

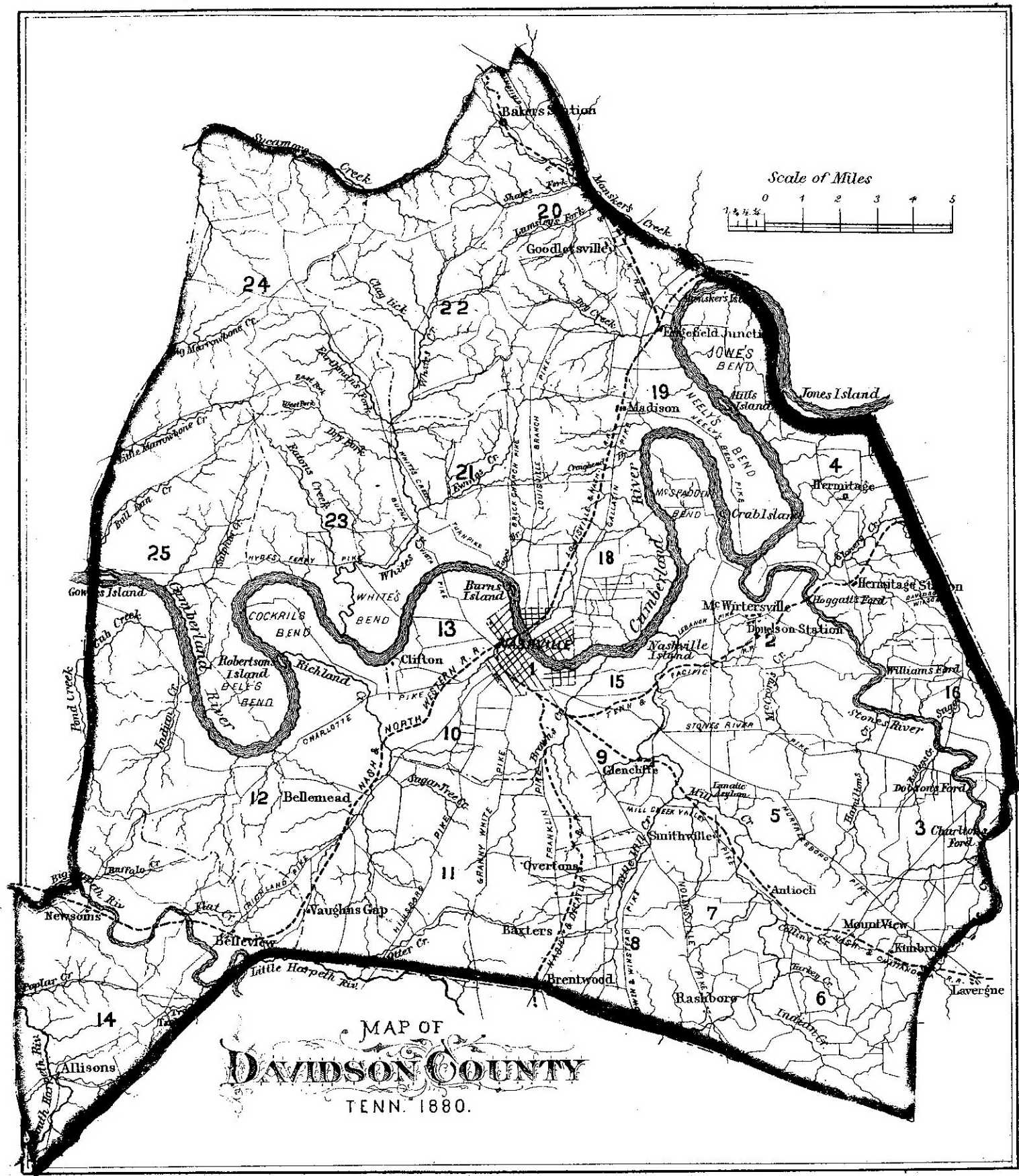
HISTORY
Of
DAVIDSON COUNTY,
TENNESSEE,
WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS AND
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
of its
PROMINENT MEN AND PIONEERS

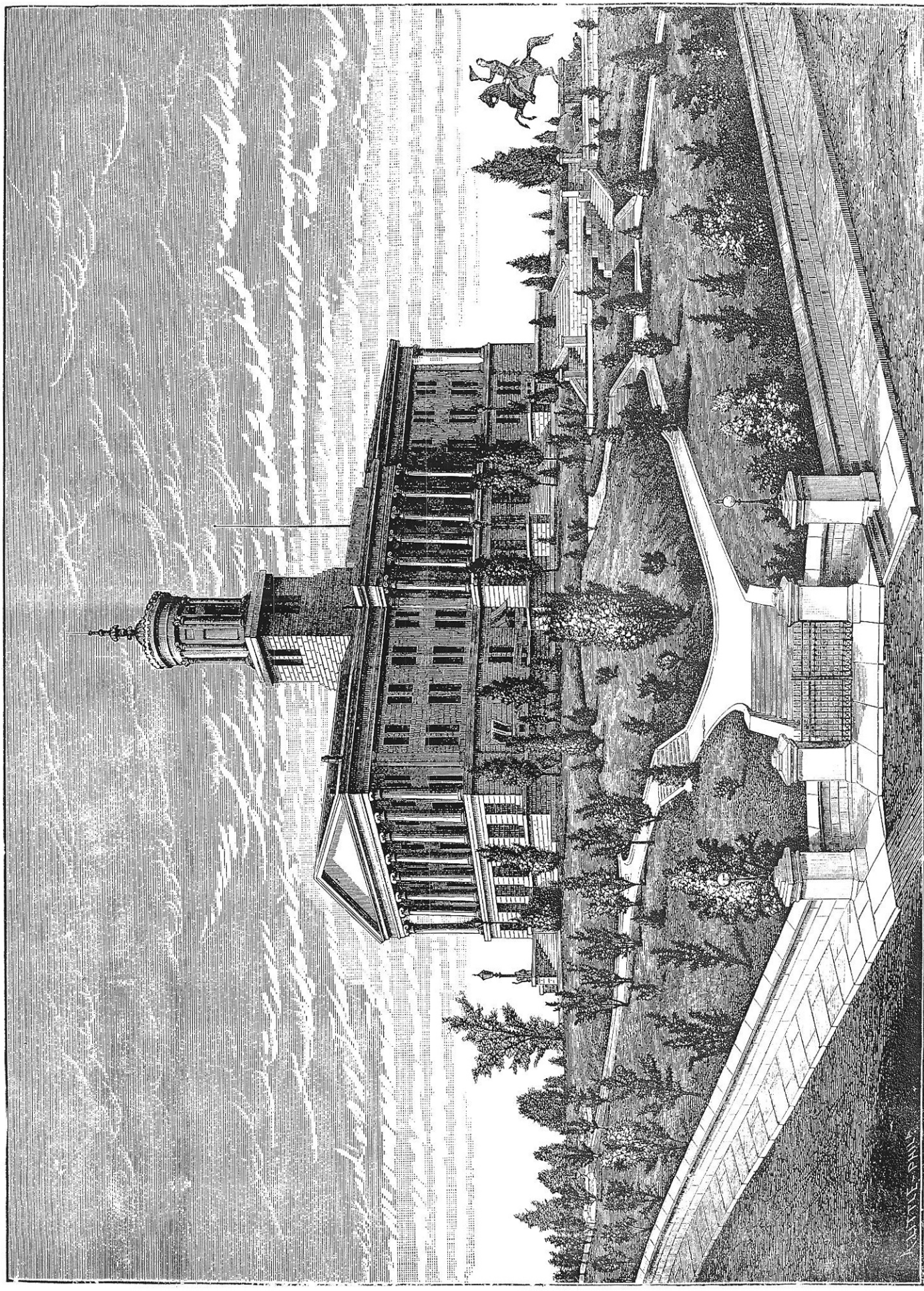
BY PROF. W. W. CLAYTON

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CAPITOL OF TENNESSEE AT NASHVILLE.

SKETCHED BY H. P. WHINNERY.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

PREFACE

THE History of Davidson County comprised in the present volume has been compiled under the supervision of the Tennessee Historical Society. All the care and labor compatible with the limited time allowed for its preparation have been bestowed upon the work, and we trust it may be found as full and accurate as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances.

The interest and thoroughness of the history have been enhanced by the labors of several members of the Historical Society, who have materially aided the compiler both in the collection of matter and in the preparation of portions of the manuscript. The services of Anson Nelson, Esq., Secretary of the Society, and of Dr. E. L. Drake, of Nashville, should be especially acknowledged in this connection. The latter furnished the Military History of the County, embracing several chapters of the pioneer wars, the Creek and Seminole campaigns, the war of 1812-14, the Mexican war, and the great Civil war of 1861-65.

The plan of the work will be readily perceived by the intelligent reader. It consists of four departments, first, a General History, or that which is common to the county at large; second, the History of the City of Nashville, including its press, its commercial and manufacturing interests, and its institutions; third, the history of the Civil Districts; and fourth, the Biographical Department. The whole is carefully indexed to facilitate reference.

It should be said in this connection that many biographies of persons especially historic are scattered through the text of the general history, or interwoven with it in their appropriate places. The same is true of the history of some institutions with which the men whose lives are given were intimately identified. With this exception the biographies are placed in the department devoted to that subject. The arrangement, upon the whole, has appeared the best that could be devised, and we trust it will be satisfactory to all concerned.

The Civil Districts, as they appear in a department by themselves, occupy comparatively small space. This is owing to the fact that much matter relating to them has been necessarily placed in the General History. For example, the early history of the districts is given in the chapter on the organization of the county; in the chapter on Courts will be found a list of the justices of the peace and judges of the county court appointed or elected in each district from the organization of the county to 1880; also in the Ecclesiastical History and in the chapter on Public Schools are given the history and statistics of the churches and schools throughout the county. In addition to this, much of the matter belonging to the districts, being of a personal nature has been placed in the Biographical Department.

It is hoped that the work will be acceptable to its patrons and prove a valuable contribution to the local history of a very important section of the country.

W. W. C.

PHILADELPHIA, September, 1880.

APPROVAL BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, held in Nashville, June 15, 1880, the Secretary, Anson Nelson, Esq., introduced the following declaration of approval of the manuscript of this history, which, after discussion, was adopted, and a copy of the declaration ordered sent to the publishers:

Some weeks ago the publishers of the History of Davidson County announced to the Society that the manuscript was complete and ready for the inspection of the committees heretofore appointed, or for the inspection of any member who might be interested in looking over the manuscript. The chairman of the Committee on Military History expressed at a former meeting his satisfaction with that part of the work. The Committee on Civil History makes a similar report to day on the department assigned to it for inspection. Individual members of the Society have looked over different portions of the manuscript, and though the entire history has, of course, been read by no one person, the general concurrence of sentiment authorizes a just inference as to the character of the work. This volume is intended to embrace besides a history in the general sense of the term, local statistics, facts connected with our public institutions, colleges, academies, names of all persons who have held official positions, etc., forming a body of matter of great interest to the people; and from the industry which was exhibited by the publishers in getting this information it is our opinion the compilation will be well and carefully made.

The literary editor, Prof. Clayton, labored earnestly and zealously to gather facts for the general history, and we think that he has faithfully performed his work, and that under his supervision a work of much merit and interest will be furnished, coming up to the standard which was promised by the publishers. Perfection in matter and manner, accuracy to a point beyond all criticism, cannot be predicated of any work which ever has been or will be printed; but we take pleasure in stating that we believe the history will be as free from errors as it could be made, the subjects being so various and devious, and that the publishers have succeeded in accomplishing what they undertook and promised to their subscribers.

With the biographical department the Society has nothing to do. These parts of the volume are to be printed in a different type, are not to be paged with the other leaves, may be passed over in the reading, and are easily distinguished from and constitute no part of the context of the public history.

The secretary is authorized to send a copy of this declaration of approval to said publishers.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

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HISTORY

of

DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

CHAPTER I

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENTS

Formative Period—Primitive Condition of the Country—First Explorers—Discovery of Cumberland River and Gap—First Forts in Tennessee—Absence of Indian Settlements—First Permanent Settlement at Watauga—Spirit and Character of the First Settlers—Wake County, North Carolina—The Regulators—Mecklenburgh Resolves—Capt. James Robertson—Government established at Watauga.

THE first period of the history of Davidson County is that which may be termed its formative period, beginning with the first distinctive shaping of those events which led to its settlement, and closing with its organization as a civil division of North Carolina in the year 1783. It will be seen that this division of our subject will carry us through the first stages of discovery and settlement west of the Alleghany Mountains, and through the period of the Revolution, down to the treaty of peace between the thirteen original States and Great Britain, which was ratified the same year that Davidson County was organized.

In order to see the earliest, and to some extent the most interesting, phase of the country about which we propose to write we must fall in with the current of population advancing westward and trace its gradual swell and progress until at length its first wave breaks over the crest of the Appalachian Range and falls into the valleys below. All that magnificent country lying to the westward of this great mountain-chain, embracing Tennessee and Kentucky, was a vast hunting-ground for various Indian tribes, within which a few Anglo-American hunters, clad in buckskin breeches, leggins, and moccasins, with their rifles and powder-horns slung upon their shoulders, had begun to dispute with the aborigines the exclusive monopoly of the finest game-park on the continent. We cannot well conceive at the present day the interest which this fine country, abounding with magnificent forests and streams and stocked to repletion with herds of the noblest wild animals, must have awakened in the minds of the primitive explorers who first penetrated beyond the great mountain range which for more than a century had shut in the view of the dwellers upon the more barren and sterile Atlantic slope. It was like the vision of a new world, greater far in extent and more beautiful than anything of which they had ever conceived; but of the country itself little was

positively known. A wandering Indian would imperfectly delineate upon the sand a feeble outline of its more prominent physical features. A voyage in a canoe from the sources of the Hogohegee* to the Wabash† required for its performance, in their figurative language, "two paddles, two warriors, three moons." The Ohio itself was but the tributary of a still larger river, of whose source, size, and direction no intelligible account could be communicated.

The Mussel Shoals and the obstructions in the river above them were magnified into mighty cataracts and fearful whirlpools, and the Suck was represented as an awful vortex. The wild beasts with which the illimitable forests abounded were numbered by pointing to the leaves upon the trees or the stars in a cloudless sky.

These vague and uncertain intimations were soon supplemented by more definite information coming through traders who penetrated to the Indian countries of the Southwest. The first of these was Cornelius Dogherty, a trader from Virginia, who established himself at the Middle Settlement of the Cherokees, on the Little Tennessee, as early as 1690. He sent furs and peltry by Indian pack-men to Charleston, who returned packed with merchandise, which the natives received in exchange. Other traders followed, and in 1740 a regular route of communication for packhorses and agents was opened along the Great Path from Virginia to the centre of the Cherokee Nation. The last hunter's cabin at that time was on the Otter River, now in Bedford Co., Va. The traders and packmen generally confined themselves to the Great Path till it crossed the Little Tennessee; then spreading themselves out among the several Cherokee villages, they continued their traffic as far down the Great Tennessee as the Indian settlement upon Bear Creek: The commerce with the natives was profitable, and not only attracted many traders but others, who pursued trapping and hunting independently of the Indians.

Among these early adventurers were some men of considerable note. Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia, in company with Cols. Wood, Patton, and Buchanan, Capt. Charles Campbell, and a number of hunters, passed Powell's Valley in 1748, and gave the name of Cumberland to

* Holston

† The Ohio was known many years by that name.

the lofty range of mountains on the west. Tracing this in a southwestern direction, Dr. Walker and his party came to the remarkable depression in the chain to which they gave the name of Cumberland Gap. Through that gap flowed the tide of emigration from the East to the West for more than half a century. On the western side they discovered the beautiful mountain-stream which they called the Cumberland River.*

Two forts were built in what is now Tennessee during the French war, viz., Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee, in 1756, and the Long Island fort, on the Holston, in 1758. The former was destroyed in 1760. When it was erected it was one hundred and fifty miles in advance of any settlement, the most western settlement at that time being composed of six families on the western side of New River. During the French war the Indians attacked these settlers, murdering Burke and his family, and compelling the others to fly for safety to the eastern side of the river. No attempt was made to carry the white settlements farther west till the close of the war.

In 1760 the Cherokees were at peace with the whites and hunters began to renew their explorations. In this year Dr. Walker made a tour of inspection in what is now Kentucky, and Daniel Boone left his famous inscription on a beech-tree in the valley of Boone's Creek, a tributary of the Watauga, commemorating his deed of prowess in having there "died a bar" that year. In 1761 he came at the head of one of the companies from Virginia and North Carolina who settled in Carter's Valley, in what is now Hawkins Co., Tenn. Boone himself was from the Yadkin, in North Carolina, and, according to Haywood, traveled with the company he was guiding as far down as where Abingdon now stands, and there left them. This famous pioneer of civilization continued in his work of guiding settlers into new counties still farther westward till he reached the St. Charles district in Missouri, where he died in 1820. In 1762, Wallen and his company passed down the south fork of the Holston, having crossed the Blue Ridge at Flower Gap, New River at Jones' Ford, and the Iron Mountain at the Blue Spring. They fixed their station camp near the Tennessee line and on the present road from Jonesborough to Rogersville. Some of the company descended to Greasy Rock Creek, and fixed their camp near the present line between Hawkins and Claiborne Counties. The next year Wallen and his party passed through Cumberland Gap, and hunted during the whole season on the Cumberland River.†

In 1764, Daniel Boone, still living on the Yadkin, set out, in the employ of the Transylvania Company, to explore portions of the great country now included in Kentucky and Tennessee. With him came Samuel Callaway, his kinsman and the ancestor of the respectable family of that name who were pioneers of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. Callaway was at the side of Boone when, approaching the spurs of the Cumberland Mountain and in view of the vast herds of buffalo grazing in the valleys between them, he exclaimed, "I am richer than the man mentioned in Scripture, who owned the cattle on a thousand hills; I own the wild beasts of more than a thousand valleys." During the following year Henry Scaggins, who was also employed

by Col. Richard Henderson, of the Transylvania Company, extended his explorations to the lower Cumberland, and fixed his station at Mansker's Lick.

"About the last of June, 1766, Col. James Smith set off to explore the great body of rich lands which, by conversing with the Indians, he understood to be between the Ohio and Cherokee Rivers, and lately ceded by a treaty made with Sir William Johnson to the king of Great Britain. He went, in the first place, to Holston River, and thence traveled westwardly in company with Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone, and William Baker, who came from Carlisle, Pa.—four in all—and a slave, aged eighteen, belonging to Horton. They explored the country south of Kentucky, and no vestige of a white man was to be found there, more than there is now at the head of the Missouri. They also explored Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers from Stone's River down to the Ohio. Stone's River is a branch of Cumberland, and empties into it eight or ten miles above, Nashville. It was so named in the journal of these explorers after Mr. Stone, one of their numbers, and has ever since retained the name. When they came to the mouth of Tennessee Col. Smith concluded to return home, and the others to proceed to the Illinois. They gave to Col. Smith the greater part of their powder and lead, amounting only to half a pound of the former and a proportionate quantity of lead. Mr. Horton also left with him his slave, and Smith set off with him through the wilderness to Carolina. Near a buffalo-path they made them a shelter; but fearing the Indians might pass that way and discover his fireplace he removed to a greater distance from it. After remaining there six weeks he proceeded on his journey, and arrived in Carolina in October. He thence traveled to Fort Chissel, and from there returned home to Conococheague, in the fall of 1767."‡

This exploration of Col. Smith was, with the exception of Scaggins', the first that, had been made of the country west of Cumberland Mountain in Tennessee' by any of the Anglo-American race. The extraordinary fertility of the soil upon the Lower Cumberland, the luxuriant cane-brakes upon the table-lands of its tributaries, its dark and variegated forest, its rich flora, its exuberant pasturage, in a word, the exact adaptation of the country to all the wants and purposes of a great and flourishing community, impressed the explorer with the importance of his discovery, and of its great value to such of his countrymen as should afterwards come in and possess it. Not strange was it that the recital of what he had seen during his long and perilous absence should excite in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, as he passed homeward, an urgent and irrepressible desire to emigrate to and settle this El Dorado of the West.§

During the year 1767, John Findley, a fearless Indian trader from North Carolina, accompanied by several associates, made an excursion into the new country now exciting so much interest in the Eastern settlements. They passed through upper East Tennessee to Cumberland Gap, and thence continued their explorations to the Kentucky

* Holston

† These names were given in honor of the Duke of Cumberland.

‡ Haywood.

§ Annals of Tennessee p. 70.

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River. The spirit of adventure had now become almost a mania, numbering among its subjects nearly every bold and fearless backwoodsman. Companies of these varying in numbers from two to forty accumulated in rapid succession upon the border settlements from the Monongahela to the Savannah, and excited in the minds of the more discreet and sagacious settlers' apprehensions of renewed hostilities from the now friendly Indians. These apprehensions were not without foundation. By the opening of the spring of 1768 the savages along the whole line of the western frontier, from the sources of the Savannah to those of the Tennessee, had become exasperated and united in their determination to check further encroachments upon their territory. None of these Indians were residing at this time in the territory of Kentucky or Tennessee, nor had any of them a rightful claim to a foot of it, save as a common hunting-ground. The exploring and hunting parties discovered no signs of Indian occupation.

"But in their frequent peregrinations and trading expeditions through the vast territories between the Ohio and the Tennessee Rivers the first traders, hunters, and explorers never found, within that extent of country, a single wigwam or modern Indian village. The Indian settlements nearest to the frontier borders of the Carolinas, and of Southwestern Virginia, were on the Scioto and Miami in the North, and on the waters of the Little Tennessee in the South. From these points the various war or hunting parties issued to engage in the one or the other pursuit as the passions or the opportunities of their expeditions might lead. Here the Choctaws, Chickasaws, or Cherokees of the South used to engage with the various tribes of the Miami Confederacy of the North; here they indulged their passion for hunting in the profusion of game afforded by Tennessee and Kentucky. That part of these two States embraced within the boundaries mentioned was one great park, where the skill of the uncivilized hunter was practiced, and a central theatre, upon which the desperate conflicts of savage warriors and bloody rivals were perpetrated. By common agreement of all the surrounding tribes this whole section of country seems to have been reserved for these purposes from permanent occupancy; and so much was it exempted from settlement, that south of the Ohio and north and east of the Tennessee it is not known that a single village was settled by the Indians; yet no situations have generally delighted savage tribes so much as the margins of watercourses, the opportunities of navigation and of fishing unite to attract them to such spots. Some known and acknowledged inhibition must have, therefore, prevented the settlement and possession of this great Mesopotamia. What was it? On this subject tradition and history are alike indistinct and unsatisfactory.* "We think, on the contrary, that quite a clear and satisfactory explanation is furnished. It is well known to the careful student of history that at the period of which we are speaking the whole territory of this neutral hunting ground as far south as the Tennessee River (called in ancient treaties the river of the Cherokees) was admitted by all other tribes to belong to the

confederacy of the Six Nations by right of conquest, and that the Six Nations inhibited the occupancy of it by any of the surrounding tribes except for the purpose of a common hunting-ground. This will appear in our Indian history in another chapter.

After the return of Col. Smith, Isaac Lindsay and four others from South Carolina visited the Lower Cumberland. Nothing of importance is mentioned in connection with this expedition, except that the explorers met at the mouth of Stone's River two other hunters—Stoner and Harrod—who were from the Illinois, having descended the Ohio River from Pittsburgh. They were informed that the French had a station at the bluff where Nashville now stands, and another ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Tennessee.

We come now to the period when the first permanent settlement was effected in Tennessee. The progress of events thus far has shown us only the *avant courier* of the mighty host soon to cross the border and begin the conquest of the wilderness, a conquest to be carried forward across the Western continent till the banner of civilization should be planted upon the shores of the Pacific. At this point in our progress we can well appreciate the spirit and beauty of that passage in Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee" where he sees crowds of immigrants concentrating at the leading avenues from the Atlantic to the Western waters, standing for a moment impatient of longer restraint and casting a wishful look upon the inviting country before them. We quote:

"Tennessee was yet without a single civilized inhabitant. We have traced the approaches of the Anglo-American population to her eastern boundary. The genius of civilization, in her progress from the East, had passed the base of the great Appalachian Range. She stood upon its summit, proud of past success, and, ambitious of further and greater achievement, surveyed from that height the Wide field before and around her. On her right are the rich valleys and luxuriant plains of Kentucky and Ohio, as yet imperfectly known from the obscure report of the returning explorer or the Shawnee prisoner on the left her senses are regaled by the luxuriant groves, the delightful savannas, and the enchanting beauties of the sunny South. Far in the distance and immediately before her she contemplates the Great West. Its vastness at first overwhelms and astounds her, but at the extreme limit of her vision American adventure and Western enterprise are seen beckoning her to move forward and to occupy the goodly land. She descends to the plains below, and on the prolific soil of the quiet Watauga, in the lonely seclusion of one of its ancient forests, is deposited the germ of the future State of Tennessee. In that germ were contained all the elements of prospective greatness and achievement. What these elements were succeeding pages will but feebly develop and illustrate. Toil, enterprise, perseverance, and courage had planted that germ in a distant wilderness. The circumstances that surrounded it required for its growth, culture, and protection wisdom, virtue, patriotism, valor, and self-reliance. *American* was to become *Western* character, and here was the place and this the time of its first germination."

* Mouette

The great impulse given to immigration at this time was caused in a great measure by the result of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in which the Six Nations of New York had ceded to the English their acknowledged claim to the country between the Ohio and the Tennessee Rivers. This treaty was concluded in November, 1768. Dr. Walker, the commissioner from Virginia, had returned from Fort Stanwix, and brought with him an account of the cession. At Hard Labor, also, in October of the same year, the Cherokees has given their assent to the further expansion of the settlements on the Holston; and in January, 1769, was formed the nucleus of the first permanent settlement of the white race in Tennessee. "It was merely an enlargement of the Virginia settlement near it and at the time was believed to be upon the territory of that province, the line dividing Virginia from North Carolina not having been yet run west of Steep Rock. Of those who ventured farthest into the wilderness with their families was Capt. William Bean. He came from Pittsylvania Co., Va., and settled early in 1769 on Boone's Creek, a tributary of Watauga, in advance of Carter and others, who soon after settled upon the stream. His son, Russell Bean, was the first white child born in what is now Tennessee. Capt. Bean had hunted with Boone, knew his camp, and selected this as the place of his settlement on account of its abundant game. His cabin was not far from Watauga. He was an intrepid man, and will be mentioned hereafter. Bean's Station was afterwards settled by him."

As the settlers at Watauga were chiefly from Wake Co., N. C., and some of them subsequently bore a conspicuous part in the settlements on the Cumberland and in founding the city of Nashville, it will be proper to glance briefly at their antecedents, to see the character of the social and political life out of which they sprang, and the spirit which they brought with them to their new homes beyond the mountains. In a strictly philosophical history it would be necessary to consider the race and blood of a people. The first great force in any local or social development is character. The question is, what kind of people were the movers in it? From what race did they spring? Were they Turks, Jews, Germans, or Anglo-Saxon? What blood flowed in their veins, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, or Huguenot? Were they English Royalists or Puritan Dissenters, Cavaliers or Roundheads? The typical development in all political, ecclesiastical, social, industrial, and educational matters is so distinctly marked in each separate race that it is an easy matter for the skilled ethnologist to trace all these, *a posteriori*, to the particular nationality whence they spring, and to determine, *a priori*, precisely what kind of civilization might naturally be expected from the peculiar genius of each people. The tendency in our composite state of society is towards the obliteration of all these primitive ethnical peculiarities in one homogenous American type of character. Still, these distinctions were marked during the colonial period of our history, and each branch or family of original settlers, has left its own peculiar impress upon the social organizations and institutions which it founded, so that it is more or less visible to the present day.

This would be an interesting theme for the philosophical

historian to discuss, but we, lay no claim to such qualifications, nor is a history which must deal chiefly with mere local annals the place for it. It is clue, however, to the noble race of Scotch-Irish patriots, and to the old North State whence they came to Eastern and Middle Tennessee, that due credit should be given them in a history which they contributed so largely to form.

At the date of our allusion to affairs in North Carolina the storm of the Revolution was gathering. Wake and Mecklenburg Counties had been settled by Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who at an early period of the colonies had emigrated from the north of Ireland, a people noted throughout all their history for their love of liberty and for their readiness and energy in resisting oppression in all its forms. From the Covenanters to Carrickfergus, the home of the ancestors of Gen. Jackson, and in the whisky riots of Virginia, these people had shown their valor and patriotism; and now another occasion was offered under the odious administration of Governor Tryon, whose rapacity and greed to devour the substance of the people were significantly epitomized in the appellation "The Great He-Wolf," applied to him in the vigorous parlance of that day. The oppressive measures of this Governor, in exorbitant and unjust taxes and fees imposed without their consent and against their oft-repeated remonstrances, led to the famous organization of the Regulators, at the head of whom was that remarkable man Herman Husbands.

Husbands published in 1770 his "Impartial Relation," the most remarkable book of the period, full of sound maxims of political wisdom, and of the most scathing invectives against tyrants. It made a most profound impression. The spirit of resistance, which had now been thoroughly aroused, widened and increased, until the result was the battle of Alamance, in which was shed the first blood of the Revolution. This battle was fought on the 16th of May, 1771, four years before Lexington and Bunker Hill, between about eleven hundred well-armed troops, under Governor Tryon, and about two thousand citizens, hastily assembled and poorly equipped, commanded by Husbands, who had no experience in military tactics. The battle terminated in the defeat of the citizens, with a loss of two hundred on their part and of sixty-odd of the regular army.

The historian Bancroft, who examined the British state papers touching all matters pertaining to the Regulation, wrote D. L. Swain, Esq., of North Carolina: "Their complaints were well founded, and were so acknowledged, though their oppressors were only nominally punished. They form the connecting link between the Stamp Act and the events of 1775, and they also played a glorious part in taking possession of the Mississippi Valley, towards which they were carried irresistibly by their love of independence. It is a mistake if any have supposed that the Regulators were cowed down by their defeat at the Alamance. Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow and crossed the mountains."

Putnam, in his "Life and Times of General Robertson," remarks, "The battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill came in after-years; but the ball was set in motion as early and by as pure hearts and resolute hands in North Carolina as in

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Massachusetts. And here, as well as there, was a people religiously educated in the great truths of the Bible, the right of conscience, and the rights of property."

We place by the side of this first conflict of the Revolution the famous "Mecklenburg Resolves," adopted by a convention of Mecklenburg Co., N. C., at Charlotte, May 20, 1775, one year, one month, and sixteen days before the general declaration of independence. Abraham Alexander was chosen chairman and John McKnitt Alexander secretary. After a free and full discussion of the various objects of the meeting, which continued in session till two o'clock A.M. on the 20th, it was unanimously.

Resolved, That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form, or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother-country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Resolved, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws, wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein."

Other resolutions were adopted making provision for the new condition of things. A copy of the proceedings of the convention was sent by express to the North Carolina members of Congress, then in session in Philadelphia. These delegates, approving of the spirit of their fellow citizens and the elevated tone of the resolutions, thought them, nevertheless, premature, as the Continental Congress had not yet abandoned all hopes of reconciliation, upon honorable terms, with the mother-country.

Out of the bosom of such society came those noble pioneers who at a later day established independent governments in the wilderness beyond the mountains, first at Watauga and then upon the Cumberland. The same blood flowed in their veins, the same spirit animated them, and the same love of law and order was the germinal principle of the institutions which now flourish in Tennessee.

Robertson had crossed the mountains to Watauga before

the battle of Alamance, in 1770, made preparation for the removal of his family, and returned to Wake County. He was there at the time of the battle of Alamance, and is thought by some to have participated in it. We take the following account of his first visit to Watauga from Haywood's "History of Tennessee."

"He visited the delightful country on the waters of Holston, to view the new settlements which then began to be formed on the Watauga. Here he found one Honeycut living in a hut, who furnished him with food. He made a crop there the first year. On recrossing the mountains he got lost for some time, and coming to a precipice, over which his horse could not be led, he left him there and traveled on foot. His powder was wetted by repeated showers, and could not be used in the procurement of game for food. Fourteen days he wandered without eating, till he was so much reduced and weakened that he began seriously to despair of reaching his home again. But there is a Providence which rules over the destinies of men, and preserves them to run the race appointed for them. Unpromising as were the prospects of James Robertson at that time, having neither learning, experience, property, nor friends to give him countenance, and with spirits drooping under the pressure of penury and a low estate, yet the God of nature had given him an elevated soul and planted in it the seeds of virtue, which made him in the midst of discouraging circumstances look forward to better times. He was accidentally met by two hunters, on whom he could not, without much and pressing solicitation, prevail so far as to be permitted to ride on one of their horses. They gave him food, of which he ate sparingly for some days till his strength and spirits returned to him. This is the man who will figure in the future so deservedly as the greatest benefactor of the first settlers of the country. He reached home in safety, and soon afterwards returned to Watauga with a few others and there settled."

The place became an asylum from tyranny in the old portion of the colony, and many who saw no immediate prospect of a redress of their grievances resorted thither for peaceful and quiet homes. The settlement increased rapidly, and soon the people organized a form of government for themselves. Meeting at Robertson's in May, 1772, they adopted articles of association. The commissioners elected were John Carter, James Robertson, Charles Robertson, Zachariah Isbell, John Sevier, James Smith, Jacob Brown, William Bean, John Jones, George Russell, Jacob Womack, Robert Lucas, and William Tatham. Those selected as judges of the court were John Carter, James and Charles Robertson, Zachariah Isbell, and John Sevier. William Tatham was chosen clerk. The reader will become familiar with some of these names farther on in our history.

The simple forth of government thus established was sufficient for all practical purposes for several years. The articles of this association, which, it is believed, formed the first written compact of government west of the Alleghany Mountains, have unfortunately been lost. They were adopted three years prior to the association formed for Kentucky under the great elm-tree outside of the fort at Boonesboro, on the thick sward of the fragrant clover so graphically spoken of by Bancroft.

CHAPTER II

HENDERSON'S TREATY

Col. Richard Henderson—Treaty at Sycamore Shoals—Transylvania Land Company—Thomas Sharpe Spencer—Kasper Mansker and Others of 1769-70—The Long Hunters—First Water Expedition on the Cumberland—Site of Nashville—Origin of the Licks—Boundary Line between Virginia and North Carolina.

BEFORE entering upon an account of the actual settlement of this portion of Middle Tennessee, it will be necessary to speak of the operations of Col. Richard Henderson and his treaty with the Cherokee Indians. In 1774, Col. Henderson and his associates of the "Transylvania Land Company" a large corporation which had been formed for the purpose of speculating in lands between the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers sent agents among the Cherokees to ascertain their views with reference to a cession of their claim to lands in "the Kentucky country." The chiefs were invited to the Sycamore

Shoals, on the Watauga River, to enter into a treaty.

Accordingly they assembled at the appointed time. Gen. Robertson was present to assist in the negotiations. "On this occasion," says Judge Haywood, "and before the Indians had

concluded to make the cession, Oconnostata,* a Cherokee orator, called also Chief Warrior and First Representative, as well as Head Prince of the Cherokee Nation, delivered a very animated and pathetic speech" in opposition to the sale of the lands.

In spite of his eloquence and predictions, however, the treaty was concluded on the 17th of March, 1775. It conveyed to Henderson and his associates all the lands lying between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers, in consideration of ten thousand pounds sterling, payable in merchandise. Twelve hundred Indians are said to have been assembled on the treaty-ground.† A young brave at the treaty was overheard by the interpreter to urge in support of the Transylvania cession this argument: That the settlement and occupancy of the ceded territory would interpose an impregnable barrier between the Northern and Southern Indians, and that the latter would in future have quiet and undisturbed possession of the choice hunting-grounds south of the Cumberland. His argument prevailed against the prophetic warning and eloquent remonstrance of Oconnostata. That 'aged' chieftain signed the treaty reluctantly, and taking Daniel Boone by the hand, said, with most significant earnestness, "Brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it," words which subsequent events but too mournfully verified.

