomas M. Angel	& William W. Peden
C - W. L. Connelley	G - Albert O. Irvine	K - William D. Jones
D - Elisha Miller	H - Marcus O. Dickerson	L - Isaac Truitt
	I - James Horton	M - Nathaniel Kelsey

Above thirty of the soldiers whose names appear on the roster can be identified as participants in the 1838 land sale at Franklin; of the approximate 600 family names represented, about half appear in the Cherokee County records in during the period 1838-1860.

ABLE, John M(K)		
ADAMS, John(I)	ALLEN, Nathan O(M)	ANDERSON, Levi(B)
Riley(I)	Nathaniel(M)	ANGEL, John(F)
ATKINS, Samuel(Mus)(C)	Robert W(B)	Martin(M)
ALEXANDER, Aaron F(A)	ALLEY, John(H)	Thomas M(Capt)(F)
John F(K)	ALLISON, Jesse(I)	ARMS, John(J)
Josiah(B)	Posey(E)	ARMSTRONG, Meridith(J)
ALLEN, Benjamin(M)	Samuel(B)	ARWOOD, John(E)
Griffin(B)	Thomas(E)	ASHE, David(L)
Joseph P(M)	ALNEY, Burgin(1Lt)(E)	ASHLEY, Stephen(K)
	ANDERS, Levi(A)	

ASKEW, Josiah W(K)  
 ATKINS, Benj (2Corp) (B)  
 AUSTIN, Jesse (D)  
 BAHELER, John (G)  
 BAILEY, James (E)  
 BAIRD, Finley (D)  
 BAKER, Henry (H)  
 BALDWIN, Eli (D)  
     John (D)  
 BALLARD, Thomas (H)  
 BALLEW, George (F)  
     Israel J (4Sgt) (A)  
     James (C)  
     Joseph (H)  
     William (H)  
     William A (I)  
 BALLOO, Washington (D)  
 BANK, Robert W (A)  
 BANKS, Andrew (2Corp) (M)  
     Joseph (Mus) (A)  
     William (Mus) (A)  
     William B (M)  
 BARKLEY, Alfred (H)  
 BARLOW, Larkin (I)  
 BARNES, Andrew (F)  
     Geo. W (Sgt) (D)  
 BARNES, James (M)  
 BARNHILL, William (A)  
 BARRINGTON, Aaron (I)  
 BARTON, Larkin (I)  
 BASEMAN/BOSEMAN, I. D. (C)  
 BASSET, William P (A)  
 BATES, J. P. (M)  
 BAXTER, David (Ensign) (G)  
 BEACH, Allen (I)  
 BEAM, David (H)  
 BEAN, George L (I)  
 BEAUGOSS, Reuben (J)  
     Samuel J (Corp) (J)  
 BEAVER, J. R. (F)  
 BECK, Alexander (B)  
 BEDFORD, Edward (G)  
     John H (G)  
 BELL, Jesse R (A)  
 BENFIELD, Thomas (C)  
 BENNETT, Thomas (J)  
 BERRONG, Henry B (B)  
 BERRY, Elisha (C)  
 BESS, Decatur (J)  
 BINGHAM, James (H)  
 BIRD, Francis A (E)  
 BLACK, James (K)  
 BLANTON, Jas. (Sgt Maj)  
     Josiah (G)  
     Ransom (G)  
     Thos. J (4Sgt) (G)  
 BLANTON, William (G)  
     William I (G)  
 BOND, Travis (K)  
 BOON, Jeremiah (M)  
 BOWER, John (I)  
 BRADY, Joseph D (H)  
 BRADFORD, Hosea (2Lt) (D)  
 BRADLEY, Absalon (F)  
     Jackson (F)  
 BRADSHAW, William (D)  
 BRIGHT, Aaron (E)  
 BRITTAIN, A. H (A)  
     Henry (Sgt) (C)  
     James (C)  
 BROOKS, Meredith (I)  
 BROOKSHEAR, Joseph (A)  
 BROCKSON/BRACKSON, Alfred (J)  
 BROWN, Alfred (M)  
     Allen (F)  
     Amos (M)  
     Benj. (Corp) (D)  
     Burton (I)  
     David (L)  
     Edwin (K)  
     Hugh (M)  
     John (2Corp) (F)  
     John (4Corp) (K)  
     Merrill (E)  
     William (1Sgt) (F)  
     William (F)  
 BRYAN, John J (Lt Col) (Regt)  
     Zachariah (A)  
 BRYSON, Goldman (M)  
     James H (M)  
     James W (B)  
     William (1Corp) (F)  
 BUFF, Martin (A)  
 BUMGARNER, Amos (2Sgt) (I)  
     Charles (M)  
 BURGESS, Joseph (E)  
 BURGIS, Alney (1Lt) (E)  
     Cornet (F)  
 BURGIN, Jesse (1Sgt) (E)  
     Josiah (E)  
 BURLESON, Aaron (M)  
     Thomas (M)  
 BURNETT, Berry (E)  
     Enoch (L)  
     James (A)  
 BURNEY, James (A)  
 BUSH, John A (D)  
     Richard (D)  
 BUTLER, H. A. (C)  
     James D (2Sgt) (H)  
 BYERS, David (A)  
 BYNUM, John Gray (Col) (Regt)  
 CALLOWAY, Berry (M)  
 CALLOWAY, Carey (I)  
     James (Surg) (Regt)  
 CANCELLER, John (L)  
 CANCELLER, James (F)  
 CANIPE, David (G)  
 CANON, Riley H (K)  
     William H (K)  
 CARON, James (B)  
 CARROLL, Daniel (Mus) (F)  
 CARSON, Oliver (Ensign) (H)  
     William J (M)  
 CARVER, Israel (E)  
 CASE, William B (Ensign) (K)  
 CASPENING, Monroe (D)  
 CASS, Richard (J)  
     William (J)  
 CASTLE, Samuel (J)  
 CHAMPION, Abner (Mus) (B)  
     Hezekiah (B)  
 CHASTINE, Edward (F)  
     John (F)  
 CHEATHAM, James (J)  
 CHURCH, John (I)  
 CLARK, Absalom (E)  
     Calvin (D)  
     John (A)  
     Robert (F)  
     William M (A)  
 CLARKE, James (F)  
 CLATON, George (B)  
     James (F)  
     Thomas D (B)  
 CLEVELAND, Robert H (J)  
 CLINE, Daniel (M)  
     David N (L)  
     Jesse A (M)  
 CLINGMAN, Henry P (Sgt) (I)  
 CLOUD, John K (H)  
 CLOUT, Jacob (D)  
 COCHRAN, Moses (K)  
     Nathaniel (Mus) (K)  
     William (H)  
 COFFEY, Elijah (Corp) (I)  
     Robert (I)  
     William (Drum Maj)  
 COLBERT, John (H)  
     Thomas A (H)  
 COLEMAN, Mark (L)  
 COLLINS, Adolphus (M)  
     John (G)  
     William (D)  
     William W (M)  
 COLVARD, Calvin A (L)  
     James (L)

