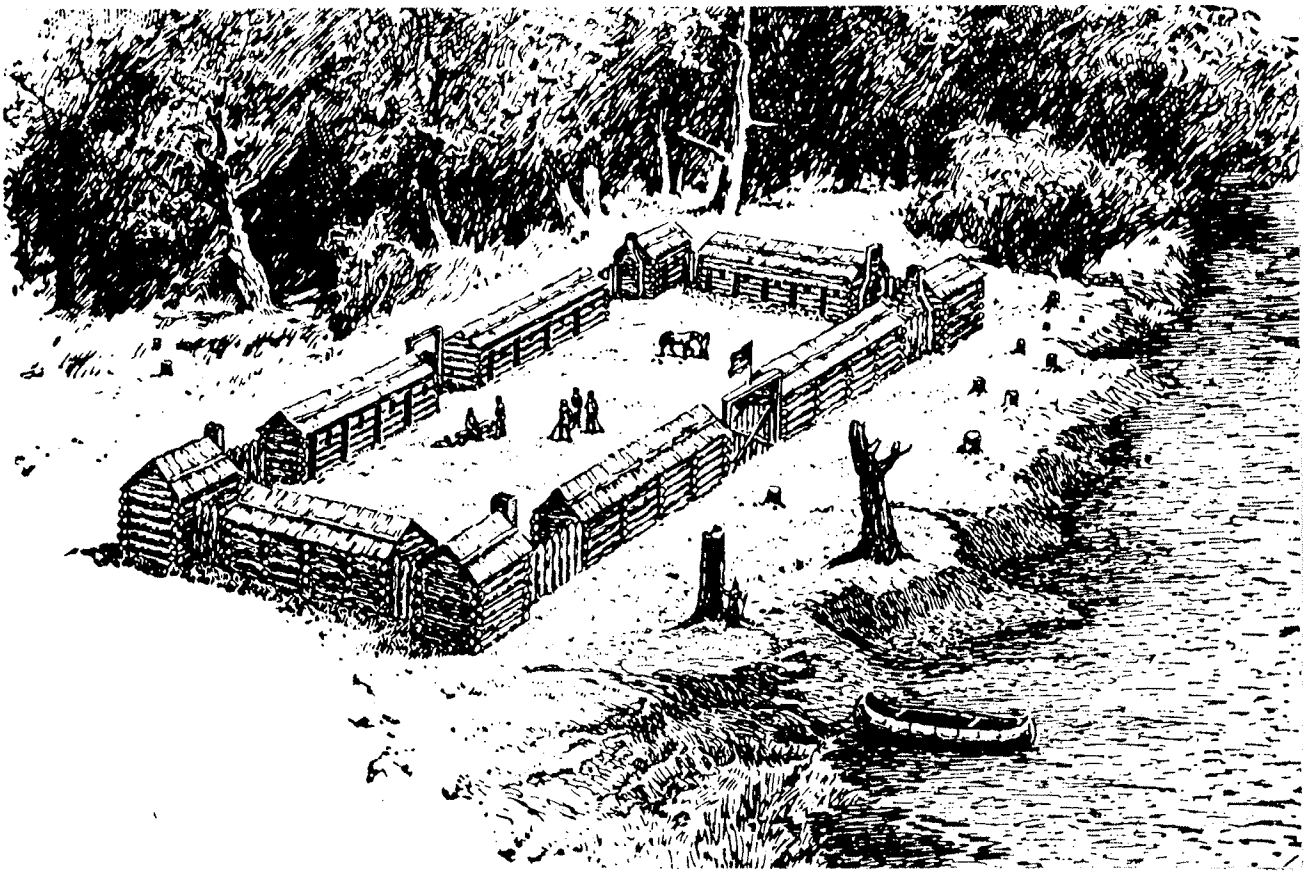


**A SURVEY OF SITES RELATED  
TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF 1812  
IN TENNESSEE**



**2004**

A SURVEY OF SITES RELATED TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION  
AND WAR OF 1812 IN TENNESSEE

by

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2004

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The survey of Tennessee sites related to the American Revolution and the War of 1812 was made possible by funding from both state and federal sources. Part of the money came from a grant that originated with the Department of the Interior Historic Preservation Fund administered through the Tennessee Historical Commission. The Tennessee Wars Commission, attached to the Tennessee Historical Commission, also provided a portion of the funding, while the Tennessee Division of Archaeology provided matching funds through use of staff time, equipment, and vehicles. Staff members of the Tennessee Historical Commission and Tennessee Wars Commission who helped in the administering of the contracts are Stephen T. Rogers, Richard Tune, and Fred Prouty.

This project was conducted by Benjamin Nance, serving as researcher and author of this report. Tara Kuss assisted in the initial phase of research and field work for the project. The project was conducted under the general direction of Samuel D. Smith, Historical Archaeologist for the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, who assisted in all phases of the project including research, field work, and report review and editing. Suzanne Hoyal, site file curator for the Division, reviewed all archaeological site survey record forms and assigned site numbers. Mary Jo Reeder, administrative assistant, also provided support for the project. All Tennessee Division of Archaeology personnel work under the direction of George F. (Nick) Fielder, State Archaeologist.

Other individuals who provided assistance during the course of the project are B. Kenneth Cornett, W. Eugene Cox, Charles Faulkner, Bobby Harbin, J. R. Hodges, Margaret Holly, Mildred Kozsuch, Loreen Lambert, Alan Longmire, Burke Mahling, John Mauldin, Robert Nave, Bud Phillips, Henry Price, Yolanda Reid, Marty Silver, and Hal Spoden.

## INTRODUCTION

During the period from the Fall of 2001 to September 2003, the Tennessee Division of Archaeology conducted research into potential archaeological sites related to the American Revolution and the War of 1812 in Tennessee. This is one of several thematic surveys conducted by the Division over the years, beginning with a 1977 study of four historic themes in Middle Tennessee (Rogers 1978). Other projects include a statewide pottery survey (Smith and Rogers 1979), a study of iron manufacturing in the Western Highland Rim (Smith et al. 1988), a study of early Tennessee gunmakers (Smith et al. 1991), and three phases of study concerning Civil War period military sites that culminated in a statewide report (Smith and Nance 2003).

The 1978 study of four historic themes in Middle Tennessee included an examination of the sites of regional frontier stations and forts. The report for that project (Rogers 1978) discusses 49 potential station sites, 30 of which were recorded (assigned archaeological site numbers). Because there has been no other comprehensive study of Tennessee sites related to the American Revolution and no similar study of the War of 1812, staff members of the Tennessee Division of Archaeology and the Tennessee Historical Commission felt that these would be appropriate themes for a statewide study designed to assess the archaeological potential of related sites. The data collected from such a study could also be used to assess the potential eligibility of individual sites for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

The first step in this project was to look at the archival information available relative to the two themes. Researchers first consulted many local and county histories for information concerning potential sites. Several general secondary sources were also used, and these are cited throughout this report. One early source of information is a collection known as the Draper Manuscripts, accumulated by Lyman Draper in the mid-nineteenth century. Draper's interviews with survivors from the frontier period and some of their descendants provide insight into the Tennessee frontier of the late eighteenth century. From all the archival research, a list of potential sites was compiled, and this list provided the starting point for field research.

Because the scope of this study was so broad, it was impossible to conduct detailed research into every site. Such work would have included checking deed records and land grants, tax records, census reports, and other such documents. The research conducted for this survey provides a starting point for further, more detailed study. In some cases local individuals or interest groups have already done some of this research, and many were willing to share their information during the course of the survey.

Local oral tradition is often the best and sometimes the only source of information concerning a site and its location. Many of the sites recorded during this project were found based on oral history from descendants of families who built or

occupied frontier stations or from long-time area residents who grew up hearing the local lore. Another indicator of site location is information from collectors who have researched a site and possibly collected artifacts dating to the period of occupation. A few of the sites recorded have also been the subject of archaeological excavation. In one case, for the building known as Swaggerty's Blockhouse in Cocke County, a combination of archaeological testing and dendrochronology (tree ring dating) was used to determine that the structure dated to the mid-nineteenth century and was not the 1787 blockhouse referred to in local tradition (Mann 2002).

Information on each site that could be recorded was compiled into a comprehensive Archaeological Site Survey Record form for inclusion in the statewide archaeological site database maintained by the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. There are still many potential sites about which little information is known and no definite location could be determined. All sites and potential sites are listed on tables in the section "Survey of Sites Related to the American Revolution and War of 1812."

The "Revolutionary War" time period covered by this survey is broader than the date range normally associated with this event. The "official" war started with the firing at Lexington, Massachusetts on April 19, 1775 and ended eight years later with the Treaty of Paris, signed in November 1782 and ratified the following April. The last British troops withdrew from American soil in November 1783. The end of the conflict between America and England brought about a decrease in fighting between the western settlers and Indian tribes because the Indians no longer had access to British supplies. However, these same American versus Native American struggles continued for many more years. Spain stepped in to organize the Indians against American expansion but eventually withdrew its support. In Tennessee there was periodic, sometimes severe fighting until about 1794 when the Major James Ore's expedition destroyed several Chickamauga Cherokee towns and diminished their ability to continue fighting. Creek raids into Tennessee continued for about another year, until that tribe became embroiled in a conflict with the Chickasaw. Because of these later events the date parameters for this survey were established as 1775-1795.

The War of 1812 (1812-1815) manifested itself in Tennessee in the form of soldier training and the production of war materials such as gunpowder. Tennessee's involvement in the larger war included participation in the Creek War (1813-1814). Though there was no fighting in Tennessee during the War of 1812, troops mustered and were trained here before marching against the militant faction of the Creek Indians known as the Red Sticks and later against British troops in New Orleans.



## THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN TENNESSEE

On the morning of April 19, 1775, British troops, having marched out of Boston on the previous night, arrived on the green at Lexington, Massachusetts to find that the local militia, the minute men, had been forewarned of the British approach by a network of dispatch riders. With tensions high someone fired the proverbial "shot heard round the world," called such because of the global implications that the ensuing conflict would bring. The incident eventually involved several countries including America, Britain, France, Spain, Holland, and some German states. But the struggle would also reach into the interior of the continent and involve many American Indian tribes and the Euro-American settlers who were pushing into the American wilderness. Table 1 presents an overview of events in Tennessee as well as major events elsewhere.

In what would later become the State of Tennessee, fighting between the settlers and the Indians, primarily the Cherokee and Creek, was a constant concern. The Cherokee had already undergone significant changes since their first encounters with Europeans. They had suffered two serious smallpox epidemics in 1738 and 1759-60 and had become entangled in the wars fought between European powers for control of the continent. British reprisals against the Cherokee in 1760 and 1761, punishment for the Cherokee attack on Fort Loudon and for siding with the French in the French and Indian War, devastated many villages. The Cherokee population declined from an estimated 22,000 people in 1761 to about 12,000 (including 3,000 warriors) in 1775 (Calloway 1995:182).

The Proclamation of 1763, signed in the same year that the French and Indian War ended, forbade European settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. Long hunters, men who spent extensive periods of time in the wilderness while hunting and trapping, made frequent forays into the Tennessee and Kentucky country despite the dangers posed by the Indians who also hunted there. It was not long before, ignoring the order not to establish settlements there, people began to move into what would become Tennessee. William Bean settled on the Watauga River as early as 1769, his son Russell becoming the first white person born in Tennessee. Others soon followed. Tennessee was at that time the western territory of the colony of North Carolina, but because the line between North Carolina and Virginia had not been surveyed that far west, the first settlers in upper east Tennessee thought that they were still in Virginia. It was an easy trek from Virginia to Tennessee because the system of valleys and ridges formed natural conduits through which the settlers moved. Coming from North Carolina, one had to cross the Appalachians on winding mountain trails.

At this time the Cherokee Nation claimed a large expanse of land that included what today is Middle and East Tennessee, most of Kentucky, and parts of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. Other tribes,

**Table 1. Timeline of Events: Revolutionary War in Tennessee**

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
<b>1775</b>			
March 17	Treaty of Sycamore Shoals-Cherokee sell rights to 20 million acres to Richard Henderson.		
April 19			British troops and colonial militia exchange shots at Lexington, MA beginning the revolution.
May 10			Col. Ethan Allen and Vermont Green Mountain Boys capture Ft. Ticonderoga.
June 15			George Washington given command of the Continental Army.
June 17			Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed's Hill). Americans repulse several British attacks then withdraw after ammunition runs out.
Aug.-Nov.			Operations against Montreal.
Nov. 13			Americans capture Montreal.
Dec. 31			Americans assault on Quebec is repulsed. American commander Gen. Montgomery killed, Col. Benedict Arnold wounded.
<b>1776</b>			
Jan.-May			Americans retreat to Montreal.
February 27			Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, North Carolina. Patriots defeat Tories.
March 17			Americans evacuate Boston.
May 27	North Carolina resolves to support declaration of independence from Britain.		
June 4			Sir Henry Clinton arrives at Charleston, SC to attempt an invasion from that port.
June 28			Battle of Sullivan's Island (Charleston, SC). American artillery repulses British.
June-July			Americans retreat from Canada.

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
July-Aug			British concentrate in New York
July 4			Declaration of Independence signed
July 5	Watauga settlement asks to be annexed by North Carolina for protection.		
July	Cherokee attack settlements. Lt. John Sevier abandons unfinished Fort Lee. Brown's Settlement abandoned. Cherokee burn Ft. Lee.		
July 20	Battle of Long Island Flats. Cherokee defeated, Dragging Canoe wounded.		
July 20-	The Raven leads Cherokee warriors into Carter's Valley. Burns homes, advances into VA for several days.		
July 21	Cherokee attack Fort Caswell (Watauga). Two-week siege begins.		
Late July	Womack's Fort constructed in Sullivan Co. Heaton's Station renovated.		
July 30			Congress resolves that Southern colonies should attack British allied Indians.
August 2	Colonel Andrew Williamson, South Carolina militia, leads ten-day raid against Lower Cherokee towns.		
August 27			Battle of Long Island. British turn American flank. Washington evacuates Long Island.
Sept. 12			Americans withdraw from New York.
Mid-Sept.			Gen. Griffith Rutherford leads 2,500 North Carolina men against middle Cherokee.
Sept. 16			Battle of Harlem Heights. British attack on withdrawing Americans is repulsed.