The associates of Henderson were Thomas Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, Leonard H. Bulloch, John Luttrell, and William Johnson. They proposed to establish a new colony by the name of

* This is the same chief whose elegant Indian treaty-pitcher was presented to the Tennessee Historical Society by Mrs. President Polk, of which more hereafter.

† Mouette

Transylvania, and sent a petition to Continental Congress to be admitted as one of the united colonies, declaring themselves in hearty sympathy with the struggle for independence.

This treaty being made by a corporation of private individuals was pronounced invalid by proclamations of Lord Densmore, Governor of Virginia, and Governor Martin, of North Carolina. However, before this decision was had it had created an immense furor along the frontier, and multitudes were eagerly pressing to cross the boundary and take possession of the "goodly land."

A portion of Henderson's purchase on the Lower Cumberland was within the supposed bounds of North Carolina. It was at first reached through the old route by the way of Cumberland Gap, and explorers continued to pass through it on their way to Middle Tennessee. Among others Kasper Mansker renewed his visit in 1775, and came to the Cumberland in company with the Bryants. They encamped at Mansker's Lick. Most of them became dissatisfied with the country and returned home. Mansker and three others remained and pursued trapping on Sulphur Fork and Red River.

Thomas Sharp Spencer and others, allured by the flattering accounts they had received of the country, the fertility of soil and abundance of game, visited it in 1776. They came to the Cumberland River and erected a number of cabins. Most of them returned, but Spencer and Halliday determined to remain. In 1778 they were joined by Richard Hogan, and in the spring of that year the party planted a small field of corn at Bledsoe's Lick, which was the first plantation cultivated by Americans in Middle Tennessee. Spencer was pleased with the country and with the prospect of rapid settlement, and determined to remain. He selected for his house a large hollow sycamore near the Lick, in which he resided for some time. Halliday, however, decided to leave the wilderness, and in vain attempted to persuade Spencer to go with him. Having lost his knife, Halliday was unwilling to attempt the long journey through the wilderness without one with which to skin his venison and cut his meat. With true backwoods generosity Spencer accompanied his comrade to the barrens of Kentucky, put him on the right path, broke his knife and gave him half of it, and then returned to his hollow tree at the Lick, where he passed the winter.

"Spencer was a man of gigantic stature, and passing one morning the temporary cabin erected at a place since called Eaton's Station, and occupied by one of Capt. De Mumbrune's hunters, his huge tracks were left plainly impressed in the rich alluvial. These were seen by the hunter on his return to the camp, who, alarmed at their size, immediately swam across the river and wandered through the woods until he reached the French settlements on the Wabash."[‡]

That he was stronger than any two men of his day the following incident will show: With the help of two stout men he was building a house on "Spencer's choice." One day he lay before his fire sick and disinclined to exertion. The others continued the work, but finally had to stop on account of their inability to raise the heavy end of a log to its place, though they had succeeded with the lighter end. Spencer tried to stimulate them by saying that he could put it up by himself, when one of them, who had frequently expressed the belief that he was a match for Spencer, dared

[‡] Ramsey, p. 194.

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him insultingly to the trial. Spencer arose and lifted the log to its place with the greatest ease, and returned to his pallet. His opponent after this ceased to put in any claims of rivalry.

His peaceful disposition is illustrated in the following instance: Two young men were vigorously pummeling each other on some public occasion when Spencer stepped up and separated them at arms' length, mildly remonstrating with them on their conduct. Bob Shaw, a very stout man himself, wanted to see the fight, and dealt Spencer a stinging blow in the face for interfering. Spencer instantly turned on Shaw, and seizing him by the nape of the neck and the waistband of his trowsers, carried him bodily to a high fence not far off and tossed him over. This ended all fighting while he was present.

While on the scout or march he always preferred to go some distance in advance or rear, for safety as he thought, trusting to his own watchfulness to avoid danger. This peculiarity finally cost him his life. He had been to North Carolina to get a legacy of two thousand dollars in specie, and was returning with a train of wagons through the South Pass of Cumberland Mountains, now known as Spencer's Bill. As usual, he was far in advance, though it was one of the most dangerous localities on the route. A number of the whites had been killed or wounded here at different times, among the former Armistead Morgan, the best fiddler in the Cumberland settlement, and withal an excellent Indian-fighter. On this occasion Spencer was fired upon at short range and fell dead; his horse turned quickly, throwing off his saddle-bags containing his money, and made his way back to the train.

"THE LONG HUNTERS"

The following account of the "Long Hunters," with a few slight changes, is quoted from Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee":

"On the 2d of June, 1769, a large company of adventurers was formed for the purpose of hunting and exploring in what is now Middle Tennessee. As the country was discovered and settled by the enterprise and defended by the valor of these first explorers, we choose to give their names, the places from which they came, and such details of their hazardous journeyings as have been preserved.

"May the time never come when the self-sacrificing toil and the daring hardihood of the pioneers of Tennessee will be forgotten or undervalued by their posterity? The company consisted of more than twenty men, some of them from North Carolina, others from the neighborhood of the Natural Bridge, and others from the infant settlement near Inglis' Ferry, in Virginia. The names of some of them follow: John Rains, Kasper Mansker, Abraham Bledsoe, John Baker, Joseph Drake, Obadiah Terrill, Uriah Stone, Henry Smith, Ned Cowan, and Robert Crockett. The place of rendezvous was eight miles below Fort Chissel, on New River. They came by the head of Holston, and crossing the north fork, Clinch and Powell's Rivers, and passing through Cumberland Gap, discovered the southern part of Kentucky, and fixed a station-camp at a place since called Price's Meadow, in Wayne County, where they agreed to

deposit their game and skins. The hunters here dispersed in different directions, the whole company still traveling to the southwest. They came to Roaring River and the Catty Fork at a point far above the mouth and somewhere near the foot of the mountain. Robert Crockett was killed near the head-waters of Roaring River when returning to the camp, provided for two or three days' traveling; the Indians were there in ambush and fired upon and killed him. The Indians were traveling to the north, seven or eight in company. Crockett's body was found on the war-track leading from the Cherokee Nation towards the Shawnee tribe. All the country through which these hunters passed was covered with high grass; no traces of any human settlement could be seen, and the primeval state of things reigned in unrivaled glory, though under dry caves, on the side of creeks, they found many places where stones were set up that covered large quantities of human bones; these were also found in the caves, with which the country abounds. They continued to hunt eight or nine months, when part of them returned in April, 1770.

"The return of Findley and Boone to the banks of the Yadkin, and of the explorers whose journal has just been given to their several homes, produced a remarkable sensation. Their friends and neighbors were enraptured with the glowing descriptions of the delightful country they had discovered, and their imaginations were inflamed with the account of the wonderful products which were yielded in such bountiful profusion. The sterile hills and rocky uplands of the Atlantic country began to lose their interest when compared with the fertile valleys beyond the mountains. A spirit of further exploration was thus excited in the settlements on New River, Holston, and Clinch, which originated an association of about forty stout hunters, for the purpose of hunting and trapping west of Cumberland Mountains. Equipped with their rifles, traps, dogs, blankets, and dressed in the hunting shirt, leggins, and moccasins, they commenced their arduous enterprise in the real spirit of hazardous adventure, through the rough forest and rugged hills. The names of these adventurers are now not known. The expedition was led by Col. James Knox. The leader and nine others of the company penetrated to the Lower Cumberland, and making there an extensive and irregular circuit, adding much to their knowledge of the country, after a long absence returned home. They are known as the Lang Hunters."

Following the long hunters in 1770 was the first water expedition down the Cumberland River. It was made by Kasper Mansker, Uriah Stone, John Baker, Thomas Gordon, Humphrey Hogan, Cash Brook, and others, ten in all, who built two boats and two trapping canoes, loaded them with the proceeds of their tainting; and descended the beautiful Cumberland, before unnavigated except by the French pirogue or the gliding canoe of the Indian. Where Nashville now stands they discovered the French Lick, and found around it immense numbers of buffalo and other wild game. The country was crowded with them, and their bellowing sounded upon the hills and the forest. On the mound near the French Lick the voyagers discovered a stockade fort, built, as they supposed, by the Cherokees on their retreat from the battle at the

* Haywood

Chickasaw Old Fields. The voyagers proceeded down the river to the mouth of the Cumberland. Here they met a company of plumed and painted warriors on their way up the Ohio, about twenty-five in number, under John Brown, the old mountain leader; they replenished their guns and ammunition from the store of the hunters, and, without offering them any personal violence, proceeded on the warpath against the Senecas. They were kindly treated by French traders to the Illinois, whom they met at the mouth of the Ohio, and continued their voyage as far down as Natchez, where some of them remained; but Mansker and Baker returned by way of the Keowee towns to New River.

In the fall of 1771, Kasper Mansker, John Montgomery, Isaac Bledsoe, Joseph Drake, Henry Suggs, James Knox, William and David Linch, Christopher Stoph, William Allen, and others made further explorations on the Lower Cumberland. Among them was an old hunter named Russell, who was so dim-sighted that he was obliged to tie a white piece of paper at the muzzle of his gun to direct his sight at the game; and yet he was quite successful in killing deer. The winter being inclement the hunters built a house of skins, leaving five men in charge of it, while the others returned home for ammunition. During their absence, a company of Northern Indians attacked the camp and took Stoph and Allen prisoners. Hughes made his escape, and meeting the company returning they proceeded together to the camp, which they found undisturbed. This party, in extending their hunting excursions, built a camp upon a creek which still bears the name of Camp Creek. The camps of the hunters at this time were the only habitations in Middle Tennessee, there being no Indian lodges anywhere in the country visited by the explorers. There had probably been no permanent Indian occupation after the expulsion of the Shawnees. Whenever a hunter in ranging through the country discovered a "lick" it usually took his name. Hence Drake's Lick, Bledsoe's Lick, Mansker's Lick, etc., given by the party of hunters of 1771. The many "licks" which still bear the names of daring hunters in Kentucky and Tennessee give evidence of the abundance of moose, deer, and elk which resorted to them; and the buffalo trails between these primitive "watering-places" served as the only roads to guide the traveler through the uninhabited wilderness.

In 1749 the boundary-line between Virginia and North Carolina was extended by commissioners of the respective colonies to the Holston River at a place directly opposite Steep Rock. Had it been then extended to the Mississippi, or even made to keep pace with the advance of settlements westward, it would have saved a great deal of trouble, disputing, and litigation. For many years the boundary between Kentucky and Tennessee was in a state of uncertainty. In 1779 commissioners were appointed by both the parent States to extend the line to the Mississippi. They met in September of that year, and after due observation agreed upon the point from which the line should be continued. After running to Carter's Valley, some forty miles, they disagreed. The commissioners from North Carolina insisted upon running the line two miles farther north than was approved by those from Virginia, therefore

they ran two parallel lines at that distance apart. The southern line was run by a surveyor by the name of Walker, and has ever since been known as "the Walker Line;" the northern one was run by Col. Richard Henderson, the great land-speculator, of whom more will be said hereafter. The disputed boundary was not adjusted till 1820, when the Walker Line was fully recognized. It is true that Col. Anthony Bledsoe, afterwards most favorably known and usefully identified with the settlements and perils on the Cumberland, had as early as 1771 examined the question of boundary, and being a practical surveyor, in whom much confidence was placed, he had extended the Walker Line some distance west, and thereby enabled many of the settlers to decide for themselves whether they owed allegiance to Virginia or North Carolina.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS

Aborigines—Prehistoric Races—Mounds and Relics in Middle Tennessee—Original Occupation by the Shawnees—Cherokees and Chickasaws—Conquest and Expulsion of the Shawnees—Conquest and Cession by the Iroquois Confederacy—Power and Dominion of the Six Nations—They make a Neutral Hunting-Ground of Tennessee and Kentucky.

ALTHOUGH the hunters when they came into Middle Tennessee found the country unoccupied except by wild beasts and covered by dense forests and cane-brakes, yet centuries before it had been inhabited by a race of people far more numerous than the Indian tribes who occupied the soil at a later date. The hunters and pioneers trod over vast cemeteries of an extinct race, immense numbers of whose remains are buried in all the caves and mounds, and at every living spring on both sides of the Cumberland River from its source to its mouth and generally throughout Middle and Western Tennessee. No doubt can exist in the mind of the archaeologist as to the identity of these people with the ancient mound-builders, who at a remote period spread themselves over a large portion of the continent. The skeletons of these people appear in such numbers as to warrant the conclusion that their population at one time must have exceeded the present inhabitants of the United States. Their most populous centers appear to have been in the great valley of the Mississippi and its tributary valleys, along which they spread from the Alleghany Mountains and from the lake region of the Northwest to the Gulf of Mexico. It has been ascertained by careful observation that there are at least a hundred thousand skeletons of this ancient people within the limits of a single county in Iowa.*

Archaeologists, by comparative anatomy and by the study of the mounds and relics, have collected and classified a vast array of facts respecting the mound-builders and other prehistoric races. They are easily distinguished from the Indians by their skeletons, especially by the size and shape of the skull and by their structures and relics of art, which indicate a higher civilization than has been found among the Indians. The great antiquity of their works is proved by the large trees

* Lecture by Hon. Samuel Murdock, Garnaville, Iowa.

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found growing above their mounds and fortifications, trees as large as any to be found in the forest, and indicating the growth of centuries. The oldest Indians had no traditions reaching back to the origin of these works. Respecting the mounds of Tennessee and the Southwest, the Shawnees and Cherokees informed Gen. Robertson and Judge Haywood that they were in the country when their ancestors came to it, and that no tradition existed among them as to the origin and fate of the people who built them. We cannot, of course, in a work of this sort, enter into a discussion of the prehistoric races, a subject which belongs to archaeology rather than to history.*

The first Indians who occupied the Cumberland Valley within the historic period were the Shawnees. On the map accompanying Marquette's journal, published in 1681, many of their town-sites on the Lower Cumberland are indicated, and the river itself is called the river of the Shawnees. At an early time this tribe was scattered over a wide extent of country, a portion of them living in Eastern Virginia, and another branch on the head-waters of the Savannah. In 1772, Little Cornplanter, an intelligent Cherokee chief, related that the Shawnees, a hundred years before, by the permission of his nation, removed from the Savannah River to the Cumberland. Many years afterwards, he said, the two nations became unfriendly, and the Cherokees marched in a large body against the Shawnees, many of whom they slew. The survivors fortified themselves and maintained a protracted war until the Cherokees were joined by the Chickasaws, and the Shawnees were gradually expelled from the Cumberland Valley. This was about the year 1710. Charleville, the French trader, came to the Cumberland a few years after, and occupied for his house the fort which the Shawnees had built, near the French Lick, on the Nashville side of the river. Charleville learned from a Frenchman who preceded him that the Chickasaws, hearing of the intended removal of the Shawnees, resolved to strike them upon the eve of their departure, and take possession of their stores. For this purpose a large party of Chickasaw warriors posted themselves on both sides of the Cumberland, above the mouth of the Harpeth River, provided with canoes to prevent their escape by water. The attack was successful. All the Shawnees were killed and their property captured by the Chickasaws. This, however, was only a small remnant of them, the main part of the tribe having previously removed to the vicinity of the Wabash, where, in 1764, they were joined by another portion of the tribe from Green River, in Kentucky. Of this tribe Tecumseh was subsequently the great chief and warrior, and also his brother, the famous Shawnee prophet. They were united with the Miamis and other Northwestern tribes in the wars with Harmar, St. Clair, and Gen. Anthony Wayne. Bands of them occasionally visited their old hunting grounds on the Cumberland and the Tennessee, and inflicted great injury on the early settlers. They were a part of the banditti who committed enormous outrages on the

emigrants and navigators while descending the famous passes of the Tennessee.

The Cherokees occupied only a portion of East Tennessee, that part south of the Tennessee River, from the point where it crosses the North Carolina boundary to where it enters the State of Alabama. Their settlements extended thence southward into Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina; but they claimed the right to lands on the Cumberland, and not only expelled the Shawnees, but attempted for many years to destroy the settlements of the whites in this region. The Cherokees, before 1623, dwelt upon the Appomattox, in the neighborhood of Monticello, but in that year were driven out by the Virginians, who killed all they could find, cut up and destroyed their crops, and caused vast numbers of them to perish by famine. They removed to New River and made a temporary settlement, and also on the head of the Holston, whence, in a few years, on account of the hostility of the Northern Indians, they removed and formed the middle settlements on Little Tennessee. Cornelius Dogherty, who became a trader among the Cherokees in 1690, taught them to steal horses from the Virginians, which were the first horses the Cherokees ever had. Another tribe of Indians came from the neighborhood of Charleston, S. C., and settled themselves lower down the Tennessee. The Carolina tribe called themselves Ketawaugas, and came last into the county.

"The Cherokees found white people near the head of the Little Tennessee, who had forts from thence down the Tennessee River to the mouth of Chickamauga. They had a fort at Pumpkintown, one at Fox Taylor's reserve, near Hamilton Court-House, and one on Big Chickamauga, about twenty miles above its mouth. The Cherokees waged war against them, and drove them to the mouth of Big Chickamauga, where they entered into a treaty by which they agreed to depart the country if the Cherokees would permit them to do so in peace; which they did."[†] This temporary settlement the first attempted by English people in all the Southwest is confirmed by Brown, a Scotchman, who came among the Cherokees in 1761. He saw on the Hiwassee and Tennessee remains of old forts, about which were boxes, axes, guns, and other metallic utensils.

The Great War between the Cherokees and Creeks, which resulted in the settlement of a division-line between them, ended about the year 1710. The farthest extent of the Cherokee settlements was about the town of Seneca, in the Pendleton district of South Carolina. The Cherokees have in their language names for whales and sea-serpents, from which it appears that they migrated from the shores of an ocean in the northern part of America.

Adair says of the Cherokees, "Their national name is derived from Chee-ra, fire, which is their reputed lower heaven, and hence they call their magi Cheera-tahge, men possessed of the divine fire. The natives make two divisions of their country, which they term *Ayrate* and *Ottare*, signifying *low* and *mountainous*. The former is on the head-branches of the beautiful Savannah, and the latter

* Those desirous of studying the subject will find valuable aids in Haywood's History of Tennessee, vol. i.; Foster's Prehistoric Races, and Short's Americans of Antiquity.

[†] Haywood, vol. i. p. 234

on those of the easternmost river of the great Mississippi."

The same writer says that forty years before the time he wrote (1775) the Cherokees had sixty-four populous towns, and that the old traders estimated their fighting-men at above six thousand. The frequent wars between the Overhill towns and the northern Indians, and between the middle and lower towns and the Muskogee or Creek Indians, had greatly diminished the number of the warriors, and contracted the extent of their settlements.

The frontier of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia all suffered from their vigor and their enterprise; and these pages will hereafter abound with instances of their revenge, their perfidy, and their courage. They were the mountaineers of aboriginal America, and, like all other mountaineers, adored their country, and held on to and defended it with a heroic devotion, a patriotic constancy, and an unyielding tenacity which cannot be too much admired or eulogized.

The native land of the Cherokee was the most inviting and beautiful section of the United States, lying upon the sources of the Catawba and the Yadkin, upon Keowee, Tugaloo, Flint, Etowah, and Coosa, on the east and south, and several of the tributaries of the Tennessee on the west and north.

This tribe, inhabiting the country from which the southern confluent of the Tennessee spring, gave their name at first to that noble stream. In the earlier maps the Tennessee is called the Cherokee River. In like manner the name of this tribe also designated the mountains near them. Currahee is only a corruption of Cherokee, and in the maps and treaties where it is thus called it means the mountains of the Cherokees.

Of the martial spirit of this tribe abundant evidence will be hereafter given. In the hazardous enterprises of war they were animated by a restless spirit which goaded them into new exploits and to the acquisition of a fresh stock of martial renown. The white people for some years previous to 1730 interposed their good offices to bring about pacification between them and the Tuscaroras, with whom they had long waged incessant war. The reply of the Cherokees was, "We cannot live without war. Should we make peace with the Tuscaroras, we must immediately look out for some other with whom we can be engaged in our beloved occupation."

The Chickasaws were another tribe of Indians intimately identified with our local history, though not residing within the limits of Middle Tennessee.

This nation inhabited the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Choctaw boundary; their villages and settlements were generally south of the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, but they claimed all the territory within the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky which lies between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, and a considerable portion north of the former. These they claimed as hunting-grounds, though they had few or no permanent settlements within them. Tradition assigns to this tribe when they first emigrated to this country a very considerable population, but when Adair first visited them (1735) the Chickasaw warriors were estimated below

five hundred. Though thus inconsiderable in numbers, the Chickasaws were warlike and valiant. They exercised an unwonted influence over the Natchez, Choctaws, and other tribes.

Whatever claim these several Indian nations may have set up to the country north of the Tennessee, and between that and the Ohio, they had evidently no right to it. It belonged by right of conquest to the Six Nations, or the Iroquois Confederacy.

At a celebrated treaty held at Lancaster the statement made by the delegates in attendance from the Six Nations to Dr. Franklin was, "that all the world knows that we conquered all the nations back of the great mountains; we conquered the nations residing there; and that land, if the Virginians ever get a good right to it, it must be by us." These Indian claims are solemnly appealed to in a diplomatic memorial addressed by the British ministry to the Duke Mirepoix, on the part of France, June 7, 1755. "It is a certain truth," states the memorial, "that these lands have belonged to the confederacy, and as they have not been given up or made over to the English, belong still to the same Indian nations." The court of Great Britain maintained in this negotiation that the confederates were, by origin or by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the river Ohio and the territory in question. In support of this ancient aboriginal title, Butler adds the further testimony of Dr. Mitchell's map of North America, made with the documents of the Colonial Office before him. In this map, the same as the one by which the boundaries in the treaty of Paris in 1783 were adjusted, the doctor observes "that the Six Nations have extended their territories ever since the year 1672, when they subdued and were incorporated with the ancient Shawaneese, *the native proprietors* of these countries." This, he adds, is confirmed by their own claims and possessions in 1742, which include all the bounds as laid down in the map, and none have even thought fit to dispute them.*

On the 6th of May, 1768, a deputation of the Six Nations presented to the superintendent of Indian affairs a formal remonstrance against the continued encroachments of the whites upon their lands. The subject was immediately considered by the royal government, and near the close of summer orders were issued to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Northern Indian Affairs, instructing him to convene the chiefs, warriors, and sachems of the tribes most interested. Agreeably to these orders Sir William Johnson convened the delegates of the Six Nations, and their confederates and dependents, at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), October 24th. Three thousand two hundred Indians, of seventeen different tribes, tributaries to the confederacy, or occupying territories coterminous with theirs, attended. On the 5th of November a treaty of limits and a deed of cession to the King of England were agreed upon and signed, ceding all the lands south of the Ohio River as far as the Tennessee River. An incident which occurred at the treaty affords conclusive evidence of the understanding of the Cherokees of the claim which the confederates were about to surrender. Some of the visiting Cherokees on their route to Fort Stanwix had

* Franklin's works, as emoted by Butler.

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killed game for their support, and on their arrival at the treaty-ground tendered the skins to the Six Nations, saying, "They are yours, we killed them after passing the big river," the name by which they always designated the Tennessee. By the treaty of Fort Stanwix the Six Nations ceded all their right southeast of the Ohio down to the Cherokee River, which they stated to be their just right, and vested the soil and sovereignty thereof in the King of ' Great Britain. By the treaty of 1783 Great Britain surrendered the sovereignty of these lands to the States within whose limits they were situated.

In 1781, Colonel Crogan, who had lived thirty years among the Indians as deputy superintendent, deposed that the Six Nations claim by right of conquest all the lands on the southeast side of the river Ohio down to the Cherokee River, and on the west side down to the Big Miami, otherwise called Stony River; but that the lands on the west side of the Ohio below Stony River were always supposed to belong to the Western Confederacy. But evidences need not be multiplied. The settlement of the Cherokees on the south side of the Holston and Great Tennessee is an admission of the correctness of the claim of the Iroquois set up at the treaty of Fort Stanwix.

The Six Nations, who ceded the territory including Davidson County to the English in 1768, were the most powerful Indian confederacy on the continent. They occupied as the centre of their dominion what they metaphorically termed the "Long House," that is, the territory of New York, extending from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. The Mohawks kept the eastern door, the Senecas the western; the southern door, through the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay, was guarded by a Cayuga viceroy, stationed at Old Tioga, now Athens, Pennsylvania in the centre the Onondagas, or Men of the Mountain, kept the sacred council-fires of the confederacy at the capital, where all the great councils of the union were convened and the questions of peace and of war were decided. No people were ever so favorably situated for broad and sweeping conquests over large areas of country, having access to Lower Canada by the Hudson and Lake Champlain. The same great river carried them southward to Long Island, whence they subdued the tribes along the sound and on the Delaware. By the Oswego River northward, and by Lake Erie, they had access to the whole chain of upper lakes, by which they carried their conquest into the heart of Illinois. The great avenue of the Susquehanna on the south enabled them to subdue the Andastes and Delawares of that rich valley, and to carry their victorious arms into Virginia and North Carolina. On the west the great river Ohio and its tributaries opened an avenue for them to the borders of the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek Nations, along which they carried their conquests to the Tennessee River, and held the territory by treaty with the conquered tribes, to whom they dictated terms of submission. There is no historic fact better established than that this great league or confederacy of the Iroquois dominated over all the surrounding tribes, from New England to Alabama, and from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi. They had great men, great orators, and great statesmen among them.

The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas probably crossed the St. Lawrence into the rich hunting-grounds of New York about the beginning of the seventeenth century. On the banks of the beautiful Lake Ganentaha, the site of the Jesuit mission of 1654, in the environs of what is now Syracuse, N. Y., their confederacy was formed, about 1620.

In 1712, when the Tuscaroras, a people occupying their tributary territory in North Carolina, were conquered by the whites, the Five Nations received them in New York, making a place for them in the bosom of the confederacy, where they were established as the *sixth* nation. This great confederacy was never in alliance with the French, although the ecclesiastical authorities at Quebec as early as 1641 began to make strenuous efforts to win their friendship by sending Fathers Jogues, Le Moyne, Father Lallamand, and other Jesuit missionaries among them. They became the strong and powerful allies of the English, and under the wise policy of Sir William Johnson, who lived among them on the Mohawk River, they maintained faithfully their allegiance through the French war and down to the struggle of the colonies for independence.

By their dictation the rich lands on the Cumberland and in Middle Tennessee were kept from Indian occupation till they ceded them to Great Britain in the treaty of Nov. 5, 1768. For this reason, and on account of the mildness of the climate and the rich pasturage furnished by its varied ranges of plain and mountain, Tennessee, in common with Kentucky, had become an extensive park, of which the finest game in the world held undisputed possession. Into these wild recesses savage daring did not often venture to penetrate. Equidistant from the settled territories of the Southern and Northern tribes, it remained by common consent uninhabited by either and little explored. The approach of civilization from several directions began to abridge the territories of surrounding Indian nations, and the margin of this great *terra incognita* was occasionally visited by parties of savages in pursuit of game. Such was the state of things when the hunters and pioneers came to the Cumberland.

CHAPTER IV

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Preparations for Settlement at French Salt Lick—Robertson and his Party Plant Corn on the Cumberland—First Immigrants to the Present Site of Nashville—The Overland Company—The Expedition by Water down the Tennessee—Col. John Donelson's Journal —Arrival and Settlement at the Bluff—Fort built at Nashborough.

EARLY in the spring of 1779 preparations were making at Watauga to plant a permanent settlement on the Cumberland. The place selected was the bluff near the French Lick (now Nashville). It was deemed advisable that a company should go in advance and plant corn, so that the maturity of the crop in autumn would supply bread for the immigrants upon their arrival. Those who undertook this preparatory work were Capt. James Robertson, George Freeland, William Neely, Edward Swanson, James Hanly, Mark Robertson, Zachariah Wells, and William Overhill. Mounting their equipments and provisions on packhorses,

they filed through Cumberland Gap and turned into the wilderness of Kentucky, to follow the trail which had been before trodden by Boone, Mansker, and other daring hunters: They continued their wanderings and explorations, often following buffalo-paths which led through dense forests and cane-brakes from one water-course to another, and more distinctly trodden between the salt or Sulphur springs, until they arrived at their destination. They were soon joined by another party under the leadership of Kasper Mansker, and all united in planting corn near the Sulphur Spring. After the planting was over, and other preparations made, the company returned to Watauga, except Wells, Swanson, and Overhall, who remained to take care of the crop, and Capt. Robertson, who made a journey to the Illinois to purchase cabin-rights of Gen. George Rogers Clarke. Having affected this object and procured some additional stock which he saw would be valuable in the new settlement, Capt. Robertson returned to Watauga, and was soon ready to conduct his portion of the immigrants to the French Lick. Mansker during the same season led several families to Mansker's and Bledsoe's Licks. There was much excitement in the Watauga and adjoining settlements respecting emigration to the Cumberland, and a large number enrolled themselves among the adventurers. It was decided that the women and children, who could not perform the tedious land journey, should be sent to the same destination by water down the Holston and the Tennessee, and up the Ohio and the Cumberland to where Nashville now stands. It was a bold and untried experiment, a thousand miles of navigation through an uninhabited wilderness, over dangerous waters, and with a helpless freight, so far as assistance was concerned, in case of attacks from the Indians, who might be lurking at every unsuspected point along their course. No craft except the Indian's canoe had hitherto explored these waters for a considerable portion of their perilous voyage. But stout hearts and wise heads were at the helm. This expedition was under the charge of Col. John Donelson, who had command of the "Adventure," the flag-ship of the squadron. For some time before the fleet was in readiness boat-building had been active on the Watauga. In the construction of many of the craft to be used in the expedition a single tree generally a poplar or whitewood was selected, and by means of the axe and adze a canoe or pirogue was fashioned. A few scows or flatboats were made of sawed plank boarded up at the sides, with a roof covering more or less of the length of the boat. The "Adventure" was of sufficient size and so arranged as to accommodate a dozen or twenty families. Like the "arks" used at an early day for descending the Susquehanna from Arkport to Baltimore, these vessels were constructed with reference to going down the river with the current, and were not at all adapted to ascending the streams, a fact which gave our adventurers great toil and delay when they turned their prows up against the current of the Ohio and the Cumberland.

Before giving an account of this wonderful voyage it will be necessary for us to follow the company of immigrants under Capt. Robertson to their destination at the French Lick. They were quite a numerous party, amounting to

several hundred, among who were many young men without families. On their way they were overtaken by a company of immigrants under Mr. John Rains, who had started from New River in October, and were bound to Harrod's Station, in Kentucky. They were persuaded to join Capt. Robertson's party and change their destination to the Salt Lick.* The route over which they passed was a difficult and circuitous one, by the way of Cumberland Gap and the Kentucky trace to Whitley's Station, on Dick's River; thence to Carpenter's Station, on Green River; thence to Robertson's Fork, on the south side of that stream; thence down the river to Pittman's Station, crossing and descending that river to Little Barren River, crossing Barren at the Elk Lick, passing the Blue Spring and Dripping Spring to Big Barren River; thence up Drake's Creek to a bituminous spring (yet known); thence to the Maple Swamp; thence to Red River, at Kilgore's Station; thence to Mansker's Lick; and from there to the French Lick, or bluff where Nashville now stands.

These places, with the exception of the first and two last mentioned, are all in Kentucky.

The season was remarkably inclement, so much so that the winter of 1779-80 has been noted throughout the northern and middle latitudes as "*the cold winter*." The immigrants began to experience the severity of the weather early. They had much difficulty in their route, yet they arrived at the appointed rendezvous in safety, no death having occurred among them and without any attack by the Indians. They reached the Cumberland on Christmas-day, 1779. The ice in the river was sufficiently solid to allow them to cross with their horses and cattle. They crossed over to the bluff about the 1st of January, 1780, and immediately went to work to erect for themselves cabins and shanties.

Here we shall leave the Robertson party for the present, and follow the fortunes of those under Col. Donelson, in their long and eventful voyage by the water-route. We give below the narrative of Col. Donelson, as kept by him during the voyage:

"JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE, intended by God's permission, in the good boat Adventure,' from Fort Patrick Henry, on Holston River, to the French Salt Springs, on Cumberland River, kept by John Donelson.

"December 22, 1779.—Took our departure from the fort and fell down the river to the mouth of Reedy Creek, where we were stopped by the fall of water, and most excessive hard frost; and after much delay and many difficulties we arrived at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, on Sunday evening, the 20th February, 1780, where we lay by until Sunday, 27th, when we took our departure with sundry other vessels bound for the same voyage, and on the same day struck the Poor Valley Shoal, together with Mr. Boyd and Mr. Rounsifer, on which shoal we lay that afternoon and succeeding night in much distress.

"Monday, February 28th, 1780.—In the morning, the water rising, we got off the shoal, after landing thirty

* "Rains had examined both sections of the country, and declared he 'felt like the man who wanted a wife, and knew of two beautiful women, either of whom would suit, and he wanted them both.'—Putnam, p. 66.

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persons to lighten our boat. In attempting to land on an island received some damage and lost sundry articles, and came to camp on the south shore, where we joined sundry other vessels also bound down.

"Tuesday, 29th—Proceeded down the river and camped on the north shore, the afternoon and following day proving rainy.

"Wednesday, March 1st—Proceeded on and camped on the south shore, nothing happening that day remarkable.

"March 2d—Rain about half the day; passed the mouth of French Broad River, and about twelve o'clock Mr. Henry's boat being driven on the point of an island* by the force of the current was sunk, the whole cargo much damaged, and the crew's lives much endangered, which occasioned the whole fleet to put on shore and go to their assistance; but with much difficulty bailed her, in order to take in her cargo again. The same afternoon Reuben Harrison went out hunting and did not return that night, though many guns were fired to fetch him in.

"Friday, 3d—Early in the morning fired a four-pounder for the lost man, sent out sundry persons to search the woods for him, firing many guns that day and the succeeding night; but all without success, to the great grief of his parents and fellow-travelers.

"Saturday, 4th—Proceeded on our voyage, leaving old Mr. Harrison, with some other vessels, to make further search for his lost son; about ten o'clock the same day found him a considerable distance down the river, where Mr. Ben. Belew took him on board his boat. At three o'clock P.M. passed the mouth of Tennessee River, and camped on the south shore about ten miles below the mouth of Tennessee.

"Sunday, 5th—Cast off and got under way before sunrise; twelve o'clock passed the mouth of Clinch; at twelve o'clock M. came up with the Clinch River Company, whom we joined and camped, the evening proving rainy.

"Monday, 6th—Got under way before sunrise; the morning proving very foggy, many of the fleet were much bogged; about ten o'clock lay by for them; when collected, proceeded down. Camped on the north shore, where Capt. Hutching's Negro man *died*, being much frosted in his feet and legs, of which he died.

"Tuesday, 7th—Got under way very early, the day proving very windy, a S.S.W., and the river being wide occasioned a high sea, insomuch that some of the smaller crafts were in danger; therefore came to at the uppermost Chiccamauga Town, which was then evacuated, where we lay by that afternoon and camped that night. The wife of Ephraim Peyton was here delivered of a child. Mr. Peyton has gone through by land with Capt. Robertson.