CONLEY, John (L)  
     William (Bug) (L)  
 CONNELLY, W. L. (Capt) (C)  
 CONSTANT, William (H)  
 CONWAY, R. C. (C)  
 COOK, David (C)  
     James (K)  
     John (G)  
     Thomas (B)  
 COON, John (D)  
 COOPER, Cornelius (4Sgt) (L)  
     Joseph (D)  
 COPE, Henry (I)  
 COPPY, Joshua (D)  
 CORNETT, Andrew (F)  
     Collins (F)  
 CORPENING, W. C. (C)  
 COUCH, Othneil (H)  
 COULY, Israel P (D)  
 COURTNEY, Joseph (D)  
 COVINGTON, Harvey (H)  
 COWARD, Benj (M)  
     George (F)  
     Nathan (M)  
     Peter (H)  
 COX, Andrew (I)  
 CRAIG, David C (K)  
 CRANE, James (B)  
 CREASMAN, Adam (A)  
     John (A)  
     Wallace (A)  
 CREWS, Wm. B (L)  
 CRIDER, Jacob (C)  
 CRISP, Bennett (F)  
     Joel (D)  
     John (D)  
     John W (L)  
     Leroy (D)  
     Madison (D)  
     William (L)  
 CROSS, Elijah (F)  
 CRUNKLETON, I (C)  
 CRYSTE, John B (J)  
 CUNNINGHAM, Enoch (Capt) (A)  
     Robert (F)  
 CUTHBERTSON, J. W (E)  
 DALA/DOLA/DULA, Alfred (I)  
 DANCY, Thos. J (J)  
 DAVIDSON, Albert C (2Corp) (A)  
     William F (2Lt) (A)  
 DAVIS, Daniel (K)  
     Elias (E)  
     John (L)  
     Matthew (A)  
     Robert T (K)  
     Wiley (C)  
     Wm. (4Corp) (A)