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
October 1	Colonel William Christian leads VA and NC militia against Overhill Cherokee. Cherokee sue for peace.		
October 11			Battle of Valcour Island. Benedict Arnold's force delays British advance from Canada.
October 13	Christian's 1,800-man force crosses French Broad River and burns Island Town. . Cherokee ask for peace talks and sign treaty.		
October 28			Battle of White Plains. British defeat Americans.
Nov.	Washington District of NC created, encompassing all of present-day Tennessee, including Indian land.		
Nov. 16			British capture Fort Washington on the Hudson River.
Nov. 20			Americans evacuate Fort Lee on the Hudson.
Nov.-Dec.			Washington retreats to Pennsylvania.
Dec. 26			Battle of Trenton. Washington's army crosses Delaware River and surprises Hessian's.
<b>1777</b>			
January 2			Cornwallis moves to Trenton to trap Washington who moves his army away in the night.
January 3			Washington leads his army around Cornwallis. Defeats British at Princeton, and captures supplies.
March 31	Col. Arthur Campbell orders James Robertson to concentrate settlers at Rice's and Patterson's Mills for protection.		
May	Negotiations between Virginia, North Carolina, and the Cherokees begin at Long Island of the Holston.		
July 5			Americans evacuate Fort Ticonderoga after arrival of superior British forces.

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
July 7			Battle of Hubbardton. Burgoyne attacks Americans retreating from Fort Ticonderoga. American's escape to Fort Edward.
July 10	Frederick Calvit shot and scalped near Watauga.		
July 20	Treaty of Long Island signed		
August 6			Battle of Oriskany. Iroquois and Tories ambush Americans marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix. Americans withdraw.
August 16			Battle of Bennington. American militia defeats British.
August 23			Americans lift siege of Fort Stanwix.
Sept. 11			Battle of the Brandywine. British General Howe pushes George Washington's army back toward Philadelphia.
Sept. 19			Battle of Freeman's Farm. Burgoyne attacks Americans under Gen. Horatio gates. British are repulsed.
Sept. 21			American brigade under General Anthony Wayne is routed in a night action at Paoli. Americans begin evacuation of Philadelphia.
Sept. 26			British clear last American resistance and occupy Philadelphia.
October 3			General Clinton marches out of New York to create a diversion for Burgoyne. Captures Forts Clinton and Montgomery on Oct. 6.
October 4			Battle of Germantown. Washington attacks Howe's main encampment near Philadelphia. Americans are repulsed with heavy losses.

Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
October 7			Battle of Bemis Heights. Burgoyne's attack is again repulsed. American counterattack led by Benedict Arnold forces British retreat to Saratoga.
October 17			Burgoyne surrenders his 5,700 man army.
Nov.			Americans go into winter quarters at Valley Forge.
Dec. 24	John Sevier commissioned as Lieutenant Colonel of Washington District militia under Col. John Carter.		Americans go into winter quarters at Valley Forge.
<b>1778</b>			
January			Baron Augustus H. F. von Steuben begins training the Continental Army.
February 6			America and France sign treaties of commerce and alliance in the event of war between France and England.
June 17			War breaks out between France and England.
June 18			Henry Clinton, having succeeded General Howe, withdraws British troops from Philadelphia to New York.
June 28			Battle of Monmouth. Washington orders attack on withdrawing British near Monmouth, New Jersey. Washington rallies troops against British counter-attack.
Dec. 29			British capture Savannah, Georgia.
<b>1779</b>			
January	Evan Shelby and James Robertson lead 500 men against (Chickamauga) towns.		
February 3			British General Augustine Prevost attacks Fort Moultrie in South Carolina. Attack is repulsed.
February 14			Andrew Pickens American militia defeats a Tory brigade at Kettle Creek.

Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
February 25			George Rogers Clarke captures Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
Spring	Richard Henderson sends James Robertson and others to explore his Transylvania Purchase.		Virginia and North Carolina commission Richard Henderson and others to survey western extension of state boundary.
March			British agent to Cherokee, John Stuart, dies.
April 10	Evan Shelby's force travels by river to attack Chickamauga towns.		
June 21			Spain declares war on England but refuses to recognize American independence.
Sept. 12			French troops landed by Admiral D'Estaing's fleet join Americans under General Lincoln for a siege of Savannah.
October 8			D'Estaing bombards British defenses at Savannah.
October 9			French and American assault on Savannah is repulsed with heavy losses. Siege is abandoned.
October	James Robertson leaves for the Cumberland (present site of Nashville).		
Dec. 22	John Donelson's flotilla departs from Fort Patrick Henry to meet James Robertson on the Cumberland.		
Dec. 25		James Robertson's party arrives at Salt Lick-present day Nashville.	
Dec. 26			Henry Clinton sails from New York with 8,000 men to attack Charleston.
<b>1780</b>			
February 11			Henry Clinton lands his troops near Charleston to begin a siege.
March 8	Indians attack Donelson's flotilla near present-day Chattanooga, killing and capturing several people.		
March 10	Donelson's flotilla attacked again, some killed.		

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
March 21	Having reached the mouth of the Tennessee River on the 15th and being delayed by a swift current, Donelson's party splits up, with some going to Natchez, some to Illinois, and the rest proceeding up the Ohio River to the Cumberland River.		
April 24		John Donelson's flotilla arrives at Fort Nashborough.	
May 13		Cumberland Compact signed at Fort Nashborough.	
May 12			General Lincoln surrenders Americana in Charleston. Clinton returns to New York leaving General Cornwallis in South Carolina.
May 29			Sir Banastre Tarleton's Tory cavalry massacres an American force at Waxshaw Creek in South Carolina.
July 10			French Lieutenant General Count Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau lands at Newport with 5,000 troops.
August 16			Battle of Camden. British and Tory troops route American forces under Gen. Horatio Gates.
Sept. 23			British Major John Andre captured with Benedict Arnold's plans to surrender West Point to Gen. Henry Clinton.
Sept. 25	Militiamen gather at Sycamore shoals for expedition to King's Mountain.		
October 7			Battle of King's Mountain. American militia including many Tennesseans defeats Tory riflemen under Col. Patrick Ferguson.
Dec. 2			General Nathaniel Greene assumes command of American forces in the south, replacing Horatio Gates.
Dec. 16	Battle of Boyd's Creek. General John Sevier's army defeats Cherokee.		
December	Sevier's army destroys Chota and nearby towns.		



Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
Dec. 20			England declares war on the Netherlands, stemming from clandestine trade with America.
<b>1781</b>			
January 5			British forces under Benedict Arnold seize Richmond, Virginia and destroy supplies, then move to Portsmouth.
January 17			Battle of Cowpens. Part of Greene's army under Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan was in South Carolina when the British under Tarleton attacked. Morgan repulsed the attack inflicting heavy British casualties.
Jan.-Feb.			Greene and Morgan reunite and withdraw into North Carolina.
March			Sevier attacks Tuscarora in North Carolina.
March 15			Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Cornwallis defeats Greene then withdraws into Virginia.
April 2		Chickamauga attack Fort Nashborough. Settlers repel attack.	
April 19			Battle of Hobkirk Hill (near Camden). Americans under Gen. Greene repulsed, but British withdraw to Charleston.
April 29			Lafayette takes command of American troops in Virginia.
May 20			Cornwallis takes command of British forces in Virginia.
May 22-June 19			Greene besieges Fort Mifflin. The British are reinforced but withdraw to Charleston.
June 10			Anthony Wayne reinforces Lafayette.
July 6			Cornwallis attacks Anthony Wayne's brigade. Americans repulse the attack but take heavy losses.
August 4			Cornwallis moves to Yorktown, Virginia.

<b>Date</b>	<b>East Tennessee</b>	<b>Middle Tennessee</b>	<b>Other Theaters</b>
August 13			Admiral Francois J. P. de Grasse, commander of the French fleet in the West Indies, sails north to coordinate with Washington and Rochambeau.
August 21			George Washington leaves 2,000 men at New York and marches south.
August 30			De Grasse arrives off Yorktown and disembarks troops.
Sept. 5-9			French and British fleets battle for supremacy off the Virginia capes. The British under Admiral Thomas Graves are forced to retire.
Sept. 8			Battle of Eutaw Springs. Greene's army attacks British. Americans are repulsed. British withdraw to Charleston with heavy losses.
Sept. 14-26			Washington's and Rochambeau's troops arrive at Williamsburg, VA.
Sept. 28			Washington, commanding 9,500 Americans and Rochambeau's 7,800 French regulars move to invest Yorktown.
Sept. 30			Cornwallis withdraws his 8,000 men into his inner fortifications.
October 9			Washington begins bombardment of British positions at Yorktown.
October 14			American and French detachments attack and capture two key British redoubts.
October 16			British counterattack is repulsed. An attempted evacuation is abandoned due to storms.
October 17			Cornwallis opens surrender negotiations.
October 19			Cornwallis surrenders his army.

Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
October 24			Clinton arrives from New York by sea, but withdraws, being too late.
Nov.			Washington returns to New York.
<b>1782</b>			
March 20			Prime Minister Lord North's ministry collapses.
April 12			Peace negotiations are opened.
May 9			Clinton replaced by Sir Guy Carleton.
August 15			Canadian and Indian force led by Simon Girty attacks Bryan's Station in Kentucky and is repulsed.
August 19			Girty's force ambushes Americans at Blue Lick, KY.
Sept.	John Sevier leads attack on lower Cherokee towns in TN and GA.		
Nov. 30			Treaty of Paris concludes war Between America and Britain.
Dec.		Chickasaw meet with settlers at Ft. Nashborough.	
<b>1783</b>			
April 15			Congress ratifies Treaty of Paris
Nov. 25			British evacuate New York.
<b>1784</b>			
August	Wm. Blount argues for NC cession of western territory. Calls for General Convention in Jonesboro.		
Nov.			N. C. repeals cession act that would have ceded Tennessee to federal government.
Dec. 14	State of Franklin created.		
<b>1785</b>			
June 10	Treaty of Dumplin Creek		
Nov. 18			Treaty of Hopewell.
<b>1786</b>			
August	Cherokee kill settlers, prompting retaliation by John Sevier.		

Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
August	Cherokee are forced to sign treaty of Coyatee affirming earlier land cessions.		
<b>1787</b>			
June	Col. James Robertson leads large militia force on attack against the Cherokee at Coldwater.		
<b>1788</b>			
August	Joseph Martin leads attack on Lookout Mountain. The Americans are defeated by the Chickamaugas.		
May	Cherokee kill Kirk family living on Little TN River. John Kirk Jr. is later allowed to kill Cherokee chiefs in retaliation.		
Sept.	Avery Trace opens, links East and Middle Tennessee		
<b>1789</b>			
January	John Sevier drives Cherokee away from Jonesboro.		
Dec.			NC passes cession act giving western territory to federal government.
<b>1790</b>			
May 26	Congress approves government for Territory of the U.S. South of the River Ohio (Southwest Territory). William Blount becomes territorial governor.		
October			Gen. Harmar defeated in Northwest territory.
<b>1791</b>			
June	Negotiations with Cherokee begin at White's Fort, Knoxville. Treaty of Holston signed in July.		
Nov.			Gen. St. Clair defeated in Northwest territory.
<b>1792</b>			
January			Cherokee delegation goes to Philadelphia to protest Treaty of Holston.
March	Dragging Canoe dies while celebrating a recent victory.		
May	Gov. Blount meets with Dragging Canoe's successor, John Watts.		
April 26		Chickamauga Cherokee, Creek, and Shawnee attack Ziegler's Station.	
Sept. 30		Chickamauga Cherokee and Creek attack Buchanan's Station.	
October 3	Cherokee and Creek attack Black's Blockhouse.		

Date	East Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	Other Theaters
<b>1793</b>			
Summer			Indian tribes sign Treaty of Nogales with Spain to oppose American expansion in the west.
August	Chickamaugans raid Knoxville area.		
Sept. 25	Chickamaugans attack Cavett's Station in Knoxville, killing 13.		
<b>1794</b>			
February	Gov. Blount calls for territorial assembly.		
Sept. 13	Maj. James Orr leads expedition against Chickamaugan towns. Burns Nickajack and Running Water.		
August 20			Battle of Fallen Timbers. Gen. Anthony Wayne's army defeats Indian force in Ohio.
<b>1795</b>			
	Spain reduces support of Indian tribes.		
October	Governor Blount informs the public that it is now safe to travel between the eastern and western parts of the territory "without the least apprehension of injuries at the hands of the Cherokees or Creeks."		

including the Creek, Chickasaw, Shawnee, and Choctaw, claimed parts of this land too, and conflicts often arose between these tribes. Most of the Cherokee population was concentrated in East Tennessee, northern Georgia, and the mountains of North Carolina. Fighting between the Cherokee and the Euro-American settlers or militia seemed to go in cycles. There would be a period of Indian attacks followed by retributive strikes by the settlers then negotiation of a temporary peace that was often accompanied by the cession of Cherokee land. The policy of land for peace adopted by some of the older Cherokee chiefs was to prove costly to the Cherokee and was opposed by some of the more militant chiefs, especially Dragging Canoe.

In 1768 British official John Stuart, Indian Superintendent for the Southern Department, helped negotiate the Treaty of Hard Labor with the Cherokee in which the Indians gave up their land in present-day Virginia and West Virginia. The cession of land encouraged settlers to move into the area, and many moved into upper East Tennessee thinking that they were still in Virginia and within the boundaries established by the treaty. When it became clear that the settlers had overstepped their bounds, Stuart was forced to negotiate a new treaty. The 1770 Treaty of Lochaber gave the Cherokee some small compensation for land on which many had already established permanent settlement. The treaty line was supposed to run from the Holston River near Long Island, at present-day Kingsport, northward into Kentucky to the mouth of the Kanawha River, but when John Donelson surveyed the line in 1771, he accommodated the already established families by running the line farther to the west (Finger 2001:42-43).

Among these early settlers was Evan Shelby who settled in what is now Bristol, Tennessee and established a stockaded fort there in 1771. Shelby's Station would become a stopping point for many travelers as well as a safe haven for area residents (Spoden 1976:215; Forester 1996:100). Other families settled near the Long Island of the Holston in Sullivan County and at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River in present-day Elizabethton in Carter County. The Watauga settlers, who established Fort Caswell (later named Fort Watauga), were well beyond the treaty line. Farther inside the Cherokee Nation was a settlement started by Jacob Brown who settled on the Nolichucky River in present-day Greene County. John Stuart's assistant warned these settlers to vacate Cherokee land. Brown withdrew to the Watauga settlements, and John Carter, who had settled in Carter's Valley in present-day Hawkins County, likewise withdrew (Finger 2001:42-43).