"Wednesday, 8th—Cast off at ten o'clock and proceed down to an Indian village, which was inhabited, on the south side of the river; they insisted on us to 'come ashore,' called us brothers, and showed other *signs* of friendship, insomuch that Mr. John Caffrey and my son, then on board, took a canoe which I had in tow, and were crossing over to them, the rest of the fleet having landed on the opposite shore. After they had gone some distance, a half-breed, who

called himself Archy Coody, with several other Indians, jumped into a canoe, met them, and advised them to return to the boat, which they did, together with Coody and several canoes which left the shore and followed directly after him. They appeared to be friendly. After distributing some presents among them, with which they seemed much pleased, we observed a number of Indians on the other side embarking in their canoes, armed and painted with red and black. Coody immediately made signs to his companions, ordering them to quit the boat, which they did, himself and another Indian remaining with us and telling us to move off instantly. We had not gone far before we discovered a number of Indians, armed and painted, proceeding down the river, as it were, to intercept us. Coody, the half-breed, and his companion sailed with us for some time, and, telling us that we had passed all the towns and were out of danger, left us. But we had not gone far until we had come in sight of another town, situated likewise on the south side of the river, nearly opposite a small island. Here they again invited us to come on shore, called us brothers, and observing the boats standing off for the opposite channel, told us that their side of the river was better for boats to pass.' And here we must regret the unfortunate death of young Mr. Payne, on board Capt. Blackmore's boat, who was mortally wounded by reason of the boat running too near the northern shore opposite the town, where sonic of the enemy lair concealed, and the more tragical misfortune of poor Stuart, his family and friends, to the number of twenty-eight persons. This man had embarked with us for the Western country, but his family being diseased with the smallpox, it was agreed upon between him and the company that he should keep at some distance in the rear, for fear of the infection spreading, and he was warned each night when the encampment should take place by the sound of a horn. After we had passed the town the Indians, having now collected to a considerable number, observing his helpless situation, singled off from the rest of the fleet, intercepted him, and killed and took prisoners the whole crew, to the great grief of the whole company, uncertain how soon they might share the same fate; their cries were distinctly heard by those boats in the rear.

"We still perceived them marching down the river in considerable bodies, keeping pace with us until the Cumberland Mountains withdrew them from our sight, when we were in hopes we had escaped them. We were now arrived at the place called the Whirl, or Suck, where the river is compressed within less than half its common width above by the Cumberland Mountains, which jut in on both sides. In passing through the upper part of these narrows, at a place described by Coody, which he termed the 'boiling pot,' a trivial accident had nearly ruined the expedition. One of the company, John Cotton, who was moving down in a large canoe, had attached it to Robert Cartwright's boat, into which he and his family had gone for safety. The canoe was here overturned, and the little cargo lost. The company, pitying his distress, concluded to halt and assist him in recovering his property. They had landed on the northern shore at a level spot, and were going up to the place when the Indians, to our

* Probably William's Island, two miles above Knoxville.

astonishment, appeared immediately over us on the opposite cliffs, and commenced firing down upon us, which occasioned a precipitate retreat to the boats. We immediately moved off, the Indians lining the bluffs along continued their fire from the heights on our boats below, without doing any other injury than wounding four slightly. Jennings' boat is missing.

"We have now passed through the Whirl. The river widens with a placid and gentle current, and all the company appear to be in safety except the family of Jonathan Jennings, whose boat ran on a large rock projecting out from the northern shore, and partly immersed in water immediately at the Whirl, where we were compelled to leave them, perhaps to be slaughtered by their merciless enemies. Continued to sail on that day and floated throughout the following night.

"*Thursday, 9th.*—Proceeded on our journey, nothing happening worthy attention to-day; floated till about midnight, and, encamped on the northern shore.

"*Friday, 10th.*—This morning about four o'clock we were surprised by the cries of 'help poor Jennings,' at some distance in the rear. He had discovered us by our fires, and came up in the most wretched condition. He states that as soon as the Indians discovered his situation they turned their whole attention to him, and kept up a most galling fire at his boat. He ordered his wife, a son nearly grown, a young man who accompanied them, and his Negro man and woman to throw all his goods into the river to lighten their boat, for the purpose of getting her off, himself returning their *fire* as well as he could, being a good soldier and an excellent marksman. But before they had accomplished their object, *his* son, the young man, and the Negro jumped out of the boat and left them. He t'inks the young man and the Negro were wounded before they left the boat.* Mrs. Jennings, however, and the Negro woman succeeded in unloading the boat, but chiefly by the exertions of Mrs. Jennings, who got out of the boat and shoved her off, but was near falling a victim to her own intrepidity on account of the boat starting so suddenly as soon as loosened from the rock. Upon examination, he appears to have made a wonderful escape, for his boat is pierced in numberless places with bullets. It is to be remarked that Mrs. Peyton, who was the night before delivered of an infant, which was unfortunately killed upon the hurry and confusion consequent upon such a disaster, assisted them, being frequently exposed to wet and cold then and afterwards, and that her health appears to be good at this time, and I think and hope she will do well. Their clothes were very much cut with bullets, especially Mrs. Jennings.

"*Saturday, 11th.* - Got under way after having distributed the family of Mrs. Jennings in the other boats. rowed on

* The Negro was drowned. The son and the young man swam to the north side of the river, where they found and embarked in a canoe and floated down the river. The next day they were met by five canoes full of Indians, who took them prisoners and carried them to Chickamauga, where they killed and burned the young man. They knocked Jennings down and were about to kill him, but were prevented by the friendly mediation of Rogers, an Indian trader, who ransomed him with goods. Rogers had been taken prisoner by Sevier a short time before, and had been released; and that good office he requited by the ransom of Jennings.

quietly that day, and encamped for the night on the north shore.

"*Sunday, 12th.*—Set out, and after a few hours sailing we heard the crowing of cocks, and soon came within view of the town; here they fired on us again without doing any injury.

"After running until about ten o'clock, came in sight of the Muscle Shoal. Halted on the northern shore at the appearance of the shoals, in order to search for the signs Capt. James Robertson was to make for us at that place. He set out from Holston early in the fall of 1779, was to proceed by the way of Kentucky to the Big Salt Lick on Cumberland River, with several others in company, was to come across from the Big Salt Lick to the upper end of the shoals, there to make such signs that we might know he had been there, and that it was practicable for us to go across by land. But to our great mortification we can find none, from which we conclude that it would not be prudent to make the attempt, and are determined, knowing ourselves to be in such imminent danger, to pursue our journey down the river. After trimming our boats in the best manner possible, we ran through the shoals before night. When we approached them they had a dreadful appearance to those who had never seen them before. The water being high made a terrible roaring, which could be heard at some distance among the drift-wood heaped frightfully upon the points of the islands, the current running in every possible direction. Here we did not know how soon we should be dashed to pieces, and all our troubles ended at once. Our boats frequently dragged on the bottom, and appeared constantly in danger of striking. They warped as much as in a rough *sea*. But by the hand of Providence we are now preserved from this danger also. I know not the length of this wonderful shoal; it had been represented to me to be twenty-five or thirty miles. If so, we must have descended very rapidly, as indeed we did, for we passed it in about three hours. Came to, and camped on the northern shore, not far below the shoals, for the night.

"*Monday, 13th.*—Got under way early in the morning, and made a good run that day.

"*Tuesday, 14th.*—Set out early. On this day two boats approaching too near the shore were fired upon by the Indians. Five of the crews were wounded, but not dangerously. Came to camp at night near the mouth of a creek. After kindling fires and preparing for rest the company were alarmed, on account of the incessant barking our dogs kept up; taking it for granted that the Indians were attempting to surprise us, we retreated precipitately to the boats; fell down the river about a mile and encamped on the other shore. In the morning I prevailed on Mr. Caffrey and my son to cross below in a canoe and return to the place, which they did, and found an African Negro we had left in the hurry asleep by one of the fires. The voyagers returned and collected their utensils which had been left.

"*Wednesday, 15th.*—Got under way and moved on peaceably the five following days, when we arrived at the mouth of the Tennessee on Monday, the 20th, and landed on the lower point immediately on the bank of the Ohio. Our situation here is truly disagreeable. The river is very high and the current rapid, our boats not constructed for the

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purpose of stemming a rapid stream, our provisions exhausted, the crews almost worn down with hunger and fatigue, and know not what distance we have to go, or what time it will take us to our place of destination. The scene is rendered still more melancholy, as several boats will not attempt to ascend the rapid current. Some intend to descend the Mississippi to Natchez; others are bound for Illinois, among the rest my son-in-law and daughter. We now part, perhaps, to meet no more, for I am determined to pursue my course, happen what will.

"Tuesday, 21st.—Set out, and on this day labored very hard and got but a little way; camped on the south bank of the Ohio. Passed the two following days as the former, suffering much from hunger and fatigue.

"Friday, 24th.—About three o'clock came to the mouth of a river which I thought was the Cumberland. Some of the company declared it could not be, it was so much smaller than was expected. But I never heard of *any* river running *in* between the Cumberland and Tennessee. It appeared to flow with a gentle current. We determined, however, to make the trial, pushed up some distance and encamped for the night.

"Saturday, 25th.—To-day we are much encouraged; the river grows wider; the current is very gentle, and, we are now convinced it is the Cumberland. I have derived great assistance from a small square sail which was fixed up on the day we left the mouth of the river, and to prevent any ill effects from sudden flaws of wind a man was stationed at each of the lower corners of the sheet with directions to give way whenever it was necessary.

"Sunday, 26th.—Got under way early; procured some buffalo meat; though poor, it was palatable.

"Monday, 27th.—Set out again; killed a swan, which was very delicious.

"Tuesday, 28th.—Set out very early in the morning; killed some buffalo.

"Wednesday, 29th.—Proceeded up the river; gathered some herbs on the bottoms of Cumberland, which some of the company called Shawnee salad.

"Thursday, 30th.—Proceeded on our voyage. This day we killed some more buffalo.

"Friday, 31st.—Set out this day, and after running some distance met with Col. Richard Henderson, who was running the line between Virginia and North Carolina. At this meeting we were much rejoiced. He gave us every information we wished, and further informed us that he had purchased a quantity of cone in Kentucky, to be shipped at the Falls of Ohio, for the use of the Cumberland settlement. We are now without bread, and are compelled to hunt the buffalo to preserve life. Worn out with fatigue, our progress at present is slow. Camped at night near the mouth of a little river, at which place and below there is a handsome bottom of rich land. Here we found a pair of band-mill stones set up for grinding, but appeared not to have been used for a great length of time.

"Proceeded on quietly until the 12th of April, at which time we came to the mouth of a little river running in on the north side, by Moses Renfoe and his company called Red River, up which they intended to settle. Here they took leave of us, We proceeded up Cumberland, nothing

happening material until the 23d, when we reached the first settlement on the north side of the river, one mile and a half below the Big Salt Lick, and called Eaton's Station, after a man of that name, who, with several other families, came through Kentucky and settled there.

"Monday, April 24th.—This day we arrived at our journey's end, at the Big Salt Lick, where we have the pleasure of finding Capt. Robertson and his company. It is a source of satisfaction to us to be enabled to restore to him and others their families and friends who were entrusted to our care, and who, some time since, perhaps, despaired of ever meeting again. Though our prospects at present are dreary, we have found a few log cabins which have been built on a cedar bluff above the Lick by Capt. Robertson and his company."

The names of the persons who came in this company are given by Col. Donelson as follows:

John Donelson, Sr.	Benjamin Porter.
Thomas Hutchings.	Mrs. Henry. (widow).
John Caffrey.	John Cotton.
John Donelson, Jr.	Thomas Henry.
James Robertson's lady and children.	Mr. Cockrell.
Mrs. Purnell.	Frank Armstrong.
M. Rounsifer.	Hugh Rogan.
James Cain.	Daniel Chambers.
Isaac Neely.	Robert Cartwright.
John Montgomery.	Stewart
Jonathan Jennings	David Gwinn.
Benjamin Belew.	John Boyd.
Peter Looney.	Reuben Harrison.
Capt. John Blackemore	Frank Haney.
Moses Renfroe	____ Maxwell
William Crutchfield	John White
Mr. Johns____	Solomon White
Hugh Henry, Sr.	Payne (killed)

"There were other names not put down women, children, and servants. Mrs. Peyton, whose infant was killed in the confusion of unloading the boat of Jonathan Jennings during the attack upon it by the Indians, was the daughter of Jennings and mother of Hon. Bailie Peyton. Her husband, Ephraim Peyton, had accompanied Capt. Robertson with the stock by land. The two young men who with the Negro man jumped out of the boat to swim ashore, seized a canoe, pushed down the river, leaving the women (Mrs. Jennings, Mrs. Peyton, and a Negro woman) to their fate. The Negro man lost his life in the water. The young men were intercepted in their canoe by the Indians, were captured and taken to Chickamauga, where the Indians killed the young man and *burned him*. Young Jennings was about to share the same fate when he was ransomed by a trader named Rogers."

The account they gave of the appearance of the Bluff, or Salt Lick, where the companies arrived in the winter and spring of 1780, is that although there were "open grounds," there is no evidence that it had ever been under cultivation. The open space around and near the Sulphur salt springs instead of being an "old field," as had been supposed by Mansker at his visit here in 1769, was thus freed from trees

and underbrush by the innumerable herds of buffaloes, deer, and elk that came to these waters. The place was the resort of these wild animals, among which also came bears, panthers, wolves, and foxes. Trails or buffalo paths were deeply worn in the earth from this to other springs. Much of the country was covered with a thick growth of cane from ten to twenty feet high.

The pioneers were huddled in a few rude huts which had been hastily thrown together, as men throw brush in a clearing or pitch up a pen to keep the calf from the cow. Wood was plenty, but it was cold work chopping it. Wild game was abundant, but very poor on account of the "hard winter." Many deer were found to have died of hunger and cold. Many hunters and explorers in Kentucky have recorded the same fact, attributing it to the long and intense cold of the season.

"Bears' oil was the only substitute we had for butter, lard, or gravy," said one of the pioneers, "and we learned to prefer it to either." Hunters have often said that bears' oil when fresh made them feel warm and strong. They became very fond of it.

When the settlers arrived upon the Cumberland they saw no Indians, and they knew of no tribe that was settled between its waters and those of the Tennessee, nor of any Indian towns north of them and south of the Ohio. Here seemed to be a vast extent of woodland, barrens, and prairies, inviting human settlement and the improvements of civilization. The Delawares, who had appeared on the headwaters of Mill Creek and professed to have come only to hunt, had traveled a long distance. The Creeks and Cherokees claimed no lands within the limits of these new settlements; therefore it is not surprising that some of the people were reluctant to give much of their time and labor to the erection of forts and stations when all wanted homes; and some had made haste to select the choicest places, thus creating discontent on the part of others. But the temptation to "mark and blaze claims" and scatter abroad was repressed by the more wise and experienced among them, who induced the others to contribute a certain portion of their time to "the erection of a few strongholds and defenses," and places "for the deposit of provisions, arms, and ammunition."

It was agreed that the fort at the Bluff, or Nashborough, should be the principal one and the headquarters. Others were commenced about the same time at the spring in North Nashville, called Freeland's; one on the east side of the river upon the highland, called Eaton's; others at or near the Sulphur spring ten miles north, called Kasper's, where the town of Goodtellsville is now situated; one on Station Camp Creek, about three miles from Gallatin, on the bluff by the turnpike, called Asher's; one at the lowlands on Stone's River, called Stone's River, or Donelson's, now known as Clover Bottom; and one at the bend of the river above the bluffs, about six miles distant, the site of "Fort Union," where once was the town of Haysborough.

The fort at Nashville was erected upon the bluff between the southeast corner of the Square and Spring Streets, so as to include a fine spring, which then issued from that point, the waters of which dashed down the precipice, giving great

charm and interest to the location. The structure was a log building two stories high, with port-holes and a lookout station. Other log houses were near it, and the whole was enclosed with palisades or pickets firmly set in the ground, having the upper ends sharpened. There was one large entrance or gateway, with a lookout-station for a guard or sentinel above it. The top of the fort afforded an elevated view of the country around, though at that time much obstructed to the west and southwest by a thick forest of cedar-trees, beneath which, towards Broad Street and Wilson's Spring, there was a dense growth of privet-bushes. Upon lands with deeper soil and less rock there were forest-trees of large growth and thick cane-brakes. The rich bottom-lands were covered with cane measuring from ten to twenty feet in height. The ancient forest-trees upon the rich lands in this region were of a majestic growth, some of which have been spared the woodman's axe, which destroyed by thousands these monarchs of the forest, to make room for civilized homes and cultivated fields. "There are a few, and but a few, of such native woods and magnificent trees remaining in the vicinity of the capital of Tennessee."

CHAPTER V

PERILS AND HARDSHIPS OF THE PIONEERS

Trouble with the Indians—Deaths during the First Year—Scarcity of Food—Valor and Hardihood of the Settler—The "Clover Bottom Defeat."

THE stationers arrived upon the Cumberland just upon the eve of an outbreak of Indian hostilities. "The savages," says Haywood, "seized the first opportunity after the hard winter was over to approach the improvements around the Bluff, and carry among the early Settlers the work of massacre and devastation." During the first year no less than thirty-seven at the different stations were killed, being picked off here and there by roving, predatory bands of Indians, who scarcely showed themselves openly anywhere. The thick cane-brake and wild undergrowth afforded them every advantage for concealment. The only one of the settlers who died a natural death the first year was Robert Gilkie. We give the names of the killed as we gather them from Ramsey's and Haywood's histories, as follows: two men by the name of Milliken, Joseph Hay, old Mr. Bernard, Jonathan Jennings, Ned Carver, James Mayfield, Porter, near Eaton's Station; Jacob Stump, Jesse Balestine, John Shockley, two men not named, at Bledsoe's; William Johnston, on Barren River; one at Asher's Station; Isaac Le Fevre, near the fort on the Bluff; Solomon Phillips and Samuel Murray, at Cross' Old Fields; Bartlett and Joseph Renfoe, old Mr. Johns and his wife and family, John Robertson, son of Capt. James Robertson, Abel Gower, Jr., and others. The stations were nearly all broken up except Eaton's and the one at the Bluff. All who could get to these stations did so, but many never saw their comrades in these places. Some were killed while asleep; some were awakened only to be apprised that their last moment had come; some were killed at noonday when not suspecting danger. Death seemed ready to devour the whole colony. On the morning that Mansker's Station was broken up two men who had

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slept a little later than their companions were shot by Indians pointing their guns through the port-holes of the fort. They were David Gain and Patrick Quigley. These Indian alarms caused Mr. Rains to remove to the Bluff, where he remained four years before he dared to settle upon his plantation.

Although the crop of corn this year on the lowlands and islands was seriously damaged by a freshet in July, and there was a great scarcity of bread, yet the hunters procured a full supply of meat for the inhabitants by killing bears, buffaloes, and deer. A company of twenty men went up the Cany Fork as far as Flynn's Creek, and returned with their canoes laden with meat in the winter. They are reported to have killed one hundred and fifty bears, seventy-five buffaloes, and more than ninety deer upon this excursion. This source of supply furnished the families at the Bluff with meat; but the scarcity of bread and the multiplied disasters and dangers which threatened the settlements induced a considerable portion of the settlers to remove to Kentucky and Illinois. All the remaining inhabitants collected at the three stations, the Bluff, Eaton's, and Freeland's.

These desultory attacks of the Indians, kept up at intervals through a period of nearly fifteen years, swelled the number of victims to a fearful list, among whom were included some of the bravest and best of the settlers. This told at times with desolating and disheartening effect upon the hopes and spirits of the survivors, but was not carried to the extent of paralyzing their energies, or of inducing them to yield with resignation to the merciless stroke of the tomahawk. "The instances of cowardice were remarkably few. There was a chivalrous stickling for the backwoods ethics which required every man to turn out gun in hand at the first cry of alarm and fly to the aid of the distressed and the unfortunate. The records of the ages furnish no brighter examples of self sacrificing friendship than are found in the history and traditions of these people. Even in the most perilous conjunctures there were never wanting bold spirits, ready to break through the chain of hostile environment for the purpose of carrying the tidings of alarm to other places and bringing back succor, or of penetrating the forest in search of game for the sustenance of the hungry."

The records of most of the engagements of the settlers with the Indians are very brief and fragmentary, a necessary consequence with later historians of the dearth of written records and the passing away of the actors who could have given full and intelligent accounts of the events in which they participated. Those were not the days of newspapers and ready reporters anxious to glean every fact, and thus rob the future antiquarian of his pleasurable vocation.

The most striking fact in connection with the history of this period is shown in the readiness and alacrity with which the settlers engaged in battle with their enemies even at fearful odds. While they were steady and undaunted in their defense, nothing could exceed the spirit and precipitation of their attacks. It is further noticeable that no case occurred where a house or station was surrendered by parley, and but one or two instances, at most, where persons submitted to

capture. It was always a death-struggle. It might be said of the entire body of Cumberland settlers that as a people they were superlatively brave, enterprising, and spirited, and in hardihood and endurance were never surpassed. The full force of this remark will be felt when the fact is stated and properly appreciated that in the year 1783 there were not two hundred men capable of bearing arms in the Cumberland settlements, while at any time there could have been brought into the field against them, from a distance of not over two hundred miles at the farthest, the full strength of the Cherokee and Creek nations, numbering not less than ten thousand warriors in a state of deep hostility, and at liberty to select the time and mode of attack. It is confidently believed that few people have encountered greater difficulties in founding a new community. Their record of heroic endurance has few parallels; their tasks were Herculean. To the vicissitudes of heat and cold, the river's flood, and the manifold perils of wilderness life they bared their bodies with uncomplaining and unexampled fortitude, of Very different stamp from that of the gladiator, who steps into the arena and conquers or dies amid the plaudits of assembled thousands. They had no spectators to the thrilling drama they were enacting

"THE CLOVER-BOTTOM DEFEAT"

The following account of an adventure with the Indians while gathering Col. Donelson's corn at Clover-Bottom in the fall of 1780 is taken from Putnam's "History of Middle Tennessee":

"The company from the Bluffs was under the command of Abel Gower. He had with him his son, Abel Gower, Jr., John Randolph Robertson, a relative of Col. Robertson, and several others, white and black, seven or eight in all. The party from Mansker's Station was under the direction of Capt. John Donelson, second son of Col. John Donelson. He was a young man of about six and twenty years of age. Robert Cartwright, an aged gentleman, was also in the company..

"The parties having ascended Stone's River and fastened their boats to the bank (between the present turnpike-bridge and the small island a few yards below), commenced gathering the corn, packing it in baskets and sacks and transferring it by means of a 'slide' to the boats. Capt. Donelson had brought a horse for the purpose of dragging the rudely-constructed r slide,' as also to use in towing boats up the stream. They were encamped for several days and nights upon the ground. During each night their dogs kept up an almost incessant barking. They had with them more dogs than men. Some of the party had suggested that the dogs scented or discovered Indians in the surrounding woods and cane. But the prevailing opinion was that as there was much fresh meat at the camp and offal left in the woods where buffalo had been killed, the wolves were attracted thereby, and the dogs were barking at these wild beasts. During the last night of their continuance at the place the dogs rushed furiously in every direction around the camp, as if actually mad, making the woods ring and echo with their barking.

"In the morning they made no examination for Indian signs, but hastened the completion of their loads and preparations for departure. Very early Capt. Donelson pushed

his boat across the river and began to gather the bolls of cotton and deposit them in heaps upon the corn in his boat. It was thought this would cause but a short delay. But when Capt. Gower's party had finished their breakfast they became impatient to start. Donelson had expected Gower's boat also to cross the river, and his people to share in the crop of cotton.

"Great was the surprise of Capt. Donelson and Mr. Cartwright to discover Gower's boat passing down the stream instead of coming across. Capt. Donelson stepped to the bank of the river, hailed them, and asked if they were coming over or going to leave them behind. Gower replied, we are not coming over; it is getting late in the day. 'We wish to reach the Bluffs before night. I think there is no danger.' Capt. Donelson remonstrated, but added, 'If you can risk it, so can we; we will first gather the cotton.' By this time, and while they were yet conversing, Capt. Gower's boat had drifted into the head of the narrow island chute, when the Indians, who were in ambush on the south side (supposed to be several hundred in number), opened a desperate fire upon the men in Gower's boat. Capt. Donelson saw the attack plainly. He immediately ran down to his own boat and secured the rifle and shot-bag. Upon raising the bank he saw the Indians in pursuit of several men who had jumped from the boat at the first fire. The water did not exceed three or four feet in depth.

"He also discovered a large party of Indians making their way up the river-bank to a point opposite his boat. There, however, the river was too deep to be forded. Upon that party Capt. Donelson fired, and then endeavored to join his own party. They had all fled into the cane upon hearing the guns fired and the yells of the savages. It was with considerable difficulty he was enabled to rejoin his friends. The horse was given to Mr. Cartwright, who otherwise could not have escaped, being aged and infirm. Some of the party of Capt. Gower were killed at the first fire, others were overtaken in the water and tomahawked. One white man and a Negro escaped into the woods. Another Negro, a free man, known as *Jack Civil*, was slightly wounded and surrendered. He was taken to the Chickamauga towns, remained, and moved with that roving, murderous, thieving set farther down the Tennessee River, and gave name to the town of *Nick-a-Jack*, or Nigger-Jack's town.

"The white man and Negro who jumped from the boat and escaped into the woods. wandered for twenty hours. At length they reached the station towards morning, pushed aside some of the pickets and entered the enclosure at the bluffs undiscovered by any one in the fort, although the dogs gave the faithful alarm. Gower's boat floated down the river, the corn and some of the dead being on board, undisturbed, except by some of the dogs which continued therein. The opinion prevailed for some days that the

Donelson party had fallen victims to the guns and to the hawks of the savages. It was hazardous to pass between stations as distant as Mansker's and the Bluff. James Randolph Robertson was among the slain.

"There was no alternative for the Donelson party; they must abandon the boat and all it contained and flee into the woods. They could render no assistance to their Mends, now

overwhelmed; they could not pass out with their own boat; and they might well suppose that the savages, flushed with an easy victory over half the harvesters, would speedily be in pursuit of themselves. After Capt. Donelson had overtaken the fleeing party, they hastily agreed upon the direction to be taken, so that they might assemble the next day upon the banks of the Cumberland some miles above the Mouth of Stone's River, where they would attempt to cross and escape to Mansker's Station. It was deemed advisable to separate, *not all to go together*, lest thereby they should make such a trail through the cane and bushes as the Indians could easily follow.

"Having continued their course until sunset, Capt. Donelson discovered a large hickory-tree which had fallen to the ground, and as it had a thick top and a large supply of leaves, he called in the wanderers, and they huddled together there for the night. They did not attempt to kindle any fire, though they greatly needed it. The night was passed in quiet, but with very little sleep. Capt. Donelson informed the party of the slaughter he had witnessed of the Gower party. He believed they were all killed, and that the Indian force was sufficient to besiege and capture any of the stations.

"The situation of this little squad was also very critical. The savages might be in search of them, and they had the river between them and their friends at Mansker's Station, and there was no boat to be had. How should they get over? or what should they do? Having convened upon the bank or the river, they endeavored to construct a raft upon which to be floated across. They had left the axe in the boat, and no light and suitable material could be found to answer the purpose. Yet they gathered sticks and fastened them together with whites and vines, and made several attempts to go over, but the current inevitably drove their rude float back to the side of the river whence they had set out. They had to abandon all efforts thus to get over, and permit their raft to be carried away by the current. What now shall be done? At this juncture Col. Donelson's faithful servant, Somerset, volunteered to swim the river with the aid of the horse, and ride to the station and give information of the situation of the party. He succeeded in crossing, ascended the opposite bank, and hastened in the direction through cane and woods. Safely arriving at the station, he gave the first information of the disastrous defeat. It was indeed sad news, disheartening to every one.

"Immediately a few active men returned with Somerset, taking axes wherewith to cut and prepare a float for the relief of their friends, who were suffering with cold and hunger. It was chill November weather, and the rain had fallen during a part of the night and morning. They were all passed over and safely arrived at the station."^{*}

* No better subject could be offered for a poem than the voluntary heroism of this old servant, Somerset. He merited a monument.

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CHAPTER VI

PIONEER LIFE AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Reaching the Cumberland Settlements—Primitive Houses—Rough Fare—First Wedding—Public Morals—Backwoods Schools—Pioneer Ministers—Circuit-Riders—Long Journeys to Meeting—The Hunting-Shirt of the *Early Days*.

For most of the matter contained in this chapter we are indebted to Dr. J. B. McFerrin, himself a pioneer, and able from his personal recollections to describe graphically the scenes of that period.

As salt was very difficult to obtain, the first settlers saved their meats by drying them in the sun and open air. This was commonly called "jerking." The meat was cut into thin slices and strung upon sticks, which were placed upon scaffolds in the sun, or over a slow fire, and kept until perfectly dry; in this condition it remained sound and sweet for a long time.

The immigrants in coming into Middle Tennessee usually followed Indian trails and buffalo paths, or, guided by their pocket compass, followed their course till they reached their destined point. They usually located near a spring of clear water, where they encamped till they could determine on some permanent settlement. They generally came in companies. Each man had his rifle, his shot-pouch, powder-horn, and ammunition. Each company had a number of pack-horses on which they brought their camp kettles, provisions, and blankets, and, when families came through, a small amount of bedding, with wearing apparel, was brought along to supply the women and children, and with which to make a little start in housekeeping.

Many of them built "half-faced camps," in which they lived till they could clear a patch, plant some corn, and erect a cabin. These camps were constructed of forked stakes driven into the ground, across which poles were laid, and covered with split clapboards. The rear portion of the structure reached the ground; the ends were enclosed, while the whole front was left open. The bed was made upon boughs under the slanting roof, while the fire at the open front served them for warmth and for cooking such provisions as they could obtain. A skillet with a lid, a small pot, and an oven were considered a large supply of cooking-utensils. Those who were not so well provided broiled their meat upon the coals, or on a spit made of a hickory stick, while the bread was baked in the ashes or on a journey, vulgarly called a "johnny," cake-board. These journey-cakes were delicious. The board was made of a piece of timber or plank dressed smooth, about six inches wide and twenty long, and the dough, well kneaded, was placed upon the board, set before a fire of hot coals, baked, turned, and cooked brown. It was choice bread on the tables of the most aristocratic pioneers. Made rich by lard, cracklings, or bear's oil, it was delicious.

These camps were followed by log cabins made of trees cut from the forests. They were usually small and constructed of round logs, roughly notched together at the corners. One doorway, and a window made by cutting one log in two, were the common modes of admitting the inhabitants, light and air. The chimney was made of sticks

and clay, and the cracks were sometimes daubed with mud. The floor was often nothing but the earth beat solid, or made of rough puncheons split from soft trees, generally lin, which grew in abundance. A hewed log house with a shingled roof, stone chimney, plank floor, and glass windows was considered a great improvement on the primitive cabin, and a mark of wealth and distinction. For a considerable time in the early settlement these were the best houses which the country afforded, and many of them are still standing.

The fare in those days might be considered rough; venison, bear meat, elk, and wild turkeys were considered luxuries. As civilization advanced, and the game became scarce, "hog and hominy" became the standing dishes. After a while the farmers began to grow wheat, and as soon as mills existed for converting it into flour the youngsters were allowed *wheat*, or English broad, as it was called, on Sunday morning. Coffee was a rare article, and only indulged in on great occasions. The most wealthy could not think of its use more than once a week. Sugar and syrup were principally procured from the maple-trees, which were "notched" in the latter part of winter or early spring, the sap caught in troughs, and boiled down in kettles or pots till it became thick enough to be "stirred off" into sugar, as the process was called. These sugar camps were great institutions in their day, and a "stirring off" was a grand occasion, when many a gallant youth made love to his blue-eyed sweetheart or to the smiling lass whose raven locks floated carelessly on the winds of the wildwood. These "stirs off" were far more romantic and enchanting than the artificial "candy-pullings" of more modern times. The first marriage celebrated in Davidson County, or west of the Cumberland Mountains, was that of Capt. Leiper. This was in 1780, before there was a clergyman in the settlement. Col. James Robertson, as head of the government of the "notables," performed the ceremony. An early historian says, "There was pretty much of a feast at this wedding, and a most cheerful company. They had no wine or ardent spirits; they had no wheat or corn-bread, no cakes, no confectioneries; but they had any quantity of fresh and dried meat buffalo tongue, bear meat, venison saddle and venison ham broiled, stewed, fried and jerked, and, as a great delicacy for the ladies, seine roasting ears, or ears of green corn roasted, or boiled, or made into succotash."

The people of those days were plain and full of hospitality. There was no extravagance, but all seemed determined to make their adopted country a delightful land. The women spun and wove and made bed-quilts, nursed their own children, and thought a houseful of rosy boys and girls a great treasure. The men lived on wholesome, strong food and wore homespun. Public men in those days were expected to be men of integrity, and when a man was found competent and faithful in office he was kept at his post. One of the acts passed by the first court was in these words:

"Whereas, in all well-regulated governments effectual care is always taken that the day set apart for public worship be observed and kept holy, all persons are enjoined carefully to apply themselves to the duties of religion and

piety, to abstain from labor in ordinary callings. All violations to be punished by fine of ten shillings *proclamation money*."

Profane swearing, intemperance, lewdness, and other like vices and improprieties were also to be punished. Another act provided:

"Whereas, Wicked men, too lazy to get their living by honest labor, make it their business to ride in the woods and steal cattle and hogs, and alter and deface marks and brands, when convicted shall be

"Fined and confined,
And scorched with a brand
In the left hand,
As you may see,
With a big letter T."

Dr. McFerrin thus describes the first schools and schoolhouses; "At the appointed day the whole community met together, with axes, frow, wagons, and teams. A site was selected, trees felled, the logs hauled, the house raised, the roof put on, the benches made, the writing-desk fixed at one side, a log being out to admit the light, and proclamation was made that John Smith would open a three months' school next Monday morning. Mr. Smith was represented as a fit model to take care of his institution. He could read, write a fair hand, set a good copy, and cipher to the double rule of three. And besides, his terms were reasonable. He could teach five days in the week, and twelve hours each day, or at least the children must leave home by sunrise in the morning, and would be let out just time enough to return before dark. Those who lived a great distance off might be let out a little sooner, so as not to be out in the night. And then he would charge at the rate of eight dollars a year; he would make up all the time he missed, and deduct from the price of tuition every day the child was absent by the will of the parent. He would 'board round' among the scholars, and take his pay one-half in money and the remainder in trade, corn and pork especially, they being the staple commodities of the country.

"Monday morning bright and early you might see the boys and girls, from twenty-one years old down to five, pouring in from every quarter. Mr. Smith was there in time. He had secured a chair with a raw hide seat, which was very comfortable. He had no other fixtures, save a large flat ruler, with a half-dozen long switches hung upon a peg in the wall immediately on his right hand. These were the signs of his authority, and naturally made the backs of the boys cringe and the hands of the girls feel blue. Each pupil was examined not as to his progress in knowledge, but in reference to the books he brought. All went to work, and then, each vying with the other as to the noise he could produce, the whole school went into an uproar, and could be heard for half a mile, like so many frogs in a pond, some sounding a low, heavy bass, while others, keyed to the highest pitch, would carry the treble, tenor, or counter. The music of these noisy schools can only be appreciated by those who have heard them in their highest state of excitement."

The Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists were the principal sects represented in the earliest religious meetings. The Presbyterian ministers were men of most learning, and usually taught schools of a higher grade, as they could be introduced and supported in the more populous centers, such as Nashville. The Baptists were

generally very plain men, who made no pretensions to learning, but were full of zeal. In the early times they were nearly all "old side Baptists," and held to the doctrine of particular election. Many of their preachers were men of natural gifts, but they nearly all had a sing-song mode of preaching which was very solemn and affecting. The Methodist preachers were generally termed "circuit-riders." They were usually single men, and devoted all their time to traveling and preaching on circuits which were hundreds of miles around, and in school-houses, private dwellings, in the woods, under brush arbors, or in the shade of the forest-trees. The Methodist "circuit-rider" might generally be known from his dress and equipage. He usually rode a good horse, kept in fine condition. His saddle was covered with a dressed bearskin or buffalo-robe. His saddle-bags were large and well filled. He carried his clothing and books along. The idea of a boarding-house was not conceived of in those days. He kept house in his saddle bags. He wore a broad-brimmed white hat, made of beaver; his coat was round-breasted, and usually made of jeans; his vest *was* full and long, and forked at the corners, and had broad pocket-flaps. They had loud voices and sang well. They were a terror to sinners, persecuted, and yet beloved. A grander race of men never blessed any country.

As the country grew older the people began to build meeting-houses. Some of the earliest of these were rude in the extreme, being built of hewed or round logs, and seated with plain benches. "A heavy piece of plank or puncheon had holes bored through it with a large auger, and four pegs or legs inserted, and these were placed in front of the pulpit and occupied by men and women, who all sat apart. No backs, no cushions, no kneeling-stools, no carpets, the naked floor and hard seats and here the congregation would often remain patiently while two long sermons were delivered. Long journeys were taken in those days to attend religious services, and the people always attended dressed in their best Sunday clothes. Mothers would carry their children for miles to enjoy a gospel feast. Many of the poorer classes of young ladies went on foot and carried their shoes and stockings in their hands, rolled up in cotton handkerchief; till they came near the meetinghouse, when they would turn aside, array their feet, and appear in the congregation as neat as a new pin."

The pioneer preachers never saw *an* organ or heard a church choir. The Presbyterians generally had a leader whom they called a clerk, whose business it was to line the hymn and lead the music. He was always a layman and a person of great consequence. The Baptists usually lined the hymn, reading only one line at a time, and this was done in a very solemn, sing-song manner. The Methodists were noted for their fine singing. The preachers always read their own hymns, two lines at a time, and the congregations joined in singing. "Singing-masters," or teachers of vocal music, were early in the country.

A very common costume in Tennessee among the hunters and pioneers and the later volunteer soldiery was the hunting-shirt and its appendages, which have now gone

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entirely out of use. It was a picturesque and convenient, costume, admirably adapted to the comeliness and comfort of the farmer, hunter, and pedestrian. The mountain-men in the Revolution, the volunteer soldiery in all the campaigns of the West and in the war of 1812, uniformly wore it. Many of them did so in the war with Mexico and in Texas, but the volunteer's hunting-shirt is evidently gone out of use. Speaking of this costume, Mr. Custis says,

"The hunting-shirt, the emblem of the Revolution, is now banished from the national military, but still lingers among the hunters and pioneers of the far West. This national costume was adopted in the outset of the Revolution, and was recommended by Washington to the army in the most eventful period of the war of independence. It was a favorite garb with many of the officers of the line. The British beheld these sons of the mountain and the forest, thus attired, with wonder and admiration. Their hardy looks, their tall, athletic forms, their marching in Indian file with the light and noiseless step peculiar to their pursuit of woodland game, but above all, to European eyes, their singular and picturesque costume, the hunting-shirt, with its fringes, wampum-belts, leggins and moccasins, the tomahawk and knife, these, with the well-known death-dealing aim of these matchless marksmen, created in the European military a degree of awe and respect for the hunting-shirt which lasted with the war of the Revolution. And should not Americans feel proud of the garb, and hail it as national, in which their fathers endured such toil and privation in the mighty struggle for independence, the march across the wilderness, the triumphs of Saratoga and King's Mountain? But a little while, and, of a truth, the hunting-shirt, the venerable emblem of the Revolution, will have disappeared from among the Americans, and will be found only in museums, like ancient armor, exposed to the gaze of the curious."

CHAPTER VII

MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE INDIANS

First Military Companies formed—Attack of Indians on Freeland's Station—Battle at the Bluff—Heroic Conduct of Mrs. James Robertson—The Enemy Discomfited—The Hilted and Wounded.

THE first determined pursuit of the Indians was in the summer of 1780. The details of this affair are very meager, but it is worthy of mention as the first instance of an offensive policy on the part of the settlers, the vigorous practice of which later on led to the most beneficial results, especially when directed against the enemy in his own home. At this time the depredations of the Indians had become particularly grievous. Aside from the murders committed, the loss of live-stock was very heavy, and hard to be borne on account of the great difficulties in replacing it, the source of supply being several hundred miles distant. Putnam remarks that the death of a milk-cow was a sore affliction to the women, next to that of a member of the family. The capture of a horse was equally so to the men. After a raid by a large party of Cherokees in the vicinity of Freeland's Station, in which a number of cattle were killed and gashed with knives and some horses carried off, prompt pursuit and punishment of the

marauders were determined on. For this purpose Col. James Robertson, Alexander Buchanan, and eighteen others quickly embodied and gave chase. The Indians were overtaken at some point on Duck River not now known, but about forty miles south of the settlement, where Robertson's party charged and fired upon them. Several of the Indians were killed and wounded, when the rest fled, abandoning the stolen property to the possession of the whites, who returned in safety without the loss of a man. The result was very creditable, and thereafter Col. Robertson had frequently to restrain the ardor of the settlers in their eagerness to pursue large parties of the enemy with an inadequate force. However, it was an established rule to pursue on the instant when an outrage was committed. In this it was frequently possible to inflict some punishment on the depredators, who sometimes dallied too long to secure the scalp and arms of their victims. As a rule, when the Indians fired upon the whites in the vicinity of the forts they ran off at once and easily made their escape in the thickets of cane which covered over the face of the country. It may be stated in this connection that the Indians exercised the greatest economy in the use of powder, putting in a very small charge, otherwise their warfare would have been much more destructive. They rarely trusted themselves to fire beyond fifty yards, while the average backwoodsman could use his rifle with deadly precision at twice or thrice that distance. They frequently lost their lives, or were placed at disadvantage, by attempting to use the tomahawk as a substitute for a few grains of powder.

THE ATTACK ON FREELAND'S STATION

During the first year of occupation a number of settlements had been made or projected, extending along the Cumberland River for the distance of quite forty miles. Many of these stations were small in extent, poorly constructed, and insufficiently manned, as the result soon proved. The occupants were more engrossed with the selection of good locations, Preferably near a salt-spring, than the thought that such an intrusion on the favorite hunting-ground of the Cherokee and other Indians would provoke serious and deadly opposition. Some of them, Col. John Donelson among the number, neglected even to erect houses, but passed most of the season in the half-faced structures known as hunters' camps. The consequences of this policy of neglect and division of strength were fearfully apparent before the close of the year. The beginning of the year 1781 found the entire body of settlers confined to three forts, namely, Robertson's or the Bluff, Eaton's, two miles below on the north side of the river, and Freeland's, about a mile to the northwest of the first, forced into these places for refuge from the rifle and tomahawk of their merciless foes. These results, so flattering to their arms, emboldened the Cherokees and their allies to attempt the extermination of the survivors, now greatly reduced from their original number by casualties and the departure of many families to the settlements in Kentucky and the Illinois.

But to accomplish this result required a larger force than had hitherto invaded the settlements, and the exercise of bravery and enterprise sufficient to overcome fortified

posts held by resolute men fighting in defense of their families and the fertile country they had chosen for habitation. In the execution of this plan Freeland's Station was the first to receive the blow, on account of its situation and comparative weakness. That the attack was not successful *was* due to a want of concert and disregard of discipline which characterize all barbarous races in enterprises of this character. It appears that there were two parties, each numbering between fifty and a hundred warriors, marching to the attack of the place; but the first detachment, on its arrival discovering the weakness of the garrison, determined, in its eagerness to win the prize, to strike without awaiting the advent of the other.

This station was erected by George James, and Jacob Freeland on the spot afterwards occupied by the residence of Dr. McGavock. It was simply a stockade thrown around the houses of the occupants, and probably bastioned, as many of them were, in order to render more effective the fire of a small force of defenders. The gate was secured by a chain which fastened on the inside. On the night of the attack, Jan. 15, 1781, there seems to have been no apprehension of danger, as there was evidently no sentinel whose duty it was to watch over the safety of the place. The garrison consisted of eleven men and some families, including Col. James Robertson, whose presence proved a most fortunate circumstance, and was occasioned by the fact that on his arrival that day at the Bluff from the Kentucky settlements he learned that his family was at Freeland's. His journey through the wilderness had been full of perils and the narration of this and the detail of home affairs by Mrs. Robertson had kept him awake until a late hour. About midnight his keen ear, trained to wonderful acuteness by long practice on the border, detected a movement of the chain at the gate, and on rising to examine into the cause, he discovered the gate thrown open and a large body of Indians crowding into the enclosure. He instantly raised the cry of alarm and awakened the inmates of the houses to a sense of their danger. Finding they were discovered, the assailants raised their terrible war-whoop to heighten the effect of surprise and chill the spirit of resistance. As soon as possible the men of the garrison sprang to their guns and opened a straggling fire upon the throng. Unfortunately one of the houses occupied by Maj. Lucas and several others, including a Negro servant of Col. Robertson, was poorly fitted for defense, owing to the want of chinking and daubing in the cracks between the logs. Maj. Lucas realizing this rushed out to obtain better shelter, but was almost instantly killed. The moon was shining brightly, and the assailants, finding that they could not force an entrance into the houses now without great loss, quickly retreated through the gate, whence they opened a hot fire on the house from which Maj. Lucas had so rashly issued, and which alone on inspection afterwards was found to have received over five hundred bullets. Col. Robertson in a loud voice animated and directed the defense, charging the men to keep from before the portholes while loading. He was enabled at one time in the conflict to take close aim at a fellow's head, and he declared his belief that he had got his man, which was

confirmed the next day by the discovery of the body of an Indian shot through the brain. He had been carried about a mile and covered with leaves. The din of conflict soon awakened the inhabitants at the Bluff, and a small swivel was fired at that place to convey to the besieged a knowledge that their situation was appreciated.

The Indians kept up the fire until near daylight, when they withdrew out of range. Only about a half-dozen rounds to the man had been fired from the houses, but evidently to good purpose, from the numerous trails of blood left behind in the retreat. The occupants of the unfinished house were the only sufferers, several being wounded and the Negro killed. Soon after daylight Capt. John Rains with a small party from the Bluff reached the scene, and following the trail of the Indians for some distance discovered the arrival of a second detachment. No further attempt, however, was made on this or the other two stations, but the ones that had been deserted were visited and burnt, the stock killed, provisions destroyed, trails waylaid, and the game driven off for miles in every direction in order to make its pursuit more hazardous to the hunters who were compelled to rely for food on this source of supply.

THE BATTLE OF THE BLUFF, OR ROBERTSON'S STATION, APRIL 2, 1781

Robertson's Station, or the Bluff, as it was more usually designated, was, from its central position and the number of inhabitants congregated in the place, the most important of the Cumberland settlements. It was fortified with much care on the stockade plan, and so situated that water from a spring near by could be conducted in troughs within the enclosure. The site was immediately on the bluff of the river, and partly covered the present debouchments of Church Street, in Nashville. The main building in the enclosure, not erected at this time probably, was built of stone, two stories high, the northern face being on a line with the southern boundary of Church Street. The regulations for its safety were carried out with much care, watches being constantly maintained over the boats in the river and from a block-house on the land side. Since the attack on Freeland's all who ventured out were compelled to use great caution on account of the presence of prowling parties of Indians in the vicinity. Only a few days before the engagement at the Bluff Col. Samuel Barton, who was out endeavoring to get some beef cattle into the fort, was wounded in the wrist about where Wilson's Branch crosses College Street. On the night of April 1st an Indian was discovered spying the premises and was shot at by James Menifee, the sentinel in the block-house, when he withdrew. Between daylight and sunrise the next morning two others approached, and firing their guns at the fort ran off out of range, where they halted and began leisurely to reload, waving their hands in a bantering manner. It had always been the practice of the settlers to pursue under such circumstances, and although an ambushade was feared by some it was determined to resent the insult at all hazards. Thereupon a party of twenty-one quickly mounted their horses and dashed through the gate in pursuit. Capt.

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Leiper led the advance and Col. Robertson the main body. The names of thirteen only of this daring band of salliers have been handed down by tradition, and are as follows: Col. James Robertson, Capt. Leiper, Peter Gill, John Kescnger, Alexander Buchanan, George Kennedy, I. Kennedy, Zachariah White, James Meniffee, Kasper Mansker (usually pronounced Manscor), Isaac Lucas, Joseph Moonshaw, and Edward Swanson. When the advance reached the present locality of Broad Street, about its intersection with College, a few of the enemy were seen making a stand at the Branch a short distance off. The whites immediately dismounted for battle, but before they could secure their horses a force of about three hundred warriors rose from the thickets along the Branch and poured into them a deadly volley. They returned the fire with spirit and to good effect. In the mean time another large body of the enemy, which had taken post before daylight in the cedar and privet bushes which thickly covered the present site of Cherry Street embraced between Church and Broad, ran from their concealment after the horsemen had passed and extended their line rapidly in the direction of the fort and the river. The war-whoop of these savages in their rear at once conveyed to the sallying-party and also to their friends in the fort the desperate nature of their situation, and excited in all the gravest fears for their safety. They began at once their retreat, resolutely bringing off all of their wounded who could be assisted. Fortunately for the survivors their horses had broken back in the direction of the fort when the fight began, but on reaching the interposing line they swerved off to its right to escape, when large numbers of the Indians, unable to resist the temptation, quit their places and hurried in pursuit of them. Into the gap thus opportunely left the retreating whites now pressed, hotly pursued from the rear and fired upon from different directions:

At this juncture another most fortunate circumstance occurred to favor their escape. There were great numbers of dogs gathered into the fort, trained to face any danger at bidding, and on hearing the well-known reports of their masters' rifles in the vale below they were seized with an uncontrollable frenzy, and evinced by loud cries their disposition to join in the conflict. Mrs. Robertson, the wife of Col. James Robertson, who was watching gun in hand with intense interest the varying changes of the battle, on discovering the snare into which her friends had fallen, and fearing that they would all be lost, now urged the sentinel to open the gate and hiss on the dogs. These animals on being released flew at once at that part of the Indian line still in place, and attacked it with a fury and persistence probably never before witnessed. It was an anomaly indeed in warfare, as dogs are usually much afraid of the fire of guns. Such an onset, however, could not be despised, and forced the enemy to empty their pieces and resort to their tomahawks in self-defense. Favored by this unexpected diversion, the little band of whites now hastened on, and all reached the fort in safety, except Isaac Lucas. He had reached a point in rifle-range of the place when he fell with a broken thigh. He had just finished loading his gun as he ran, and when he fell an Indian rushed upon him with the

purpose of securing his scalp. Lucas took deliberate aim as he lay on the ground and shot his pursuer dead in his tracks. He then dragged himself a short distance to shelter from the Indian fire, reloaded his rifle, and disposed his tomahawk for a desperate resistance; several determined efforts were made by the friends of the dead man to carry off his body and dispatch Lucas, but were frustrated by the vigilance of the garrison, who kept up a warm fire in that quarter. Lucas was carried into the fort after the enemy withdrew out of range, and soon recovered. Edward Swanson, another of the salliers, was overtaken within twenty yards of the gate by a large Indian, who pressed the muzzle of his gun against his back and, attempted to shoot, but it failed fire. The Indian then struck Swanson heavily on the shoulder with the barrel, making him drop his gun. Swanson now turned, and seizing his antagonist's gun by the muzzle, endeavored to wrench it from his hands. A desperate struggle ensued for the possession of the weapon, which ended at length in the Indian's favor, when by a heavy blow on the head he felled the white man to his all-fours. The combatants had been so closely engaged that the friends of Swanson could not fire from the fort without danger to both; but at this instant, when the Indian was in the act of disengaging his tomahawk to give the finishing blow, old Mr. John Buchanan rushed through the gate and firing quickly, mortally wounded him. Thereupon the savage, gritting his teeth with rage, retired to a stump near by where he fell. Swanson, assisted by his deliverer, made his way into the fort. During the night the body of the Indian was dragged off by his comrades, and was found several days later buried on College Hill, at the place afterwards occupied by the residence of the Rev. Mr. Hume.* No attempt was made to carry off the one killed by Swanson, as he was probably scalped by the whites, and this, according to Indian theology, rendered him unfit for burial. The loss of the scalp was supposed to be sufficient to debar the victim from the "happy hunting-grounds," no matter how bravely he may have fought. Hence they always sought at great risk to consign an enemy to the dominions of the bad spirit by practicing this mutilation upon him.

Of the sallying-party seven were killed, according to the statement of the Rev. John Carr, who lived in the pioneer period. These were Capt. Leiper, Peter Gill, John Kescnger, Alexander Buchanan, George Kennedy, Zachariah White, and J. Kennedy. James Meniffee, Kasper Mansker, Isaac Lucas, Joseph Moonshaw, and others were wounded. Putnam's account says that five were killed, but no names are given. In an obituary notice of Gen. James Robertson, published in the *Nashville Clarion* in 1813, the writer states that only thirteen returned alive to the fort, which would put the number of killed at eight. Very few of the horses were captured; most of them, after a hot chase across Capitol Hill and about the Sulphur-Bottom, broke by their pursuers and reached the gate of the fort, into which they were admitted. At ten o'clock A.M. the enemy withdrew from the contest, but returned at night and fired a great many shots at the walls. It was understood that this party was a reinforcement which had

* On Market Street, opposite the entrance to the Vanderbilt Medical College.

improvement shall not avail him or be deemed an evidence of prior right unless the same be entered with the entry-taker in thirty days from the time of such mark or improvement; but no other person shall be entitled to such lands so as aforesaid to be reserved... consequence of any purchase, gift, or otherwise.

"That if the entry-taker to be appointed shall neglect or refuse to perform his duty, or be found by the said judges, or a majority of them, to have acted fraudulently, to the prejudice of any person whatsoever, such entry-taker shall be immediately removed from his office, and the book taken out of his possession by the said judges until another shall be appointed to act in his room.

"That as often as the people in general are dissatisfied with the doings of the judges or triers so to be chosen, they may call a new election at any of the said stations and elect others in their stead, having due respect to the number now agreed to be elected at each election, which persons so to be chosen shall have the same power with those in whose room or place they shall or may be chosen to act.

"That as no consideration money for the lands on Cumberland River, within the claim of the said Richard Henderson and Company, and which is the subject of the association, is demanded or expected by the said Company until a satisfactory and indisputable title can be made, so we think it reasonable and just that the twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, current money, per hundred acres, the price proposed by the said Richard Henderson, shall be paid according to the value of money on the first day of January last, being the time when the price was made public [and] settlement encouraged thereon by said Henderson; and the said Richard Henderson on his part does hereby agree that in case of the rise or appreciation of money from that... an abatement shall be made in the sum according to its raised or appreciated value.

" That where any person shall remove to this country with intent to become an inhabitant, and depart this life, either by violence or in the natural way, before he shall have performed the requisites necessary to obtain lands, the child or children of such deceased person shall be entitled, in his or her room, to such quantity of land as such person would have been entitled to in case he or she had lived to obtain a grant in their own name; and if such death be occasioned by the Indians, the said Henderson doth promise and agree that the child Or children shall have as much as amounts to their head-rights gratis, surveyor's and other incidental fees excepted.

" And whereas, from our remote situation and want of proper officers for the administration of justice, no regular proceedings at law can be had for the punishment offenses and the attainment of right, it is therefore agreed that until we can be relieved by government from the many evils and inconveniences arising there from, the judges or triers to be appointed as before directed, when qualified, shall be and are hereby declared a *proper court* or jurisdiction for the recovery of any debt or damage; or where the cause of action or complaint has arisen, or hereafter shall commence, for anything done or to be done among

ourselves in this our settlement on Cumberland aforesaid, or in our passage hither, where the laws of our county: could not be executed or damages repaired in any other way; that is to say, in all cases where the debt or damages or demand does or shall not exceed one hundred dollars, any three of the said judges or triers shall be competent to make a court and finally decide the matter in controversy; but if for a larger sum, and either party shall be dissatisfied with the judgment or decision of such court, they may have an appeal to the whole twelve judges or triers, in which case nine members shall be deemed a full court, whose decision, if seven agree in one opinion, the matter in dispute shall *be* final, and their judgment carried into execution in such manner and by such person or persons as they may appoint; and the said courts, respectively, shall have full power to tax such costs as they may think just and reasonable, to be levied and collected with the debt or damage so to be awarded.

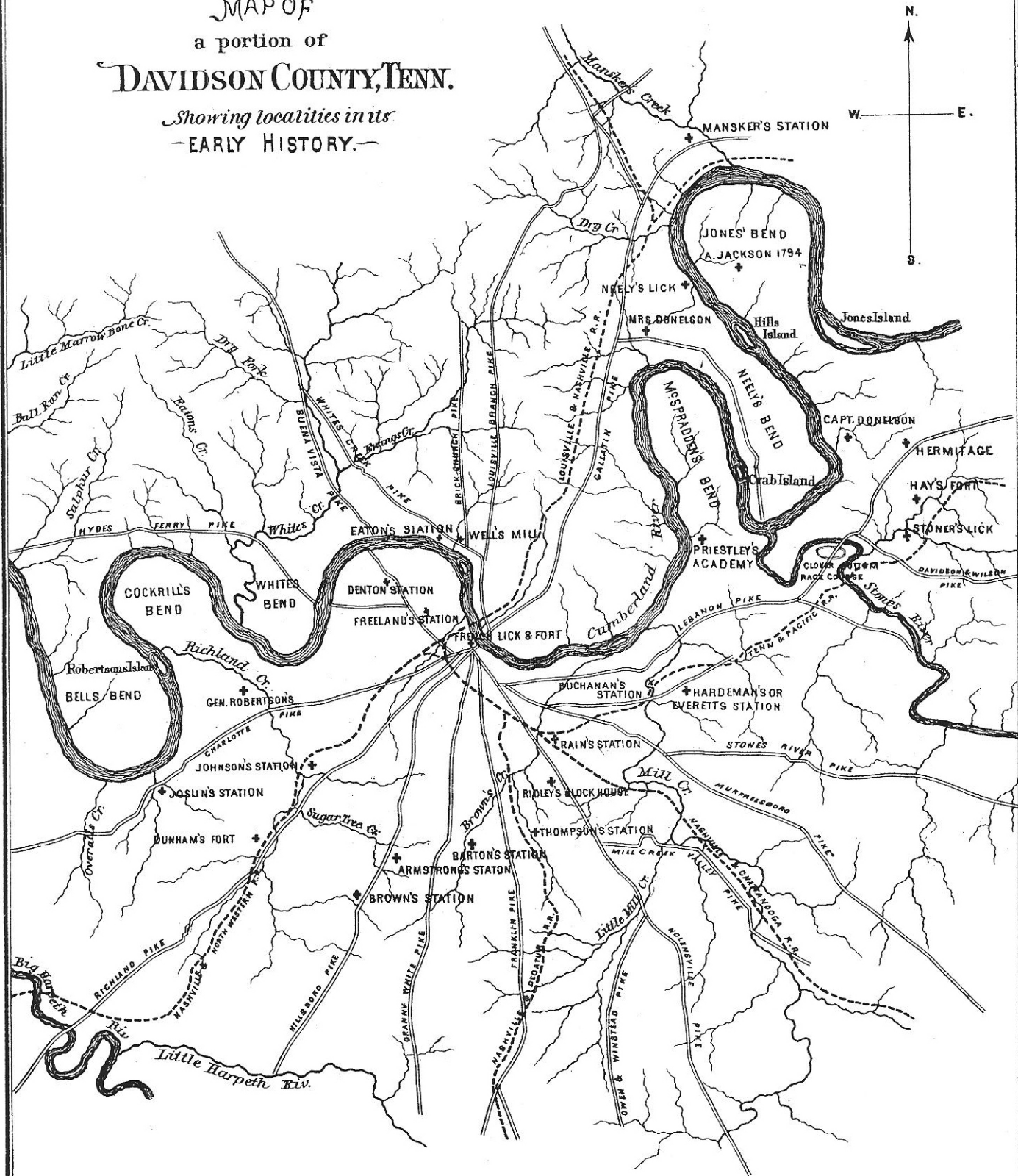
"And it is further agreed that a majority of the said judges, triers, or general arbitrators shall have power to punish in their discretion, having respect to the laws of our country, all offenses against the peace, misdemeanors, and those criminals, or of a capital nature, provided such court does not proceed with execution so far as to affect life or member; and in ease any should be brought before them whose crime is or shall be dangerous to the State, or for which the benefit of clergy is taken away by law, and sufficient evidence or proof of the fact or facts can probably be made, such court, or a majority of the members, shall and may order and direct him, her or them to be safely bound and sent under a strong guard to the place where the offense was or shall be committed, or where legal trial of such offense can be had, which shall accordingly be done, and the reasonable expense attending the discharge of this duty ascertained by the court, and paid by the inhabitants in such proportion as shall hereafter be agreed on for that purpose.

"That as this settlement is in its infancy, unknown to government, and not included within any county within North Carolina, the State to which it belongs, so as to derive the advantages of those wholesome and salutary laws for the protection and benefit of its citizens, we find ourselves constrained from necessity to adopt this temporary method of restraining the licentious, and supplying, by unanimous consent, the blessings flowing from a just and equitable government, declaring and promising that no action or complaint shall be hereafter instituted or lodged in any court of record within this State, or elsewhere, for anything done or to be done in consequence of the proceedings of the said Judges or General Arbitrator so to be chosen and established by this our Association.

"That the well-being of this country entirely depends, under Divine Providence, on unanimity of sentiment and concurrence in measures; and as clashing interests and opinions without being under some restraint will most certainly produce confusion, discord, and almost certain ruin, so we think it our duty to associate, and hereby form ourselves into one society for the benefit of present and future settlers; and until the full and proper exercise of the laws of our country can be in use, and the powers of government exerted among us, we *do most solemnly and sacredly declare and promise each other* that

MAP OF
a portion of
DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENN.

*Showing localities in its
-EARLY HISTORY.-*



Scale...Three Miles...One Inch.

HISTORICAL DATA COMPILED BY E. L. DRAKE.

DRAWN BY W. F. FOSTER

arrived too late to take part in the morning's battle. At one time during the night a knot of several hundred were seen collecting about the present intersection of Church and College Streets, when it was proposed to fire the swivel at them. Some objected on account of the scarcity of ammunition, but a contribution of powder, slugs, and pieces of iron having been made up, the piece was brought into position and fired. In the stillness of night the report and flash of the little swivel proved very creditable, and more than answered expectations. The party decamped with such haste that they left several articles of value behind. Not another shot was fired at the fort after this, nor was it again directly attacked during the existence of hostilities. Soon after the swivel was fired the one at Eaton's gave an answering signal, and in the course of the night a small force came from that place to the opposite bank, where, on making its presence known, boats were dispatched, and it was quickly transferred to assist in the further defense of the place if needed. Early next morning scouts went out and ascertained that the Indians had gone westerly and crossed Richland Creek. The number of their killed was never definitely ascertained. The bodies of the whites were found stripped and scalped. Thus ended an expedition of six or seven hundred Cherokees, the details of which were planned with much judgment and executed with remarkable secrecy. The proverbial want of discipline with the savages at the critical moment alone saved the party which rashly sallied out to attack them from total destruction. In the light of subsequent events the death of Col. Robertson would have been a public calamity, which at this juncture might have operated most unfavorably on the interests of the Cumberland settlements. In any event the loss of so many brave men at one fell swoop would have been a most serious blow, and liable to have been followed by a train of worse disasters. As Mrs. Robertson pertinently remarked, the Indians' fear of dogs and love of horses proved the salvation of the whites on this occasion. It is due to the memory of the pioneer women of Nashville to state that in the midst of the terrible excitement succeeding the repulse of their husbands, brothers, and friends, and the heart-rending prospect of their total destruction, they stood gun and axe in hand at the gate of the fort, determined to die in its defense if occasion demanded it.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT OF THE NOTABLES

Civil Government among the First Needs of the Settlers—A Voluntary Compact formed—Election of Judges—Copy of Articles of Agreement—List of the Signers—Additional Articles—Interesting Quotations from the Records of the Notables—Treaty with the Indians.

THE first civil government upon the Cumberland or in Middle Tennessee was a voluntary compact entered into by the settlers on the first day of May, 1780, with additional articles adopted on the 13th. This was an object of their first care as soon as they had arrived in the country and had

provided themselves with temporary shelter and a few necessary articles of subsistence. They had not been without an example of the benefits of such a voluntary association for mutual protection, and for the restraint and punishment of lawless adventurers who might come among them, in a similar organization upon the Watauga; and now that they had immigrated still farther into the wilderness, and still more remote from any protection which the civil arm of the State could immediately throw over them, they were disposed to organize and administer a local government of their own. But they designed that this government should exist only till such time as the State government could be efficiently extended over them.

The articles entered into provided that the several stations should be entitled to representatives as follows:

"From Nashborough, 3."

"From Kasper's, 2." (Kasper Mansker's Lick.)

"From Bledsoe's, 1." (Now Castilian Springs.)

"From Asher's, 11" (Station Camp Creek.)

"From Freeland's, 1." (Horticultural. Garden.)

"From Eaton's, 2." (East Nashville.)

"From Fort Union, 1." (Where Haysborough was.)

"Which said persons, or a majority of them, after being bound by the solemnity of an oath to do equal and impartial justice between all contending parties," etc., shall be empowered and competent to settle all controversies relative to location and improvement of lands; all other matters and questions of dispute among the settlers; protecting the reasonable claims of those who may have returned for their families; providing implements of husbandry and food for such as might arrive without such necessities; making especial provisions for *widows* and orphans whose husbands or fathers may die or be killed by the savages; guaranteeing equal rights, mutual protection; and impartial justice; pledging themselves most solemnly and sacredly to promote the peace, happiness, and wellbeing of the country; to repress vice and punish crime. This is a summary of what they resolved and ordained.*

Certainly no better evidence could be given of the intelligence, patriotism, and foresight of the pioneers. "One of the best elements;" says Putnam, "of our free, popular government was expressly set forth in the compact of government at Nashborough, namely the *authority of the people*; a power *reserved* to the people at the various stations to *remove* their judge or judges and other officers for unfaithfulness or misconduct, and to elect others to fill such vacancies.

"This tribunal exercised the prerogatives of government to their fullest extent, with the single specified exception of the infliction of capital punishment. They called out the militia of the stations to repel or pursue the enemy, impressed horses for such service as public exigency might demand, levied fines, payable in money or provisions, adjudicated causes, entered up judgments and awarded executions, granted letters of administration upon estates of deceased persons, taking bonds payable to Col. James Robertson, Chairman of the Committee, etc.

* Putnam, p. 90.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Mr. Putnam, by the discovery of the original articles of association by which this government of the Notables was formed, was enabled to add, among other results of his careful research, a very valuable and interesting paper to this portion of the history of Tennessee. He precedes its introduction into his "History of Middle Tennessee" with the following remarks:

"Much has been written and published respecting that *imperium in imperio*, the State of Franklin, and its distinguished founder and Governor; but here we recover the history of a State in every respect and aspect as peculiar as that, six years earlier in date, in active existence for several years, the president or chairman of which was ever the friend of Sevier, they *par nobile fratrum*, but of which the historians of Tennessee have had but a very limited knowledge. Judge Haywood alludes to it on page 126, and others have only copied what he there says, and thus the most interesting incidents in Middle Tennessee history have hitherto remained unknown and unpublished.

"It soon became manifest that there was much need for such a government, that it would have much to engage its attention both in the civil and military departments. The people at the various stations were urged by their sense of duty, and some apprehension of mischief from the Indians, to elect the number of Notables to which they were entitled that the contemplated government might be put promptly into operation, and suitable directions given for the election of military officers and the equipment of spies and sharpshooters."

"The alarm was, Indians about!" In this very month of May they approached the strong defenses of Eaton's Station, and within sight and in open day shot down Mr. Porter and James Mayfield. Shortly thereafter they killed Jennings, opposite the first island above Nashville; and near the same time and place they killed Ned. Carver, whose wife and two children narrowly escaped and reached the Bluff. In a day or two thereafter killed William Neely and captured his daughter."

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, OR COMPACT OF GOVERNMENT, ENTERED INTO BY THE SETTLERS ON THE CUMBERLAND RIVER, is" MAY, 1780.*

The first page is lost, and the second torn and defaced, but we can read distinctly as follows, supplying in brackets lost words "...property of right shall be determined as soon [as] conveniently may be, in the following manner: The free men of this country over the age [of twenty] one years shall immediately, or as soon as may [be convenient], proceed to elect or choose *twelve* conscientious and [deserving] persons, from or out of the different sections, that is [to] say: From Nashborough, *three*; Gasper's, *two*; Bledsoe's, *one*; Asher's, *one*; Stone's River, *one*; Freeland's, *one*; Eaton's, *two*; Fort Union, *one*. Which said persons, or a majority of them, after being bound by the solemnity of an oath to do equal and impartial justice between all contending parties,

according to the best of their skill and judgment, having due re[gard] to the regulations of the Land Office herein established, shall be competent judges of the matter, and... hearing the allegations of both parties, and [their] witnesses as to the facts alleged, or otherwise... as to the truth of the case, shall have [power] to decide the controversies, and determine who is of right entitled to an entry for such land so in dispute, when said determination or decision shall be forever binding] and conclusive against the future claim of the party against whom such judgment [shall be rendered]. And the entry-taker shall make a [record thereof] in his book accordingly, and the entry tending party so cost shall... if it had never been made, and the land in dispute... to the person in whose favor such judgment shall...

"... in case of the death, removal, or absence of any of the judges so to be chosen, or their refusing to act, the station or stations to which such person or persons belong, or was chosen from, shall proceed to elect another or others in his or their stead; which person or persons so chosen, after being sworn, as aforesaid, to do equal and impartial justice, shall have full power and authority to proceed to business, and act in all disputes respecting the premises, as if they had been originally chosen at the first election.

"That the entry-book shall be kept fair and open by... person... to be appointed by said Richard Henderson... chose, and every entry for land numbered and dated, and... order leaving any blank leaves or spaces... to the inspection of the said twelve judges, or.. of them, at all times...

" That whereas many persons have come to this country without implements of husbandry, and from other circumstances are obliged to return without making a crop, and [intend] removing out this fall or early next spring, and it... reason... such should have the pre-emp[ti]on... of such places as they may have chosen... the purpose of residence, therefore it is... to be taken for all such, for as much land as they are entitled to from their head-rights, which said lands shall be reserved for-the particular person in whose name they shall be entered, or their heirs; provided such persons shall remove to this country and take possession of the respective place or piece of land so chosen or entered, or shall send a laborer or laborers and a white person in his or her stead to perform the same, on or before the first day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one; and also provided such land so chosen and entered for is not entered and claimed by some person who is an inhabitant, and shall raise a crop of corn the present year at some station or place convenient to the general settlement in this country. But it is fully to be understood that those who are actually at this time inhabitants of this country shall not be debarred of their choice or claim on account of the rights of any such absent or returning person or persons. It is further proposed and agreed that no claim or title to any land whatsoever shall be set up by any person in consequence of any mark or former improvement, unless the same be entered with the entry-taker within twenty days from the date of this association and agreement; and that when any person hereafter shall mark or improve land or lands for himself, such mark or

* This paper contains also additional articles adopted May 13th, the date at which the signatures were added.