DEATON, John (Ensign) (F)  
 DEAVER, Harvey B (A)  
 DEDMAN, Sylvanus (1Corp) (H)  
 DEHART, Morton (L)  
 DELOSIER, Edward (H)  
 DENTON, William (C)  
 DEPRIEST, (H)  
 DESHAM, John (J)  
 DICKERSON, Chas. (H)  
     Marcus O (Capt) (H)  
 DICKEY, Geo. W (L)  
     John (1Lt) (L)  
 DICKSON, Charles (Regt Adj) (H)  
     James F (1Lt) (D)  
     Robert M (D)  
 DIMSDALE, Riley (H)  
 DISHMAN, John (J)  
 DOBBINS, Fielding (G)  
 DOBSON, Robert (H)  
 DOCKERY, James I (I)  
     John (D)  
 DOGEN, Aaron (A)  
     Hiram (A)  
 DOGGETT/DAGGET, Peter (H)  
 DORSET, William (D)  
 DOTY, Jesse (G)  
 DOVER, Ryall (A)  
 DRANIN, James (L)  
 DRENNEN, James (A)  
 DUCKETT, Benj. C (K)  
     Jacob (K)  
     Jesse N (K)  
     Thomas O (K)  
     Wesley (K)  
 DUCKWORTH, David (C)  
 DUNCAN, (1Corp) (E)  
 DUNN, Samuel (2Sgt) (G)  
     Simon (B)  
 EARNEST, Stephen L/S (C)  
 EDNEY, Govan P (H)  
 EDWARDS, John D (A)  
     Milton F (K)  
     William (K)  
     William R (A)  
 ELDER, Benjamin (M)  
     William R (M)  
     Willis (E)  
 ELLEN, John (G)  
 ELIOT, Edward D (H)  
     Thomas F (G)  
 ELLIOTT, Wm. (C)  
 ELLIS, James L. F (L)  
 ENDSLEY/ENSLEY, Logan (L)  
     Robert (L)  
 ENGLAND, Joseph (E)  
 ENGLISH, David J (E)  
 ENLOE, B. M (M)

ERWIN, Eli B (B)  
     James (Sgt) (B)  
     Thomas (E)  
     William (C)  
 EVINGTON, James (H)  
     Peter (H) ?  
 FANNON, John (K)  
 FELMET, Grun (M)  
 FERGUSAON, Joseph (M)  
     William (M)  
 FINCANNON, Isaac (Mus) (D)  
 FINLEY, James (E)  
     John F (Ensign) (J)  
     William (E)  
 FISH, John (K)  
 FLEMMING, John (E)  
     John (Sgt) (C)  
 FLETCHER, James M (Mus) (B)  
     Reuben (2Lt) (F)  
 FLINN, William (H)  
 FORTUNE, Hiram (B)  
 FOSTER, Benj. F (Corp) (A)  
     Henry P (H)  
     Newton M (Sgt) (A)  
     William C (Sgt) (A)  
 FOUTS, William P (L)  
 FOWLER, Jacob W (C)  
 FRADY, Andrew (E)  
 FRAMELL, Jesse (B)  
 FRANCIS, John (G)  
 FRANKLIN, Abraham (C)  
     Bentley (K)  
     James H (B)  
 FREEMAN, Hugh L (A)  
     Morton (H)  
     Reuben (D)  
 FRENCH, John (H)  
 GALIEN, Amos (L)  
 GALLOWAY, John C (B)  
     Simon R (B)  
     Thomas H (B)  
     William J (B)  
 GAMBILL, Samuel J (J)  
 GAMBLE, John (M)  
 GARLAND, Gutteridge (3Corp) (M)  
     J. W (2Lt) (M)  
 GARMAN, W. H (K)  
 GARRISON, Joseph (C)  
     J. H (C)  
     Solomon (C)  
 GARRON, Absalon (A)  
     George W (A)  
     Jordan (A)  
     Joseph (B)  
 GERALD, Daniel (G)  
 GETTYS, James H (G)  
 GIBBS, Andrew J (H)