The families that had established homes inside Cherokee land did not want to leave, so they devised a strategy by which they could adhere to the technical legality of the treaty that prohibited ownership of land outside the treaty boundaries. They negotiated leases with the Cherokee, so that they could maintain their homes and still not own land. In this manner, the Watauga settlers, Jacob Brown, and the Carter's Valley settlers returned to where they had established their homes. Brown even opened a trading post to supply the Cherokee and provided blacksmith and gunsmith services for them (Fink 1962:236-237).

The agreement that the Wataugans reached with the Cherokee was known as the Articles of Friendship. After negotiating their lease with the Cherokee, the settlers on the Watauga and Nolichucky Rivers decided that they needed some method of governing themselves, so in May 1772 they developed the Written Articles of Association. With this document the residents of the area appointed a sheriff, clerk, and court. Though not expressly forbidden by law, British authorities frowned upon the formation of this loose governmental body. Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia, called the move a "dangerous example" (Dixon 1976:16-21).

By 1774 the major threat to families living on the frontier was the growing unrest among the Shawnee, especially in Kentucky. The Shawnee were seeking alliances with other tribes including the Cherokee, asking that all Indians unite against the common enemy. Lord Dunmore's War started when the Royal Governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, sent militia troops under General Andrew Lewis to suppress the Shawnee. Men from the Watauga settlement joined Evan Shelby's contingent of men as they reinforced Lewis. But realizing the danger posed by a potential alliance between the Shawnee and Cherokee, the Watauga Association sent representatives to Chota to persuade the Cherokee not to join the alliance (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:708; Finger 2001:48).

Lord Dunmore's War ended with the Battle of Point Pleasant in present-day Kentucky on October 10, 1774, and the Shawnee were forced to give up all claims to Kentucky, though they did not adhere to this forced agreement. During the course of this short conflict, the Cherokee leaders did meet with Cornstalk, the Shawnee Chief, and the two tribes would cooperate in the future. The nominal concession of Shawnee land in Kentucky prompted some white settlers to seek land there, though land purchase was still forbidden. Richard Henderson from North Carolina had formed a company for land speculation, and in January 1775 his Transylvania Company began negotiations with the Cherokee for the purchase of much of the Kentucky land (Finger 2001:48.)

The negotiation ended on March 17, 1775 with the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals in which Cherokee chief Attakullakulla agreed to sell Henderson about twenty million acres of land. The outright purchase was a clear violation of the Proclamation of 1763. Soon the Wataugans and Jacob Brown followed suit and negotiated purchases of their previously leased land. Attakullakulla's son, Dragging Canoe, protested the sales and warned against cooperation with the whites. He would in the following years become the most militant of Cherokee leaders, making good on his warning that the settlers had purchased a "dark and bloody ground" (Dixon 1976:28-30).

Tensions between the British and their American colonies became open war on April 19, 1775, and immediately both sides saw the impact that Indian tribes, particularly those in the south, might have during the conflict. The Indian tribes did not want to lose British trade goods, so they allied themselves with the British against the American colonists.

The Cherokee chiefs met with Alexander Cameron and John Stuart's brother, Henry Stuart, and the British officials urged the Cherokee not to attack until the settlers had been given a warning and time to withdraw. Nevertheless the British also gave the Cherokee weapons and ammunition. If the Cherokee were to attack, Cameron and Stuart wanted them to coordinate their efforts with British attacks in the southern colonies. Following this April 1776 meeting, the Watauga and Nolichucky settlers were given a warning to leave their settlements. The Fincastle County, Virginia Committee of Safety also urged the Wataugans and Nolichucky families to move within established treaty boundaries, but the settlers were not going to give up their homes (Calloway 1995:190-191).

While British authorities initially were trying to restrain Indians from attacks, a contingent of representatives from northern tribes led by an envoy from the Shawnee leader Cornstalk visited the Cherokee town Chota in June 1776. The delegation urged Cherokee cooperation in a war against the whites, and Dragging Canoe gladly accepted the alliance, deepening the rift between militant and pacifist Cherokee. Attacks began on settlers in the mountainous areas of North and South Carolina (Finger 2001:60-61).

Tennessee settlers braced for open warfare, and the Fincastle County Committee of Safety urged the more peaceful Cherokee leaders to end their association with the British and rein in Dragging Canoe. The Cherokee planned an attack on the Tennessee settlers but sent two traders to warn British loyalists. The traders, informed of Cherokee plans by Nancy Ward, a Cherokee and wife of a trader, instead warned all settlers.

The Tennessee settlers appealed first to Virginia then North Carolina for assistance, while they built or improved fortified positions along the frontier. Fort Caswell (later called Fort Watauga), situated near the Watauga River in present-day Elizabethton, and Amos Eaton's fort, built in 1774 and situated near the Long Island of the Holston in present-day Kingsport, were strengthened. John Sevier and his Virginia militia troops began work on Fort Lee near the mouth of Big Limestone Creek on the Nolichucky River close to Jacob Brown's settlement. Evan Shelby's Station was in present-day Bristol, and several other families had houses built for defense, including Moses Looney, Jacob Womack and John Shelby near the Holston River (Haywood 1823:61-62; Williams 1944:28-29).

The Cherokee launched an attack with about 700 warriors in July 1776. The leaders were Dragging Canoe, Old Abram of Chilhowee, and The Raven of Chota. The Raven split off with fewer than 100 men and attacked Carter's Valley in present-day Hawkins County where a few families with inadequate defenses lived.

Dragging Canoe and Old Abram headed toward the Nolichucky settlements, and when part of Sevier's force fled, he was forced to abandon the still unfinished Fort Lee and go to Watauga. The Cherokee destroyed Fort Lee after Sevier left it.



The residents of Brown's settlement likewise fled. Old Abram proceeded to the Watauga settlements while Dragging Canoe took 200 warriors toward Eaton's Fort. Learning of the Cherokee approach, the residents of Eaton's Fort decided that rather than wait for the attack, they would go out to meet it. One fear was that the Cherokee might decide to bypass the fort and attack defenseless homes farther north. On July 20, 1776 Captain James Thompson led the militia against the Cherokee in the Battle of Long Island Flats near the upper end of the Long Island of the Holston. Dragging Canoe was wounded and as many as 13 Cherokee were killed as the militia successfully turned back the attack. Four militia soldiers were wounded in the battle (Spoden 1976:37-38; Williams 1944:35-40).

On July 21, 1776 Old Abram's Cherokee force attacked Fort Caswell on the Watauga River, which was commanded by Colonel John Carter with James Robertson and John Sevier as his subordinates. There were about 75 men inside the fort. After three hours of fighting, the Cherokee fell back and laid siege to the garrison for two weeks. During this period they raided throughout the area including one attack on Jacob Womack's Fort, and then the Cherokee withdrew in the face of a relief force from Virginia. This group of Cherokee loitered near the Nolichucky Settlements until Captain Evan Shelby led a militia force that drove the Indians away (Finger 2001 63-64; Williams 1944:45-47).

The Raven's force of fewer than 100 warriors moved up through Carter's Valley in present-day Hawkins County, forcing the inhabitants to flee, as they did not have adequate defenses. Some of the settlers made their way to Amos Eaton's Fort while others went to Virginia. The Cherokee caught and killed some of the inhabitants of the area before they could escape. The Indians burned cabins, and then The Raven led his force into Virginia where they split into smaller groups, continuing to raid and burn cabins (Williams 1944:42-43).

Now that the war on the frontier had started, British authorities encouraged the Cherokee to keep up the attacks. The reaction from the Americans was one of extreme hostility. It was already clear from the Declaration of Independence how the Continental Congress viewed Indians. Included in the Declaration's list of grievances against King George III is the following accusation:

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions (Declaration of Independence).

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, stated that he hoped the Cherokee could be driven beyond the Mississippi River. North Carolina's delegates to congress urged quick retaliation against the Cherokee "to carry fire and sword into the very bowels of their country" (Calloway 1995:197).

Retaliation for the raid came swiftly. On August 2 Colonel Andrew Williamson led 1,100 men against the lower Cherokee towns, burning several towns and forcing the inhabitants to flee over the mountains to the Cherokee towns in North Carolina. In mid September a North Carolina force under General Griffith Rutherford attacked and destroyed most of the Middle Cherokee towns. Williamson and Rutherford then joined forces and continued destroying Cherokee villages.

Colonel William Christian and a force of Virginia militia marched to the Holston River where William Russell commanded 300 Virginia rangers in the construction of Fort Patrick Henry opposite the Long Island of the Holston. This fort may have been constructed on the site of the pre-revolutionary period Fort Robinson. Here they rendezvoused with North Carolina militia then set out on October 1 to attack the Overhill Cherokee towns. Watauga and Nolichucky forces under James Robertson and Valentine Sevier joined the force en route making 1,800 men total including one cavalry company (Finger 2001:66-67; Calloway 1995:197-198).

In the face of this overwhelming force, the moderate Cherokee leaders decided to sue for peace. Christian led his force to the Tennessee River and camped near Island Town. Dragging Canoe and his militant followers retreated southward and Christian's army burned the town. The Cherokee agreed to Christian's demands including turning over prisoners and goods taken in the raids, cession of land, and a promise to attempt to turn over Dragging Canoe. Many of the soldiers who participated in this campaign noted the prime land and many returned later to settle there (Finger 2001:66-67; Williams 1944:53-56).

At the outset of the Cherokee War, the Tennessee settlers had formed themselves into the Washington District and had appealed for help. During the fall while the fighting raged, North Carolina accepted the request for annexation and invited the district to send delegates to the upcoming constitutional convention. The Washington District became Washington County in the following year.

As per the terms set down by Colonel Christian in 1776, a Cherokee delegation traveled to the Long Island of the Holston where formal negotiations began on July 1, 1777. The Cherokee had been humbled by the disastrous defeats of the previous year, and although some sympathized with Dragging Canoe, who still sought to enlist allies in his fight against the whites, most Cherokee accepted the inevitability of the upcoming treaty and land cession.

Dragging Canoe had had little success in his ongoing struggle with the whites. Northern tribes were caught up in their own war and could not send help, while other southern tribes had seen what happened to the Cherokee in 1776 and were afraid to join them. The exception was a few Creek Indians who would join if supplied by the British.

The Treaty of Long Island was the result of the July negotiations, and as expected, the Cherokee gave up more land. Separate agreements were reached

with Virginia and North Carolina, and until the state line could be surveyed farther west, Virginia agreed to administer the settlements north of the Holston River and North Carolina the settlements to the south (Dowd 1992:53-54; Finger 2001:68-69).

The Treaty did not end white trespassing on Cherokee land, nor did it stop Dragging Canoe's continued resistance. The Cherokee leader and his loyal followers established towns on the Tennessee River near present-day Chattanooga. They became known as the Chickamaugans because of their proximity to Chickamauga Creek, and in protest they called themselves *Ani-Yunwiya*, which means "the real people." The lines between the two factions were actually not very distinct. Many Overhill Cherokee supported Dragging Canoe, but the Overhill towns nominally opposed the Chickamaugans to avoid retribution against the upper towns (Calloway 1995:201).

Throughout 1777 Dragging Canoe's force, occasionally joined by some Shawnee, raided the Tennessee settlements and those in Kentucky. Forty-five Wataugans reinforced Boonesborough and Harrodsburg in Kentucky when attacks had increased in intensity. The year 1778 brought some respite from the attacks as the Chickamaugans raided mainly in Georgia and South Carolina, but with the peace came some unrest. British authorities pressed the Indians for more attacks, and the Overhill Cherokee towns, cut off from British trade because of their reconciliation with the whites, began to meet with British Indian Agent John Stuart in Pensacola. The Cherokee continually complained about white trespassing, and the North Carolina authorities kept warning against settling outside treaty boundaries, but it was to no avail (Dowd 1992:53-56; Putnam 1859:53-55; Haywood 1823:70-72).

Meanwhile Virginia turned its attention toward Illinois where George Rogers Clark was planning to capture the British fort at Kaskaskia. Virginia Governor Patrick Henry warned North Carolina's Governor Richard Caswell of the danger of settlers intruding on Cherokee land as such incursions might ignite further hostilities (Williams 1944:81-83). On the larger stage 1778 saw the outbreak of war between Britain and France, which put into effect a conditional alliance between America and France. George Washington led his Continental army to victory at Monmouth, New Jersey when he attacked the British who were withdrawing from Philadelphia. America suffered a major setback in the south at the end of 1778 as British troops captured Savannah, Georgia (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:715-716).

The British victories in the southern colonies and continual urgings of British agents for increased Indian raids on the frontier worried the Americans. Patrick Henry decided in January 1779 that the situation called for a preemptive strike against the Chickamaugans, so he ordered Evan Shelby to raise troops for such a campaign. Shelby recruited 300 men from Sullivan County and was reinforced by 200 more led by Charles Robertson from Washington County. They built boats on the Holston River and set out on the campaign on April 10, 1779.

Dragging Canoe had just led a contingent of warriors to reinforce the British at Savannah when Shelby's force arrived. The Indians still present in the Chickamauga towns gave a brief resistance before retreating. Shelby's men burned the towns and crops and captured British goods. At the conclusion of this raid, some of the army continued down river to join George Rogers Clark in the northwest (Haywood 1823:72-73; Price 1996:37).

In March 1779 British Indian Agent John Stuart died, and a few months later his assistant Alexander Cameron went to work among the Choctaw and Chickasaw. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown took on the task of dealing with the Cherokee and Creek tribes, but the British government was beginning to balk at the high cost of supplying their Indian allies. On June 21, 1779 Spain declared war on Britain, though Spain's King Charles III refused to recognize American independence. The Choctaw and Chickasaw soon after aligned themselves with Spain.

The long hunters, who hunted and trapped in the wilderness for extended periods of time, had for years visited the Cumberland River valley in what would become Middle Tennessee. Some Frenchmen from the Illinois country visited the area to trade with the few Shawnee who lived in the area. Martin Chartier had visited with Shawnee guides in 1690, and Jean de Charleville established a trading post near present-day Nashville soon after. The Chickasaw ran off the Shawnee and the French traders in 1714, and again in 1745. By the 1760s white explorers were again visiting the Cumberland River valley. In 1768 a Philadelphia company sent hunters to find buffalo in the area. Daniel Boone, Kaspar Mansker, and Abraham Bledsoe were among those who hunted in the region into the 1770s. The tales of fertile soil and abundant game soon attracted the East Tennessee residents (Putnam 1859:63-66).