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we will faithfully and punctually adhere to, perform, and abide by this our Association, and at all times, if need be, compel by our united force a due obedience to these our rules and regulations. In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names in token of our entire approbation of the measures adopted:

“Richard Henderson	Daniel Mungle	John Shannon
Nathaniel Hart	Patrick McCutchen	Jonathan Drake
William H. Moore	Samuel McCutchen	Benjamin Drake
Samuel Phariss	William Price	John Drake
John Donelson	Henry Kerbey	Mereday Rains
C. Gasper Mansker	Joseph Jackson	Richard Dodge
John Caffery	Daniel Ragsdell	James Green
John Blackmore, Sr.	Michael Shaver	James Cooke
John Blackmore, Jr.	Samuel Wilson	Daniel Johnston
James Shaw	John Reid.	George Miner
Samuel Deson	Joseph Dougherty	George Green
Samuel Martin	Charles Cameron	William Moore
James Buchanan	W. Russell, Jr.	Jacob Kimberlin
Solomon Turpin	Hugh Simpson	Robert Dockerty
Isaac Rentfro	Samuel Moore	John Crow
Robert Cartwright	Joseph Denton	William Slimmers
Hugh Rogan	Arthur McAdoo	Lesois Frize
Joseph Morton	Nathaniel Henderson (?)	Amb's Mauldin
William Woods	John Evans	Morton Mauldin
David Mitchell	Wm. Bailey Smith	John Dunham
David Shelton	Peter Luney	Archelaus Allaway
Spill Coleman	James Cain	Samuel Hayes
Samuel McMurray	Daniel Johnson	Isaac Johnson
P. Henderson	Daniel Jarrot	Thomas Edmeston
Edward Bradley	Jesse Maxey	Ezekiel Norris
Edward Bradley, Jr.	Noah Hawthorn	William Farwell
James Bradley	Charles McCartney	William McMurray
Michael Stoner	John Anderson	John Cordey
Joseph Mosely	William McWhirter	Nicholas Framal
Henry Guthrie	Barnet Rainey	Haydon Wells
Francis Armstrong	Richard Sims.	Daniel Ratleft
Robert Lucas	Titus Murray	John Callaway
James Robertson	James Hamilton	John Pleake
George Freeland	Henry Dougherty	Willis Pope
John Tucker	Zmelt White	Silas Harlan
Peter Catron	Burgess White	James Lynn
Francis Catron	William Calley	Thomas Cox
John Dunham	James Ray	Hugh Leeper
Isaac Johnson	William Ray	Harmon Consellea
Adam Kelar	Perley Grimes	Humphrey Hogan
Thomas Burgess	Samuel White	James Foster
William Green	Daniel Hogan	William Morris
Moses Webb	Thomas Hines	Nathaniel Bidlack
Absalom Thompson	Robert Goodloe	A. Tatom
John McVay	Thomas W. Alston	William Hinson
James Thomson	William Barret	Edmund Newton
Charles Thomson	Thomas Shannon	Jonathan Green
Martin Hardin	James Moore	Edward Lucas
Elijah Thomson	Samuel Moore	Philip Alston
Andrew Thomson	Elijah Moore	John Phillips
William Seaton	John Moore	George Flynn
Edward Thomelu	Andrew Ewin	John Hobson
Isaac Drake	Ebenezer Titus	Ralph Wilson
Jonathan Jennings	Mark Robertson	James Givens
Zachariah Green	John Montgomery	James Harrod
Andrew Lucas	Charles Campbell	James Buchanan, Sr.
James Patrick (His mark)	William Overall	William Geioch
Richard Gross	John Turner	Samuel Shelton
John Drake	Nathaniel Overall	John Gibson.
John Holladay	John McMurty	Robert Espey
Frederic Stump(in Dutch)	D'd Williams	Patrick Quigley
William Hood	John McAdams	Josias Gamble
John Boyd	Samuel Williams	Samuel Newell
Jacob Stump	Thomas Thompson	Joseph Read
Henry Hardin	Martin King	David Maxwell
Richard Stanton	William Logan	Thomas Jeffriss
Sampson Sawyer	John Alstead	Joseph Dunnagin

William Gowan	Nicholas Counrod	John Phelps
John Wilfort	Evin Evins	Andrew Bushoney
James Espey	John Thomas	Daniel Jarrott
Michael Kimberlin	Joshua Thomas	John Owens
John Cowan	David Rounsavall	James Freeland
Francis Hodge	Isaac Rounsavall	Thomas Molloy
William Fleming	James Crocket	Isaac Lindsay
James Leeper	Andrew Crocket	Isaac Bledsoe
George Leeper	Russell Gower	Jacob Castleman
George Power	James Russell".	

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES

The following additional resolutions and further articles were entered into at Nashborough on the 13th day of May, 1780, to wit:

"That all young men over the age of sixteen years and able to perform militia duty shall be considered as having a full right to enter for and obtain lands in their own names, as if they were of full age; and in that case not be recovered in the family of his father, mother, or master, so as to avail them of any land on their account.

"That where any person shall mark or improve land or lands, with intent to set up a claim thereto, such person shall write or mark in legible characters the initial letters of his name at least, together with the day of the month and year on which he marked or improved the same, at the spring or most notorious part of the land, on some convenient tree or other durable substance, in order to notify the intentions to all such as may inquire or examine; and in case of dispute with respect to priority of right, proof of such transaction shall be made by the oath of some indifferent witness, or no advantage or benefit shall be derived from such mark or improvement; and in all cases where priority of mark or occupancy cannot be ascertained, according to the regulations and prescriptions herein proposed and agreed to, the oldest or first entry in the office to be opened in consequence of this Association shall have the preference, and the lands granted accordingly.

"It is further proposed and agreed that the entry-office shall be opened at Nashborough on Friday the 19th of May, instant, and kept from thenceforward at the same place, unless otherwise directed by any future Convention of the people in general or their representatives.

"That the entry-taker shall and may demand and receive twelve dollars for each entry to be made in his book, in manner before directed, and shall give a certificate thereof if required; and also may take the same fees for every *caveat* or counter-claim to any lands before entered; and in all cases where a caveat is to be tried, in manner before directed, the entry-book shall be laid before the said Committee of Judges, Triers, or General Arbitrators for their inspection and information, and their judgment upon the matter in dispute fairly entered, as before directed; which said Court or Committee is also to keep a fair and distinct journal or minutes of all their proceedings, as well with respect to lands as other matters which may come before them in consequence of these our resolutions.

"It is also firmly agreed and resolved that no person shall be permitted to make an entry for any land with the said entry-taker, or permitted to hold the same, unless such person shall subscribe his name and conform to this our Association, Confederacy, and General Government,

unless it be for persons who have returned home and are permitted to have Lands reserved for their use until the first day of May next, in which case entries may be made for such absent persons, according to the true meaning of this writing, without their personal presence, but shall become utterly void if the particular person or persons for whom such entry shall be made should refuse or neglect to perform the same as soon as conveniently may be after their return, and before the said first day of May in the year 1781.

"Whereas the frequent and dangerous incursions of the Indians, and almost daily massacre of some of our inhabitants, renders it absolutely necessary for our safety and defense that due obedience be paid to our respective officers elected and to be elected at the several stations or settlements to take command of the men or militia at such fort or station,

"It is further agreed and resolved that when it shall be adjudged necessary and expedient by such commanding officers to draw out the militia of any fort or station to pursue or repulse the enemy, the said officer shall have power to call out such and so many of his men as he may judge necessary, and in case of disobedience may inflict such fine as he in his discretion shall think just and reasonable, and also may impress the horse or horses of any person or persons whatsoever, which if lost or damaged in such service shall be paid for by the inhabitants of such fort or station in such manner and such proportions as the committee hereby appointed, or a majority of them, shall direct and order; but if any person shall be aggrieved or think himself unjustly vexed and injured by the fine or fines so imposed by the officer or officers, such person may appear to the said Judges or Committee of General Arbitrators, who, or a majority of them, shall have power to examine the matter fully, and make such order therein as they may think just and reasonable, which decision shall be conclusive on the party complaining, as well as the officer or officers inflicting such fine; and the money arising from such fines shall be carefully applied for the benefit of such fort or station, in such manner as the said Arbitrators shall hereafter direct.

"It is lastly agreed and firmly resolved that a dutiful and humble address or petition be presented by some person or persons, to be chosen by the inhabitants to the General Assembly, giving the fullest assurance of the fidelity and attachment to the interests of our country and obedience to the laws and constitution thereof; setting forth that we are confident our settlement is not within the boundaries of any nation or tribe of Indians, as some of us know and all believe that they have fairly sold and received satisfaction for the land or territories whereon we reside, and therefore, we hope we may not be considered as acting against the laws of our country or the mandates of government;"

That we do not desire to be exempt from the ratable share of the public expense of the present war,* or other contingent charges of government; that we are, from our remote situation, utterly destitute of the benefits of the laws

of our country, and exposed to the depredations of the Indians without any justifiable or effectual means of employing our militia or defending ourselves against the hostile attempts of our enemy; praying and imploring the immediate aid *and* protection of our government, by erecting a county to include our settlements, appointing proper officers for the discharge of public duty, taking into consideration our distressed situation with respect to the Indians, and granting such relief and assistance as *in* wisdom, justice, and humanity may be thought reasonable.

"NASHBOROUGH 13th May, 1780."

The records of the government of the Arbitrators, had they been kept or preserved, would no doubt have revealed many curious and interesting facts. "From our researches," says Putnam, "we conclude that immediately after the adoption of the Articles an election was held at the stations, and that then Robertson was chosen Colonel; Donelson, Lieutenant-Colonel; Lucas, Major; and George Freeland, Mauldin, Bledsoe, and Blackemore, Captains." Although the entry-taker and the judges were each required to keep separate books in which to keep minutes of their proceedings, it does not appear that any of these are extant, or that even a fugitive sheet or scrap can be found till the 7th of January, 1783. The people were so greatly exposed and kept in such constant turmoil with the Indians that during the intervening period but little had been attended to beyond their own immediate protection. In the midst of these discouraging circumstances many had left the settlements, and their numbers were reduced to seventy men. The record which recites the revival of the government alludes pathetically to these difficulties and trials: "NORTH CAROLINA, CUMBERLAND RIVER,

"January 7th, 1783.

The manifold sufferings and distresses that the settlers here have from time to time undergone, even almost from our first settling, with the desertion of the greater number of the first adventurers, being so discouraging to the remaining few that all administration of justice seemed to cease from amongst us, which, however weak, whether in Constitution, administration, or execution, yet has been construed in our favor, against those whose malice or interest would insinuate us a people fled to a hiding-place from justice, and the revival of them again earnestly recommended, it appears highly necessary that for the common weal of the whole, the securing of peace, the performance of contracts between man and man, together with the suppression of vice, again to revive our former manner of proceedings, pursuant to the plan agreed upon at our first settling here, and to proceed accordingly until such times as it shall please the Legislature to grant us the salutary benefits of the law duly administered amongst us by their authority.

"To this end, previous notice having been given to the several stationers to elect twelve men of their several stations whom they thought most proper for the business, and being elected, to meet at Nashborough on the 7th day of January, 1783.

"Accordingly there met at the time and place aforesaid Colonel James Robertson, Captain George Freeland, Thomas Malloy, Isaac Lindsey, David Rounsevall, Heydon Wells, James Mauldin, Ebenezer Titus, Samuel Barton,

* War for Independence.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Andrew Ewin, Constituting themselves into a Committee, for purposes aforesaid, by voluntarily taking the following oath, viz.:

"I. A. B., do solemnly swear that, as a member of the Committee, I will do equal right and justice, according to the best of my skill and judgment, in the decisions of all causes that shall be laid before me, without fear, favor, or partiality. So help me God"

"The Committee so constituted proceeded to elect Andrew Ewin to be their Clerk, John Montgomery to be Sheriff of the district, and Colonel James Robertson to be their Chairman and to fix the Clerk's fees."

We make a few extracts from the records, which continue without interruption to the organization of Davidson County: " Jan. 18, 1783.

"At a Committee called by the desire of the inhabitants for the offering of an address to the State's Commissioners, in behalf of some minors and heads of families, the first of which was deprived by their minority, the others by not arriving here by the time prescribed by the act of Assembly for obtaining lands; and that they would represent their case to the Assembly, in hopes of their indulgence toward them; and that the Commissioners would, in the mean time, be pleased to receive their locations for their improvements; to the intent that they might be generally known, in hopes that others would not interfere therewith. To which the Commissioners were pleased to return them an answer, that, to the first, they would do everything in their power for them; but to receiving their locations, it did not come within the line of their duty, etc.

"The members present were Col. James Robertson, Capt. George Freeland, Thomas Malloy, Isaac Linsey, Heydon Wells, David Rounsevall, Ebenezer Titus, and Samuel Barton. Likewise, Capt. Isaac Bledsoe and Capt. J. J. Blackemore appeared and qualified for members of the Committee, and after discussing the above business, the same Committee, on motion of James McCain, proceeded to take up the deposition of Isaac Neely, viz.: that he, the said Isaac Neely, was witness to a bill of sale, the contents of which, he believes, was a bed purchased of Jourdan Gibson by the said McCain, and further the deponent saith not.

"The Committee proceeded no further to business, but referred to their former adjournment, and so dismissed."

"Feb. 5, 1783.

"Committee met according to adjournment. Members present Capt. George Freeland, Isaac Linsey, Heydon Wells, David Rounsevall, Ebenezer Titus, and James Shaw, elected for Nashborough, appeared and qualified for member of the Committee.

"The Committee then proceeded and swore in John Montgomery to be Sheriff of the district, and Andrew Ewin, for Clerk to the Committee.

"On motion made, the Committee granted administration of the estate of John Turner, deceased, to Mr. John Marney, said Marney entering into bonds with Heydon Wells and John Dunham, securities for the sum of one thousand pounds, proclamation money, payable to Col.

James Robertson and his successors as Chairman of the Committee, or their assignees, and also qualified as by law required. And there not being a majority of members present, they proceeded no further, but adjourned until the first Tuesday in March, 1783."

"March 4, 1783.

"Committee met according to adjournment. Members present Col. James Robertson, George Freeland, Thomas Mulloy, Isaac Lindsey, David Rounsevall, Ebenezer Titus, Samuel Barton, and James Shaw. The Committee then proceeded to take into consideration an address offered to them relative to the inhabitants of the Cumberland, giving their assurance of fidelity to the government of the State in which they reside, which unanimously was approved by the Committee, and agreed that it should be done as soon as opportunity would serve.

"Letters of administration on several estates granted, and sundry suits continued; one against John Dunham ' for detaining a bed.' Daniel Hogan and wife vs. James Todd; parties appeared, and the Committee recommended to the parties to adjust matters themselves."

"March 15, 1783.

"On motion made, the Committee agree that an address to be sent to the Assembly, acknowledging our grateful sense of their late favor in granting us lands, praying them to grant us the salutary benefit of government in all its branches, and that a land-office may be opened on such a plan as may encourage the settling of the country, that the protection of it may be less burdensome.

"And that Col. James Robertson present the same, being elected thereto by the people.

"On motion, agreed that six spies be kept out to discover the motions of the enemy so long as we shall be able to pay them, each to receive seventy-five bushels of Indian corn per month (to be under the direction of Col. Robertson and Capt. Bledsoe). The subscription of Nashborough, Freeland's, and Mansker's Stations filed with the Clerk of the Committee.

"The Deputation of Thomas Fletcher to the Sheriffalty of the District by John Montgomery disannulled; and the Committee elect the said Fletcher, who was sworn Sheriff of the District of Cumberland.

"It being thought necessary to our better defense in these times of danger that officers be chosen in each respective station to embody the inhabitants for their greater safety. Accordingly there was made choice of, at Nash-borough, William Fruit for Captain; Samuel Martin and John Buchanan, 1st and 2d Lieutenants; and William Overall, Ensign.

"At Freeland's Station, Joshua Howard, Captain; James Donelson, Lieutenant; and John Dunham, Ensign.

"At Heaton'sburg, Joshua Ramsey, Captain; James Hollis, Lieutenant; and Joshua Thomas, Ensign.

"At Mansker's, Isaac Bledsoe, Captain; Gasper Mansker, Lieutenant; James Lynn, Ensign.

"At Moulding's, Francis Prince, Captain; Ambrose Moulding, Lieutenant."

"AN ADDRESS TO THE COMMITTEE.

"April 1, 1785.

"Gentlemen: Whereas the purchasing of Liquors brought from foreign parts and sold to the inhabitants here at exorbitant rates, and carrying away the money out of the country, will greatly tend to the impoverishing of this infant settlement:

"For the remedying of this evil Let it be resolved and agreed on by this Committee that from and after the first day of April any person bringing liquors here from foreign parts shall, before they expose the same or any part thereof to sale, enter into bonds before some member of the Committee, with two sufficient securities, in the penal sum of two hundred pounds specie, payable to the Chairman of the Committee and his successors as such, that they will not ask, take, or receive, directly or indirectly, any more than one silver dollar, or the value thereof in produce, for one quart of good, sound, merchantable liquor, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity. And any member of the Committee before whom such bond is given shall grant certificate thereof to the giver.

"And any person selling or exposing to sale any liquor brought from foreign parts, not having entered into such bond as aforesaid, the same shall be liable to be seized by warrant granted by any member of the Committee, which they are hereby empowered and required to issue; and so seized, to secure and deliver the same until they shall enter into such a bond as aforesaid, or otherwise oblige themselves to transport their liquor again out of this settlement. Provided always that if neither shall be done within twenty days after such seizure the same shall be deemed and held forfeited, and shall be sold, and the money arising thereby shall be applied to the use of the public at the discretion of the Committee.

"And if any person upon giving bond in either of the premises aforesaid shall afterwards make default therein, and on information and prosecution be convicted thereof by sufficient witness before our Committee, their bond shall be deemed and held forfeited, and judgment be awarded against them accordingly. And on refusal or delay to satisfy such judgment, the same shall be levied on their goods and chattels by distress, and the money arising thereby applied as aforesaid under direction of the Committee. Provided always that such prosecution shall commence within six months after default made.

"Approved, resolved, and agreed by the Committee.

"ANDREW EWIN, Clerk."

"On motion ordered that a road be opened from Nashborough to Mansker's Station... and another from Heatsburg to Mansker's. Overseers appointed and directed to call out hands to work on them. The Committee then proceeded to the causes on the Docket."

It would be interesting to report these suits did space permit. We add the regulation concerning commerce and the vote of the stationers upon the subject of the Indian treaty at Nashborough:

"May 6th, 1783.

"Committee met according to adjournment. Members present: Col. Robertson, Malloy, Freeland, Barton, Rounsevall, Linsey, Titus, Shaw, and Capt. Isaac Bledsoe. When

Thomas Malloy informed the Committee that he had since the last meeting, at the request of some of the members, sent letters to the agent of the State of Virginia, residing at the Illinois, and likewise to the Spanish Governor, informing them that some of our people had gone down the river this spring upon pretense of trading with the Chickasaw Indians; but by the report of some lately come from the Illinois, who met with them on their way here, we are afraid that their design was to assist in plundering some of the trading-boats; and that if any such thing should be committed or effected by or with the assistance of any belonging to us, that it was contrary to the principles and intentions of the generality of the people here, as we detest and abhor such practices; and that we would endeavor for the future to prevent any such proceedings.

"Which information and conduct of Mr. Malloy was unanimously approved and accepted by the committee.

"On motion made, Resolved and agreed on by the Committee, That from and after the 6th day of May, 1783, no person or inhabitant of this settlement shall trade, traffic, or barter with any Indian, nor resort unto them on the other side of the Ohio or of the dividing ridge between Tennessee and Cumberland waters, nor go down these Western waters, upon pretense of trading to the Illinois or elsewhere, *without permission* first had and obtained of the Committee, and likewise giving bond, with approved security, in any sum at the discretion of the Committee, payable to the Chairman thereof and his successors as such, conditioning that their conduct shall not directly nor indirectly in any way prejudice the interests of this settlement.

"On motion made, such of the members of the Committee as had not heretofore taken the oath of abjuration and fidelity in this State proceeded to take it, which was first administered to the Clerk by Col. James Robertson, and afterwards by the Clerk in Committee to the members as aforesaid; and the rest of the members made oath of having taken it heretofore in this State, and had at no time since been engaged in the interests of the enemies of the United States.

"ANDREW EWIN, Clerk."

"June 3, 1783.

"When on motion made by Maj. John Reid relative to the assembling of the Southern tribes of Indians at the French Lick, on Cumberland River, for holding a Treaty with the Commissioners appointed by the State of Virginia, the Committee considering how difficult it will be for a handful of people reduced to poverty and distress by a continued scene of Indian barbarity to furnish any large body of Indians with provisions, and how prejudicial it may be to our infant settlement should they not be furnished with provisions, or otherwise dissatisfied or disaffected with the terms of the Treaty; on which consideration the Committee refer it to the unanimous suffrages of the people of this settlement whether the Treaty shall be held here with their consent or no. And that the suffrages of the several stations be delivered to the Clerk of Committee by Thursday evening, the 5th inst., at which time the suffrages of Freeland's Station, Heatsburg, and Nashborough were given in as follows:

"Freeland's Station, no Treaty here, 32 votes.

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"Nashborough, no Treaty here, 26 votes.

"Heatonsburg, no Treaty here, 1 vote - 59.

"Heatonsburg, Treaty here, 54 votes.

"Nashborough, Treaty here, 30 votes - 84.

"The other stations of Kasper Mansker's and Maulding's failing to return their votes."

The last act of the committee appears to have been 'the reassertion of the restriction on the sale of foreign liquors: "August 5th, 1783.

"Resolved on by this present Committee that from and after the raising hereof no foreigner bringing any liquors from foreign parts shall ask, take, or receive for the same, directly or indirectly, any more than one silver dollar per gallon, or the value thereof in produce, giving bond and security, or be liable to the same forfeiture as by the resolve of the 1st of April, 1783.

"Test: ANDREW EWIN, *Cleric*.

"Conclusion of the Committee."

These proceedings cannot be read without interest, nor without forming a very worthy opinion of the pioneers who first settled Davidson County. The majority, like those who formed the earliest settlements in Ohio and Kentucky, were men of energy, sound judgment, and moral worth. The wisdom, the intellectual discipline, the familiarity with principles of business, both public and private, the knowledge even of forms of law, exhibited in their records and documents, their good sense and use of the English language, all strike the student of their history as being remarkable for that period and for a class of pioneers settling in a new country. "They possessed neither proud extravagance nor mean selfishness, and would have been ashamed of the transmission of such vices to their posterity." The manner in which they looked after the welfare of the absent and considered the interests of widows and orphans is one of the brightest examples in the history of the people.

The treaty with the Indians referred to in the foregoing records deserves further mention. These fragmentary records and other papers deposited with the Tennessee Historical Society are the only documents which settle definitely the date and other important facts respecting this treaty, about which there has been much contradiction among historians.* The questions respecting this treaty were warmly debated at the stations during several weeks in which the commissioners were waiting for the assembling of the Indians. It was deemed of doubtful propriety to hold it here, in a settlement which had been plundered and robbed by the very savages invited, and whose citizens had been murdered and reduced to poverty, and could ill afford to provide such an assemblage with provisions. Besides, what right had the State of Virginia to assemble the Indians upon territory belonging to North Carolina? The question, however, had been submitted to a vote of the people, and had been decided in the affirmative. It appears that of the people on the Nashborough side of the river, where it was proposed to hold the treaty, two to one were *opposed*; but they were outvoted by those at Eaton's, on

the east side of the river. Col. Robertson, who resided at Freeland's Station, voted "No Treaty here," as did every other man there. At Nashborough the vote was twenty-six to thirty, the majority voting for the treaty. But the controlling vote was at Eaton's, being fifty-four to one. The people at the latter station, feeling their responsibility for the treaty, promptly and nobly resolved to sustain their action with both "person and property," and to be present to assist on the day of the treaty. This resolution was signed by fifty-four voters.

The treaty began and was concluded in the month of June, 1783, Cols. Donelson and Martin being the commissioners on the part of Virginia. It was made with the "Southern tribes of Indians" generally, not alone with the Chickasaws. "The Indians were invited to assemble at the large Sulphur Spring, about four miles northwest of Nashville, on the east side, and a few hundred yards from the Charlotte Pike. The beautiful location had been selected by Col. Robertson for his own station and home. There he afterwards erected his brick dwelling-house.

The place was formerly for many years the "Nashville Camp-Ground."

The Indians were treated hospitably, and were dismissed with as many presents as could then be bestowed. No outbreak or disturbance of any kind occurred. The stationers exerted themselves to the utmost, not only to supply the wants of all present, but to make a good impression on their generally unwelcome guests, and succeeded, so that the Indians expressed themselves well pleased.

"This treaty being made under the authority of one of the States, and not of the Confederate States, was exposed to an objection similar to that which Virginia and North Carolina had made to the treaty of Colonel Henderson, and is not to be seen in the published volumes of Indian Treaties. Its provisions and boundaries were, however, subsequently confirmed, or renewed and settled, by the Treaty of Hopewell, in 1785."

It is mentioned by Putnam that the acquaintance formed with some of the Indians at this time was serviceable to the Cumberland settlers, for it enabled Col. Robertson to obtain information relative to the Spanish efforts to excite these Indians to enmity and warfare against the whites. "Colonel Robertson deemed it proper during this year to address a letter to the Baron de Carondelet, to contradict reports which the Spaniards had heard, or pretended to have heard, of designs entertained by the people of Cumberland to make a descent upon the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi." We shall advert to this Spanish question hereafter.

CHAPTER IX

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

Patriotism and Valor of the Watauga and Cumberland Pioneers—The First to honor Washington by naming a District after him—James Robertson and Valentine Sevier in the Battle of Kanawha—The Battle of King's Mountain—Additions to the Cumberland Settlement from Natchez—Close of the War—Rejoicing over the Peace—Immigration of Revolutionary Heroes.

ALTHOUGH few of the earliest settlers of Davidson County took part in any of the actual engagements of the Revolution, yet all of them suffered what may justly be

* See Monette, Haywood, Ramsey, and others, quoted by Putnam, p. 134.



Engraved by Samuel Sartain. Phil^a

Sw " Overton

regarded as its most direful consequences, the hostility of savages incited to murder and plunder by the enemies of the country during a time of war. To this they were peculiarly exposed, and, on account of their isolated situation, and the necessity for employing all the available forces of the older settlements in other fields, had to carry on the conflict alone and unassisted. The heroism, the wisdom, the soldierly qualities, the undaunted courage and self-sacrifice displayed by most of these men render them the peers of those who fought on more renowned fields, and fostered a spirit of valor which in their descendants made the name of Tennessee famous in the later wars of the Republic, at New Orleans, among the Seminoles of Florida, in the Creek campaign, the war for Texan independence, the war with Mexico, and in the late Civil War, both in the Union and Confederate armies. A record of these achievements, together with the names of many of the heroes of Davidson County, will be found in the chapters on military history in another part of this work.

The pioneers of Watauga were the first in America to honor Washington by giving his name to the new district they had carved out and reclaimed from savage dominion among the mountains. It was peculiarly appropriate. Washington stood for liberty and popular sovereignty, for freedom regulated by law, and so did Washington District. The mountaineers fled from their former homes for liberty, but it was their first care that liberty with them should not degenerate into license. Hence they convened and organized a government for the conservation of justice among themselves, and for the punishment of outlaws who sought among them immunity for crimes committed in an older state of society. This name was also prophetic; for Washington had only then begun to give promise of that transcendent place which he was destined to hold among Americans as the father of his country, and the light of the oppressed and down-trodden of all nations. There was something prophetic in that instinct of the first settlers of Tennessee which recognized in him, almost in advance of his coming greatness, the future liberator of the colonies and father of the great republic of the Western World. It reveals the confidence they had in Washington thus early in the struggle for independence.

"The name of Washington District," says Ramsey, "being in the petition^{*} itself, must have been assumed by the people petitioning, and was probably suggested by John Sevier, who during his residence at Williamsburg had doubtless known Col. George Washington, now the commander-in-chief of the American army. It is not known to this writer that the authorities or people of any other province had previously honored Washington by giving his name to one of its towns or districts, a district, too, of such magnificent dimensions, extending from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi."

A few hunters being on the spot where Lexington, Ky., now stands, and marking it as the site of a future city, heard there in the wilderness the report of the battle of old Lexington, Mass., and forthwith gave the name of

Lexington to the place. This was the first Lexington in all the country whose name symbolized that glorious stand for liberty taken by the people of the East.

Gen. Robertson, who was not second to Sevier in the founding and defense of the Watauga government and, up to a certain time, in the affairs of Washington District, had also known Washington in his youth, and he carried with him through life a great veneration for his character and services. The name of Washington was the watchword no less of the patriot exiles in the wilderness of the Cumberland than of the mountaineers along the Appalachian chain and the colonists of the eastern Atlantic shores. It was a sovereign talisman and a rallying-point of union and heroic endeavor from the north to the south and from the east to the west. Reverence for this great name held the people together and gave them victory.

The name of James Robertson stands before that of John Sevier on the committee which drew up the famous petition to the Assembly of North Carolina, asking for the *annexation* of Washington District to that colony. He and Valentine Sevier, with the Watauga regiment of mountain men, had taken a glorious part in Lord Dunmore's war, under Gen. Lewis, at the battle of Kanawha in 1774. Not only have the writers of the "Annals of Tennessee" and the biographers of her sons given great praise to those who marched from East Tennessee and participated in this important battle, but all American historians applaud their conduct. All the provincial officers acknowledged their indebtedness to the two Tennessee, Robertson and Sevier, who so providentially discovered the plans of the lurking foe and fought so bravely throughout the day. It was by many admitted that but for this timely discovery and alarm, the whole American force would in all probability have been routed and destroyed. The plan, the advance, and the attack throughout evinced much judgment and bravery, but in the absence of the discovery of the foe at the most critical and opportune moment, this well-managed battle would have been thwarted by that sudden surprise which the Indians intended and had nearly effected.

It is certainly worthy of note that when this battle was fought the first Provincial Congress was in session at Philadelphia, and that then in the "backwoods of America" a thousand men could be promptly called into service, equipped, and marched under brave and skillful officers, through forests and over mountains and valleys, with strength and ability sufficient to so discomfit the combined forces of the most warlike Indian tribes that they did not dare to renew the attack upon the white settlers until they were at war among themselves, after the Declaration of Independence.

So in the battle of King's Mountain, these same hardy Tennesseans decided the fate of the Revolution in the Southern Colonies. At that place Ferguson, having entrenched himself, received intelligence of an avalanche of indignant patriotism accumulating along the mountain, and ready to precipitate itself upon and overwhelm his army. On Wednesday, the 4th day of October, 1780, the riflemen advanced to Gilbert town. Following Ferguson's retreat to his mountain stronghold, from which he dispatched

^{*} Petition to the Provincial Council of North Carolina.

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Cornwallis that "all the rebels out of h-ll" could not dislodge him, the mountaineers concerted their plan of battle. It was decided that the troops commanded by Winston, McDowell, Sevier, Shelby, and Campbell, being more than half of the whole number of assailants, after tying their horses, should file to the right and pass the mountain nearly out of reach of the enemy's guns, and continue around it until they should meet the rest of the troops circling the mountain on its opposite side, and led by Humbright and Chronicle; and followed by Cleveland and Williams, after which each command *was* to face to the front, raise the Indian war-whoop, and advance upon the enemy. This plan was successfully carried out, the mountaineers alternately fighting in front and rear of the Tories and regulars, driving them higher and higher up the mountain, and in closer quarters upon its summit, until at length flags of truce were presented for surrender. Ferguson refused to recognize the flags. Dashing about in every part of the fight, he cut, them down with his sword, resorting repeatedly to bayonet charges as his only hope of resisting the invincible riflemen, who so depleted his ranks that the expedient of sharpening handles of butcher-knives and inserting them in the muzzles of the Tories' guns was resorted to. About this time the front of the two American columns had met, and the army of Ferguson was surrounded by the riflemen. Their firing became incessant and general in all quarters, but especially at the two ends of the enemy's line. Sevier pressed against its centre, and was charged upon by the regulars. The conflict here became stubborn, and drew to it much of the enemy's force. This enabled Shelby and Campbell to reach and hold the crest of the mountain.

"On all sides now the fire was brisk and deadly, and the charges with the bayonet, though less vigorous, were frequent. In all cases where the enemy charged the Americans on one side of the hill, those on the other, thought he was retreating, and advanced near to the summit. But in all these movements the left of Ferguson's line was gradually receding, and the Americans were plying their rifles with terrible effect. Ferguson was still in the heat of the battle. With characteristic coolness and daring he ordered Capt. Dupoister to reinforce a position about one hundred yards distant with his regulars, but before they reached it they were thinned too much by the American rifles to render any effectual support. He then ordered his cavalry to mount, with a view of making a desperate onset at their head. But these only presented a better mark for the rifles, and fell as fast as they could mount their horses. He rode from one end of the line to the other, encouraging his men to prolong the conflict. With desperate courage he passed from one exposed point to another of equal danger. He carried in his wounded hand a shrill-sounding silver whistle, whose signal was universally known through the ranks, was of immense service throughout the battle, and gave a kind of ubiquity to his movements.

"He was frequently admonished by Dupoister to surrender, but his proud spirit could not deign to give up to raw and undisciplined militia... He fell soon after, and immediately expired.

"The forward movement of all the American columns

brought them to the level of the enemy's guns, which heretofore, in most instances, had overshot their heads. The horizontal fire of the regulars was now considerably fatal; but the rapid advances of the riflemen soon surrounded both them and the Tories, who being crowded close together and cooped up in a narrow space by the surrounding pressure of the American troops, and fatally galled by their incessant fire, lost all hope from further resistance. Dupoister, who succeeded Ferguson in command, perceiving that further struggle was in vain, raised the white flag and exclaimed for quarters. A general cessation of the American fire followed; but this cessation was not complete. Some of the young men did not understand the meaning of a white flag; others, who did, knew that other flags had been raised before, and were quickly taken down. Shelby hallooed out to them to throw down their guns, as all would understand that as surrender. This was immediately done. The arms were now lying in front of the prisoners, without any orders how to dispose of them. Col. Shelby, seeing the facility with which the enemy could resume their guns, exclaimed, Good God I what can we do in this confusion?" We can order the prisoners from their guns,' said Sawyer. Yes,' said Shelby, 'that can be done.' The prisoners were accordingly marched to another place, and there surrounded by a double guard.

"The battle of King's Mountain lasted about an hour. The loss of the enemy was two hundred and twenty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, seven hundred prisoners, fifteen hundred stand of arms and a great many horses and wagons loaded with supplies, and booty of every kind taken by the plundering Tories from the wealthy Whigs." The loss of the Americans was thirty killed and about twice that number wounded, Col. Williams, of South Carolina, was among the former.

Gen. Bernard, an officer under Napoleon, and afterwards in the United States Engineer service, on examining the battle ground of King's Mountain, said, "The Americans by their victory in that engagement, erected a monument to perpetuate the memory of the brave men who had fallen there, and the shape of the hill itself would be an eternal monument to the military genius and skill of Col. Ferguson, in selecting a position so well adapted for defense; and that no other plan of assault but that pursued by the mountain men could have succeeded against him."

Of the regiment from Washington County, commanded by Col. Sevier, the captains were his two brothers, Valentine and Robert Sevier, Joel Callahan, George Doherty, and George Russell; Lieutenant, Isaac Lane. Capt. Robert Sevier was wounded, from which he died the third day after, and was buried at Bright's.

The victory of King's Mountain was to the South what Saratoga was to the East, the decisive one of the Revolution. It turned the tide in the struggle for independence, and sent a thrill of joy to every patriotic heart from the Western wilds to the shores of the Atlantic. It was also a very important local victory. "A number of Tories, horse thieves, and highwaymen had been captured and hung, but the leader and others escaped till the glorious victory of King's Mountain, when this notorious captain of banditti, Grimes, was caught and hung, and some others with him."