GIBBS, Henry (3Corp) (H)  
     J. B. (C)  
     John W(L)  
 GIBBY, Andrew (F)  
 GIBSON, Isaac (M)  
     John (G)  
 GILHAM, Charles (H)  
 GILLESPIE, G. W (E)  
 GILLIAND, James (C)  
     Wilson (C)  
 GILREATH, Lorenzo D (J)  
 GLASS, Alexander (C)  
     F. B. (C)  
     George (C)  
     Henry (E)  
     John (C)  
 GLAZNER, Simon B (B)  
 GLOVER, Adam (H)  
 GOLDSMITH, William (A)  
 GOODE, George (G)  
 GRAGG, Nelson (K)  
 GRANT, Charles (L)  
     David G (I)  
 GRAVES, Stephen (F)  
 GRAY, Samuel (H)  
 GREEN, Alfred H (E)  
     David G (I)  
     James (J)  
     Thomas (J)  
     William (G)  
 GREENWAY, Hamilton (D)  
 GREENWOOD, Alfred (Corp) (L)  
 GREGG, Banister (G)  
 GREGORY, Hiram (J)  
 GROSE/GROSS, Andrew (H)  
     Hoyle T (H)  
 GUDGER, Joseph J (K)  
 GUTHRIE, James (A)  
 HAIR, Thomas P (L)  
 HALFORD, David (A)  
 HALLFORD, Jonathan (A)  
 HALL, Alfred (2Lt) (L)  
     Andrew (J)  
     Robert (F)  
     William (M)  
 HAMBLIN/HAMLIN, John R (B)  
 HAMILTON, Robert (H)  
     William O (B)  
 HAMMER, Joseph B (F)  
 HAMPTON, George W (A)  
     Henry C (J)  
     Johnson (J)  
 HANEY, Charles (4Corp) (E)  
     Joseph (K)  
     Timothy (G)  
 HANNAH, John (C)  
 HANNER, James (F)

HANNON, William (H)  
 HARDIN, John C (G)  
     Richard (G)  
 HARRAL, Drury (1Sgt) (G)  
     John (G)  
 HARRIS, Archibald (E)  
     Edward (Mus) (I)  
     James (E)  
     James (M)  
     Max (M)  
     Hyde H (L)  
 HAWK, John W (C)  
 HAWKINS, Abner (F)  
     Daniel (C)  
     I. S. (C)  
     James F (H)  
 HAWKINS, William (E)  
 HAYES, Andrew (D)  
     George W (2Sgt) (L)  
     Gilley F (Sgt) (D)  
     Thomas J (I)  
 HEDGECOCK, Minter (M)  
 HEFNER, Anthony (B)  
     Peter (B)  
 HERMAN/HEMAN, Isaac (3Sgt) (E)  
 HICKS, Daniel (C)  
     Isaac (Capt) (E)  
 HIGDON, Eliazer (M)  
 HILL, Carson (H)  
     Joseph (E)  
     Michael (E)  
     Richmond (E)  
     Stanhope W (3Sgt) (H)  
 HILLIARD, Simon (E)  
 HODGE, George (C)  
 HOGUE/HOME, Lewis (M)  
 HOLLOWAY, William (J)  
 HOOD, James M (B)  
 HORN, Hamlin (G)  
 \*HORTON, James C (Capt) (I)  
 HOULK/HOUP, Thos. (K)  
 HOWARD, Wesley (J)  
 HOWELL, Geo. W (K)  
 HOYLE, Eli (C)  
     Henry (G)  
     William (G)  
 HUDGINS, Wm. (H)  
 HUDSON, Noah (C)  
     William (C)  
 HUFFMAN, Nicholas (C)  
 HUGGUN, J. H (F)  
 HUGHES, John (Mus) (F)  
 HUMPHREY, Brooksheare (Mus) (K)  
     Young (I)  
 HUMPHRIES, Green B (4Sgt) (G)  
 HUNTER, Philip (A)  
 HUTCHINSON, John (H)  
 \*HORTON, William L (I)