Richard Henderson, who had purchased an enormous tract of land including most of Kentucky and a portion of Middle Tennessee north of the Cumberland River, was eager to settle his Tennessee portion of the claim (Virginia having invalidated his claims in Kentucky). Most importantly Henderson wanted to find out if the French Lick, an early name for what would become the site of Nashville, was in Virginia or North Carolina. Toward this end he sent James Robertson and a small party of men in the spring of 1779 on an exploratory trip to the region to survey the land and plant a corn crop to establish a preliminary settlement claim. Robertson's party, upon reaching the French Lick, met French trader Timothy De Monbreun along with several other people who now lived in the area. Among the residents were some Tories who had fled from the war back east. Robertson returned from the expedition excited about the possibilities of settling at the French Lick (Finger 2001: 77-79; Haywood 1823:95-96).

In 1779 Richard Henderson became a boundary commissioner when Virginia and North Carolina began to survey their state line. It was at this time that Henderson, James Robertson, and John Donelson formulated a plan for establishing a permanent settlement at what would become Nashville. In October 1779

Robertson led a party of about 200 people overland toward Middle Tennessee. They traveled through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky then through the Kentucky settlements to the Cumberland Valley where they passed Kaspar Manskar's residence. Upon reaching the French Lick the group crossed the frozen Cumberland River and began construction of Fort Nashborough on the bluff of the river (Alderman 1986:147-148; Corlew 1981:51-52).

Meanwhile John Donelson left Fort Patrick Henry near the Long Island of the Holston River on December 22, and traveled by boat with 40 men and many women and children. Along the way Dragging Canoe and his followers attacked the flotilla as it passed the lower Cherokee towns. The Indians killed or captured everyone aboard a boat where people infected with smallpox had been quarantined. Robertson was supposed to meet the party at Muscle Shoals and escort them overland, but he failed to show up. The flotilla continued down river toward the Cumberland Settlements (Finger 2001:79-82; Putnam 1859:64-65; Haywood 1823:96-98).

Donelson finally arrived at the newly established Cumberland settlement on April 24, 1780. Along the way some of the party had headed down the Mississippi toward Natchez, and Moses Renfro left and settled near present-day Clarksville. Some of the party continued up the Cumberland to the Stones River. In May the settlers met and drew up the Cumberland Compact, a document that provided a loose form of government similar to that formed by the Watauga Association years earlier (Putnam 1859:80-81; Corlew 1981:53-54).

When the Virginia-North Carolina line was surveyed, the families that lived north of the Holston River and in Carter's Valley found that they were within the boundaries of North Carolina and not Virginia as they had thought. This area, including what would later become Hawkins County, was formed into Sullivan County in 1779. It was also confirmed that the Cumberland Settlements were well within the boundaries of North Carolina (Goodspeed 1887:912, 915).

Added to the danger of Indian attacks in 1779 was the threat of direct British incursions from the eastern side of the mountains. The British had stepped up their campaign in the southern colonies, joined by numerous Tories and Indians. Four hundred Tennesseans under Charles Robertson and Isaac Shelby crossed the mountains in the summer of 1780 to reinforce Colonel Charles McDowell. They fought in several engagements with British forces, but most returned to Tennessee when their 60-day enlistments were up.

When British General Lord Cornwallis defeated an American force and began advancing into North Carolina from the south, his subordinate Major Patrick Ferguson chased Colonel McDowell's force along the mountains to protect the British flank. Ferguson defeated McDowell, and many of the Americans retreated across the mountains to the Watauga settlement. Ferguson sent word to the Tennesseans that if they opposed him he would cross the mountains and destroy their homes.

On September 25, 1780 about 100 men, comprised of units led by John Sevier, Isaac Shelby, William Campbell from Virginia, and the remains of McDowell's force, gathered at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River from which they set out the next day to cross the mountains and fight Ferguson and his Tory army. Once over the mountain the force was reinforced to about 1,500 men. McDowell felt that a regular army officer should command the force, so he went to Horatio Gates to make the request. William Campbell took command of the force in McDowell's absence, and the army began to close in on Ferguson who had taken a position on King's Mountain in South Carolina (Alderman 1986:81-82; Dixon 1976:55-61).

On October 7, 1780 Campbell's army attacked Ferguson and after an hour, the British were defeated. About 157 men of Ferguson's command were killed, including Ferguson himself and many officers, and 700 were captured. Twenty-eight of the so-called "over mountain men" were killed. After hearing of the defeat, Cornwallis instructed British Indian superintendent Thomas Brown to urge the Cherokee to attack the Tennessee and Kentucky frontier settlements. The Overhill Cherokee, who had been relatively passive for a few years, were now lured back to the fight with the promise of British trade goods. Cherokee warriors from the Overhill towns, led by The Raven, would now join the Chickamaugans (Alderman 1986:97-105).

Indian attacks increased on the frontier in Tennessee and Kentucky. When John Sevier returned from the King's Mountain campaign, he immediately responded to the new attacks by marching with an army of 300 men into the Cherokee nation. Sevier's army crossed the French Broad River then skirmished with the Cherokee along Boyd's Creek in present-day Sevier County on December 16, 1780. The militia killed 28 Cherokee while suffering no deaths themselves (Alderman 1986:131-133; Ramsey 1853:264-265; Haywood 1823:74-75).

Additional troops reinforced Sevier bringing the number to over 700 men, and he moved southward intending to attack the Chickamauga towns. His army destroyed the Cherokee town Chota. The army marched as far as the Hiwasee River where several towns were burned, but the force turned back before reaching the Chickamaugans. The campaign, though it did not destroy the Chickamaugans, had the effect of once again pacifying the Overhill Cherokee (Ramsey 1853:265-268).

General Nathaniel Greene, who had replaced Horatio Gates as commander of the American forces in the south, appointed commissioners to negotiate with the Cherokee and the Chickasaw. Prior to their meeting though, John Sevier led 150 volunteers against the Middle Cherokee towns on the North Carolina side of the mountains to pacify them. In March 1781, Sevier's force captured the Cherokee town Tuskasegee, killing twenty Indians then moved on to attack nearby towns. Simultaneous with Sevier's attack was a move against a Cherokee force at Cumberland Gap. Joseph Martin routed Cherokee warriors south of the gap, but his mounted force could not pursue them very far.

On June 21, 1779 Spain declared war on Great Britain, but refused to recognize American Independence. The Spanish entry into the war brought increased activity by the Chickasaw Indians who were allied with Britain and whose lands were adjacent to Spanish territory in North America. A group of Chickasaw led by Scottish trader James Colbert attacked Spanish ships on the Mississippi River from the fourth Chickasaw bluff above present-day Memphis. They attacked settlers farther up the Mississippi and began to attack the Cumberland settlements. About twenty settlers were killed in mid 1780 when the Chickasaw attacked Moses Renfroe's station on the Red River. The last attack by the Chickasaw occurred in January 1781 (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:716; Ramsey 1853:268-269).

Despite the decrease in Chickasaw raids and a peace settlement to which they would agree after the British defeat at Yorktown in October 1781, the Cumberland settlements still suffered from attacks by the Chickamauga Cherokee as well as Creek, Shawnee, and Delaware Indians. Many settlers retreated to the somewhat safer Kentucky settlements, but James Robertson managed to hold most of the families together. A fierce attack came on April 2, 1781 when the Chickamauga warriors ambushed Robertson and his men while outside of Fort Nashborough. The settlers were cut off from the fort and the situation was grim, but many Indians broke off the attack to chase the settlers' horses that were escaping. A release of dogs from the fort added to the confusion and Robertson's group made it back inside the safety of the walls (Forester 1996:43; Alderman 1986:153-156).

The British suffered several setbacks in 1781. General Cornwallis, despite winning a victory in North Carolina, retreated toward the coast. The Spanish captured Pensacola in May and the Americans captured Augusta in June. On the last day of July 1781, the peace negotiations between the Tennessee settlers and the Cherokee began at the Long Island of the Holston River (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:719-720; Alderman 1986:140-141).

Old Tassel spoke for the Cherokee at the conference. The major issue was once again the encroachment of whites on Cherokee land, violating previous treaties. Both sides agreed that they wanted peace, but at the conclusion of the conference, there had been no real agreement on land rights. In October 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to a combined American and French force at Yorktown, Virginia. Even then Cherokee chief The Raven met with British officials in Savannah to pledge support. Dragging Canoe continued his raids, supplied by British arms.

Following a 1782 defeat of American forces in Ohio by a combined force of Shawnee, Delaware, and Chickamauga Indians, Dragging Canoe increased the intensity of attacks on Tennessee settlements. There was talk in Virginia of sending a large force to devastate the Cherokee, but overtures of peace from Dragging Canoe negated the plans. Dragging Canoe had been motivated by the British setbacks in the south and the increased talk of a large raid against him. Many were obviously skeptical of his peace offering though.

In September 1782 John Sevier led a force of 250 men out of North Carolina against the Cherokee towns on the Hiwassee River and Chickamauga Creek in Tennessee. After destroying several towns with little opposition, Sevier moved into Georgia where more towns were burned. Upon his return Sevier stooped at Chota to inform the Cherokee that there would be a conference to discuss Cherokee land cessions. Following Sevier's raid, a force of South Carolinians attacked Cherokee villages in the South Carolina backcountry. Andrew Pickens, the commander of this army, informed representatives of the Lower and Middle Cherokee towns that they must cease all hostilities or be destroyed. The Cherokee were forced to submit to the American demands for a conference (Finger 2001:93-95; Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:).

The Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution was signed on November 30, 1782. The terms of the agreement would take effect the following January though congress would not formally ratify the agreement until April 15, 1783. Most Indians, now faced with loss of support from the British, were now ready to make peace.

The Chickasaw sent representatives to Fort Nashborough to meet with John Donelson and Joseph Martin, who were acting as commissioners for Virginia. Here the Chickasaw agreed to allow white settlement where it already existed but refused to formally cede any land. They also agreed to expel the still hostile Delaware Indians from Chickasaw land (Alderman 1986:161-162).

Dragging Canoe, despite earlier peace overtures, was determined to continue his resistance to white incursions on Indian land. He and his followers established themselves in strong positions in the lower Cherokee towns where they controlled a portion of the Tennessee River where it passed through the steep Cumberland Plateau. Here Cherokee from several towns, as well as some Creek and Shawnee joined him.

With the formal end of the American Revolution came a need to pay off war debts, especially to soldiers who served during the war. Toward this end, North Carolina set off a military reservation that encompassed upper Middle Tennessee and offered tracts of land as pay for military service. Privates who had served at least two years could get 640 acres while a brigadier general could get 12,000 acres. Those settlers already living in the area were granted preemption rights for their land. James Robertson encouraged the creation of Davidson County in 1783 to provide local government for residents of the region (Finger 2001:99-103).

Land speculation ran rampant as investors sought to buy up vast tracts of Tennessee land. John Henderson's claims in Middle Tennessee had been largely negated, but his friends in the North Carolina legislature saw to it that Henderson was compensated for some of his loss. Some of the land deals ignored earlier treaties with the Cherokee and the Chickasaw claim to the western third of Tennessee. In June 1783 John Donelson and Joseph Martin met with 22 Cherokee claiming to represent the Chickamaugans and negotiated for land around Muscle Shoals on the



Tennessee River, then thought to be within the boundaries of North Carolina's western territory. Dragging Canoe would have no part of the deal and continued his fight against the white settlers.

William Blount, a member of the North Carolina legislature and himself a prominent land speculator, argued in 1784 for the cession of North Carolina's western territory to the new central government as Virginia had done earlier. Blount's suggestion was approved, but the North Carolina legislature eventually withdrew the approval and the territory was not ceded at that time. Delegates later met in Jonesborough and decided to form a new state that they called Franklin in honor of patriot Benjamin Franklin. A provisional constitution was adopted and officials were elected including John Sevier who was made governor (Alderman 1986:183-184; Haywood 1823:149-150; Corlew 1981:72-75).

A schism existed between those who supported the newly created state of Franklin and those who still recognized the authority of North Carolina. Officials of Franklin were removed from positions of authority in North Carolina. Evan Shelby was assigned to replace John Sevier as general of the Washington District. Because North Carolina and the United States government were planning meetings with the Cherokee, Franklin hurried to make their own treaty with the Indians and called for a meeting in June 1785. Meeting at Major Hugh Henry's station on a tributary of the French Broad River, representatives of Franklin and the Cherokee signed the Treaty of Dumplin Creek. By the terms of this agreement the Cherokee, in return for compensation, gave up the land south of the Tennessee and French Broad Rivers as far as the divide between the Little River and the Little Tennessee River (Finger 2001:116-117; Forester 1996:138).

The Treaty of Dumplin Creek, the only treaty that would ever be negotiated by the State of Franklin, in effect legalized previous trespassing on Cherokee land and negated boundaries established earlier by North Carolina. New settlers swarmed into the newly opened land, and Old Tassel later claimed that the Indians who signed the treaty thought they were only agreeing to temporary permission to trespass on the land.

Seeking to fill the void left by the British departure, Indian tribes began talks with Spanish officials, as Spain was the only European power left in southern North America. Concerned by these developments, the U. S. Congress appointed commissioners to meet with the southern tribes. Worried that federal involvement would negate their land claims, Franklin and Georgia argued that Congress did not have the authority to negotiate with the Indians. Despite this objection, a conference took place in Hopewell, South Carolina in November 1785. In the Treaty of Hopewell that resulted, the southern tribes agreed to cease hostilities and recognize the sovereignty of the United States of America. The Indians further agreed to accept federal supervision of all trade. In return, the government upheld most Cherokee land claims, reestablishing the boundaries in East Tennessee set in the 1777 Treaty

of Long Island. The commissioners also signed treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes but did not reach an agreement with the Creeks.

The Creek Indians, now in open warfare with Georgia settlers, were also strong allies of Dragging Canoe's Chickamaugans. Together the hostile Indians raided in Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The Creeks were being supplied out of Spanish Pensacola while the Chickamaugans received goods from French traders out of Detroit. The Chickamaugans, aided by their Shawnee and Delaware allies, harbored French traders near Muscle shoals, and Dragging Canoe's warriors fought alongside northern Indians as far as the Great Lakes.

The State of Franklin, North Carolina, and the United States continued to disagree as to the validity of the Treaty of Hopewell while settlers continued to move into disputed areas or refused to leave areas previously opened and now considered closed by the terms of the new treaty. The Cherokee killed several settlers in August 1786, prompting John Sevier to send troops against the Overhill towns. Threatening to destroy several Cherokee towns, officials of the State of Franklin forced the Cherokee to sign the Treaty of Coyatee. This treaty reaffirmed earlier land cessions north of the Little Tennessee River (Finger 2001:119-120; Dowd 1992:94).