It should be mentioned here that accessions came to the Cumberland settlements about this time from the lower Mississippi. They were refugees from the revolt against the Spaniards under Gen. Lyman, who, with Gens. Putnam and Schuyler, had located twenty thousand acres of land each between the mouths of the Yazoo and Bayou Pierre, as grants received for their services in the French war. Lyman was the only one of these generals who resided upon the Mississippi, and during the Revolution he was an intense loyalist. When the British forces laid siege to Pensacola in the spring of 1781, there was strong confidence among the English subjects that the Spaniards would be overwhelmed, and the Floridas restored to Great Britain. Lyman found at Natchez, and in the surrounding new settlements, British subjects who were willing to unite with him in an attempt to overthrow the Spanish authorities in that quarter. They concerted measures and laid siege to Fort Panmure, on the bluff at Natchez, captured it, and deemed themselves good and loyal subjects of King George.

Engaged in this little rebellion and successful uprising against Spain were a few persons who had sympathized with the Regulators in North Carolina, and had fled thence to avoid British petty tyranny; and were now found, strangely, fighting for British rule, when many of their most dear and intimate friends were contending to throw off that same power, and to establish the independence of the United colonies. With such they no doubt sympathized at heart; but as between the English and the Spaniards, they infinitely preferred the authority of the former. The Spaniards, however, gained the victory at Pensacola, and in a few days after the successful rebellion at Natchez news came that they were ascending the Mississippi with an overwhelming force; that the rebels would be taken and all their property confiscated. They resolved to save their lives by a timely flight, and to take with them such of their property as could be removed. Lyman, the royalist, and some others of like sentiments, fled to the British at Charleston and Savannah by a toilsome march across the country. Others, who were "akin to the Regulators," and had friends on the Cumberland, resolved to remove thither. We give the names of the more prominent of those who arrived here in 1783. They were Philip Alston, John Turnbull, James Drungald, James Cole, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkley, and Thomas Hines. A few of the number who set out upon this journey were attacked by the Cherokees and lost their lives. Of the others, several of their names may be seen among the two hundred and fifty-six signatures to the articles of government, near the close of the list. The wilderness through which they came was an extent of forest and prairie country of more than three hundred miles, their route being from "forty miles above Natchez, through the Choctaw nation crossing the Tombigbee, Tennessee, and other rivers, to the settlements on the Cumberland."

They remained at the Cumberland settlements several years, aided in the defenses against the Indians, rejoiced with their friends in the acknowledged independence of their country, had their patriotic sentiments greatly strengthened, received, much insight into Spanish hypocrisy

and intrigue with the Indians, and returned to their homes fully imbued with that loyal spirit towards the United States which made them a bulwark of strength in resisting the later schemes in that portion of the country for the dismemberment of the Union. Many of them filled offices of trust and profit in the Territory and the State. Gen. Hines distinguished himself in the battle of New Orleans, in command of the light horse. He had known Gen. Jackson on the Cumberland, cherished with him a hatred of the English and the Spanish, aided in his victories over both and the Indians, in the final glorious triumph 'of the 8th of January, 1815, and lived to hail his friend and chieftain. "PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

When the "refugees" returned there went with them other "good men and true," the Turpins, Freeland, Greens, Shaws, forming the nucleus of an excellent neighborhood, known as such to the present day.

On the 19th of April, Gen. Washington issued his proclamation for the cessation of hostilities, and recommended the offering of thanks to Almighty God for the Many blessings conferred upon the American people. Whether the settlers on the Cumberland received this intelligence before the fall of the year we know not, but in December they were assured that the Revolutionary war was actually ended on the 30th of November. "When they heard this they rejoiced." We need not doubt it. "Andrew Ewin raised himself up to his full height, whenever, in after-days, the reception of this news was mentioned, and he said, Robertson and all the rest of us felt a foot taller, and straightened from the bend of a dog's hind leg to an erect figure."

"For a time this event seems to have influenced the conduct of the Indians. If they came near the settlements they were in pursuit of game. Indirect messages were sent and received expressive of a friendly disposition, and suggestions were made to them by Col. Robertson that if some of their chiefs would make known such a wish, the States might appoint some persons to hold talks and conferences with them." This was brought about the next year on the part of Virginia and North Carolina, and the Donelson and Martin treaty was made at Nashville, in June, 1783. The year had been ushered in by general rejoicing and congratulations throughout the States. Peace had been proclaimed, independence acknowledged, and the hearts of the people were indeed glad. This joy spread all over the land; its waves were not delayed upon the mountains; the tidings were hastened to the settlements on the Cumberland; and, having a little powder left, they could not refrain from appropriating a portion for a *feu de joie*, to which they added *hurrahs ad libitum*. "It was hurrah for 'Washington, hurrah for Congress, hurrah for Carolina, *hurrah for us!* Great as was the joy elsewhere, there was no small amount of it here. A common exclamation of the mothers and grandmothers was, a Bless the Lord! Bless the Lord!"

After the peace the tide of immigration set into the Cumberland Valley and Middle Tennessee. The old North State saw many excellent citizens depart from their birthplace, strike out into the wilderness across the mountains, and to this far-off border. They brought with them a large supply of horses, cattle, oxen, farming-implements, me 'Dimples' tools, guns, and much powder and

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lead. They came to stay and they were heartily welcomed. Many came also from Virginia and made selections of valuable lands. To trace this general influx of population forward for many years would be impossible in a work like this.

"It is quite probable that the soil of Tennessee contains the bones of as many Revolutionary soldiers as any of the mother States in the South. After the war was over, thousands of them flocked to this State, to locate hinds on warrants issued for military services. Most of these remained, some to die from Indian bullets and tomahawks, and the rest as peaceful tillers of the soil; which in course of time received into its bosom a new accession of sacred dust, Seine of these bones, mayhap, the plowshare has already upturned, while of many neither stone nor inscription marks the site of their last resting-place.

"Gen. Rutherford, for whom one of our fine counties was named, is buried in Sumner Co., Tenn., but the particular place is unknown to the writer. He was a man of splendid traits of character, but very plain and unassuming in dress and manner. On public occasions he appeared in the simplest homespun, and the young wondered what old fellow that was to whom the elders paid such marked respect and greeted with such warmth and cordiality. At the battle of Camden he was taken prisoner, while desperately fighting to retrieve the fortunes of the day. On this occasion his life was saved by a thick, tight-fitting wool hat, which broke the force of Tarleton's sabres. His head bled freely from a number of wounds, while his weather beaten tile was ruined forever by the showers of savage cuts it had received.

"The writer can trace up the names of over twenty of these old soldiers who are buried in Lincoln Co., Tenn. One of these, Capt. John Morgan, commanded a company from North Carolina, and is buried at Mulberry. His widow survived him until 1851, and persistently refused a pension from the Government, saying that it was nothing but. a patriotic duty for men to fight the British and the Indians, and they shouldn't be paid a cent for it.' She was an ardent Whig in politics, and to the day of her death persisted in calling Democrats Tories.' She was a sister of Governor Hall, of Tennessee, and five of her family—a father, two brothers, a sister, and a niece—went down in the storm of savage fury which swept over the infant settlements on the Cumberland. Her hate of Indians was so strong that when the Cherokees passed her home, on their way west of the Mississippi, she shut herself in the room and refused to appear as long as there was one in the vicinity.

"Capt. Andrew Caruthers, the maternal, and Capt. William Robinson, the paternal grandfather of Col. William B. Robinson, of this county, are buried on the firm of the latter, at Coldwater. Capt. Caruthers commanded a company in Sevier's regiment at King's Mountain, and during the fight lost one of his low-quartered shoes, which gents of that day wore, even in the backwoods settlements on the Watauga. The writer has been honored, by his grandson, with the gift of the sword he wielded on this eventful day, which, according to Jefferson, was the turning-point in the Revolution. It is needless to say that he values, as a priceless treasure, this old blade, which idealizes to him the grandest and most

important epoch in the world's political history. A great empire, already playing a prominent part in the affairs of this globe, and destined to continue to do so for ages to come, was firmly established by the events of this day; and King's Mountain will be an eternal monument to the men who conquered on its summit, victors over kings' crowns and prerogatives, and stern vindicators of the God given right of self-government.

"In the troubles between Sevier and Tipton, Capt. Caruthers sided with the latter against his old commander, and was in the battle which took place between the two factions at Tipton's house. He died at his grandson's in 1828.

"Capt. William Robinson began his rebellious career as a Regulator, and was in the defeat at Alamance, which necessitated his exile from the backwoods of Carolina, and his final settlement with many other compatriots at the infant colony on the Watauga. He commanded a company in Sevier's regiment at King's Mountain, and on this occasion probably tasted the sweetest revenge of his life. The bitter memories of Alamance were effaced in the presence of the most important victory ever won by the American armies. The Regulator of Alamance had exchanged the odium of the outlaw for, the glory of the patriot.

"The ancestors of Capt. Robinson were Scottish Covenanters, and his grandson still has a Bible printed in 1632 which has been in the family for more than two hundred and forty years. It is still in a good state of preservation, in spite of the wars through which it has passed. In Scotland its hiding-place was under the bottom of a chair or stool, which was turned upside down when the family were engaged in reading and quickly reversed on the 'slightest alarm. It crossed the Atlantic with the family, and passed through the trying scenes of the Regulation, the Revolution, the Indian wars in Tennessee, and finally through the late great struggle between the States. Its existence as a book bridges over and connects some of the grandest events in modern times, and its historic associations furnish abundant scope for the musings of the moralist and the philosopher. It recalls the Charles', Cromwell, and the Stuarts. In the most particular manner it brings to mind its *persecutor*, *Claverhouse*, a name despised by Scotchmen all over the globe, even to this generation, and its *defender*, Argyle. One hundred yearn older than George Washington it came to America, and has now survived wars and changes and many generations of its keepers.

"This family has The Articles of Confession of the Church of Scotland,' published by Benjamin Franklin, at Philadelphia, in 1745; also a chest of obsolete manufacture, which has been in its possession for many generations. It, too, has a story. During the Revolution a British officer entered the house of Mrs. Robinson, and observing a number of fresh corn-cobs in the fireplace, demanded some corn. On being refused he started towards the chest, where she had hid the corn a few minutes before his arrival, and threatened to break it open. Quick as thought she seized a heavy iron fire-shovel, and brandishing it over his head, dared him to make the attempt. He saw fight in her eye if he persisted, and ruffian as he was, he concluded it was safest to let her alone, which he did and left the house."

CHAPTER X

ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTY

Original Boundaries—Division of the County—Name—Civil Districts —Bounty Lands—State of Franklin—Anomalous Position of Davidson County.

DAVIDSON County was erected into a civil municipality by an act of the Legislature of North Carolina, approved Oct. 6, 1783. This act defines the original boundaries of the county in the words following, to wit:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That all that part of the State lying west of the Cumberland Mountain where the Virginia line crosses, extending westward along the said line to Tennessee River, thence up said river to the mouth of Duck River, thence up Duck River to where the line of marked trees run by the Commissioners for laying off land granted the Continental Line of this State intersects said river (which said line is supposed to be in thirty-five degrees fifty minutes north latitude), thence east along said line to the top of Cumberland Mountain, thence northwardly along said mountain to the beginning, shall after the passage of this act be, and is hereby declared to be a distinct County by the name of DAVIDSON."

The area included in these boundaries embraced between eleven and twelve thousand square miles, lying along the northern line of the State from Cumberland Gap to the Tennessee River, and southward about fifty-six miles to the old military line run by the Commissioners of North Carolina. It embraced more than three-fourths of Middle Tennessee.

The first division of this great county was made in 1786, when Sumner was erected from the northeastern portion of its territory. Tennessee County was formed in 1788, and remained a county until 1796, when the State, upon its admission, took its name, and its territory was divided into two counties named Robertson and Montgomery. Wilson County on the east, and Williamson on the south, were taken of in 1799. Stewart County was formed in 1803, embracing the present counties of Houston, Humphreys, Perry, Wayne, and parts of Hardin and Lewis. Rutherford County was taken off from Davidson in 1804. Cheatham County was set off from Davidson, Robertson, and Montgomery by act of Legislature, Feb. 28, 1856, which is the date at which Davidson County was reduced to its present limits.

This county, like the other three west of the Appalachian Mountains, received its name from an officer of the army of the Revolution, Gen. William Davidson, of Mecklenburg Co., N. C. He was a native of that part of the State which had early exhibited an enthusiastic devotion to independence. He sought and obtained a command, though of an inferior grade, in the Continental army. In that service he was considered a gallant officer, and acquired distinction.

When the enemy overran South Carolina he left the regular service and was immediately commissioned a general in the North Carolina militia. In this new sphere of duty he manifested great zeal and public spirit. It was he whom Gen.

McDowell sought to invite to take the chief command at King's Mountain. He was constantly on the alert to disperse the Tories and annoy Lord Cornwallis, while his headquarters were at Charlotte.

After the battle of Cowpens, Morgan, in removing the prisoners for safe-keeping to Virginia, was pursued by the British army. Gen. Davidson, having under his command some active militiamen hastily collected in his neighborhood, endeavored to retard the pursuers, and at every river and creek caused them some delay; and thus contributed essentially to the escape of the American array and the prisoners which encumbered its march. In this service Gen. Davidson lost his life. On the 1 st of February, 1781, the British army, accompanied by loyalists who knew the roads and crossing-places, came to the Catawba River, at Cowan's Ford, and began to cross. Davidson rode to the river to reconnoitre with the hope of devising some plan to keep them back, at least for a time. A Tory, who knew him, and who was in advance piloting the enemy, was near the bank, and shot him. Knowing he was mortally wounded he rode back hastily to his men, gave some orders, and soon expired. An intrepid soldier, a true patriot, never did man love his country with more ardent affection. His name should be ever dear to the people of North Carolina and Tennessee.

CIVIL DISTRICTS

The county of Davidson is divided into twenty-six civil or magisterial districts, of which the city of Nashville is the first district. Each of these (except Nashville) elects two magistrates or justices of the county. Nashville or district No. 1 elects two from each ward. The history of the formation of these districts is as follows:

The net for organizing the "Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions," or the first court of the county, was passed by the Legislature of North Carolina, Oct. 6, 1783. The place fixed upon for the court was "Nashborough," changed to "Nashville" in July, 1784. At first the justices were appointed by the commissioners who were authorized by law to organize the court, and were chosen without respect to any definite divisional lines or districts. Subsequently the county was divided into military districts and justices were elected, two in each of these, till the change effected by the new constitution of 1834.

On the 3d of December, 1835, an act was passed "to provide for the laying off the several counties of the State into districts of convenient size in which justices of the peace, and constables shall be elected, and for other purposes." The other purposes were convenience of designation, elections, and school purposes. The act provided that by a joint resolution of both branches of the Assembly, commissioners should be appointed to lay out the districts. Section 6 says: *"Be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the said commissioners in each and every county in this State to number each and every district, and to make out a complete record of the boundaries of each when laid off under their hands, and also a copy of the same, one of which shall be filed in the office of the county court clerk in which it is situated, and the other shall be forthwith transmitted to the office of the Secretary of State, directed to that officer, and it shall be his duty ear, fully to preserve the same in his office."*

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

We fear very much that those officers, or the districting commissioners, failed to discharge their duty respecting the latter requirements of this act, for we have searched both offices and have failed to find the returns and descriptions required to be deposited there. The commissioners, therefore, whoever they were, have lost their place in this history which we intended to give them."

A law was passed in 1856 for the redistricting, but was not carried into effect till 1859, at which date the districts as they now exist were formed by the commissioners, C. W. Nance and William H. Hogans, Esqs. The fourth section of the act erecting the county provides as follows:

"That the County Court of Davidson County shall appoint an entry-taker, for the purpose of receiving entries of lands from those who are allowed preemptions by the law for laying off lands granted to the Continental Line of this State; and as it has been suggested that the inhabitants of said County have no specie certificates, they shall be at liberty to pay at the rate of ten pounds* specie or specie certificates per hundred acres for the aforesaid preemptions, and shall be allowed the term of eighteen months to pay the same; and that the heirs of all such persons who have died, leaving rights of pre-emption as aforesaid, shall be allowed the term of one year after coming of lawful age to secure their pre-empt ions. *Provided*, That no grants shall be made for said lands until the purchase money shall be paid into the proper office,"

The original act respecting these bounty-lands was passed in the form of a resolution by the Assembly of North Carolina in May, 1780. The State engaged to give to the officers and soldiers in its line of the Continental army a bounty in lands in proportion to their respective grades. These lands were to be laid off upon the Cumberland, or in Middle Tennessee, to all such as were then in the military service, and should continue till the end of the war, or such as from wounds or bodily infirmities had been, or should be, rendered unfit for the service, and to the heirs of such as had fallen or should fall in the defense of their country. "There never was a bounty more richly deserved or more ungrudgingly promised. It furnished to the war-worn soldier, or to his children, a home in the new and fertile lands of the West., where a competency at least, perhaps wealth, or even affluence, might follow after the storm of war was past, and where the serene evening of life might be spent in the contemplation of the eventful scenes of his earlier years, devoted to the service of his country and to the cause of freedom and independence." In pursuance of this provision of North Carolina, a land office was established at Nashville; the military lands were surveyed, and crowds of Revolutionary soldiers came from the mother State and settled in Middle Tennessee, so that nine tenths of the early populations were North Carolinians.

Rights of pre-emption were first granted on the

* At the time our government was formed the old Spanish mined dollar was in use, and \$4.44 was fixed as the rate at which the pound sterling must be computed at our custom-houses. It is fair to take this as the rate at the period referred to in the above act; hence the price of the original bounty-lands in Davidson County was for *four cents and four mills per acre*. 27 Chap. hi., Acts of 1783. land by the act of 1792.

Cumberland by act of 1792. Six hundred and forty acres were allowed to each family or head of a family. A similar provision was made for each single man of the age of twenty-one years or upwards who had settled the lands before the 1st of June, 1780. Such tracts were to include the improvements each settler had made. No right of preemption, however, was extended so as to include any salt-lick or salt-spring: these were reserved by the same act as public property, with six hundred and forty acres of adjoining lands. The rest of the country was all declared open to pre-emption.

To a brigadier-general the State gave twelve thousand acres, and to all the intermediate ranks in that proportion. To Gen. Nathaniel Greene twenty-five thousand acres were given "as a mark of the high sense this State entertains of the extraordinary services of that brave and gallant officer." Absalom Tatum, Isaac Shelby, and Anthony Bledsoe were the appointed commissioners to lay off the lands thus allotted. The commissioners were accompanied by a guard of one hundred men. They came to the Cumberland at the commencement of the year 1783. The Indians offered them no molestation while they were executing the duties of their appointment. Proceeding to "Latitude Hill," on the Elk River, to ascertain the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, at which they were to start, they made their observation, and laid off at this point the twenty-five thousand acres donated to Gen. Greene. It was a princely and a well-deserved estate, embracing the best lands on Duck River, and perhaps the best in Tennessee. The commissioners then, fifty-five miles from the southern boundary and parallel thereto, ran the Continental or old Military Line, which was the southern base-line of this county at the time it was formed. But the Assembly, at the request of the officers, during their session of 1783 directed it to be laid off from the northern boundary fifty-five miles to the south. The commissioners also issued the necessary pre-emption rights to those who had settled on the Cumberland previous to June 1, 1780.

Davidson County remained a part of North Carolina till the year 1790, when the territory now included in Tennessee having been ceded to Congress, was organized as the Territory of the United States southwest of the Ohio River. It was then included in Mero district under the Territorial government till that was superseded by the State of Tennessee in 1796.

STATE OF FRANKLIN

This is the proper place to enter a brief record of this anomalous organization, inasmuch as an effort was made to draw Davidson County into it. In 1785 the three counties of Eastern Tennessee Washington, Sullivan, and Greene dismembered the State of North Carolina by forming within it a new State called the "State of Franklin." The Legislative Assembly of this new State convened for the first time in Jonesboro' on the 14th of November, 1785. The records of it have unfortunately perished, so that the representatives from each of the counties cannot be ascertained.

It is known that Landon Carter was speaker and Thomas Talbot clerk of the Senate, and William Cage speaker and Thomas Chapman clerk of the House. Thus organized the Sumner Counties; on the east by Sumner, Wilson, and

Assembly proceeded to the election of a Governor, when the choice fell upon John Sevier, afterwards the first Governor of Tennessee. A judiciary system was also established at this first session: David Campbell was elected judge of the Supreme Court, and Joshua Gist and John Anderson associate judges. The original plan included Davidson County in this new State, but no representative from this county appeared, either at any of the conventions at which its preliminaries were arranged, or in its list of civil or military appointments. The great distance of Davidson from the other counties and the feeling of loyalty to the old mother State probably prevented it. It is likely also that there were heads wise enough on the Cumberland at that time to foresee and wish to avoid the conflict which such a State, within the jurisdiction of another, must inevitably result in sooner or later. That conflict soon came; the counties held together and made a desperate struggle to maintain their independence for about a year; Governor Sevier maintained his cause in a dauntless and heroic spirit, such as he had often displayed in the service of the old State and in the new settlement. Washington County seceded and sent her representatives to the Assembly of North Carolina in 1786; Governor Sevier was arrested for high treason, and hurried away to Morgantown, N. C., for trial; his friends gathered a force and rescued him from the hands of the authorities; the anomalous State was broken up, and all returned to their allegiance to North Carolina. Governor Sevier, although he rendered himself obnoxious to the authorities of North Carolina, never lost his hold upon the affections of the people of Tennessee. They only waited an opportunity to vindicate him fully, and when the State *was* admitted into the Union he was chosen by their suffrages to be its first honored chief magistrate.

This portion of history, it is true, belongs more particularly to East Tennessee, but we have introduced it here, to show the anomalous position of Davidson County during the period of the existence of Franklin. It was the remote part of a dismembered State, lying in the heart of a wilderness, more than six hundred miles from the capital, and separated by an intervening government which sustained towards it no political relation.

CHAPTER XI

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Geographical Position of Davidson County—Topography—Geology.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

THE county of Davidson is situated in Middle Tennessee, nearly equidistant from the east and west lines of the State, and considerably north of the centre between the northern and southern boundaries. The centre of the county or the United States signal station in the capitol grounds at Nashville is in latitude 36° 10' 01.6" north, and in longitude 9° 41' 03" west of Washington.

The county is bound on the north by Robertson and Sumner Counties; on the east by Sumner, Wilson, and Rutherford; on the south by Williamson; and on the west by Cheatham. Its boundary-lines on all sides are more or less irregular, owing in part to the water-courses which

form the divisional lines between it and adjoining counties, and partly to the arbitrary variations of course necessary to intersect points on these streams. The superficial area of the county is about five hundred and fifty square miles, or three hundred and fifty-two thousand acres.

TOPOGRAPHY

The general topographical features of the different sections of the State are well shown by the cut accompanying this article, furnished by Dr. J. M. Safford. In order to form a correct understanding of the topography of Davidson County it will be necessary, in the first place, to take a brief general view of Middle Tennessee.

This portion of the State has been classified under two divisions: first, the Highlands or Rim-lands (called also sometimes the Terrace-lands), which encircle a basin of rich lowlands in the centre of the State; and second, the Central Basin, enclosed by the Highlands. The first of these divisions, extending from the Cumberland table land to the Tennessee River, has an average elevation of one thousand feet above the sea, and, is diversified in places by rolling hills and wide valleys. For the most part, however, it is a fiat plain, furrowed by numerous ravines and traversed by frequent streams. The soil of this division is of varying fertility, but includes a number of sections of great agricultural importance. Its area is about nine thousand three hundred square miles.

Within the compass of these Highlands, and surrounded by them, is "the great Central Basin, elliptical in shape, and resembling the bed of a drained lake. It may be compared to the bottom of an oval dish, of which the Highlands form the broad, fiat brim. The soil of this basin is highly productive of all the crops suited to the latitude, and it has been well named the garden of Tennessee. It is of the first importance as an agricultural region. Its area is five thousand four hundred and fifty square miles, and it has an average depression of three hundred feet below the Highlands. This whole basin, with the surrounding Highlands, is slightly tilted towards the northwest, and has a less elevation on that side than on the other."*

The situation of Davidson County, mostly within this basin, with its extreme western portion resting upon the Rim or Highlands, determines in a great measure its topography. For this reason much of the western part of the county, along its western boundary, is at a higher elevation and much more hilly than the central and eastern part. Along the western and northwestern borders are many ridges or spurs which extend like fingers from the Rim or Highlands into the Basin. The western and northwestern lines of the county cross these ridges and their alternating deep valleys in many places, the latter being often rich and fertile and filled with well-cultivated farms. The broken character of this portion is due in good part to the fact that the Cumberland River, with its tributary the Harpeth, here begins to cut its valley through

* Dr. Safford's Geology of Tennessee.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

the western Highlands.

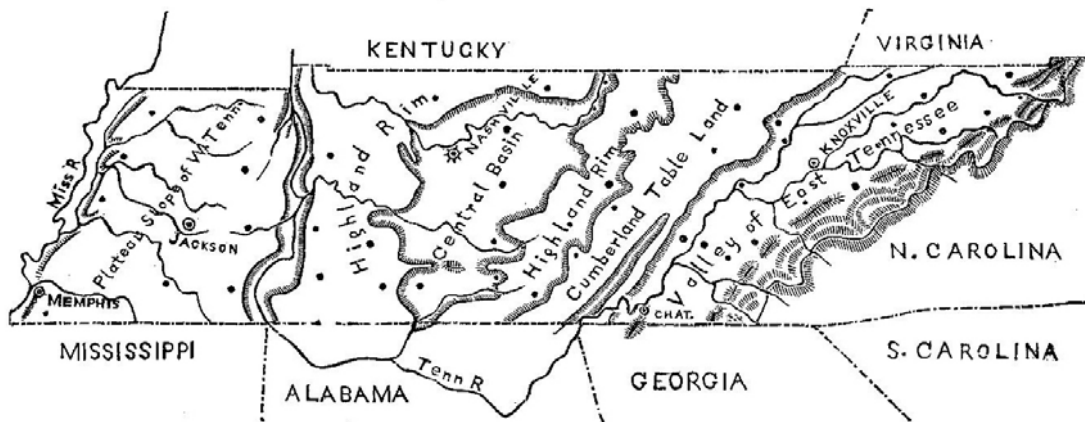
The central and eastern portions of the county are gently rolling, in places swelling into considerable heights, often forming lines of rounded hills, and occasionally rising into prominent ridges. Besides the Paradise Ridge, which is really the edge of the western Highlands, already referred to, there are two principal ridges, viz., Harpeth Ridge (which itself may be regarded as a spur of the Highlands running far into the Basin and dividing the waters of the Cumberland from those of the Harpeth) and the ridge dividing the Harpeth from Little Harpeth. In addition to these are a number of low dividing ridges between the streams, making the sections in which they occur more or less rolling and hilly.

To enter more minutely into the surface features of the county, we shall assume Nashville as the starting-point, and confine ourselves for the present to the south aide of the

River, and including most of the fourteenth district, the land is for the most part high, rolling, and thin, though there are some excellent bottoms on the river.

Taking the section east of Mill Creek and south of the Cumberland, we find the best soils for cotton, wheat, and clover in the county. The color of the soil, except in the alluvial bottoms, is mulatto, and the timber consists of poplar and white-oak, with a very small intermixture of maple and walnut. This section is drained by Mill Creek and Stone's River, with the exception of the fourth district, which is drained by Stoner's Creek mainly and Stone's River, and a considerable of it known as Jones' Bend is drained by the Cumberland.

Turning our attention to the lands on the north side of the Cumberland, and beginning on the western side of the county, we meet with the Marrowbone Hills, high, poor, gravelly, siliceous spurs jutting out from the Highlands,



TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF TENNESSEE

Cumberland River. South and southwest of the city is a series of rounded hills sweeping in almost a semicircle about the city. These hills are symmetrical in form, and rise very gently to the height of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet. Between them and the city the soil, considerably mixed with rocky fragment, rests upon a bed of limestone that comes very near the surface in many places; but the soil is generally quite fertile.

With a radius of nine miles, if the segment of a circle were described from the Cumberland River opposite Bell's Bend to Mill Creek, it would enclose a body of as fertile land as can be found in the State. With a slightly-rolling surface, just sufficient for drainage, it grows in large quantities all the crops cultivated in the Central Basin. This area is drained by Richland Creek, Little Harpeth, Brown's Creek, and Mill Creek. It embraces the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh districts and parts of the tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth. This section embraces the best blue-grass lands in the county. The native growth is poplar, walnut, maple, and several varieties of oak. Beyond this segment, on the west, is a dividing ridge, heretofore spoken of as Harpeth Ridge, running east and west. South of Harpeth

with minor spurs as numerous as the branches of a tree, and between these numerous streams with a hundred branches ramify the whole country. A bold ridge runs north and south for a few miles and culminates in Paradise Hill, from which the waters flow in every direction. Almost the whole country embraced between White's Creek and the Cheatham County line is rugged and poor, with the exception of the river and creek bottoms and some of the uplands near the Cumberland. The lowlands on the upper-part of White's Creek are very narrow. Nearer the mouth the bottoms become wider and the uplands more fertile. The soils on this creek are well adapted to the cereals, and grow blue-grass luxuriantly. East of White's Creek and embraced between that and the Cumberland River on the east and south, and comprising the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and part of the twenty-second districts, the country is considerably -diversified, though not so broken as the last section just described. In the portion of the county under consideration there are some good, warm valley lands, with occasional ridges or spurs too steep for cultivation. The soil is a mulatto, with a good many surface rocks, and, with the exception of a portion of Neeley's Bend, is well suited to

the growth of wheat, corn, potatoes, and clover. The soil in a portion of Neeley's Bend is dark and well adapted to the grasses. This section is well drained by White's Creek and its tributaries on the west, and by Mansker's Creek on the east, and Dry Creek through the centre. The northern part of this section abuts against the Highlands, and many finger-like projections shoot out from these into the lowlands, between which nestle many beautiful coves, whose southern exposures shorten the number of the frost days and woo spring to their embrace some weeks earlier than the bleak level plateau overlooking them from the north. The soil and situation here are suitable for the growth of early vegetables. The only serious objection to this area is the nearness of the underlying rocks to the surface, rendering it unable to resist drought. The corn crops are often materially injured with a few days of dry, hot weather in summer. In seasons of great humidity, however, the crops are unusually large, and many of the fields in this portion of the county will with suitable seasons yield from fifty to sixty bushels of corn per acre.*

THE CUMBERLAND RIVER

The Cumberland River, in a course remarkable for its sinuosity, passes through the county from east to west, dividing it into two nearly equal parts. This river takes its rise in the Cumberland table-land, very near its eastern margin, its branches spreading out like the fibrous roots of a tree, many of the head-springs of which are within a mile or two of some of the tributaries of the Tennessee River. These various small streams, which have their sources upon the eastern margin of the table-land, unite and reunite, forming the main Cumberland. More than half of these take their rise in Kentucky and the remainder in Tennessee, the latter making the Big South Fork, down which flat-boats occasionally descend. This stream unites with the Cumberland in Pulaski Co., Ky., just after leaving the limits of the table-land. A short distance from the point of union the river turns and flows to the southwest, entering the State of Tennessee in Clay County, passing through Jackson and Smith. In Smith it assumes a westerly direction, flowing through the rich lands of Trousdale, forms the boundary-line between Wilson and Sumner, turns again to the southwest, passes on through Davidson County, and at Nashville again resumes its north-westerly direction through Cheatham, Montgomery, and Stewart Counties, approaching within a few miles of the Tennessee River at the State line, and finally debouches into the Ohio River on nearly the same parallel of latitude in which some of its main branches take their rise. Its entire length is about six hundred and fifty miles, five hundred and ninety-five of which can be made navigable. Three hundred and four miles of this river are in the State of Tennessee.

At the Falls, in Whitley Co., Ky., the river is precipitated over conglomerate with a vertical fall of sixty-three feet. The range between high and low water at Point Burnside is 65.5 feet. At Nashville the high water of February, 1847, was 52.9; of March, 1867, 50.3 feet. An ordinary rise of

33.8 feet at Nashville is equivalent to 15 feet at the foot of Smith's Shoals and 5 feet at the head, which is called a coal boat tide, the stage of water at which the coal-barges are just able to pass the rapids. At Gower's Island the range is 41.6 feet; at Harpeth Shoals, forty miles below Nashville, it is 39.3 feet; below Davis' Ripple it is 55.8; at Clarksville, sixty-five miles below Nashville, it is 56.3; at the Tennessee Rolling-Mills, one hundred and forty-five miles from Nashville, the high water of March 14, 1863, was 53.8; of March 14, 1867, 55.2. At the mouth of the river, one hundred and ninety-two miles from Nashville, and five hundred and fifty-two miles from Point Burnside, the range is 51 feet. As the great floods occur in February and March, before the crops are planted, the destruction from high water is not as great as takes place upon the Arkansas, the Red River, and the Mississippi, where the bottoms are less elevated, and where the greatest floods often occur in June and July.†

From the falls to Point Burnside the river flows in a narrow gorge which it has excavated out of the sub-carboniferous sandstone, conglomerate, and cavernous limestone at a depth of three hundred to four hundred feet below the highland plateau. The river in this distance varies from one hundred to six hundred and fifty feet in width, but the gorge is more uniform, increasing gradually from five hundred to seven hundred feet. In this part of its course the river is approachable by roads, which are exceedingly rough, resembling irregular flights of stone steps, hardly practicable on horseback, but exhibiting at every turn, as they descend the sides of the bluffs, wild and picturesque clefts of rock. At Point Burnside the gorge widens, and bottoms appear of sufficient extent to be cultivated. The river continues to flow through a rocky bed with bluffs of limestone, and with a valley varying from one-half to one mile wide, as far as Carthage, where the valley extends upon the south side into the Central Basin. The river follows the northern edge of the Highland Rim until it leaves the Basin and re-enters the Highlands, about fourteen miles below Nashville. It continues to flow through the intersecting ridges and valleys of the Highland Rim, with bottoms about a mile wide and gradually increasing in length and encroaching on the bluffs of siliceous limestone, until it enters the up heaved sandstone and coal of Livingston County at its mouth. In the latter part of its course its width varies from six hundred to seven hundred feet, and its banks, where composed of alluvium, begin to exhibit evidences of change, which shows itself in the bars.

GEOLOGY

In this chapter on geology we have thought it best, at the outset, to introduce an outline of the general American geological system, in connection with a column showing the local formations in the State of Tennessee. This will enable the reader to understand better the relation of the local geology of Tennessee to the general system, of which it is an interesting part. The table has been carefully compiled from Dr. J. M. Safford's latest researches, and is presumed to be accurate.

* Resources of Tennessee.

† Col. S. T. Abert in Resources of Tennessee.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

CLASIFICATION OF FORMATIONS					
TIMES	AGES		AMERICAN PERIODS	TENNESSEE DIVISION	
CENOZOIC TIME	Age of Man, or Quaternary Age.		Recent	(c) Alluvium	
			Champlain	(b) Bluff Loam	
			Glacial	(a) Orange Sand	
	Mammalian Age, or Age of Mammals		Phocena	(b) La Grange Sand (a) Flatwoods Sand, etc.	
			Miocene		
			Alabama Lignitic		
MESOZOIC TIME	Reptilian Age, or Age of Reptiles		© Ripley		
			(b) Rotten Limestone		
			(a) Coffee Sand		
			Jurassic		
	Carboniferous Age, or Age of Coal Plants		Triassic		
			15 Permian		
			14 Carboniferous, or Coal Measures	(c) Upper Coal Measure	
				(b) Conglomerate	
				(a) Lower Coal Measure	
			13 Subcarboniferous	(c) Mont. Limestone	
				(b) Coral or St. Louis Limestone	
				(a) Barren Group	
			PALEOZOIC TIME	Devonian Age, or Age of Fishes	
11 Chemung					
10 Hamilton	Black Shale				
9 Corniferous					
Silurian Age, or Age of Invertebrates		Upper		8 Oriskany	
				7 Helderberg	Linden
				6 Salina	
		Lower		5 Niagara	(c) Clifton
					(b) Dyestone Group
					(a) Clinch Sandstone
				4 Trenton	(b) Nashville
					(a) Lebanon
				3 Canadian	(b) Lenoir
					(a) Knox Group
		2 Primordial		(b) Chilbowee S.	
				(a) Ocoee Group	
		Archaean Time			1 Archaean

It will be seen by the preceding table, and also by the map accompanying Dr. Safford's Geology, that the State of Tennessee is far from exhibiting a complete geological series, such as is shown in New York and Pennsylvania.