HYATT, Peter G (A)  
 HYDE, Reuben (M)  
 INGLE, Andrew (K)  
     John (A)  
 INGRAM, William (M)  
 IRVINE, Abraham S (G)  
     Albert O (Capt) (G)  
 ISENHOWER, David M (C)  
 ISRAEL, Pleasant (A)  
 JACKSON, Ambros (H)  
     Hartwell (J)  
     Jeremiah (H)  
 JAMES, Benjamin (F)  
 JAMISON, Samuel (K)  
 JARRETT, John (2Corp) (E)  
 JENKINS, Joras (F)  
 JOHNSTON, B. D (E)  
     Daniel (F)  
     Enoch (G)  
     James (J)  
     Jesse (J)  
     John S (J)  
     [Robert (B) ?]  
     William B (Corp) (J)  
     Wm. J (Corp) (B)  
 JOICE, Robert (Corp) (K)  
 JOLLY, Lewis (G)  
 JONES, Alexander (1Corp) (K)  
     Elias (Sgt) (K)  
     Calvin C (1Lt) (I)  
     Henderson (M)  
     Hosea (L)  
     Hugh E (I)  
     Jackson (A)  
     Riley (K)  
     Thomas W (Sgt) (K)  
     William (M)  
     William D (Capt) (K)  
     William S (J)  
 JOPLIN, Benjamin (D)  
     James (D)  
 Justice, Eli (D)  
     Joseph (E)  
     Robert (E)  
 KEENER, J. M (Sgt) (F)  
 KELSEY, Nathaniel (Capt) (M)  
 KENDRICKS, David G (I)  
 KENNEDY, John (J)  
 KERBY, Smith (F)  
 KERR, David D (H)  
 KILBY, Abraham (J)  
     James (J)  
     John B (J)  
     Reuben W (Corp) (J)  
     Killian, James W (Capt) (B)  
     Leander (L)



KILLIAN, William B(1Lt) (A)  
     William W(L)  
 KILPATRICK, Allen D(4Corp) (H)  
     Baley J(L)  
     Drewry(L)  
     Felix(L)  
     Madison(2Corp) (H)  
     Nimrod(H)  
 KINCAID, E. P(Corp) (C)  
     James M(C)  
 KING, Jonathan(K)  
     Joseph(Sgt) (B)  
     Lawson(Sgt) (K)  
     Marcus(C)  
     Robert(H)  
 KIRBY, Squire(I)  
 KIRKLAND, James(L)  
     John(L)  
 KITCHENS, John(B)  
 KNIGHT, Levy(F)  
 LAMBERT, Thos. O(M)  
 LAWLESS, G. W(M)  
 LAWS, John(J)  
 LEATHERWOOD, Jackson(M)  
     Samuel(M)  
     Samuel(L)  
 LEDBETTER, Wiley(F)  
 LEDFORD, John M(M)  
     William C(3Sgt) (M)  
 LEFEVERS, Thomas(I)  
 LEGON, Joseph A(B)  
 LEOPARD, John(I)  
 LINDSAY, George(F)  
     Jacob R(L)  
 LINN, James(C)  
 LIVINGSTON, Lindsay(I)  
 LOFTIS, Reuben(B)  
 LONG, Drury(E)  
     James(Mus) (E)  
 LOVELACE/LAWLESS, Green(G)  
 LOW/LOWE, Nathan(F)  
 LOWERY, David R(Maj) (Regt)  
 LOYAL, David(J)  
 LUTHER, Solomon(K)  
 LYDAY, Adam(B)  
     James W(B)  
 LYNCH, Elias M(H)  
 LYNN, James(C)  
 LYONS, James C(B)  
 LYTLE, James P(A)  
 McAMISH, C. P(M)  
 McCALL, Henry(D)  
 McCARSON, David(B)  
 McCOMBS, Milton A(G)  
 McCOY, David(M)  
     Martin(2Corp) (F)  
 McCLATCHEY, Samuel(A)