The Cumberland Settlements, which had not joined the State of Franklin, were isolated from the home state of North Carolina, relying on a circuitous route through the wilderness for communication. Though now at peace with the Chickasaw and having had land claims affirmed by the Treaty of Hopewell, the settlers in Middle Tennessee were still harassed by the Chickamaugans and their allies. In 1787 North Carolina authorized the construction of a more direct road between Middle and East Tennessee. The Avery Trace, named for Peter Avery who supervised the work on the route, opened in September 1788. The road was rough and was now closer to the Chickamaugans and Creeks, thus requiring a military escort for travelers (Smith and Nance 2000:24; Ramsey 1853:502-506).

An incident in May of 1788 precipitated more violence between the Cherokee and whites. Upset by the Treaty of Coyatee that had been forced upon them, some Overhill Cherokee killed all but one member of the John Kirk family, then living in the disputed area on the Little Tennessee River. Sevier ordered immediate retaliation, once again bringing the Cherokee to the table for negotiations. Before the commencement of talks, John Kirk Jr. was allowed to murder several Cherokee chiefs including Old Tassel and Old Abram. This brutal act of revenge prompted many Cherokee to declare open war on the whites. Some joined Dragging Canoe while others moved into Georgia and established new towns (Dowd 1992:96; Alderman 1986:227-228).

Joseph Martin, who had replaced Evan Shelby as General of the Washington District Militia, launched a preemptive strike against the Chickamaugans before they could consolidate their alliance with the Overhill Cherokee. Martin's army was unable to dislodge the Indians from their entrenched positions on Lookout Mountain, and he

was forced to retreat. Dragging Canoe seized the initiative and launched a fierce attack against the East Tennessee settlements. The Indians destroyed many homes in the vicinity of James White's Fort in present-day Knoxville. Indians raided into Virginia and one contingent even went into camp near Jonesborough until John Sevier sent an army against them in January 1789 (Rothrock 1946:30; Alderman 1986:228-229).

Following this period of bloodshed and violence, all parties, including Dragging Canoe, agreed to a truce. North Carolina continued to undermine Franklin's authority, and Franklin failed to get recognition from congress during the constitutional convention in 1787. In an attempt to reconcile with North Carolina and save Franklin's future, Franklinites elected Evan Shelby as governor. Shelby refused to accept the position, as he was an official of North Carolina. In a futile attempt for assistance, some Tennesseans even spoke to Spanish officials about an alliance with Spain, going so far as to name the Cumberland Settlements the Mero District in honor of Don Estevan Miro. Sevier, himself involved in the talks with Spain, eventually lost interest in the plan and took an oath of allegiance to North Carolina, effectively putting an end to the State of Franklin.

To a large extent the intrigue and resultant rumors of Tennessee's Spanish alliance forced the issue of North Carolina's cession of its western territories to the federal government. In December 1789 North Carolina, having recently ratified the new constitution of the United States, passed an act of cession similar to one that it had passed and repealed five years earlier. Tennessee was now, under the terms of the Northwest Ordinance, to become a federal territory. On May 26, 1790 congress approved a government for The Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, usually referred to as just the Southwest Territory. William Blount became the territorial governor (Durham 1990:31).

Governor Blount now faced the difficult issue of negotiating with the Indians for the lands that were in dispute. The prospect of increased attacks on white settlements struck home in October 1790 when Brigadier General Josiah Harmar's army of more than 1,100 men (most untrained militia) was soundly defeated during an expedition in the Northwest Territory. A contingent of Chickamaugans helped the northern Indians in their victory in which Harmar lost 200 men. Harmar's defeat emboldened the Indians, and President George Washington authorized the raising of troops for another foray against the Indians in the Northwest (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:725; Finger 132-135).

With the federal government focusing on the north, there would be little assistance for the south, so it became increasingly important for Blount to induce the Indians to negotiate. Despite apprehension on both sides the negotiations began in June 1791 at James White's Fort where 1,200 Cherokee attended. Representatives of the Chickamaugans were present, though Dragging Canoe did not attend. After several days the negotiations concluded with the Treaty of Holston in which the Cherokee affirmed some of the earlier land cessions and opened some new areas.

They would be compensated with an annuity and would receive gifts including agricultural tools (Haywood 1823:269; Smith 1993:18; Rolater 1998:991).

As with other treaties, this agreement did not put an end to white trespassing on Indian land, nor did it end the fighting between the two sides. Further disaster befell the Americans when another expedition in the north, this one under General Arthur St. Clair, met with disaster against the Indians along the Wabash River in November 1791. Again the militia proved unreliable and many deserted, after which most of the 600 regulars were killed or wounded. Among the militia was a group of soldiers from the Washington District, and several southern Indians took part in the victory (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:725).

Early in 1792 a delegation of Overhill Cherokee traveled to Philadelphia to protest the Treaty of Holston, saying that the final document was not what they had actually agreed to. Secretary of War Henry Knox wanted to placate the Indians to avoid open conflict in the south as well as in the north, so he increased the annuity paid to the Cherokee and offered more gifts. He further agreed to delay the surveying of boundaries set by the treaty. Knox ordered that the militia remain vigilant in Tennessee, and 14 militia companies were called to active duty in Tennessee. Captain Beard's company accompanied Governor Blount to Nashville then assisted in the construction of defensive blockhouses (Smith and Nance 2000:39; Finger 2001:136-137)

Spanish officials encouraged raids by southern tribes on white settlements in Tennessee to stop the westward American expansion. The settlements were kept on the defensive, suffering several deaths and the loss of much property. In March 1792, Dragging Canoe died suddenly while celebrating a Chickamauga victory during a recent raid. Governor Blount immediately made contact with Dragging Canoe's successor, John Watts, and opened negotiations. Though the two met in May to discuss the possibilities of peace, the Chickamaugans continued to attack settlers, encouraged by the Spanish. Blount's realization that there would be no peace came when Chickamaugan, Creek, and Shawnee Indians attacked Zeigler's Station in present-day Sumner County, killing five and capturing others (Smith 1993:18; Haywood 1823:273-274; Moore and Foster 1923:208).

John Watts prompted further attacks from his new base near present-day Fort Payne, Alabama. He led a mixed force of Indians against the Nashville area, but disagreement among the Indians hindered the assault. They attacked Buchanan's Station near Nashville where the Indians were repelled and Watts was wounded. The Indians split up to launch smaller attacks in the area.

These attacks made Governor Blount realize that he could no longer rely on a purely defensive policy, but congress would not authorize or pay for an expedition against the Indians. Angered that neither Blount nor the two militia Generals, James Robertson and John Sevier, would take action because of lack of congressional

approval, some Mero District residents offered a bounty of \$100 per Indian scalp (Putnam 1859:394-395; Durham 1990:86-87).

In 1792 in east Tennessee, the militia constructed a blockhouse on the Clinch River near where the federal military would later build Fort Southwest Point at present-day Kingston. It was in this same year that militia established a post at the point where the Avery Trace crossed the Cumberland River in present-day Jackson County. This post at the crossing of the Cumberland was on land that Lieutenant Sampson Williams owned on the east side of the river opposite the site where the militia would later establish Fort Blount (Smith 1993:18).

Creek attacks in Tennessee increased early in 1793 after the death of the chief Alexander McGillivray. Blount met with the Cherokee including Chickamaugan John Watts in April, but Watts could not persuade the Chickamaugans from participating in raids and the Cherokee continued meeting with other tribes hostile to the white settlements. With tensions high and public sentiment strongly anti-Indian, several unauthorized attacks were made upon peaceful Cherokee. Among these was Captain John Beard's unprovoked attack on Hanging Maw's town.

Southern tribes continued to meet with and support northern tribes. In late summer of 1793, representatives of four southern tribes met with Spanish officials and signed the Treaty of Nogales. By this treaty the Spanish governor of the Louisiana territory, Baron Carondelet, hoped to oppose American expansion in the west by supplying the Indians against the whites. In practice the alliance would not work due to fighting between the Creek and Chickasaw.

In August 1793 hundreds of Chickamaugan and Creek Indians raided the Knoxville area. One month later they returned for a larger attack. Disagreement among the tribal factions made the attack less effective than it could have been. On September 25, having decided against a direct attack on Knoxville, the Indians destroyed Cavett's Station, killing thirteen people. Daniel Smith, filling in for William Blount who was in Philadelphia pleading with the Washington administration for assistance, allowed General John Sevier to lead an attack on several towns in Northern Georgia. The federal government was angered over the unauthorized attack and refused to pay the militiamen involved until several years later.

Governor Blount had been unsuccessful in his attempts to solicit government assistance for defense in Tennessee, and he began to think that the best course of action was to speed up the process of having Tennessee admitted as a state. A territorial assembly was called for and began meeting in February 1794. The newly elected representatives to the assembly petitioned the Washington administration for more protection, and though the congressional committee for territorial defense wanted to construct permanent military posts in Tennessee, Secretary of War Henry Knox said that no posts could be built because of the government's involvement in the northwest where General Anthony Wayne was preparing for a major offensive. Instead Tennessee received some weapons. The territorial assembly called for a

census to be taken the next year to determine if Tennessee had enough people to become a state (Finger 2001 143-146; Durham 1990:129-133).

By early 1794, the blockhouse at the crossing of the Cumberland had been replaced by a larger post on the west side of the river. This post would become known as Fort Blount. A list of militia soldiers under Lieutenant Hugh Beard who was commanding the post in 1794 states that Indians killed Private Thomas Bledsoe on September 3 (Smith and Rogers 1989:17-19).

Tellico Blockhouse was a federal outpost constructed between 1794 and 1795 at the confluence of the Tellico and Little Tennessee Rivers. This site became a federal "factory" or trading post for trade with the Indians and was later the office of the Cherokee Agent. The site was manned until 1807 (West 1998:911). Other posts established at the same time were Fort Grainger on the Tennessee River near Knoxville and Bull Run Blockhouse north of Knoxville (S. Smith 2000:143). The Bull Run Blockhouse may have been synonymous with Holmack's Station in present-day Union County

With the protection of these military posts, the number of attacks declined in East Tennessee, but the Chickamaugans and Creeks continued to harass the Mero District. James Robertson and other leaders among the Cumberland inhabitants advocated an attack on the Chickamaugans, but Blount repeatedly warned them about the cost of such expeditions. Despite these warnings, the settlers of the Mero District launched an attack on September 13, 1794. Major James Ore and 550 mounted troops attacked and burned the Chickamaugan towns Nickajack and Running Water. General Robertson resigned his commission, having accepted full responsibility for the attack, and Governor Blount, despite evidence that he knew of the attack in advance and may have helped plan it, claimed in his report to Henry Knox that he was completely surprised (Finger 2001:145-147).

Major Ore's attack, usually known as the Nickajack expedition, came one month after the August 20, 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers in which General Anthony Wayne's army met and soundly defeated an Indian force in Ohio and destroyed nearby villages. Along with the victories at Fallen Timbers and the Chickamauga towns came a reduction of aid to the Indians from Spain. Spain would recognize the boundary of the United States in the following year. Creek raids continued for another year in Middle Tennessee, but the war between the Creek and Chickasaw finally put an end to Indian attacks in Tennessee. Blount continued to push for statehood, and Tennessee was admitted to the union on June 1, 1796 (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:725; Putnam 1859:477-481).

## BETWEEN THE WARS, 1797-1812

Tennessee enjoyed relative peace during the interim period between the American Revolution and the War of 1812. On the national front, this period was highlighted by several important events. In 1798, tensions between The United States and its Revolutionary War ally France had grown during France's own revolution. As French forces operated in the West Indies, the French navy began to interfere with American shipping. War seemed in the offing, and President John Adams called George Washington out of retirement to take charge of the American Army. Adams also established the Navy Department. The ensuing conflict, known as the Quasi War, was a naval conflict that lasted from 1798 until 1800, during which the United States captured or sank 85 French vessels.

In 1801 Tripoli, one of the Barbary States on the north coast of Africa that preyed on shipping in the Mediterranean, declared war on the United States. President Thomas Jefferson sent a naval squadron to blockade the port, and the blockade was kept up through 1803. The remainder of the war was highlighted by the American capture of the city of Derna that was held for six weeks against counterattacks. The force was withdrawn after a peace settlement was reached with the Pasha of Tripoli. Then on August 1, 1805 the United States forced a peace agreement on Tunis, one of the other Barbary States (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:725, 780-781).

Meanwhile one of the most significant events in American history was unfolding when a cash strapped Napoleon Bonaparte abandoned all plans for landing troops in New Orleans and instead sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States. France had won the territory by conquest of Spain, but was still at war throughout Europe and desperately needed the money. The purchase doubled the size of the United States.

In 1811 the Shawnee were again fighting settlers in the north. Chief Tecumseh organized a resistance and won support from British-Canadian fur traders. William Henry Harrison, Brigadier General and Governor of the Indiana Territory, led a force of more than 1,000 soldiers against the Indians. On November 7, 1811 the two armies fought at Tippecanoe Creek where the Americans were victorious (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:794).

In Tennessee the interval between the wars saw the buildup of federal troops following the admission of the state to the union. The Southwest Point blockhouse in present-day Kingston was replaced by Fort Southwest Point in 1797. Federal troops continued to replace militia in other posts such as Fort Blount, Fort Grainger, and Tellico Blockhouse.

## THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE CREEK WAR

Since the end of the American Revolution, there had been friction between the United States and Britain. The ill will between the two had increased during the war between Britain and France when the United States tried to maintain neutrality. Britain and France both violated that neutrality, frequently boarding American ships and impressing American seamen into foreign service. The British-Canadian backing of Indians in the United States and the American expansionists desire to annex Canada further strained United States relations with Britain. On June 19, 1812 the United States declared war on Britain citing the need to defend the freedom of the seas.

Much of the action during the War of 1812 was concentrated along the American-Canadian border. A planned American invasion of Canada was abandoned and the Americans were forced on the defensive as British troops and Indians made several attacks in the summer of 1812. The British captured Fort Mackinac (Michigan) in July and Fort Dearborn (present-day Chicago) in August. The Indians massacred the American garrison of Fort Dearborn after they had surrendered. One day later the British captured Detroit. Other American efforts on land during this opening phase of the war were equally disastrous.