The completeness of the formations in these latter States has been referred to as a standard by American geologists; but several Sub-carboniferous though very thick in New York and Pennsylvania, grow thinner when traced southward and disappear before reaching Tennessee. "Others, extending farther south or southwest, have their *feather* edges in Tennessee, as, for instance, the *Lower Helderberg* and, to a certain extent, the *Black Shale*, as well as the sub-group of the Niagara, the *Clinch Mountain Sandstone*. The Tennessee series is therefore less complete than the northern. Not only are some of the formations wholly absent, but others are reduced to very thin beds." The same is true of the sub-groups of the *Cretaceous* farther south, which are heavy in the States of Alabama and Mississippi, but in Tennessee thin out and disappear.

The surface distribution of the various formations of the

State may be seen perfectly by consulting Dr. Safford's excellent map, as also their full description and Ethological characters will be found detailed in the text of his work. We can only give in the space at our command a brief outline of the location or distribution of these formations.

The lowest or metamorphic rocks are wholly confined to East Tennessee, and in that division they only occur as detached areas or sections immediately along the North Carolina line. Next west of this, along the Unaka Chain, and forming its bold and isolated spurs, appears the Chilhowee, or Potsdam sandstone. The beautiful and fluted valley of East Tennessee is made up of the Knoxville group and the Trenton formation, the former not appearing in any other part of the State. The Trenton extends westward, and with the Nashville forms the Great Basin of Middle Tennessee. This Great Basin is geologically, as well as agriculturally, one of the most interesting portions of the State, and as it contains the major part of the county of Davidson, situated in its west side and lying partly upon its Highland Rim, it will be proper to bestow upon it more than a passing notice.

The Central Basin of Middle Tennessee, embracing an area of five thousand four hundred and fifty square miles, has been denuded of the whole series of the Upper Silurian and Devonian formations, extending from the Trenton and Nashville limestone of the Lower Silurian to the sub-carboniferous epoch. "Originally, when continuous," says Dr. Safford, "the strata rose up in a slightly-elevated *dome*, the summit of which was over the central part of Rutherford County. Taking the formation of the fiat Highlands around the Basin as the topmost of the dome, the amount of matter removed at this point could not have been less in vertical thickness than 1300 feet."

It would be easy to account for the removal of this vast mass of matter on the supposition of a disturbance of the strata. Going back to the period when the formations were continuous, we should see that they lay buried beneath the sub-carboniferous ocean which then covered a large portion of the continent. Eventually there came a time when the strata were broken and up heaved by internal force, and the currents of the ocean rushing into its fissures and

caves, perhaps undermining the whole elevated and partially broken mass, and wearing it on all sides, began the process of disintegration and excavation by which the Basin was finally scooped out. This process, no doubt, accounts for many of the remarkable denudations which have taken place in different parts of the country. But the Central Basin of Middle Tennessee presents no evidence of a general upheaval, although local disturbances may have occurred in different parts of the basin, and probably caused the slight elevation at the centre referred to as the *dome* over Murfreesboro. A general upheaval is entirely incompatible with the fact stated by Dr. Safford, that "throughout the Basin remnants of the strata have been left in the hills and ridges; these remnants always occurring in a certain order, building up the hills and giving to them a like geological structure. All sides of the Basin present the outcropping edges of the same strata in the same order. That the hills have a like structure results necessarily from the feature of the case, the Basin having been scooped out from horizontal strata, and the hills and ridges being simply portions left by the denuding agencies.

"What these agencies were is a question of interest. The simplest theory is that the work has been done by running water, aided more or less by frost. The waters of the Cumberland, Duck, and Elk Rivers are *now at work* washing down the hill-sides and deepening the lower areas; and it is not improbable that the same waters commenced the excavation of the Basin, each branch creek and rill doing its part of the work. This, of course, has required long ages of time, during which the streams have been constantly changing and deepening their channels and their immediate local valleys. The Basin is the aggregate result of the work of all the streams, small and great."

The Cumberland, Duck, and Elk Rivers furnished the first axes of depression when, starting down from the tableland, ages ago, they cut the first valleys through what is now the Basin, and made an opportunity for other streams to flow into it. A perfect type of this may be seen any day in the action of the surface-water after a heavy rain. However small the channel made at first, other innumerable little rills begin to run into it, and to wear and carry away the soil. It only needs the constant supply of water for a sufficient length of time to excavate great valleys and wear the hard, rocky formation to a depth and extent hardly conceived of when considering the apparently slow process by which the work is carried on by many of our streams and rivers. Such is no doubt the manner in which the great Central Basin has been excavated.

At the bottom of this great Central Basin occur the rocks of the Trenton or Lebanon formation, occupying nearly half of its area. The strata and the bottom of the Basin are slightly tilted to the west, the rocks outcropping at a higher elevation on the east side, and sinking below the rivers at or near Nashville, Franklin, and Columbia, respectively. Nearly all of Wilson, Rutherford, Bedford, and Marshall Counties are within the outcrop of the Trenton formation.... This formation is one of great interest, especially in an

agricultural point of view. The oils it yields are among the best. To the paleontologist it is an inviting field, its strata presenting a rich fossil flora."

We give below from Dr. Safford's report a section showing the beds of this formation in their natural order, as follows:

(5.) *Carter's Creek Limestone*.—(Topmost.) A heavy-bedded, light-blue, or dove-colored limestone, the upper part often gray; contains *Stromatopora rugosa*, *Columnaria alveolata*, *Tetradium columnare*, *Petraia profunda*, *Strophomena filistexta*, *Rhynchonella recurtirostra*, *Orthoceras Bigsbyi*, *O. Haronense*, *Pleurotomaria lapicida*, etc. The thickness of the stratum is from fifty to one hundred feet.

(4.) *The Glade Limestone*.—A stratum of light-blue, thin-bedded, or flaggy limestone. Pre-eminently the bed of the great "Cedar Glades" of the Central Basin. Contains *Strophomena*, *S. filistexta*, *Orthis deflecta*, *O. perversa*, *O. tricenaria*, *Rhynchonella orientalis*, *Cyrtodonta obtusa*, *Trochonema umbilicata*, *Orthoceras rapax*, *Iliaenus Americanus*, *Leperditia fabulites*, etc. Maximum thickness, one hundred and twenty feet.

(3.) *The Ridley Limestone*.—Next below is this stratum, a group of heavy-bedded, light-blue, or dove-colored limestone. Some of its fossils are as follows: *Orthoceras anceps*, *Stromatopora rugosa*, *Columnaria alveolata*, *Orthis bellarugosa*, *Canterella varians*, *Rhynchonella Ridleyana*, etc. The maximum thickness observed is ninety-five feet.

(2) *Pierce Limestone*.—A group of thin-bedded, flaggy limestones, with generally a heavy-bedded layer near the base. These rocks are highly fossiliferous, and abound in *Bryozoa*. Among the fossils are *Orthis Stonensis*, *Rhynchonella Ridleyana*, *Dalmanites Troosti*, etc. The group has a maximum thickness of twenty-seven feet.

(1.) *Central Limestone*.—An important group of thick-bedded, hefty limestones, of a light-blue or dove color. Contains *Salterella Billingsi* and *Leperditia fabulites* in abundance; also *Cyrtocras Stonense*, *Trochonema umbilicata*, *Helicotorna Tennesseensis*, *H. declivis*, *Rhynchonella altilis*, etc.

This bed is the bottom-rock of the Central Basin, and presents in the heaviest exposures a thickness of about one hundred feet.

The lands of the basin fall naturally into two divisions, the two being underlaid respectively by the Trenton and Nashville formations. To one group of lands we may give the name of Trenton, to the other Nashville. The soils derived from the Trenton rocks are, as a general rule, more clayey than those from the Nashville beds, the latter containing more sandy or siliceous matter. Stone for building purposes is obtained from all the heavy-bedded divisions of the Trenton, the upper part of the Carter's Creek division supplying a very superior article. This whitish-gray and beautiful limestone is quarried extensively in Maury County, and is conveniently located along the line of the railroad.

In Davidson County the Nashville, or Hudson River group, is the prevailing formation. The passage from the Trenton to this formation is well marked and abrupt. This is well seen at Columbia and at all other points in the Central Basin,

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where this rock-horizon is accessible. The Trenton ends with light-colored, heavy-bedded limestone (immediately at the top, often thin-bedded, with clayey seams), and the Nashville begins with a siliceous, blue, calcareous rock, weathering often into earthy, buff, sandy masses, and sometimes into shale. The impurities consist of clay and fine sand. A detailed section of the rocks as they occur in Nashville, and which may be taken as a type of the whole county, was made out by Dr. Safford. This section, given below, commences under the Wire Bridge and ascends to the top of Capitol Hill. The section is numbered from the bottom up, but the highest is described first:

SECTION OF THE NASHVILLE FORMATION

(6.) *College Hill Limestone*.—When freshly quarried a dark-blue, highly fossiliferous, coarsely crystalline, and roughly-stratified limestone, with more or less of its lamina; shaly. The mass weathers, generally, into rough, flaggy limestones and shaly matter, interstratified, often liberating multitudes of fossils, especially small corals. Some of the layers of this limestone are wholly made up of corals and shells. *Stenopora*, *Constelaria antheloidea*, *Tetradium fibratum*, *Columnaria stellata*, *Stromatopora pustulosa*, *Strophomena alternata*, *Orthis lynx*, *O. occidentalis*, and others are abundantly represented by individuals. *Bellerophon Troosti*, species of *Cyrtodonta*, *Ambonychia radiata*, occur, and, in fact, nearly all the forms given in column M of Dr. Safford's catalogue. The division is well seen on *College Hill*, and in the upper part of the bluff at the *Reservoir*. There is also a fine presentation of it on *Capitol Hill*, around the capitol. Its lowest layers are at the top of the bluff at the *Wire Bridge*. These rocks pertain to the highest stratum in the vicinity of Nashville. This division at *Capitol Hill* measures one hundred and twenty feet.

(5.) *Cyrtodonta Bed*.—Immediately below the College Hill limestone is a remarkable bed of coarsely crystalline, ashen-gray, or light yellowish-gray limestone, in great part made up of valves of species of *Cyrtodonta*, individuals of *Bellerophon Lindsleyi*, and *B. Troosti*. This bed is best developed in the bluff at, the *Wire Bridge*. It is here ten or eleven feet thick, and forms one solid layer. The shells are solidified, and pretty generally have their edges rounded and worn, as if they had been rolled in currents of water, or by waves. The bed is seen again at the *engine-house* of the Water-Works, where it is six feet thick. In tracing it beyond the engine-house it very soon runs out, and is replaced by a compact, dove-colored limestone, like No. 3 below.... This rock has been used for building purposes to some extent, and for making corner-posts. Maximum thickness, eleven feet.

(4.) *Bed of limestone* of the common type; much like the College Hill limestone, coarsely crystalline, fossiliferous, etc. It occurs below No. 5, on the west side of the capitol. In the bluff at the Wire Bridge it is twenty-three feet thick. In the bluff above the engine-house of the Water Works it measures twenty-eight feet.

(3) *Dove Limestone*. — This is a group of thin layers for the most part. The upper layer is a light dove-colored, compact limestone, four feet thick, breaking conchoidal fracture, containing strings (mostly vertical) of crystalline matter, which show points on a horizontal surface (Birds-eyes).

The middle layer is mainly the common, dark-blue, crystalline limestone (two feet). The lowest layer (four feet) is mostly like the upper, but more or less mixed with blue layers. Such is the group to be seen at the foot of *Gray Street*, in a quarry on the river-bank. This group presents itself at many points in and around the city.... It appears at many points in Davidson County outside of Nashville. The layers are generally of desirable thickness, and are quarried at numerous points in and about the city for building and other purposes.

The group contains a number of species. Detached siphuncles of *Orthoceras Bigsbyi* and of an allied species are numerous at some points, especially in the middle layer. *Tetradium*, *Bellerophon*, *Murchisonia*, *Pluotomaria*, and other genera are represented. It is in this group *Leperclitia Morgani* is found. Thickness, eleven feet.

(2.) *Capitol Limestone*.—This bed supplied the rock to build the capitol, and was formerly well exposed in the old State quarry west and in sight of the building. It is limestone, but has the appearance of a laminated sandstone. It is, in fact, a consolidated bed of calcareous sand, the sand being the comminuted fragments of shells and corals. Originally the mass was drifted in running water, and arranged in laminae. As we find the rock now it is, when quarried, a massive, bluish-gray, granular limestone, with a well-marked lamellar structure. When cut and ground smooth a block of it presented edgewise shows well the laminar character. Such a surface is bluish-gray, plentifully banded with darker lines. The capitol is a splendid presentation of this rock as a building material. The rock often contains rolled fragments of the beaded siphuncles of species of *Orthoceras*. Some specimens of these are seen in the faces of the blocks in the walls of the capitol. It exhibits also examples of cross-stratification, another evidence of the current action to which it was originally subjected. The mass contains some little siliceous matter, mostly in grains and in small fragments of solidified shells, so that they do not interfere materially with the working of the rock. It is easily quarried, and can be obtained in blocks of any desirable size. In its natural exposure it exfoliates in lamina; by long weathering.

The bed pretty generally underlies the city, has been quarried at the foot of Gray Street, on the river, is near the water under the Wire Bridge, and appears beyond the Water-Works, where it has also been quarried, and is twenty feet thick. The lamellar structure of this bed runs into the one just below to some extent, and it is not always easy to draw a line of separation. Below the Wire Bridge my measurements make the thickness of the bed twenty-five feet.

(1.) *The Orthis Bed* underlies the last, and is the lowest member of the Nashville formation. It is in the water below the Wire Bridge, but rises in going down the river, and may be studied in the bluff below the railroad bridge. It may be seen, too, and its or this gathered at the first milestone on the Murfreesboro' turnpike. It rises at the end of the bluff beyond the Water-Works, and still farther east as at Mont Olivet, it may be seen resting on the Crater Creek Limestone, the upper member of the

Trenton formation. It has, however, been described, and its thickness given.

One of these strata takes the name of the Bosley stone, and is quarried in the tenth and eleventh districts, near the Hillsboro' turnpike. It is a light-gray, fine-grained, and easily-worked limestone, and makes a handsome, durable front. Quite a number of the fronts of the best buildings in Nashville are made of this stone; among others may be mentioned that of the Methodist Book Concern and Ensley's Block adjoining, also the elegant front of Burns' Block. This rock is also quarried in Bell's Bend, below Nashville.

There is a large number of minerals found in the county, but in such small quantities as to be undeserving of notice.

The sulphur-springs are numerous, the most famous of which is situated within the corporate limits of Nashville, which was bored to a great depth in search of salt. The water is much used during the summer months, and large quantities are sold on the streets by boys. In the early history of the country this spring was known as the Big French Lick, called so because a Frenchman, M. Cherieville, from New Orleans, built his cabin on the mound on the north side of Spring Branch as early as 1714.

CHAPTER XII

INDAIN WARS

1783, Pruitt's Engagement—Military Organizations at the Stations-1788, Diplomacy of Col. James Robertson—Death of Col. Anthony Bledsoe—Attack on Mayfield's Station-1789, Robertson adopts an Aggressive Policy—Pursuit of the Enemy—Bold and Successful Charge of Capt. Williams-1790, Treaty with the Creeks-1791, Treaty at Knoxville with the Cherokees—Defense of Davidson County.

EARLY in the year commissioners appointed by the State of North Carolina to lay off lands for Revolutionary soldiers, and examine claims to pre-emption rights by the Cumberland settlers, arrived at Nashborough accompanied by a guard of one hundred soldiers. The advent of this large force gave hopes of better security from Indian depredations, but in this the people were disappointed. These soldiers limited their services to the duty of guarding the commissioners while engaged in their surveys. This work done they returned whence they came, leaving the distressed settlers again to their own resources. Many murders and outrages were committed even during the presence of the soldiers in the country. These at length grew so frequent that on an incursion being made, in which many horses were taken from the vicinity of the Bluff, Capt. William Pruitt, who had been recently elected to embody the citizens of that place for their better defense, raised twenty men for the pursuit at once, and took the trail.

The officers of his company were as follows: Samuel Martin and John Buchanan, first and are sufficient guarantee of duty well performed. The trail led south to a point on Richland Creek, probably in Giles County, where he overtook the marauders, when by a rapid charge he

dispersed them, although in greatly superior numbers, and recaptured the horses without losing a man.

On his return he encamped for the night at a creek Ming into Duck River on the north side. The Indians having discovered in the mean time the disparity of the whites, and smarting under defeat and the loss of the horses, returned on his trail and attacked his rear as he was in the act of leaving his camp about daylight. Moses Brown, in the rear, fell at the first fire. The whites being encumbered by the horses in the thick cane, retreated about a mile and a half, when, on reaching the open woods, they halted and formed a line. The enemy soon came on and made regular dispositions for battle by forming lines for front and flank attacks. They then advanced steadily under fire of the whites, who stood bravely to their posts until it was evident that further resistance at this place would endanger the safety of the entire party. They thereupon retreated, Daniel Johnson and Daniel Pruitt being killed and Morris Shaw and others wounded. To make their retreat sure, they were compelled to abandon the horses for which they had struggled so hard. This species of property was esteemed the most valuable of the pioneers' possessions; it was indispensable in the cultivation of the soil, upon which was based the occupation and settlement of the country. With the losses stated the company made its way back to the Bluff without further molestation. The Indians exulted greatly in their victory, and the whites were correspondingly depressed from the loss of so much valuable property. The Pruitt's, being recent arrivals in the settlement, sought to palliate the disaster by condemning the tree-to-tree manner of fighting practiced on the frontier, claiming that dash and boldness were the proper methods of contending with Indians, which observation was very true when there was anything like a party of numbers, or the situation different from that in which he was placed on this occasion. If he had been free-handed or unencumbered with horses it is quite probable he could have made a different showing for himself and his brave little band. It further deserves the notice given it from the hardihood and resolution displayed by the actors in following and attacking successfully a greatly superior force at such a distance (over sixty miles) from their base.

It was in this year, 1783, that something like a military establishment was formed by the committee which Met at Nashborough. March 15th, and was constituted as to the officers as follows, as appears from this extract from its records: "It being thought necessary for our better defense in these times of danger that officers be chosen in each respective station to embody the inhabitants for their greater security. Accordingly there was made choice of at Nashborough William Pruitt for captain, Samuel Martin and John Buchanan for first and second lieutenants, and William Overall ensign.

"At Heaton's [Eaton's], Josiah Ramsey, captain; James Hollis, lieutenant; and Joshua Thomas, ensign.

"At Freedland's Station, Joshua Howard, captain; James Donelson, lieutenant; and John Donelson, ensign.

"At Mansker's, Isaac Bledsoe, captain; Jasper Mansker, lieutenant; James Linn, ensign.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

"At Maulding's, Francis Prince, captain; Ambrose Maulding, lieutenant."

By act of the Assembly of October 6, 1783, the State extends its authority over the Cumberland settlements which were organized into Davidson County. The military establishment under this act was as follows: Anthony Bledsoe, first colonel; Isaac Bledsoe, first major; Samuel Barton, second major; Casper Mansker, first captain; George Freeland, second captain; John Buchanan, third captain; James Ford, fourth captain; William Ramsey, Jonathan Drake, Ambrose Maulding, and Peter Sides, lieutenants; William Collins and Elmore Douglas, ensigns. The opening of the year 1788 soon brought its record of Indian murder and devastation. Col. Robertson, ever mindful of the interests of his people, now had recourse to a piece of diplomacy which shows him to have been a man much intellectual grasp and breadth of view. He addressed a very able communication to Gen. McGillivray, the renowned chief and head of the Creek Nation, in which he indicated the "manifest destiny" of the Western settlements to and in their supremacy over the great valley of the Mississippi, and appealed directly to his interest in maintaining the most friendly relations with them. Andrew Ewing and James Hoggatt were the ambassadors, and deserve great credit for the hardihood and courage with which they penetrated the wilderness more than two hundred miles amid the dangers and privations incident to a journey of this kind. McGillivray, who had been educated at Charleston, S. C., replied in a manner which gave much satisfaction and excited great hopes that hostilities from that quarter would in a great measure cease if the frontiersmen would only exercise patience and forbearance.

In consequence of these assurances and the tendency of negotiations in furtherance of peace, Gen. Robertson felt necessitated to a strictly defensive policy for this year, although the warfare continued as bitter as ever and numbered among its victims not only one of his dearest friends Col. Anthony Bledsoe, but his own son. It is a strong tribute to his fortitude and public virtue that under these circumstances he restrained his feelings in the hope of an adjustment, and refused to allow any retaliatory expeditions to be undertaken or even pursuit to be made, judging from the barrenness of the record of such measures.

Although no attempts were made to force a direct entrance into any of the forts, several affairs occurred which resulted in serious calamities to the country in the death of several of its first citizens. The killing of Col. Anthony Bledsoe has been mentioned. This circumstance, though taking place outside of the limits of Davidson County, deserves more than a passing notice, on account of the prominent relation of the victim and his family to the founding and up building of the Cumberland settlement. This event occurred at his fort at Bledsoe's Lick, now Castilian Springs, in Sumner County, on the night of July 20th. The houses were surrounded by the usual stockade, except that of Col. Bledsoe and his brother Isaac, which was double and formed a section of the stockade; the passage between the two rooms was open and not barred in any way, being thought secure. The road ran along the front, being

intersected opposite the passage by a lane. About midnight he heard the sound of horses' feet rushing along the road in front of the fort, when he hastily arose, and calling James Campbell, and Trish servant, to go with him, they stepped out into the passage, through which the moonlight was falling in full splendor. At this instant a heavy volley was poured into the passage from the corners of the fences a few paces off, when Campbell fell dead and Col. Bledsoe was mortally wounded in the abdomen. The *ruse* of the enemy in having a party to dash by on horse back was unfortunately but too successful. It so happened that some of the infantry force of Evans' battalion had been discharged about that time, and were making preparations to return across the mountain the next day. The settlers were apprehensive that they would steal some horses upon which to make their journey, and were on the lookout to pursue promptly and recover them. It was with this view that Col. Bledsoe rushed out of his room, calling upon the inmates of the station to follow and recover the stolen horses. The fire that was opened upon Campbell and himself instantly apprised those within who had not appeared of the nature of the case, and prompt measures were taken for defense. The fires were instantly put out, and William Hall, Hugh Rogan, and others repaired to the port-holes and opened their guns upon the enemy, who soon drew off to the vale below and began the destruction of the cattle and other property in reach. It was soon discovered that Col. Bledsoe was in a dying condition, and it was suggested to him to make a will, in order to secure his daughters (eight in number) the possession of his valuable estate. He had no son, and according to the laws of North Carolina the title to his property would have vested in his brother, leaving his children penniless, if he died without making a will. To write the will it was necessary to have a light, but on searching the fireplaces not a spark of fire could be found. At this Hugh Rogan proposed to go to the house of old Katy Shaver, several hundred yards off, and get some fire. This old woman, whose husband and family had been killed some time before, lived alone, and *was* regarded with superstitious fear by the Indians, who knew her history and were fully aware of her defenseless condition. During all of the time they remained in the vicinity they avoided her with scrupulous care, believing she as under the protection of the Great Spirit, who would avenge any injury done her. The proposition of this brave Irishman met with a universal protest from the little garrison, as a large body of Indians was known to be in the immediate vicinity, and for him to attempt to return with a blazing fagot in his hand would almost insure his destruction. He merely remarked that "a dying man should have his last request gratified," and opening the door plunged into the horrors of the outer darkness, amid the prayers and tears of the garrison, who listened with breathless anxiety for the shots that would announce the death of their bravest defender. He reached his destination in safety, and in a few moments returned with the fire blazing his way through the darkness. Not a shot was fired at him, as, providentially, the Indians were busily engaged elsewhere at that particular moment. The self-sacrificing spirit of this brave Irishman has never been

surpassed and rarely equaled. The act had in it all the elements of the "heroic" in a superlative degree.

An attack was made in the vicinity of Sutherland Mayfield's Station which deserves to have a place in these pages. This station was on the west fork of Mill Creek, and about a mile above Brown's. A force of ten or twelve Indians made their appearance near this station, but made no direct attack, which would no doubt have been successful as the men were some distance off building a wolf-pen. Mayfield, his two sons, and Mr. Joslin were busily at work, leaving a soldier to guard their guns a little way off and keep a lookout. The latter inexcusably left his post, when the Indians dashed in between the whites and their guns, and opened at the same time a destructive fire upon them. Mayfield and one of his sons and the soldier were killed, and the other son, George, was captured and taken to the Creek Nation, where he remained ten or twelve years. Joslin, afterwards a colonel in the militia and owner of Joslin's Station, the farthest one to the southwest of Nashville, at the first alarm rushed towards the Indians to get his gun, but he was surrounded and beaten off; he then broke through their line and dashed off at great speed through the woods with the enemy in close pursuit. He soon reached the trunk of a very large tree which lay in his way and promised to be a formidable obstacle to his escape unless he could jump it, as the pursuers were right at his heels. He therefore put forth all of his strength and by a tremendous leap cleared it, falling on his back on the other side. At this the Indians stopped, thinking it useless to pursue farther a man of such extraordinary agility. He made a circuit and reached the station in safety.

A number of valuable citizens lost their lives during this year, and the usual devastation was committed on property, but of these our limits forbid particular notice.

The accumulated outrages of the last year by the Creek Indians at length seem to have determined Gen. Robertson to put no further faith in the pacific declarations of McGillivray, and we find that on April 5, 1789, he issued a general order to the militia officers to be ready with their men at a moment's warning to march in pursuit of any bands of Indians coming into the country, and to overtake and punish them, as their outrages had grown too great and frequent to be longer endured. He had not long to wait for the opportunity to put this order into execution. While engaged with his hands in a field not a half-mile from his station, the sentinel posted to give notice of hostile approach became suspicious that the Indians were in the cane not far off. He communicated his fears to the general, and endeavored to put himself between the people at work and the threatened danger. Gen. Robertson then turned to take a searching look in the direction indicated, when a volley was fired from the woods, one of the balls taking effect in his foot. The whites then made their way in safety to the fort and the Indians ran off.

Gen. Robertson ordered immediate pursuit. About sixty men turned out under Lieut. Col. Elijah Robertson, but he being detained, Capt. Sampson Williams, an excellent Indian-fighter and a man of most stubborn courage, was selected in his place. It is worthy of notice that Andrew Jackson was one of the pursuers. They hastily convened at Gen. Robertson's, and began their march early the next

morning. The trail of the enemy was soon struck, and found to lead up West Harpeth to the highlands of Duck River. At this point the pursuers became convinced that the Indians were out-traveling them, and it was determined to detach twenty men to follow on foot for the sake of speed, leaving the horsemen to come on as best they could. Capt. Williams headed the detachment, and striking off at a trot followed the trail until it reached the river; it here curved up the river a mile and a half and crossed, where it turned down again through the heavy corn which covered the lowlands. Darkness and the tangled nature of the way at length forced the party to halt and lie on their arms the rest of the night. As soon as it was light enough to see, pursuit was resumed, and at the distance of only two or three hundred yards from their bivouac the encampment of the Indians was discovered. Two or three were up mending their fires, and the rest still lay on the ground in sleep; the place was calculated to escape observation, being in a kind of basin. Capt. Williams was in advance, and the first to discover the enemy. Having some distance to go under the range of the enemy's guns if they should make resistance, he determined to dash forward at full speed and drive them from their weapons before they could have time to use them. He therefore charged, and at the distance of fifty yards opened fire. The Indians, though about thirty in number, fled without resistance, leaving one dead on the ground, but carrying off seven or eight wounded, and plunging into the river crossed to the north side. Sixteen guns, nineteen shot-pouches, and all of their effects fell into the hands of the whites. Pursuit was continued across the river, but shortly abandoned. Capt. Williams then struck into his old trail, and soon met the party with the horses, when all returned to the settlements.

There appears to have been no other pursuit of Indians by bodies from this county during the year, though it closed with a record of thirty persons killed on the Cumberland and the loss of one-half of the stock of horses.

The year 1790 passed off with a remarkable diminution of the usual death-rate, as far as the accounts go to show. The treaty with the Creek Nation at New York, August 17th, may have had some influence on the result. McGillivray, with about thirty chiefs, had repaired there by arrangement with the government, and had been received with great hospitality and attention to pomp and ceremony; liberal presents were provided, and he himself received a douceur of one hundred thousand dollars, ostensibly as indemnity for losses he had sustained in property from the people of the United States.

This treaty proved unsatisfactory to both parties. It was now desired by the government to engage the Cherokees in similar obligations to preserve peace. William Blount, Governor of the Territory south of the Ohio, as the country was called which had been ceded by North Carolina to the general domain, therefore dispatched Maj. King on a mission to this nation. Upon his return he reported that the Cherokees expressed great willingness to enter upon a treaty. The Governor having issued his proclamation revoking all licenses to trade with the Indians, the possessors of this privilege, seeing loss to themselves in the prospect,

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set about at once to defeat the assembling of the Indians, and they circulated the report that it was the intention of the whites to surround them on arrival at the treaty-ground and utterly destroy them. These insinuations of perfidy seemed about to defeat the proposed treaty, when the Governor desired Gen. Robertson to go among the Indians and the government. He went at once among them, and being possessed of their respect and esteem in the highest degree, soon accomplished his mission. The chiefs agreed to attend the place of meeting, the present site of Knoxville. There, on the 2d of July, 1791, the treaty of Holston was made, and being forwarded to the President was confirmed by the Senate on the 11th of November. There seemed reason now to anticipate peace with the Cherokees, but there was evidence of a renewal of hostile spirit on the part of the Creeks, but it was confined more to the settlements in Western Virginia and Kentucky than those on the Cumberland, where, however, a number of horses were stolen and thirteen persons were killed in the limits of Sumner and Davidson Counties in the months of June and July.

By the treaty of Holston extensive hunting-grounds, reaching to the very limits of the Cumberland settlements, had been restored to the Cherokees with the hope of purchasing peace and security. Washington earnestly desired Governor Blount to inculcate a spirit of the utmost forbearance among the whites towards the Indians, and seek by frequent "talks" and presents to hold them to their treaty obligations. This became an exceedingly difficult task, when it soon became evident that hostility was not only not abating but continually on the increase. This non-fulfillment of their stipulations found its explanation in the machinations of Spanish and British agents among them, who were extremely jealous of the growing power of the United States, and alarmed at its already manifest influence on the destiny of the Mississippi region. The policy of Washington, which gathered weight and respect more from his great name than from any regard for its justice and propriety together with the personal exertions of Gen. Robertson, had the effect to limit the movements of the Cumberland people strictly to defensive measures. The year closed in gloomy forebodings. St. Clair had been defeated in the Northwest, with the loss of six hundred men slain and all of his cannon. This event, so flattering to Indian prowess, virtually destroyed with the Southern tribes any lingering respect they may have retained for the binding force of the late treaties.

Although Davidson County was erected in 1783, and thus become an integral part of the State, it was regarded by the latter, in consequence of its remoteness from the seat of government and isolation from other settlements, rather as an outlying province, which must take upon itself those measures of protection and defense imposed by its situation. Its inhabitants had incurred responsibilities in which the rest of the State could not well share, so its rulers argued; the State would give them laws, but could not incur any expense in their execution. The grant of powers was liberal, the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions being virtually invested with legislative, judicial, and reassure their minds

as to the intentions and good faith of executive authority. These powers had already been exercised freely but wisely by the government of the Notables. Therefore this act was merely formal, and added no real strength to the colonists in their situation at that juncture, when the broad aegis of the State was needed to be thrown over them.

Under the authority of the act of 1786, the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1787 adopted measures of defense, as appears of record in these words:

"Whereas, The frequent acts of hostility committed by the Indians upon the inhabitants of this county for a considerable time past render it necessary that measures should be taken for their protection:

1. "*Be it Resolved*, That two hundred and ten men shall be enlisted and formed into a military body for the protection of said inhabitants, to rendezvous at the lower end of Clinch Mountain.

2. "Every able-bodied man who shall enlist and furnish himself with a good rifle or smooth-bore gun, one good picker, shot-bag, powder-horn, twelve good flints, with good powder and lead bullets or suitable shot, shall be entitled to receive each year for his services one blanket, one good woolen or fur hat of middle size, one pair of buckskin breeches, and waistcoat lined."

They further "*Resolved*, That for the better furnishing of the troops now coming into the country under command of Maj. Evans, with provisions, etc., that one-fourth of the tax of this county be paid in corn, one half in beef, pork, bear-meat, and venison, one-eighth in salt, and one-eighth in money, to defray the expenses of removing the provisions. The prices were fixed thus: corn, four shillings per bushel (equal to fifty cents); beef, five dollars per hundred pounds; pork, eight dollars per hundred pounds; goad bear-meat, without bones, eight dollars per hundred pounds; venison, ten shillings per hundred pounds; salt, sixteen dollars per bushel

Capt. Evans was appointed to the command of the battalion thus raised, with the rank of major. The troops rendezvoused at Clinch Mountain, and were very useful, guarding immigrants into the country and manning the forts. Each soldier was allowed by the State four hundred acres of land for six months' service, and the same proportion if he served twelve months, the land to be located west of the Cumberland Mountain. For the raising, supporting, arming, and equipping of these troops it was expressly stipulated that the tax should come from the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, and under no circumstances should the expense fall upon the treasury of the State, to be ratably borne by it.

While this force was a great addition to the strength of the colonists, it was far from being adequate to the needs of the case. Every man able to bear arms was held in honor bound to turn out on instant notice and defend or pursue as the case might be. In the almost weekly alarms the volunteers were the main reliance. The State guards held the forts, while the inhabitants took the field in many cases. From the enumeration of these facts it will be readily seen that the burdens of the settlers were heavy enough.