McCRARY, Frederick(D)  
 McCREARY, James(D)  
 McDANIEL, James(F)  
 McDAVIS, Rise(D)  
 McDOWELL, Joseph(Mate) (Regt)  
 McELRATH, David(C)  
 McENTIRE, Abner G(4Sgt) (H)  
     Richard(G)  
 McFALLS, A. B(E)  
     John(Sgt) (C)  
 McFARLAND, John(M)  
 McFEE, Jason(K)  
     John(2Corp) (K)  
     Wm. F(2Lt) (F)  
 McGALLARD, Thos(3Corp) (C)  
 McGEE, Burton(I)  
 McGINNIS, William(I)  
 McKAY, John I(B)  
     John W(B)  
     William(B)  
 McKINNEY, Albert(F)  
     George W(4Sgt) (H)  
 McKINSEY, Alexander(E)  
 McLEOD, Wm.(Corp) (D)  
 McMAHON, Archibald(M)  
 McMAHAN, Wilson(Mus) (M)  
 McMURRAY, Wm. S(G)  
 McNEAL, Wm. (4Sgt) (M)  
 McPETERS, Charles(M)  
     John(C)  
 McREA, Alexander H(A)  
 MACE/MASE, James(M)  
 MACRAY, John I(B)  
     William(B)  
 MACKAY, John W(4Sgt) (B)  
 MALTHERA, Thomas(I)  
 MARLOW, John(I)  
 MARTIN, Benjamin(J)  
     James(J)  
     John(3Sgt) (J)  
     Nathan G(J)  
     Riley(L)  
     Thomas(4Sgt) (J)  
     Zadoc(E)  
 MASHBURN, G. L(2Sgt) (F)  
     Charles(D)  
 MASTIN, John(Sgt) (J)  
     Thomas(4Sgt) (J)  
 MATHIS, John(G)  
 MATTHEWS, Isaac(D)  
 MAYSON, John(F)  
 MEACE, Gabriel(K)  
 MELTON, John N(A)  
 MERRILL, Lytle(3Sgt) (A)  
 MESSER, Solomon(M)  
 MILLARD, WILLIAM(H)

MILLER, Elisha(Capt) (D)  
     Horation N(D)  
     Thomas P(1Lt) (B)  
     William(J)  
     William H(QM) (Regt)  
 MILLSAPS, R. J(J)  
     Blackburn(F)  
 MINGUS, John(M)  
     Lawson A(M)  
 MITCHELL, John(D)  
     Lawson(M)  
     William(D)  
 MONTGOMERY, John(D)  
 MOOD, John W(G)  
 MOODY, Lewis(D)  
     James(M)  
     John H(M)  
 MOORE, Richard(D)  
     James(2Corp) (C)  
     William H(B)  
 MORELAND, I.D(F)  
     William(D)  
 MORGAN, George(F)  
     Jordan(B)  
     Lewis(K)  
     Solomon(B)  
     Theophilus(I)  
 MORRELL, Jonathan(A)  
 MORRIS, James(H)  
 MORRISON, Archibald(F)  
 MORROW, Franklin(E)  
     Henry S(L)  
     William W(L)  
 MOSELY, James(C)  
 MULLIS/MULICE, John(I)  
     William R(I)  
 MURRAY, William P(B)  
     William S(A)  
 NATIONS, Spencer(M)  
 NEAL, Jasper(E)  
 NELSON, Hugh(I)  
     Joel(D)  
     John(D)  
     Marshall(D)  
 NEWTON, Benjamin(G)  
 NICHOLSON, Lazarus(J)  
     Leander(B)  
 NOBLET, John(E)  
 ORR, Farmer(B)  
     William F(B)  
 OUNGER, Joshua(Mus) (E)  
 OWENS, James(B)  
 OWENSBY, Ambrose(H)  
     Jonathan(H)  
     Robert L(A)  
 OXFORD, Adam(Sgt) (D)  
     Elisha(D)



OXFORD, Isaac (D)  
 PACE, Leander (1Sgt) (H)  
     Stephen L (1Lt) (M)  
 PAINE, Uriah (I)  
 PALMER, George (D)  
     N. H (1Sgt) (F)  
 PANTHER, Felix (L)  
     Jacob (L)  
     John (L)  
     John S (H)  
 PARIS, Nathan (K)  
 PARKER, Thomas (C)  
     Willis (L)  
 PARSON, James (I)  
 PARTON, Madison (1Sgt) (L)  
 PATTERSON, James W (M)  
     John R (M)  
 PATTON, Eliazer (Ensign) (B)  
     Joseph J (3Sgt) (B)  
     Robert (A)  
 PAXTON, Charles M (B)  
 PAYNE, Nathaniel S (Fifer)  
 PEAK, J. W (M)  
 PEARCY, Israel (D)  
 PEARSON, Ambros (I)  
     I. A (2Lt) (C)  
     Michael (C)  
 PEDEN, Wm. W (Capt) (J)  
 PENLAND, Charles D (2Lt) (K)  
     Marcus L (A)  
 PENNEL, Moses (D)  
 PERKINS, William (J)  
 PEYTON, John (J)  
 PHIPPS, Abner (A)  
     Ezekial (1Sgt) (M)  
 PHILLIPS, Peter (I)  
     Philip (B)  
 PIPES, Thomas (I)  
 PLEMMONS, William (K)  
 PLESS, Josiah (Mus) (C)  
 POINDEXTER, Evans (L)  
     Francis (L)  
 POWELL, Urban (C)  
     Smith H (D)  
 PORCH, Hue (D)  
 PRATT, Elisha (Mus) (J)  
 PRESSLEY, Adam (A)  
     William (A)  
 PRESSWOOD, William (A)  
 PRESTWOOD, Wm. T (D)  
 PRICE, Philip (K)  
 PRICHARD, Edley (L)  
     James C (L)  
 PRICHET, Aaron (H)  
 PRIVETT, Wm. (A)  
 PROFFIT, Morton (I)  
 PRUET, George W (H)