At sea the American Navy proved its ability to stand up in a ship to ship fight, but the numerical superiority of the British Navy soon had a strangle hold on American ports. By 1813 American ships actively avoided the blockading fleet and searched for commercial ships to attack. There were many American privateers engaged in this operation (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:795-804; Hickey 1989:14-15, 26-28).

On land General William Henry Harrison and Commodore Oliver Perry cooperated to recapture Detroit in September 1813. Harrison then decisively defeated the British and Indian force, and Chief Tecumseh was killed in the action. The fighting along the border went on throughout the war with both sides enjoying periodic successes and defeats, but the British having overall more success than the Americans. In July 1814 the British invaded up the Chesapeake Bay eventually capturing the American capital, Washington, and burning several government buildings in August. An attempted assault on Baltimore in September was turned back after a severe naval bombardment of Fort McHenry failed to capture the fort and the Americans also repulsed the British land forces (Dowd 1992:183-184; Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:796-797; Hickey 1989:135-139).

In the south Tennesseans played a vital role in the fighting that was primarily against the Creek Indians. President James Madison called for volunteers to defend the south and Tennesseans came in great numbers. Major General Andrew Jackson organized an expedition bound for New Orleans and Mobile. Two infantry regiments under Colonels Thomas Benton and William Hall traveled by river to Natchez,



Mississippi while one regiment of mounted troops under Colonel John Coffee met in Columbia, Tennessee and moved overland to Natchez to rendezvous with the infantry in February 1813. After several weeks the troops were disbanded and ordered to return home (Kanon 2002:1-2).

There was considerable unrest in the Creek Nation due to government efforts to institute new political and economic systems into the tribe. This coupled with the large number of settlers moving into the Mississippi territory threatened the Creek way of life. Shawnee Chief Tecumseh visited the Creek in 1811 trying to incite them to resist the white encroachment. Disagreement among the Creek led to civil war within the tribe. The militant faction of the Creek became known as the Red Sticks.

The Red Stick Creek Indians allied themselves with the British and began attacking garrisons in the south. On August 13, 1813 the Creek attacked Fort Mims above Mobile, Alabama and killed half of the garrison of 550. In November Andrew Jackson led a volunteer force that defeated the Creek Indians at Tallasahatchee on November 3rd. General Coffee led 1,000 mounted troops into the town and destroyed it. David Crockett, who fought in the battle said, "We shot them like dogs." Jackson then moved on to aid the pro-American Creek at Talladega on the 9th. Jackson's men quickly defeated the Red Sticks, killing about 300 (Dowd 1992:169-173; Kanon 2002:2-3; Hickey 1989:146-148).

Jackson had expected to rendezvous with Major General John Cocke's army from East Tennessee, but rivalry and inadequate supplies led Cocke to campaign on his own. On November 18, 1813, Cocke's army of East Tennesseans, joined by a contingent of Cherokee, attacked a village belonging to a Creek tribe known as the Hillabees. The Hillabees had actually discussed surrender terms with Jackson, but word came too late as the Americans and Cherokee attacked and quickly defeated the Creek, killing about 70 (Kanon 2002:4).

Jackson and Cocke joined forces, but they were faced with a crisis in December 1813 when many of the volunteer enlistment periods came to an end. Jackson was determined to go on with even his diminished force, and in January 1814, reinforced by two regiments from Fort Strother, Jackson continued his campaign. Jackson camped his army near a Creek camp at Emuckfau Creek, and the next morning, on January 22, the Indians attacked. After fierce fighting with several attacks and counterattacks, Jackson repulsed the Creek force then withdrew to Enotochopco Creek where he entrenched his army (Finger 2001:233-234; Kanon 2002:5-6).

Jackson resumed his march to Fort Strother on January 24 and the Creek attacked the rear guard as they were crossing Enotochopco Creek. The rear guard held off the attackers until Jackson could turn the army around and drive off the Indians. Jackson returned to Fort Strother and dismissed most of his army in February. He claimed that during the campaign his army killed 189 Creek warriors.

After recruiting new enlistments numbering about 5,000 troops and collecting supplies, General Jackson marched out of Fort Strother on March 14, 1814.

The army marched 60 miles and established Fort Williams on the Coosa River then prepared to march another fifty miles to Tohopeka, which white Americans called Horseshoe Bend. Horseshoe Bend was a large U-shaped bend of the Tallapoosa River where Creek warriors had built a log barrier closing off the bend. Inside the bend in an area of about 100 acres was a Creek village that included 1,000 warriors along with women and children. Jackson left garrisons at several forts, so his army numbered 3,000 when it reached Tohopeka on March 27, 1814 (Hickey 1989:148-149; Corlew 1981:140).

Jackson sent General Coffee with his mounted troops and some Cherokee and allied Creek warriors to cross the river below horseshoe bend and surround the Red Sticks to prevent their escape. Jackson's two artillery pieces began bombarding the log wall, but the fire was ineffective, and Jackson ordered an assault. Meanwhile Coffee's troops had crossed the Tallapoosa behind the village and taken the Red Stick canoes. They used these canoes to bring more men across and attack from the rear.

The 39th U.S. Infantry and the Tennessee militia attacked the barricade and managed to take the position after a sharp fight. Now surrounded, the Red Stick Creek warriors fought a desperate battle, but by the end of the day, they had been defeated with a loss of almost 900 men. Jackson lost 32 killed and 99 wounded while his Indian allies lost 23 killed and 47 wounded.

The severe defeat at Horseshoe Bend forced the surrender of many more Creek Indians, and in August 1814 the Treaty of Fort Jackson ended the conflict. By terms of the treaty, the Creek nation gave up about 20 million acres of land, though Creek Indians that had been allied with the Americans occupied much of the land. Settlers swarmed in to the area and soon formed the state of Alabama. Jackson was rewarded with a commission as Major General (Kanon 2002:6-7; Hickey 1989:149-150; Dowd 1992:187).

Jackson now turned his attention to Spanish held Pensacola where many of the militant Red Stick Creek had taken refuge hoping for assistance from Spain or Britain. When a British force operating out of Pensacola (Spain and Britain had become allies but Spain had not declared war on the United States and was officially neutral in the War of 1812) unsuccessfully attacked Mobile, Jackson used it as an excuse to invade Spanish West Florida and attack Pensacola. On November 7, 1814, with a force of regular army units, militia, and Choctaw Indians, Jackson easily captured the city, while the British refused to help the Spanish garrison. The move put the remaining Red Stick Creek to flight and put an end to future cooperation between Britain and Spain in Florida (Kanon 2002:7).

Jackson now took his army to defend New Orleans against possible British attack. Jackson arrived in New Orleans on December 1, 1814 and began making preparations to defend the city. His force consisted of regular troops, militia, Indians, New Orleans citizens, and Jean Lafitte's pirates. The British under General Sir Edward Packenham arrived on the 13th and moved to within seven miles of the city. On the night of December 23, Jackson launched an assault on the British that caught them off guard and temporarily panicked the British troops. They eventually recovered and repulsed the American attack.

Unknown to either side, the War of 1812 had officially ended with the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814, but it would be February before the news reached America. On December 28, Packenham ordered an attack on Jackson's left wing, which was commanded by Major General William Carroll's Tennessee militia volunteers. The Americans repulsed the British attack, and Jackson strengthened his line. The British again attacked on January 1, 1815 and were turned back by the effective artillery commanded by Jean Lafitte's pirate crews.

Packenham tried for one more large assault to carry the American works. On the morning of January 8 the British force advanced on the American line under a withering fire. The British attack was uncoordinated and the fire from the Americans proved deadly. After two hours of fighting, the British had suffered 2,000 casualties including 500 captured. Jackson lost 11 killed and 23 wounded. Packenham abandoned the New Orleans campaign and returned to his ships (Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:802; Kanon 2002:7-9; Hickey 1989:206-214).

Congress ratified the Treaty of Ghent on February 15, giving many the impression that the United States had won the war with the New Orleans victory. In truth the British had generally had more success during a war that was as close to a draw as possible. The treaty did not address the causes of the war, instead calling for a cessation of hostility, exchange of prisoners, and arbitration of boundary disputes. Tennesseans had volunteered in great numbers to fight in the southern campaigns, thus giving the state its nickname of Volunteer State (Hickey 1989:308-309; Dupuy and Dupuy 1986:804; Corlew 1981:139-140).

## SURVEY OF SITES RELATED TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE WAR OF 1812 (CREEK WAR)

This study focused on two periods of conflict within Tennessee – the American Revolution and the War of 1812 or Creek War. The date parameters (1775-1795) chosen for identifying sites associated with the American Revolution in Tennessee span not just the formal period of the war, but also a subsequent period of continued conflict between Tennessee's Euro-American/African-American settlers and the Cherokee and other Native-American tribes. The War of 1812 period includes the Creek War with overall dates from June 1812 to February 1815. This study of sites focused on those with a military component as well as potential archaeological integrity. Thus not all historic sites or structures matching these time periods were included in the survey just because they were from the right period. Likewise, sites that have been destroyed and thus have no archaeological integrity were not recorded.

### **Site Components**

Each site recorded in the statewide site file maintained by the Tennessee Division of Archaeology is identified by its historic archaeological site type, which is composed of one or more components. The components relevant to the two themes of this study are discussed below.

#### Frontier Station

The terms "station" and "fort" are often used interchangeably in secondary literature dealing with the Revolutionary period. The names listed in Table 2 reflect a historic name where applicable, so a site that bears a historic name including "fort" may not necessarily list "Fort" as a component. Examples include Shield's Fort in Sevier County and the Earnest Fort House in Greene County. Longmire (1994:4) proposes defining a station as "a defensive or defensible privately built structure erected to provide protection and/or initial lodging to the settlers of the area." The key here is that the station is privately built whereas "Forts" usually have a military aspect to them. There are exceptions to this, however. Ish's Station in Blount County was privately built, but John Sevier used it as a headquarters in 1793 while directing militia movements during a time of high alert among the settlements.

Durham (1998:345) says that the terms "station" and "fort" were used interchangeably prior to 1796 to refer to "a structure, or adjacent structures, that could temporarily house more than one family and provide protection from Native American attacks." He further states that "forts" are more properly those works that are constructed by the military. A station could be a single fortified house that might also be enclosed by a palisade.

Ramsey (1853:376) says of stations in Tennessee, "At first, each of these stations was a single cabin in the midst of a clearing. When Indian disturbances

broke out, the inhabitants clustered together in the strongest one near them, and it then became a station." Ramsey suggests that an integral purpose of the station was mutual defense. It seems to be true that in most areas, there was one station that was considered more defensible than other structures, and it was here that the local inhabitants gathered in times of crisis. This is true of Amos Eaton's "Fort" in Sullivan County, King's Mill "Fort" in Sullivan County, Ish's Station in Blount County, and Kilgore's Station in Robertson County to name a few.

Examples of standing buildings used for defense during the revolutionary period are shown in Figures 1 through 3. Figure 1 is the Earnest Fort House in Greene County. It is a three-story structure with a stone lower portion and log upper portion. The Thomas Amis House in Hawkins County is shown in Figure 2. The original portion of this house is a one and one-half story stone structure that has been significantly expanded with frame construction. The expansion took place in the early nineteenth century. The stone structure is said to have had "gun ports" in the upper portion. Figure 3 shows the John Roberts log house in Sullivan County. This house was attacked by Indians, and the Roberts family was killed. This site is also classified as a small battlefield.

### Blockhouse

A typical blockhouse of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a strong log structure that usually had an overhanging second story. The Fort Marr blockhouse (Figure 4) in Polk County is an example of this type of structure, though the exact date of Fort Marr's construction is unknown and the surviving building has been moved from its original site. It is possible that the name blockhouse may have sometimes been used to describe a strong cabin suitable for defense, perhaps with the inclusion of loopholes through which weapons could be fired. The British army in America constructed many log houses without chinking for their garrisons. As many of the engineers for the British Army were German, the German word *blockhaus*, meaning "log house," may have been used for these structures. The blockhouse may have alternately originated with the Swedish *fatburen* or fortified storehouse. These structures were of log construction with overhanging second stories, and they often included loopholes. The Swedish settlers in Delaware could have conceivably adapted this type of construction for defense (Jordan 1985:75).

In a study of frontier forts in West Virginia, McBride and McBride (1991:1) divide the forts in their study area into three categories, one of these being the blockhouse. They define the blockhouse as "A fortified (stronger) log cabin or house, which sometimes had an overhanging second story."

Military blockhouses built in Tennessee during the period of unrest with the Indians include the Southwest Point Blockhouse (Roane County) and the Blockhouse at the Crossing of the Cumberland (Jackson County). Other sites with structures described as blockhouses include Black's Blockhouse in Blount County and Ridley's Station in Davidson County.

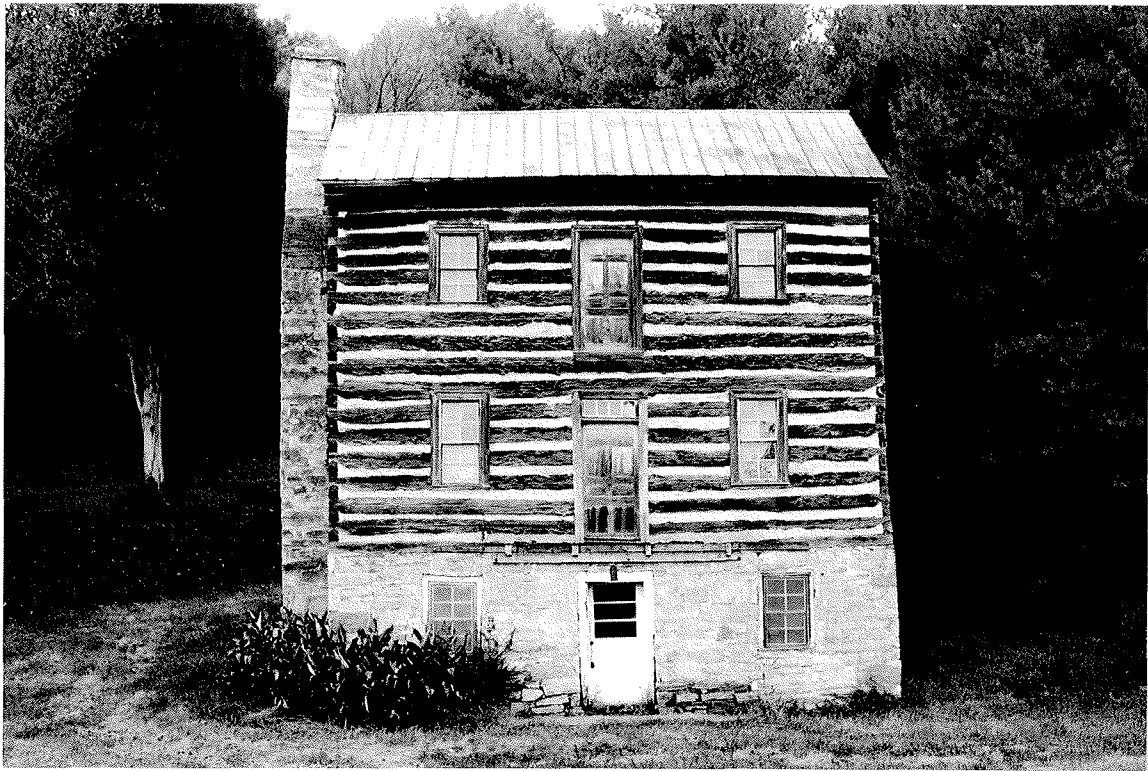


Figure 1. Earnest Fort House in Greene County



Figure 2. Thomas Amis House in Hawkins County.



Figure 3. John Roberts' House in Sullivan County.

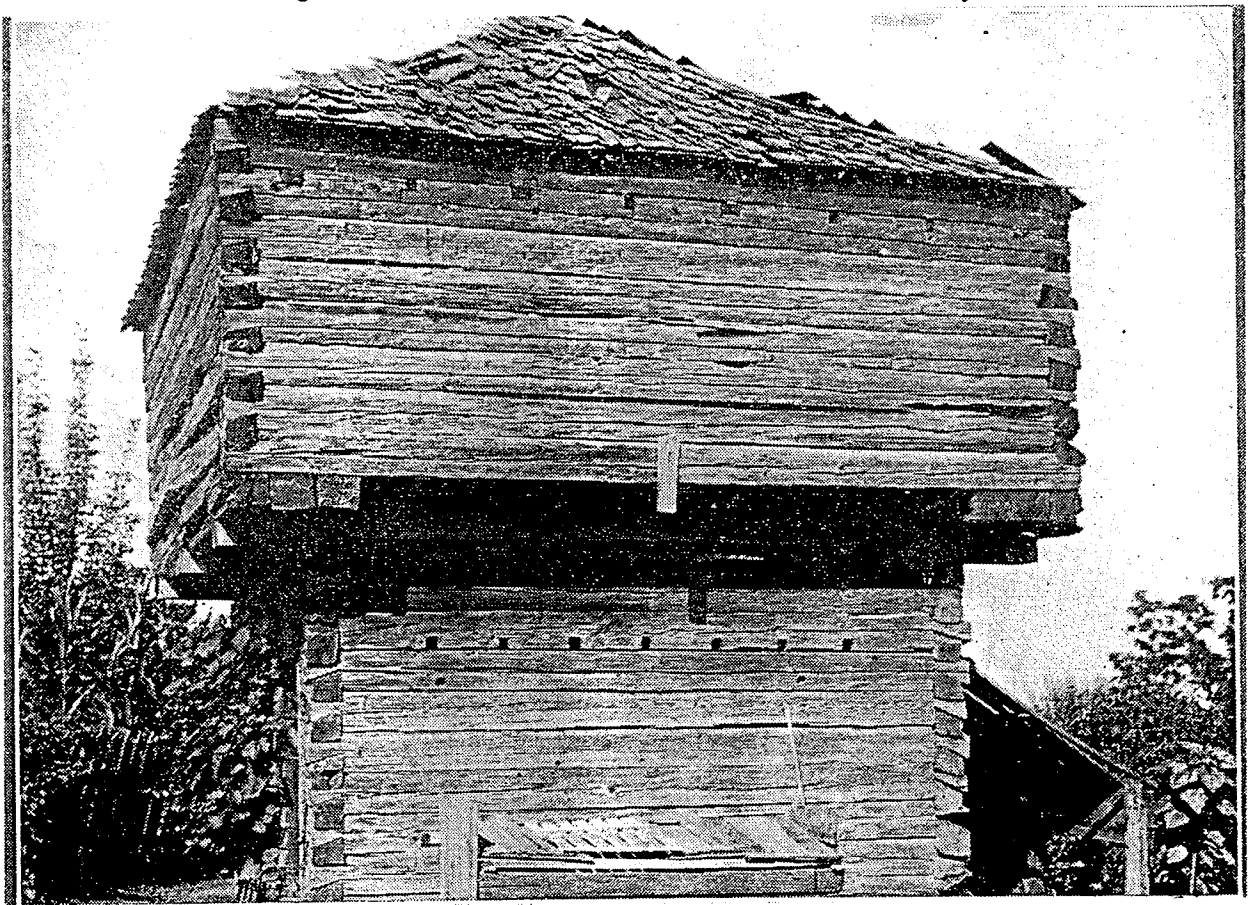


Figure 4. Fort Marr Blockhouse (from Smith 1993:175).



### Stockade

A stockade was an enclosure formed of vertical logs (palisades), usually sharpened to a point on top. These were generally used to enclose or connect cabins or blockhouses. McBride and McBride (1991:1) define the stockade as “a cabin or group of cabins surrounded by a palisade or stockade of vertical logs.” Moses Looney’s house in Sullivan County, a structure that still stands today, is thought to have originally been surrounded by a stockade wall, parts of which became visible during a winter freeze in the 1970s. John Craig’s Station in present-day Maryville is another example. Craig is said to have enclosed over two acres, including his home and a spring, with a twelve-foot tall palisade. Many of the sites identified as stations probably once had such a feature, but unless there was clear information to indicate this, “stockade” was not assigned as a component term. In most cases, archaeology would provide the best means for making such a determination, but this has rarely been done. One example where the remains of a stockade (the stockade ditch) was found by excavation is at the site of Bledsoe’s Station in Sumner County (K. Smith 2000).

### Fort

The term fort implies a large, rather complex defensive structure composed of several defensive elements such as blockhouses, stockades, and probably other buildings. McBride and McBride (1991:1) define a fort as “having blockhouses or bastions on the corners of its stockade and as having stockade walls made up of cabins connected by palisades.” For purposes of the present study, forts are generally considered to have a military association unlike most of the privately built frontier stations of the era. Several stations have the word “fort” as part of their name, and the two designations are often used interchangeably in the literature. Examples of forts that were used in what is now Tennessee during the American Revolution include Fort Patrick Henry, possibly built on the site of the previous Fort Robinson near the upper end of the Long Island of the Holston (Sullivan County), and Fort Caswell, later renamed Fort Watauga, on a rise overlooking the Watauga River in present-day Elizabethton (Carter County).

### Muster Ground

The muster ground was a place for the gathering and recruiting of soldiers, usually local militia units, for the purpose of drill or to form a larger cohesive unit for military service. Local militia met and drilled periodically, preparing for when that unit might be called to active service. A large muster ground and encampment recorded for the War of 1812 portion of the study is Camp Blount in Lincoln County just south of Fayetteville. The Adams Inn site in Marshall County, Tennessee was used as a muster ground, with the inn building (Figure 5) used as Andrew Jackson’s headquarters. As is evident from the photograph, the last remaining portion of the inn has now been moved from its original site. Figure 6 shows the historical marker





Figure 5. Adams Inn building being moved from site.



Figure 6. Site of Camp Blount, War of 1812 muster ground.

for Camp Blount. In the background there is a large parking lot that has destroyed part of the site.

### Battlefield

Battlefields are locations where two opposing sides met and fought. The list of site types used for recording Tennessee archaeological sites includes designations for large and small battlefields. These are distinguished by the size and type of units involved. Battlefields recorded during this study include the places where attacks on homes and stations occurred, such as the raids on Cavett's Station in Knox County and John Roberts House in Sullivan County, as well as somewhat larger battles like the ones at Boyd's Creek in Sevier County and the fight on Lookout Mountain (Hamilton County). None of these, however, warrant classification as a "Large Battlefield." Figure 7 shows the monument commemorating the Battle of Boyd's Creek, the obelisk having been erected in 1927 by the Sons of the American Revolution.

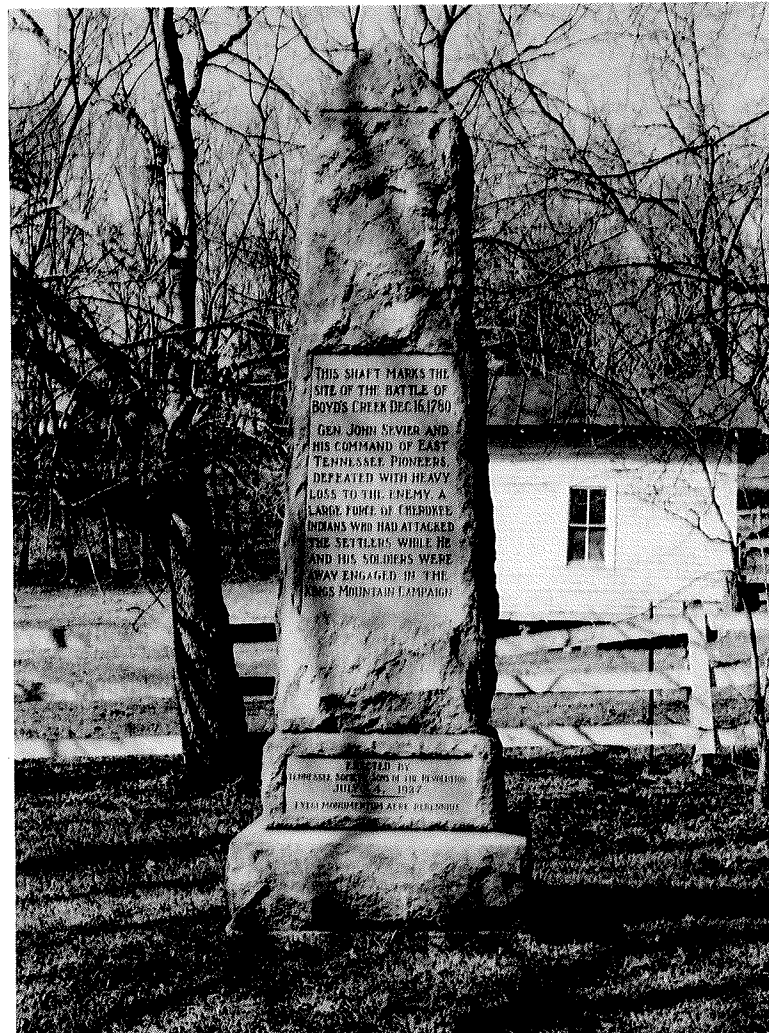


Figure 7. Monument for Battle of Boyd's Creek.

### Encampment

The component term encampment is used for areas where some kind of military unit (in the case of this survey military or militia companies or Indian war parties) stayed for one or more nights. Sites of this type are difficult to identify because they usually leave no surface evidence. The only example that was recorded (the site of a brief Creek warrior encampment on the Duck River in Maury County) was defined largely from very specific archival information.

### Headquarters

A headquarters can be any building or location that a military leader establishes as a central location from which to issue orders to his troops. John Sevier established his headquarters at Ish's Station (Blount County) in 1793 while preparing to campaign against the Cherokee. The term was also used for the Adam's Inn site in Marshall County (see discussion of "Muster Ground").

### Other Components (Military)

In the List of Archaeological Site Types used for recording Tennessee's historic-period archaeological sites there are numerous component terms that are normally employed to identify non-military things. However, these same terms are sometimes used in connection with military activities. Examples include a Revolutionary War era powder mill in Carter County; Nickajack Cave (Marion County) and Bone Cave (Van Buren County), which were used as salt peter mines in connection with War of 1812 preparations; and a remnant portion of the Dug Hill Road in Marshall County. This last was constructed by War of 1812 troops to facilitate moving artillery across a ridge south of Belfast, Tennessee. The road was subsequently used for non-military transportation, and part of it still exists as a limited use farm road.

### Non-Military Components

Many of the sites recorded, especially those associated with the Revolutionary War, also have non-military components. Some of the eighteenth-century stations continued to serve as private residences after 1795. Some of the recorded site components suggest dual, military and non-military uses. King's Mill Fort in Hawkins County and Rice's Mill in Sullivan County served as grist mills and as strongholds where people gathered during times of danger.

## Sites Related to the Revolutionary War in Tennessee

Table 2 lists the Tennessee sites defined as relating to the Revolutionary War. This includes sites recorded during the recent survey as well as those that were already on record before the start of this survey. The table also shows the historic-period archaeological components identified for each site, using abbreviations defined at the beginning of the table. Each of these components is discussed above.

In addition to the recorded sites, there are a number of potential sites related to the Revolutionary War theme that have not been found. These are known by way of some kind of historical documentation, but the information is not sufficient to define an exact location. Some of these could probably be recorded given adequate time for additional archival research or with the appropriate contacts with local informants or collectors. These potential sites are listed in Table 3 by region and county.

**Table 2. Recorded Sites Related to the American Revolution in Tennessee**

**Key to site components:** Frontier Station - **FS**, Blockhouse - **BK**, Stockade - **ST**, Fort - **FT**, Muster Ground - **MG**, Battlefield - **BT**, Encampment - **EN**, Headquarters - **HQ**, Other Components - **OC**, Non-Military Component - **NM**. Standing structures designated with **ss**.