PUETT, I. W (Sgt) (C)  
     James A (C)  
 QUEEN, Henry (F)  
 QUINN, B. A (M)  
 RAMSEY, John (L)  
 RANDALL, William (G)  
 RATCLIFFE, James (K)  
 RAY, Amos L (1Corp) (M)  
     Joseph (M)  
     John W (M)  
 READ, Barton (D)  
 REDDICK, William (F)  
 REEVES, Edwin B (C)  
 REDMAN, Joseph A (M)  
 REYNOLDS, Aaron (K)  
     Francis (I)  
     Daniel (Ensign) (A)  
 RHODES, Balsar (A)  
 RICE, James O (A)  
 RICHARDS, Eli (1Sgt) (J)  
     James (I)  
 RICHARDSON, Alfred (H)  
     William C (H)  
 RICKETS, William (K)  
 RIDINGS, Kinson (H)  
 RIGHT, John (K)  
 RIGSBY, Henry (J)  
 ROBBINS, Joseph (H)  
     William (G)  
 ROBINS, John (I)  
 ROBESON, Aaron (K)  
     Reuben (K)  
 ROBERTS, David I (K)  
     Henry (Corp) (K)  
     Richard (K)  
     Robert (A)  
 ROBERTSON, John (Mus) (H)  
 ROBINSON, John A (L)  
     M. J (F)  
     Samuel (M)  
     Thomas (D)  
     William (D)  
     Wyatt (M)  
 ROGERS, Archibald (K)  
     Devenport (K)  
     George (F)  
     James (F)  
     James (K)  
     Parker (F)  
 ROLAND, Andrew (L)  
 ROPER, Samuel (C)  
 ROSE, Edward (Mus) (J)  
     Gideon F (L)  
     Solomon F (J)  
     Washington T (J)  
 RUSSEL, Matthew N (F)  
 SANDERS, James (I)

SANDERS, Richard (Mus) (I)  
     Charles (I)  
 SAWYER, William (L)  
 SCOTT, Ambrose (C)  
     Emsey (C)  
 SCRUGGS, Dillard (G)  
     Jackson (G)  
 SETTEN, Ambrose (B)  
 SHEARER, Wiley K (L)  
 SHEATS, James (L)  
 SHEETS, William (F)  
 SHELTON, Charles (L)  
     Nasa M (M)  
 SHEPHERD, Eli (B)  
     Jesse (B)  
     Thomas I (L)  
 SHERRELL, Jonas B (L)  
     Moses L (L)  
 SHERRILL, Asa (M)  
     George (M)  
 SHIPMAN, Jackson (3Corp) (B)  
 SHULER, John A (M)  
 SILCOX, Andrew (J)  
 SLUDER, Washington (K)  
 SMALLWOOD, I (F)  
 SMITH, Benjamin (C)  
     Daniel (C)  
     Jesse (L)  
     Joseph (D)  
     Zachariah (C)  
 SMITHY, Harrison (J)  
     Willis W (J)  
 SMOOT, Gabriel S (J)  
 SNEAD, Morgan (D)  
 SOLOMON, Luther (K)  
 SOUSING, Charles (G)  
 SOUTHER, James (E)  
     Jesse (E)  
 SOUTHARD, Martin (J)  
 [SPENCER, Nathan (M) ?]  
 SPRINKLE, Stephen (B)  
 STAFFORD, Jacob (K)  
     Samuel (C)  
 STANFORD, William (L)  
 STEPHENS, Wm. H (J)  
 STEPP, James (B)  
 STEWART, Thermenter (B)  
 STOGDON, George W (G)  
 SPRINGER, Jefferson (J)  
 STROUD, James (4Sgt) (E)  
     James (E)  
     John (E)  
     William (E)  
 TRUART, Edward (K)  
     Charles (K)  
     Joseph (3Corp) (E)  
 SUMMEY, John (B)