Site Number	Site Name	Recorded Historical Archaeological Components
<b><u>EAST TENNESSEE</u></b>		
<b>Blount County</b>		
40BT7	Chilhowee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40BT8	Tallassee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40BT9	Ellijay	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40BY10	Cowee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40BT149	Black's Blockhouse	FS, BK, BT
40BT150	Calvin's Station	FS
40BT151	Ish's Fort	FS, BK, HQ
40BT152	John Craig's Station	FS, ST, NM (mill)
40BT153	Martin's Station	FS, NM (mill, house)

<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types</b>
40BT154	Gillespie's Station	FS, BT
40BT155	Gamble's Fort	FS
40BT156	McTeer's Fort	FS
40BT157	Tedford's Fort	FS
40BT158	Samuel Henry's Station	FS, BT, NM (grist mill)
40BT159	James Houston's Station	FS, BK, BT
40BT160	Well's Station	FS
<b>Carter County</b>		
40CR4	Fort Watauga	FT, BT
40CR40	Powder Branch Powder Mill	OC (powder mill)
<b>Cocke County</b>		
40CK161	Painted Rock Blockhouse	BK
40CK215	Wood's Fort	FS
40CK216	John Huff Fort	FS
40CK217	Abram McKay's Fort	FS, NM (house, blacksmith shop, cemetery)
<b>Grainger County</b>		
40GR205	Shield's Station	FS (ss), NM (house, hospital, post office, store)
<b>Greene County</b>		
40GN253	Earnest Fort House	FS (ss)
40GN254	Henderson's Station	FS (ss)
40GN255	Carter's Station	FS, BK, ST
<b>Hamilton County</b>		
40HA65	Citico	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA66	Unnamed Cherokee town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA67	Chickamauga	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA69	Ooltewah	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA104	Tuskegee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA107	Chattanooga	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA108	Vann's Town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40HA434	Battle on Lookout Mountain	BT [and Civil War military components]
<b>Hawkins County</b>		
40HW254	Thomas Amis Fort	FS (ss), ST, NM (farmstead)
40HW255	Big Creek Fort	FS, ST
40HW256	Patterson's Station	FS, NM (grist mill)
40HW257	Henry Rice's Mill	FS, NM (grist mill)
40HW258	Kyle's Fort / Walnut Hill	FS
40HW259	Jackson's Blockhouse	FS, BK, NM (grist mill)

Site Number	Site Name	Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types
<b>Knox County</b>		
40KN67	Cavet's Station	FS, BK, BT, NM (cemetery)
40KN215	Sawyer's Fort	FS, NM (farmstead) [and Civil War military components]
40KN221	Campbell's Station	FS, NM (farmstead, inn) [and Civil War military components]
40KN272	Bartlett's Mill/Station	FS, NM (mill)
40KN273	Maniffee's Station	FS
40KN274	Adair's Station	FS, ST
40KN275	Reynold's Station	FS
<b>Marion County</b>		
40MI6	Running Water Town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MI10	Long Island Town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MI99	Nickajack Town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
<b>Monroe County</b>		
40MR2	Chota	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR3	Mialoquo	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR4	Tuskegee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR5	Tomotley	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR6	Toqua	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR7	Citico	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR9	Chilhowee	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR50	Tellico Blockhouse	BK [later fort complex]
40MR62	Tenase (Tenasi)	BT, NM (Cherokee)
40MR75	Great Tellico / Chautooga	BT, NM (Cherokee)
<b>Polk County</b>		
40PK3	Hiwassee Old Town	BT, NM (Cherokee)
<b>Sevier County</b>		
40SV17	Wear's Fort	FS, BT, NM (farmstead, mill)
40SV76	Shield's Fort	FS, ST, BT, NM (farmstead)
40SV156	Derrick's Fort	FS
40SV157	Lawson's Fort	FS
40SV158	Newell's Station	FS, NM (courthouse)
40SV159	Battle of Boyd's Creek	BT
40SV160	William McGaughey's Station	FS, BT, NM (house)
40SV161	Major Hugh Henry's Station	FS
<b>Sullivan County</b>		
40SL7	Fort Patrick Henry	FT
40SL46	Eaton's Fort	FT
40SL374	Evan Shelby's Station	FS

<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types</b>
40SL375	Captain Jacob Womack's Fort	FS, MG
40SL376	Double Springs Muster Ground	EN, MG
40SL377	John Roberts House/Massacre	BT (ss), NM (house)
40SL378	Martin Roller House	FS, NM (house)
40SL379	Moses Looney's Fort	FS (ss), ST, NM (house)
40SL380	King's Mill Fort	FS, ST, NM (grist mill)
<b>Unicoi County</b>		
40UC10	Battle of Flint Creek	BT
<b>Union County</b>		
40UN43	Sharpe's Station	FS, NM (cemetery)
40UN197	Holmack's Station	FS, BK, BT
40UN198	Miller's Raccoon Valley Station	FS
<b>Washington County</b>		
40WG114	Gillespie's Station	FS, NM (house) [and Civil War military components]
40WG124	Brown's Settlement	NM (blacksmith, gunsmith, store, house, cemetery)
40WG125	Fort at Flourville	FS (ss)
40WG126	Dungan's Mill and Fort	FS, NM (mill, house)

<b>MIDDLE TENNESSEE</b>		
<b>Davidson County</b>		
40DV102	Armstrong Station	FS
40DV103	Brown's Station	FS
40DV104	Buchanan's Station	FS, BT
40DV105	Cockrill Station	FS
40DV106	Donelson Station	FS
40DV107	Dunham's Station	FS
40DV108	Eaton Station	FS
40DV109	Fort Union	FS
40DV110	Freeland's Station	FS, BT
40DV111	Hodge Station	FS
40DV112	Johnson Station	FS
40DV113	Joslin Station	FS
40DV114	Rain's Station	FS
40DV115	Mansker's First Station	FS, BT
40DV116	Robertson Station	FS, ST, NM (house)
40DV117	Fort Nashborough	FS, ST, BT
40DV118	Stump's House	FS
40DV133	Eaton's Second Station	FS, NM (house)



<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Site Name</b>	<b>Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types</b>
<b>Jackson County</b>		
40JK125	Fort Blount	FT, BK, ST
40JK131	Blockhouse at the Crossing of the Cumberland	BK
<b>Maury County</b>		
40MU570	Creek Camp and Skirmish	EN, BT
<b>Montgomery County</b>		
40MT45	Sevier's Station	FS, NM (house)
<b>Robertson County</b>		
40RB142	Maulding's Station	FS, BK, NM (cemetery)
40RB143	Crockett's Station	FS, BK
40RB144	Kilgore's Station	FS, NM (cemetery)
<b>Rutherford County</b>		
40RD238	Black Fox Camp	EN, BT
<b>Sumner County</b>		
40SU32	Bledsoe's Station	FS, ST
40SU33	Douglas Station	FS
40SU34	Greenfield Station	FS, BT
40SU35	Hamilton Station	FS
40SU36	Hall's Station	FS
40SU37	Mansker's Second Station	FS
40SU38	Morgan's Station	FS, BT
40SU39	Saunders's Station	FS, BT
40SU40	White's Station	FS
40SU41	Zeigler's Station	FS, BT
40SU42	Asher's Station	FS, BT
40SU95	Rock Castle	FS, NM (house, cemetery)
<b>Williamson County</b>		
40WM30	Mayfield Station	FS, BT, NM (house)



**Table 3. Potential (not recorded) Sites Related to the American Revolution in Tennessee**

**EAST TENNESSEE**

<b>Anderson County</b>	Holman's Blockhouse
<b>Blount County</b>	Bird's Station David Craig's Station Hunter's Station Kelly's Station Kirk Massacre House McCullock's Station Sherrell's Station Thomas' Station Wilson's Station
<b>Carter County</b>	Carter Womack's Fort Parkerson's Station Robertson's Station I Robertson's Station II Sinking Creek Station Sycamore Shoals Muster Ground Valentine Sevier's Station
<b>Claiborne County</b>	Fort Butler George Yoakum's Station Skirmish Near Cumberland Gap
<b>Cock County</b>	Whitson's Fort
<b>Grainger County</b>	Bean's Station Haley's Station
<b>Greene County</b>	Fort Lee
<b>Hamblen County</b>	Green's Station
<b>Hamilton County</b>	Bull Town (Cherokee) Little Owl's Town (Cherokee)
<b>Hawkins County</b>	Brook's Blockhouse Evan's Station Pevahouse Station

<b>Jefferson County</b>	Friend's Station Henry's Station Strawberry Plains Station
<b>Johnson County</b>	Honeydew Station Parkinson's Station
<b>Knox County</b>	Bennett's Station George Mann House Gillam's Station Governor's Station Hackett's Station Knoxville Barracks Lowe's Station White's Fort
<b>Loudon County</b>	Coyatee (Cherokee) Fort Grainger
<b>Monroe County</b>	Neowee (Cherokee)
<b>Roane County</b>	Post Oak Springs Camp Southwest Point Blockhouse Chisholm's Fort
<b>Sevier County</b>	Gist's Station John Sevier's Headquarters Wilson's Station
<b>Sullivan County</b>	Battle of Long Island Flats Bledsoe's Fort Christian's Fort Delaney Fort John Shelby's Station Long's Fort Ramsey's Fort Rocky Mount Muster Ground Russell's Fort Station near Greenfield
<b>Unicoi County</b>	Greasy Cove Muster Ground

## MIDDLE TENNESSEE

### Davidson County

Barton Station  
Bosley's Station  
Caffrey Station  
Castleman's Station  
Clover Bottom Fort  
Denton Station  
Elliot Station  
Gantt's Station  
Hardeman's Station  
Hay's Station  
Henderson Station  
Hickman's Station  
Jonathan Robertson's Station  
Neelly's Station  
Ridley's Station  
Rounceval's Station  
Shute Station  
Thompson Station  
Weakley Station

### Hickman County

Blockhouse on Sugar Creek

### Humphreys County

Fort at Reynoldsburg

### Montgomery County

Neville's Station  
Prince's Station  
Renfroe's Station

### Robertson County

Adam's Station  
Battle Creek Massacre  
Mile's Station

### Stewart County

Lick Creek Blockhouse  
Tennessee River Blockhouse

### Sumner County

Fort on Drake's Creek  
Hendrick Station  
Kiefe Station  
Martin's Blockhouse  
Walnutfield Station  
Wilson Station

### Williamson County

Crockett Fort  
Moore's Fort  
Smith Fort

### Sites Related to the War of 1812 (Creek War)

Table 4 lists the recorded sites related to War of 1812 military activities in Tennessee. As is evident there are far fewer recorded sites representing this theme than the previous. This is not surprising given that all of the fighting that occurred in connection with this war was outside the boundaries of Tennessee. Two of the sites are related to mining saltpeter for the production of gunpowder. One site, the Dug Hill Road in Marshall County, contains a segment of road that was constructed by troops moving south. This was done to facilitate the transport of artillery pieces across a ridge. It was later used for non-military purposes and is now an abandoned roadbed. Table 5 lists potential sites suggested by documents but not found during this study.

**Table 4. Sites Related to the War of 1812 in Tennessee**

Site Number	Site Name	Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types
<b><u>EAST TENNESSEE</u></b>		
<b>Marion County</b>		
40MI108	Nickajack Cave	OC (saltpeter mine)
<b>Polk County</b>		
40PK586	Fort Marr / Morrow	FT [and later military components]
<b>Rhea County</b>		
40RH35	Hiwassee Garrison	FT, NM (cemetery)
<b><u>MIDDLE TENNESSEE</u></b>		
<b>Jackson County</b>		
40JK125	Williamsburg Muster Ground	MG, NM (town site)
<b>Lincoln County</b>		
40LN188	Camp Blount	MG, EN
<b>Marshall County</b>		
40ML210	Adams Inn	MG, HQ, NM (farmstead)
40ML211	Dug Hill Road	OC (road)
<b>Maury County</b>		
40MU571	Rally Hill / Walker House	MG, NM (house)

Site Number	Site Name	Recorded Historical Archaeological Site Types
<b>Van Buren County</b>		
40VB103	Bone Cave	OC (saltpeter mine)
<b><u>WEST TENNESSEE</u></b>		
40SY5	Fort Pickering	FT

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**Table 5. Potential (not recorded) Sites Related to the War of 1812 in Tennessee**

**EAST TENNESSEE**

<b>Blount County</b>	Kennedy Gunpowder Mill
<b>Campbell County</b>	New Mammoth Cave (saltpeter)
<b>Jefferson County</b>	McSpadden's Powder Mill

**MIDDLE TENNESSEE**

<b>Davidson County</b>	Nashville Muster Ground/Camp Blue Brick Muster Ground
<b>Maury County</b>	Rally Hill Muster Ground
<b>Smith County</b>	Dixon Springs Muster Ground

## CONCLUSIONS

Much of Tennessee's early history concerns the story of conflict between Euro-American and African-American settlers and the several American Indian tribes who contested their encroachment west of the Appalachian Mountains. Fighting started almost at first contact and continued until about 1795, when, owing to superior numbers and technology, the settlers finally subdued the Indians in the matter of control of Tennessee. Conflicts would flare up again, particularly in the Creek War of 1813-1814, and Tennesseans would also take up arms against the Seminole Indians in Florida in 1818 and again from 1835 to 1843, but each time the Euro-Americans would emerge victorious.

The 125 recorded sites related to the American Revolution in Tennessee as well as the 101 potential sites related to that theme attest to the scope of the conflict that raged throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Defense against the Indians was a primary concern for settlers as they sought to establish a foothold in Tennessee, often illegally settling beyond established treaty boundaries. Most of the frontier stations established during the period of Revolutionary War influence were privately constructed and served as dwellings as well as defensible structures. Some of these, due to their superior defensive nature or because they were larger than other surrounding stations, became the central locations for communities. It was in these safe havens that the local residents gathered during times of crisis.

The recorded sites (Table 2) that relate to the Revolutionary War in Tennessee were defined in terms of several relevant components. Most common besides frontier stations are small battlefields. Some of these are components of sites of frontier stations; meaning that there is clear documentation showing the station was attacked in some force by Native Americans. A majority of the battlefield components were assigned to Cherokee town or village sites, and these reflect historical information concerning that village being attacked or destroyed by Euro-American settlers. Totals for all of the Revolutionary War site components are: Frontier Stations = 85, Battlefields = 50, Blockhouses = 13, Stockades = 12, Forts = 4, Encampments = 3, Muster Grounds = 2, Headquarters = 1, and Other Components (that relate to military activities) = 1. Some of the sites (N = 56) also have one or more non-military components not related to the survey theme.

There are ten recorded sites relating to the War of 1812, and seven potential sites that were not recorded. War of 1812 components include 4 Muster Grounds, 3 Other Components (two saltpeter mines and one road), 2 Forts, 1 Encampment, and 1 Headquarters. Two of these sites have non-military components unrelated to the theme. Besides the unrecorded sites shown in Table 5, there are probably more muster grounds, encampments, and war industry sites related to this theme that have still not been identified.

The unrecorded sites listed in this report result from cases where documentation exists but is not specific enough to provide a clear location. For those

sites that were recorded, information that led to finding the site often came from local residents through whom oral tradition has been passed down. Some of these residents are descendants of the families who originally settled on the site in question. Some information about site locations also came from collectors.

It is expected that future studies of archival documents such as deeds and other land records will provide the information necessary to record additional sites. As with previous surveys of this type, the information presented here serves as a starting point for more specific and detailed studies of individual sites. It is hoped that some of these future studies can be done in the dual context of documentary and archaeological research, leading to thorough understandings of many of the more important of these sites.

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