SUMPTER/SUMTER, Joel (D)	VAUGHN, Josiah (E)	WHITTENBURG, Peter (D)
William (D)	Micajah (E)	WHITTINGTON, Alexander (J)
SUTTLE, Evan (G)	WALKER, Basdel (I)	John W (J)
Joseph (H)	Larkin (I)	Melvin P (M)
SUTTER/SUTTON, S. J (F)	Robert (H)	William H (J)
SWAFFORD, James (G)	Samuel (C)	WICKLE, William (F)
SWAINEY, James (B)	William (C)	WIGGINS, Jason (M)
SWAIN, Charles (4Corp) (C)	WALLS, William (C)	WILKINSON, Isaac (B)
SWANN, Meredith (C)	Zimri (E)	WILLIAM/S, Henry (J)
William (C)	WARD, Samuel S (Corp) (J)	John (Mus) (H)
SWARINGAME, Lemuel (B)	WASHBURN, G. L (2Sgt) (F)	William (J)
TALLANT, Lemuel (C)	WATKINS/WADKINS, Andrew (J)	William (F)
TANNER, Hezekiah (F)	David (M)	WILLIAMSON, Martin B (L)
TATE, William (K)	Matthew (H)	WILLIS, Andrew (A)
TAYLOR, Jacob (Mus) (D)	Nathan (H)	Martin M (G)
Jonathan (Mus) (G)	WATSON, Ephriam (D)	Samuel (A)
TENISON, Robert (H)	WEATHERS, Thos. J (Corp) (G)	WILLSON, Elisha (M)
THOMPSON, John (E)	WEBB, James (G)	WILSON, Arch (D)
Joseph (E)	Jeremiah (G)	Brassley (2Sgt) (F)
TOMLIN, Thomas A (J)	John (Corp) (C)	George (M)
TOW/TOWE, William (A)	William D (G)	Hiram (E)
TOWNSEND, James (A)	WEBSTER, Hezekiah (I)	John A (G)
TRAMMEL, Thomas (F)	WELLBORN, Samuel C (J)	Jordan (D)
TRIBBLE, Abner (1Corp) (I)	Thos. S (3Sgt) (I)	Joseph (E)
TRIPLET, Abner (I)	WELCH, Bennet B (Corp) (I)	Joseph C (G)
Lake (I)	Merry W (I)	Thomas (G)
William (I)	WESONG, Jonathan (I)	WINKLER, Abraham (I)
TRUIT, Alfred (3Sgt) (L)	WEST, John Jr. (A)	WITHERSPOON, Wm. P (I)
Andrew (L)	John Sr. (A)	WOODEN/WOOTEN, Wm. M (B)
Isaac (Capt) (L)	Stephen (H)	WOODS, Posey (E)
TRUITT, James (1Lt) (F)	William (L)	WORKMAN, Martin (G)
TURNER, Wiley (G)	WESTBROOK, Howell (G)	WORLEY, Wm. N (1sgt) (K)
Willis N (H)	Howell F (G)	WRIGHT, Abner (M)
TUTTLE, Robert G (D)	WHEELER, Amos (I)	Wm. W (3Sgt) (G)
UNDERWOOD, Wm. D (H)	WHEELIN, Edmond C (I)	WYKE, Jacob (1Corp) (L)
VANCY, James N (J)	WHITE, Bluford (G)	YALE, Valet (I)
Wm. K (Ensign) (I)	Jeremiah (G)	YATES, Barnett (J)
VANOY, Joel (E)	John H (J)	David (4Sgt) (I)
<i>[Note in the record says</i>	WHITAKER, Joshua (E)	Hugh (J)
<i>his real name was</i>		John D (J)
<i>John Whittington]</i>		YOUNG, Charles M (E)
		Samuel P (A)