In April of this year the Indians killed Randle Gentry in the vicinity of Nashville (at the place where Mr. Foster afterwards lived), and Curtis Williams and Thomas Fletcher

and his son at the mouth of Harpeth. Capt. Rains was ordered by Col. Robertson to pursue. He immediately raised sixty men and got on the trail of the marauders, which led across Mill Creek; thence to Big Harpeth; thence to the fishing-ford of Duck River; thence down Swan Creek to Elk River; and thence into the barrens, and on as far as Flint River, within the present limits of Alabama. Not being able to come up with the party he there left their trail and turned west until he struck McCutchin's Trace. This trace crossed Elk River in the neighborhood of Latitude Hill, so named by the commissioners engaged in laying off the lands of the Continental line of North Carolina in 1783, who had gone there to ascertain the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The place is within the present limits of Giles County. Before reaching Elk River Capt. Rains discovered the tracks of a party of Indians who had come into the trace and were marching in the direction of the settlements. In the neighborhood of Latitude Hill he found the camp which they had left in the morning. He halted six miles farther on and lay all night, but took the precaution to send forward two or three trusty men to see that the enemy -was not sufficiently near to overhear his men while engaged in preparing camp. These returned and reported no Indians within hearing. The next morning he followed on, and in the afternoon came to the place where they had encamped the preceding night. Here they had cleared the ground of brush and leaves and indulged in their national war-dance, to properly prepare themselves for the bloody deeds they had in contemplation, this being the last place in which they could safely perform this rite, as another day's march would bring them too close to the settlements and render them liable to discovery. The Indian war-dance was a strange orgy, in which they indulged on going and returning from war, being intended to fire the warrior's heart to deeds of valor and whet his appetite for the blood of his enemy. It began with a slow, measured step, accompanied by a song, which gradually increased in quickness until the circling mass had been wrought to the highest pitch of excitement, when each brave drew his knife and tomahawk, and addressing an imaginary foe, he imitated the act of striking him down to the earth and completing the triumph by taking his scalp. At this stage savage cries and yells filled the air, and the countenances of the braves, rendered more horrible by paint, expressed all the ferocity of a real feeling, well calculated to excite in the beholder sensations of awe and fear. In the mad excitement of the moment they often inflicted accidental wounds upon each other, but of this no notice was taken and the offender was not held to account even if death was the result. This band took due precautions against surprise by setting up forks around the ring, upon which they laid poles to rest their guns against, so as to have them at hand in case of need.

Capt. Rains and his men passed on, and crossing Duck River at the mouth of Elk and Fountain Creeks, encamped about two miles beyond. The next morning, at the distance of six miles, they came on the Indians as they lay encamped upon the waters of Rutherford Creek, about the place where Solomon Herring afterwards lived. The enemy fled at the first fire and dispersed, leaving one of their number dead on the ground. The animating influence of their recent war-

dance vanished in the presence of real danger. Capt. Rains made no further pursuit and marched into the settlements.

About a month after the return of this expedition Capt. Rains was ordered by Col. Robertson on another equally arduous. He was directed to scour the country to the south, and strike any Indians found east of the line dividing the Chickasaws and Cherokees. His command was composed of sixty men. He took and kept the Chickasaw trail, which was the divisional line, until he crossed Swan Creek, beyond Duck River, when he turned southeast towards and up the Tennessee River. On the second day thereafter he struck a fresh trail, which on close examination was ascertained to be made by five men and a boy. He followed it but a few miles before he overtook the party, and killed four of the men and captured the boy. Seven horses, besides blankets, guns, skins, and other property, fell into his hands. The scalps of the slain were taken and brought to Nashville. The mother of the boy was a Chickasaw and his father a Creek. On learning of his capture Piamingo, the Chickasaw chief, interested himself, for the sake of the mother, to obtain his release. His son, Butterboo, had recently stolen a white captive away from the Creeks. He was a boy by the name of Naine, and had been captured by them on White's Creek, in this county, some time before. Piamingo now proposed an exchange, which was readily assented to and the transfer effected. The Indian boy was well dressed in the style of white people when he left, and promised to come back and see Capt. Rains, which he did about a year after, but he was again clad after the Indian fashion, with flap and blanket.

CHAPTER XIII

TREATY OF HOPEWELL

Effects of the Treaty—French and Spanish Intrigue—Complicated Difficulties of the Settlers —Attack upon Ephraim and Thomas Peyton and Others—Character of the Pioneers for Courage and Endurance--Tax-List of Davidson County in 1787.

IN 1785 the progress of settlements was much retarded by the limitations of a treaty made with the Indians. This treaty, known as the treaty of Hopewell, was concluded Nov. 28, 1785, by commissioners on the part of the United States and the chiefs and head men of the Cherokee Nation at Hopewell, on the Keowee River, in South Carolina. Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlin McIntosh were the United States commissioners.

This treaty was remarkable for its futile attempt to restrict and drive back the progress of Anglo-American settlements. A land-office had been established under an act of 1783, extensive entries had been made, and upon many of the lands settlements had been inaugurated; yet such were the powers and prerogatives granted to the Indians that they had the right to dispossess those now declared by the treaty to be within the bounds of the Indian Territory, and to punish all intruders as they might think proper. This was simply delivering the settlers over to the tender mercies of savages. By this same treaty the Indians were clothed with judicial and executive powers of a

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most startling character. They could arrest persons whom they might deem guilty of capital offenses, and punish them in the presence of the Cherokees in the same manner as they would be punished for like offenses committed against citizens of the United States. More than this, one article of the treaty gave the Cherokees the right to be represented by one of their own savage delegates in the Congress of the United States. By this treaty the territory of the Cumberland settlers was restricted to the narrow limits east of the dividing ridge between the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, and south of the Kentucky boundary to about forty miles above Nashville. The distinguished chief, Tassel, presented a map to the commissioners on which these boundaries were marked, and they were recognized and adopted by the treaty.

At this time the French and the Spaniards were devising the ruin of the Western settlements, and it is thought that the plan of this restriction of territory was furnished by the Spanish Governor. We quote two paragraphs from the report of the Commissioners to Congress:

"The Spaniards and the French are making great efforts to engross the trade of the Indians. Several of them are on the north side of the Tennessee River, and well supplied with goods proper for the trade. The Governor of New Orleans has sent orders to the Chickasaws to remove all traders from that country, except such as should take the oath of allegiance to the Catholic king.

The Cherokees say that the Northern Indians have their emissaries among the Southern tribes, endeavoring to prevail with them to form an alliance offensive against the United States, and to commence hostilities against us in the spring, or next fall at the furthest; that not only the British emissaries are for this measure, but that the Spaniards have extensive claims to the southward, and have been endeavoring to poison the minds of the Indians against us, and to win their affections, by large supplies of arms, military stores, and clothing."

Against this combination of enemies the settlers in Cumberland had to contend. The treaty had been designed to conciliate the Cherokees and to preserve them as a friendly, or at least a neutral power between the settlers and the Creeks, who soon began a war of extermination upon the Georgia colony. The ink had hardly become dry upon the treaty when depredations within the limits conceded to the settlers were begun by the Cherokees themselves. They killed Peter Barnet below Clarksville, on the waters of Blooming Grov; killed David Steele and wounded William Crutcher in the same region. The story of Crutcher is quite romantic. The Indians had left him badly wounded, as they supposed mortally, with an old hunting-knife sticking in his body; but he revived, reached one of the stations, and lived to a good old age. Crutcher kept the knife many years, and probably the Indian did the same with his, which he took in exchange. Capt. Prince said to Crutcher one day, "I suppose, William, the Indians went upon the principle that a fair exchange is no robbery." "I am glad," said Crutcher, "he used his old, dull knife instead of my long, sharp one. I would not object to the exchange if he would let me stick my knife in him." "Crutcher had received two gunshot wounds also, one in the side, the other in his thigh, from which he fell, and the Indians rushed upon him." Neither he nor Steele were scalped. For many years Crutcher was on the lookout for his "long, sharp knife," and for the Indian who left the old, dull one in his body, but he never discovered either.

These events happened in 1786. They were followed by an attack upon John Peyton, a surveyor, Ephraim and Thomas Peyton, his brothers, Thomas Pugh, Jan Frazier, and Esquire Grant, by a large band of Cherokees, in February of the same year. We condense the account from several histories of this period. The party of, white men having killed much game, encamped for the night at a place since called "Defeated Creek," near the line between Smith and Jackson Counties. The Indians were sixty in number, under Hanging-Maw, a Cherokee chief. The party of hunters or surveyors were fatigued, and were lying upon the ground around their camp-fire, their horses being fastened near by. It was Sunday night; they had given some part of the evening to playing cards; their dogs and horses gave some intimations of danger, but the tired hunters concluded that wild animals, wolves were attracted by the meat of the camp, and that there could be no other enemy near. Therefore they chunked up their fire," and laid themselves down again, John Peyton "leaning on his elbow near the fire hissing on the dogs." Suddenly the Indians fired a volley upon them, wounding four of the six men in camp. As John Peyton sprang to his feet he had the forethought to throw his blanket over the fire, thus to give him and his party a better chance of escape in the intense darkness. The whole party fled, escaping through the Indian lines. They cast their blankets from them and each fled his own way through the woods, bareheaded and without shoes. They were seventy miles from Bledsoe's Station, the ground was covered with snow, and yet each of these men, after several days' wandering, arrived at the station and recovered from their wounds and exposure.

John Peyton was shot through the arm and shoulder, Thomas Peyton through the thigh, Frazier through the leg, and Grant through the knee. Ephraim Peyton and Pugh escaped without a wound, but Peyton, in jumping down the bank to cross the creek, sprained his ankle very badly, and lay for some time in agony. Crawling along on the ground, he found a stick which answered the place of a staff to support and aid him in hobbling along. He was thus several days suffering and laboring to reach the white settlement, and was the last of the party to come in. All the others arrived, one at a time, each reporting the rest killed, John Peyton sent a message the next year to the chief that he might retain the horses, blankets, saddles, guns, etc., if he would return the *compass* and chain, to which he received reply: "You, John Peyton, ran away like a coward and left all your property; and as for your *land-stealer*" (the compass), "I have broken that against a tree."

We close our sketch of the pioneers with the following eulogy from the pen of one who knew and understood their character, and rightly estimated the value of their achievements:

"Their remote, inland position exempted them from much of the malign influence of the emissaries of England and France, but their exposure to Spanish and Indian jealousy and hatred combined was greater than that endured by any other portion of the country. Had the three hundred pioneers who came to the Cumberland in the winter and spring of 1780 crossed the Atlantic and selected their homes in the denseness of a forest among wild beasts and hostile savages, two to four hundred miles from other small settlements of civilized men, there to endure hardship, there to lay the foundations of a great State, the voyage, the enterprise, its men, measures, and results would interest the historian, the orator, and the poet. It was a great work which these emigrants undertook, they endured more than the dangers of the sea; they suffered a thousand fold more than they anticipated, and great and penetrating as may have been

their gaze into the "ware, and extensive and glorious as may have been the hopes of improvement and power to result from what they did, they could not have conceived of one tenthousandth part of what even some of their children now see and enjoy."

Names of persons who were in Davidson County in 1787, being the first year in which the tax on land and polls was taken, being (white) males over twenty-one years three hundred and seventy-two, and blacks one hundred and five between twelve and sixty years old.*

Armstrong, William	1	James, Thomas	7
Anderson, Henry	1	Joslin, Ben	1
Allard, Hardy	1	Johns, Richard	1
Armstrong, Francis	2	Johnston, William	1
Bradshaw, H.	1	Kirkpatrick, John	3
Boyles, B.	1	Kennedy, Robert.	1
Boyers, H.	1	Love, Joseph	1
Berry, William	1	Loggans, William	1
Baker, Nicholas	1	Lewis, Thomas and Hugh	2
Baker, Reuben	1	Lenier, James and Henry	4
Baker, A.	1	Lucas, Andrew	1
Borin, B.	1	Lyles, Hugh	1
Borin, John	1	Long, William.	1
Borin, William	1	Lancaster, Jno.	2
Boyd, James	1	Lynn, Adam	1
Bell, Hugh	2	Lindsay, James	1
Bushnell,	2	Luper, John	1
Baker, Joshua	1	Martin, Joseph	1
Boyd, John	2	Marshall, William	1
Bosley, James	17	McAllister, James	1
Bell, John	2	Mears, William	1
Brown, Thomas	3	McNight, William	1
Butcher, G.	1	McFarland, John	1
Barrow, John	1	Motheral, John	1
Brown, William	1	Mitchell, William	2
Blair, Thomas	1	Mayfield, Isaac	1
Buchanan, Samuel	1	Marshall, John	1
Byrnes, James	1	McGowan, Samuel	1
Buehanan, John	1	McDowell, John	1
Bowan, Thomas	1	McNight, Robert	1
Bradford, Henry	2	Moore, William	1
Buchanan, Archibald	2	Marlin, Archibald	1
Barnett, Robert	1	McCarty, Jacob	1
Blackamore, John	8	McAntosh, Ben	1
Blackamore, William	2	Miller, Isaac.	1
Blackamore, Thomas	2	McAntosh, Thos. and Chas.	1
Blackamore, George	1	Murdoch, John	1
Boyd, Andrew	1	Martin, Samuel	2
Bodey, William	1	McCain, Thomas	1
Boyd, John	1	McFarland, Thomas	1
Cartwright, J.	1	Maclin, William	7
Crow, D.	1	McGough, John	1
Coonrod, N.	3	Molloy, Thomas	1
Cooper, James	1	Miniss, Ben	1
Crune, John	1	Moore, Alexander	1
Crawford, George	1	McWhister, William	1
Carr, Robert	1	Martin, Archibald	1
Contes, C.	1	McCutchen, Patrick,	1
Cain, Jesse	1	Samuel and James	3
Comstock, Thomas	1	McSpadden	1
Crutcher, Thomas	1	Murry, Thomas	1
Crutcher, William	1	McLane, Ephraim	1
Castleman, Jacob	1	McLane, Ephraim (2d)	1
Casselman, Andrew	1	McFadden, Jas., 2, David, 1	3
Clark, Lardner	1	McFarlin, James	2
Casselman, John	1	McSea, John	1
Casselman, Benjamin	1	Nobles, Mark	1
Cox, Thomas	1	Neal, Thomas	1
Cockrill, John	1	Nash, William	1
Cox, John	1	Nasam, Jonas	2
Cox, Phenix	1	Neely, Isaac	2
Carnahan, A.	1	Nevilles, George	4
Connor, William	1	Owens, Charles and Arthur	2
Canyer, William	1	Oglesby, John	1
Cartwright, Robert	3	O'Neill, Jonathan	2
Cochran, John	1	Overall, Nathaniel and Wm.	2
Craighead, Thomas B.	2	Prince, Francis	10
Donaldson, Jacob	1	Phillips, John	1
Duncan, M.	1	Pennington, Jacob	4

Duncan, John	1	Pirtle, George	1
Delaney, James	1	Payne, Matthew,	
Dodge, Richard	1	George, and Josiah	3
Duncan, William	1	Peterson, Isaac	1
Duncan, Samuel, and John	2	Pollock, William B.	1
Donaldson, James	1	Pennington, Isaac	3
Duncan, D.	1	Prochman, Phil	1
Drake, Benjamin	2	Ruland, Lewis.	1
Drake, John	1	Ray, Stephen	1
Drake, Benjamin, Jr.	1	Rounsevall, David,	
Donaldson, William	12	Isaac and Josiah	3
Donaldson, John	3	Robertson, Alex	2
Dennings, Robert	1	Robertson, M. and Mark	2
Exheart, D.	1	Ralston, David	1
Ewing, Andrew	1	Ramsey, William	1
Ewing, Alexander	3	Reckner, Coonrod	1
Euman, E.	1	Roberts, Isaac	1
Evan, Jesse	1	Reed, Alexander	1
Edmonston, William, John,	4		
Robert, and Robert (2d)		Robertson, Elijah	6
Evans, John	1	Robertson, Richard	1
Espy, James	1	Robertson, James	3
Elliot, Falkner	1	Ramsey, Josiah	2
Elliott,	1	Ross, James	1
Frazer, John	1	Stuart, William	1
Flancy, Daniel	1	Shaw, Joseph, William	
Ford, Isaac, Lewis, John	3	and James	3
Freeland, Samuel	1	Shannon, Samuel,	
Foster, James	1	William and David	1
Frazer, Daniel	2	Shoat, Isaac	1
French, Thomas	1	Standley, David, Joesph and John	1
Gilliland, Hugh	2	Smothers, A.	1
Guise, Charles and John	5	Spiles, W.	1
Gibson, John	1	Singleton, St. John	1
Gramer, John	1	Smith, Jesse and	
Grant, Squire	4	Ezekiel	2
Gallaspy, William	1	Stump, Frederick	4
Gentry, John	1	Stump, Frederick, Jr.	1
Geter, Argolis	1	Shannon, John	1
Glaves, Michael	1	Steel, Andrew	1
Gully, Alexander and Henry	2	Sutton, M.	1
Hogan, Daniel	1	Stull, Zachariah	1
Harrod, Barnard	1	Scott, James	1
Hardin, M.	1	Swanson, Edward	1
Hooper, William	1	Sides P.	2
Hooper, Absalom	7	Shelby, Evan	4
Hall, James	1	Thompson, Azariah	4
Handley, S.	1	Thompson, Thomas, Laurence, and	
		Andrew	3
Huston, Ben	1	Taylor, Thomas	1
Hardin, B.	1	Thomas, John, Thomas, William,	
Hogan, H.	1	, Isaac and John	4
Henry, Hugh and Isaac	1	Tillsforth, Isaac	3
Hay, David	3	Thompson, Charles,	
Hodge, F.	1	James and Robert	3
Harmand, Anthony	1	Taitt, William	1
Hampton, A.	3	Titus, Ebenezer	1
Howard, John	1	Todd, James	1
Hollis, James, John,		Tennin, H. and James	2
Joshua, and Samuel	4	Walker, Samuel,	
Heaton, Robert and Amos	5	John and Phil	3
Hinds, William, Hamilton		Walker, John	2
James Hinds, and Thomas	3	Wells, H.	1
Harrold, Robert	1	Winters, C. and M.	2
Hays, Robert	4	Wallace, Samuel	1
Hope, John	1	Willis, James	1
Hannah, Jos	2	Williamson, James	3
Hornberger, Phil	1	Williams, Dan and Daniel	2
Harris James	1	Williams, Sampson	1
Hor, M.	1	Williams, William	2
Jones, James and John	2	Woolard, Isaac	1
James, Daniel and Edward	2	White, Solomon	1
		Wilcocks, Samuel	6

Dates when following persons first appear as tax-payers:			
Hardins	1788	Andrew and	
Hickman	1788	John McNairy	1794
Hardiman	1783	John Nichols	
Charles Gordon	1789	William Polk	1795
Robert Weakley	1789	William Pillow	1795
Jas. and David		Gideon Pillow	1797
Jas. McGavock	1789		
John Overton	1794		

* The figures indicate the taxable number in each family.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

CHAPTER XIV

THE COLDWATER EXPEDITION, JUNE, 1787

French Traders at Indian Towns on the Tennessee—Nickajack, Running Water, and Coldwater settled by the Indians—Their Design to Destroy the White Settlers on the Cumberland—Expedition to Coldwater—Successful Capture and Destruction of the Indians—Noble Character of Piamingo—Incidents of the Return of the Soldiers—History of the Water Expedition—Successful Shooting Parties—Contest with Big-Foot.

IN consequence of a treaty held with the Southern Indians at Nashville in June, 1783, by commissioners on part of Virginia, and that of Hopewell, Nov. 28, 1785, there was a marked abatement of hostility on the part of the Cherokees. The treaty of Nashville stood on the same footing with that of Col. Henderson in 1774, known as the Transylvania treaty; that is, the general government did not recognize the authority of a State to make a treaty with an Indian tribe, as it claimed a paternal and protecting relation to these people. The first President took upon himself the title that the kings of England had borne in their dealings with them, that of the "Great Father." While many of the provisions of the treaty of Nashville were confirmed at Hopewell, yet large concessions had been made to the Cherokees, and recession of boundaries which had been confirmed to North Carolina in the most solemn manner and for which they had received a stipulated price. Col. Robertson was much opposed to the selection of Nashville as the treaty ground, and a majority of the stationers on the south side of the Cumberland joined with him; but the question being submitted to a vote of all the stations, it was carried in the affirmative by the decisive vote of Eaton's, which was fifty-four for and one against the proposition. The objection to having the treaty held here was that it would admit a large body of Indians to the midst of the settlement and disclose the weakness of the whites. Eaton's, being protected in a measure by the river, felt more security, and consequently was not so solicitous. However, everything passed off very well, the treaty having been held four miles northwest of Nashville, at the place afterwards selected by Gen. Robertson as his residence, and well known to a later generation as the Nashville Camp-Ground. There is no account of the tribes represented. The Cherokees and Chickasaws were present, but probably no Creeks, or at least an insignificant representation. Those present expressed themselves as well pleased, particularly with Col. Robertson, who was a person calculated to strike the Indian fancy of a great man and leader in an eminent degree. The gathering undoubtedly had a good effect, as it was followed by some abatement of the outrages that had marked the previous years. Still, murders did occur occasionally and horses were stolen, but the settlers breathed freer, and by the year 1785 stations had extended as far up the Cumberland on the north side as Bledsoe's Lick, now Castilian Springs. Yet a sense of security was never felt, and constant vigilance and the practice of measures dictated by experience doubtless saved many lives.

Gradually, however, matters became worse. There was an *implication* in the treaty of Hopewell that the Cumberland settlers were *intruders*, --- a squinting towards disownment on the part of the government of an interest in their welfare and success. This want of firmness had a bad influence on

the evilly-disposed Indians, and cost both parties to the conflict dearly in the end. The chastisements inflicted upon the Chickamauga towns by Sevier had driven a number of these people to take shelter farther down the river in places of greater security. Thus the towns at Nickajack and Running Water were formed. Later on a small party of Cherokees established themselves at Coldwater, where Tusculum, Ala., now stands. Here they were discovered by the Creeks, who came to their assistance and added much to their strength. At this time the French traders on the Wabash resorted to the waters of the Tennessee, and while a Monsieur Veiz managed the trade he seems to have acted prudently and without any disposition to stir up hostilities with the whites; but on the establishment of the band of lawless Creeks and Cherokees at Coldwater a half-dozen or more French traders resorted to the place, and being anxious to increase their trade, offered various inducements to them to encourage them to acts of war. They kept large supplies of ammunition, guns, tomahawks, and knives, which they could dispose of readily at exorbitant prices to the surrounding Indians, who for the most part were indifferently armed. The existence of this town was unknown to the settlers for several years, though they had often wondered why predatory bands for the most part retreated in a westerly direction; and they were disposed for this reason to suspect the fidelity of the Chickasaws. At length two young Chickasaw warriors while on a hunt came unexpectedly on this village. They remained all night, and were treated in a friendly manner. The villagers informed these young men that their object in settling there was to strike the Cumberland settlers with greater facility, as the situation seemed to afford a safer retreat with a wide river intervening.

On the return of the Chickasaws to their nation they informed Piamingo, or the mountain leader, the head chief and firm ally of the whites, of their discovery, and he sent them immediately to Nashville to acquaint Col. Robertson with the fact, at the same time expressing the opinion that policy required that this band should be broken up at once. Their arrival was most opportune, for a short time before, in May, Mark Robertson, a brother of the colonel, had been killed after a desperate defense near the latter's residence, while about the same time a number of persons had been butchered at the stations in Sumner County on the north side of the river, among them old man Price, his wife, and children, at Hendrick's Station; Capt. Charles Morgan, old man Gibson, Maj. William Hall and two sons, James and Richard, and young Hickerson, near Bledsoe's; and old man Morgan, at Morgan's Station, besides others. The weight of grievance was now too hard to bear, and when it became known, through the friendly offices of the Chickasaws, who were the authors and where they could be found with certainty, the settlers clamored with one voice for vengeance, and renounced any further obligations to observe treaty stipulations which forbade expeditions into the Indian country unless duly authorized by the government. They thereupon determined to carry the war into the enemy's country, and for this purpose one hundred and thirty men from the different stations collected in the neighborhood of

Nashville early in June, armed and equipped with supplies of powder and bullets and' wallets of dried meat and parched corn. Col. Robertson took command, assisted by Lieut. - Cols. Robert Hays and James Ford. Among the number was Capt. John Rains' company of spies or scouts, a body which for efficiency in border warfare was never surpassed. The Chickasaws offered their services as guides, which were gladly accepted. In fact, their services could not have been well dispensed with. None of the whites had penetrated in that direction farther than fifty or sixty miles, and a knowledge of the country beyond the Tennessee was essential to make the blow effective. A raw-hide boat was prepared beforehand to carry over the arms when they reached the river, but on the representations of the guides it was expected that Indian boats could be obtained, as some were usually kept tied to the farther bank. To provide, however, against any mishap from this source a detachment was organized to go by water, consisting of three large canoes under the command of David Hay and Moses Shelby. This was to descend the Cumberland to the Ohio, and thence up the Tennessee to a crossing since known as Colbert's Ferry, where, if necessary, the land force could repair in case of necessity and effect a safe passage. The boats also carried some extra supplies, and were considered useful for the comfortable conveyance of any persons who might become disabled by wounds or sickness. All things being in readiness the land force marched into Nashville from its rendezvous four miles to the northwest, afterwards known as the residence of Gen. Robertson, and also as the "Nashville Camp-Ground." The object was to afford friends who had collected from the surrounding stations an opportunity to bid the adventurous band good-by. It was a most dangerous mission, but all felt the importance of its successful execution. Indeed, there was a general rejoicing that an opportunity had occurred for retaliatory measures, and that Col. Robertson, the commandant, had taken the responsibility of ordering the movement.

It was calculated that the expedition by water, though following a long and circuitous route, could reach its destination by the time the land force would be able to penetrate to the same point through the cane-brakes and thickets which would bar its progress continually, and both therefore started the same day. The route of the army is thus described by Haywood: "They crossed the mouth of South Harpeth thence they went a direct course to the mouth of Turn-bull's Creek; thence up the same to the head, and thence to Lick Creek of Duck River; thence down the creek seven or eight miles, leaving the creek to the right hand; thence to an old lick as large as a corn-field; thence to Duck River where the old Chickasaw crossed it; thence, leaving the trace to the right hand, they went to the head of Swan Creek, on the south side of Duck River; thence to a creek running into the Tennessee River, which the troops called Blue Water, and which ran into the Tennessee about a mile and a half above the lower end of the Muscle Shoals; they left this creek on the left hand." The route was very devious, and rendered difficult by the avoidance, at the suggestion of the Chickasaw guides, of the trails upon which their advance might be detected by straggling parties of the enemy. It

seems, however, that these precautions failed of their purpose, for one of the prisoners captured at Coldwater, a French trader, informed Col. Robertson that the Indians had been counseling for three days at the instigation of a principal Creek chief, and had unanimously agreed to fight the whites if they crossed the river. In fact Col. Robertson, in his official report of the expedition, made to Governor Caswell; distinctly states that while in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals some Indians discovered him and fired upon his back picket, which alarmed a small town of Cherokees. This town was on the opposite side of the river at the crossing. This clearly indicates that they had information of their purpose. It is quite probable that they even knew of the expedition by water, for this was met at the mouth of Duck River and fired upon, without doubt by a party from this village evidently there in observation. When the army reached within ten miles of the river the roaring of the rapids induced them to believe that it was near at hand, and a halt was made. One of the guides with two or three active men were ordered forward to reconnoiter, but they returned about midnight with the information that the river was yet too distant for them to reach in time to return that night. In the morning the march was resumed, and at twelve o'clock the troops struck the river at the lower end of the Muscle Shoals. Here they concealed themselves to await the approach of night. Several spies were dispatched to take post in the cave at the water's edge and make observations. Some cabins were seen on the opposite bank, but from the absence of crowing of cocks and barking of dogs it was justly concluded that they were not inhabited at that time. During the afternoon two Indians were observed cautiously approaching the riverbank on the other side and from their movements it was dent that they were on the lookout for the whites. Not discovering anything indicating a hostile presence, they waded to an island near their side and unloosing a canoe paddled out into the river, as if with the intention of crossing, but on reaching the middle of the stream they abandoned the boat to the current, while they plunged in and disported themselves for some time in the water. They then recovered the canoe, and paddling back to their own side disappeared up the bank. From this it was plain that their suspicions had not been excited. On report of these facts to Col. Robertson he determined to cross the river that night by some means, and he therefore dispatched a messenger to Capt. Rains, who had been sent up the river, to return. That officer had been ordered in the morning to take the broad buffalo trail up the river to look for canoes, and if possible to capture an Indian alive. On his return he reported no indication of an Indian settlement in that quarter. At dusk the dare force was congregated at the river-bank, with instructions to observe the utmost quietude. Col. Robertson now called for volunteers to swim the river, which was spread out fully a mile at this point, and bring back the canoe. Joshua Thomas offered his services if any one would go with him. At that instant a plunge was heard in the water, and the colonel asked "Who is that?" "Edmond Jennings," was the reply of a by-stander. He and Thomas were inseparable on the hunt or scout, and when the latter proposed to swim the river he plunged in without further ceremony. Thomas followed, and

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they soon disappeared in the darkness. Jennings, who, by the way, was one of the most remarkable characters of that day, in telling the circumstances years afterwards, said that he got bothered in the darkness and swam a long time without making much headway; but, said he, "I finery tuck a stair to course by, and landed on the other side. "Thomas also made the passage safely. After making an exploration of the cabins, which were indeed deserted, they entered the canoe to return; it was very old and leaky, and one had to bail the water out constantly to keep it from sinking. In fact, they made so much noise on their return that some of their comrades on shore insisted on firing upon them for Indians. Putnam and Haywood speak of seven persons being engaged in swimming the river for the canoe, but Capt. Rogan, who had the story from the actors and from Jennings himself, mentions only the names given. In order to stop the leaks some of the men took off articles of clothing, which they stuffed in the 'cracks and endeavored to hold in place with their feet. Forty persons got in or clung to the sides of the boat, and it was started, but after proceeding a short distance the water rushed in so rapidly that a number of them had to deposit their guns and ammunition and leap overboard in order to lighten the craft enough to get it back to land. The woods were searched and some pieces of bark secured, with which the cracks were at length stopped. This occasioned so much delay that it was daylight before the first load got over. These were posted to advantage, and the boat started on its return, but the successful landing of the first detachment now aroused such a spirit of emulation that the remainder, having daylight to guide them, now plunged in on their horses, or swimming alongside, and passed over without accident. The arms and ammunition were pushed over in the raw-hide boat brought from Nashville for the purpose. Col. Robertson's invading army now presented a singular spectacle. When they landed the men stripped off their wet garments and, hanging them out to dry in the sun, wandered about on the beach *en dishabille*. A shower having come on, the troops resorted to the cabins, where they dressed and made preparations to mount as soon as the rain was over. From the cabins a plain path led through the open woods in a westerly direction. This the army took and followed at a brisk pace for five or six miles, when they came to some cornfields about two miles from the village, as the guides informed them. There they made a slight change of course to strike directly for the town, which was on the opposite side of a creek formed by the water from a large limestone spring, and called by the Indians Coldwater. On reaching the slope leading down to the creek, about three hundred yards, speed was increased to a gallop in order to give the enemy no time to prepare for resistance. On account of the narrowness of the path at the crossing, which would admit only one horseman at the farther bank, the onset was hindered somewhat, which prevented the troops from arriving in the village in a body and doing more execution at this point. As it was, no halt was made by those in front for their comrades to come up, and the village was entered in this order. The enemy, having got notice by the thunder of the horses' feet, made no offer of resistance, and fled mostly to their canoes, which were moored at the mouth of the

creek. The Chickasaws had suggested to Col. Robertson that the enemy would in all probability endeavor 'to escape to their canoes, and he had detached Capt. Rains, Benjamin Castleman, William Loggins, William Steele, Morton Duncan, and one of the guides to a point on the creek opposite their canoes to intercept their retreat in this direction. Many of the fugitives, in their effort to escape from the main body, crossed the creek to where Capt. Rains' men were posted on the bank, and while looking back were fired upon at the distance of a few paces. Three of them dropped dead, and the rest continued their flight to the canoes, which were now being rapidly filled and pushed out into the river:

At this juncture the main body of whites appeared at the bank and opened a destructive fire upon the crowded boats. Edmond Jennings, who was mounted on a wild young Mare which ran away with him, was the first to reach the place. He leaped to the ground and getting a raking shot at a boat with John Buchanan's fowling-piece, a famous gun in that day, killed three warriors, when the rest plunged into the water and attempted to save themselves by swimming and diving. The pursuit was so hard and close from the village, the men having been informed beforehand of the probable direction the enemy would take, that few of the latter escaped in this quarter, nearly all being killed in the water. The number was not ascertained at the time, but the Creeks confessed to the Chickasaws afterwards that they had lost twenty-six warriors. Three of the French traders and a white woman in their company were also killed. Among the slain was the principal Creek chief and also a Cherokee chief. Their force consisted of ten Creek and thirty-five Cherokee warriors and nine Frenchmen, chiefly from Detroit. The principal trader and owner of the goods was wounded and taken prisoner, along with five other traders. A large stock of goods was captured, consisting of taffia, sugar, coffee, cloths, blankets, Indian wares of all kinds, salt, shot, paints, knives, powder, tomahawks, tobacco, and other articles of traffic. But one or two Indian women were taken, and it was surmised from this that the families had been sent, off in anticipation of the whites crossing. Putnam suggests that men of this character would not have families, or at least not keep them in a place like this. The fact that they cultivated the ground goes to prove that there were women among them, for on these fall work of this kind, being scorned by a brave as beneath the dignity of his occupation, which was to hunt and go to War.

After the dispersion of the enemy all of the personal property in the cabins was thrown out for the use of the women and children in case they were lurking in the cane near by. The huts were then consumed by fire. All of the fowls and some hogs in a pen were killed. The boats, three excellent ones, were collected in the creek opposite the village, where they were loaded with the captured goods and placed under guard during the night. The troops encamped near the ruins, but on the opposite side of the creek. The next morning arrangements were completed for the return of the troops. It having been decided to send the property and prisoners by water to Nashville, Jonathan Denton, Benjamin Drake, and John and Moses Eskridge were put in charge of

the necessary crews. The Eskridge's had a small canoe tied on to their own. The prisoners consisted of five Frenchmen, a squaw, the wife of one of the traders, and a child. The white men and the woman killed were buried. A new route, at the suggestion of the Chickasaws, was selected for the return home. The boats were ordered to drop slowly down the river to a certain crossing indicated by the Chickasaws, and await the arrival of the troops for the purpose of ferrying them over. The march home from that point was ascertained to be more direct and easy of accomplishment. The route pursued down the river was very circuitous and led the army much farther off from the boats than was intended, and prevented their reaching their destination that day. They then turned a course towards the river, and on reaching it discovered some persons on an island, who on being reconnoitered proved to be the boatmen. They all proceeded over the river to a point where the approaches on either side were easy and convenient, the place being now known as Colbert's Ferry. The two Chickasaws, who had rendered such invaluable services to the expedition, here left for their homes. Each of them was presented with a horse, bridle, and saddle, a rifle, and as many goods as he could pack, at which they were greatly delighted. The Chickasaws after their treaty proved the firm friends and allies of the whites, and they boasted with pride that their nation had never shed the blood of an American. Their chief, Piamingo, was a man of great intelligence and dignity of character, and managed the affairs of his people with much shrewdness and ability. On a visit to the seat of government he was received with great respect by President Washington, who entertained a high opinion of his character and abilities.

The troops succeeded in crossing the river without much difficulty, on account of the accessibility of the banks at this point. Here it was deemed advisable to get rid of the encumbrance of the prisoners. They were accordingly given the light canoe, into which their trunks and clothing were packed, with a plentiful supply of provisions, and ordered to return up the river. They were greatly elated at such an easy deliverance, and set out at once. The stock of sugar and coffee that remained was equally divided among the troops, and the dry goods and other captured articles securely packed in the boats, with directions to be landed and stored at Eaton's for sale and division. The land force of the expedition now started on its return home, taking a due north course until it reached the path leading into the Chickasaw old crossing of Duck River. It had been absent nineteen days and had not lost a man killed or wounded.

As the boats were on their return they met five French traders ascending the river. When the latter came in sight they fired off their guns as a *feu de joie*, thinking they were meeting friends. The Cumberlanders made ready their guns, and laying alongside of the traders boats took them prisoners before they could recover from their astonishment. Their boats being loaded with articles contraband of war, the owners were required to return as prisoners. On reaching a point a few miles below Nashville they were offered their choice of proceeding on to a trial for the recovery of their goods or being set at liberty without them. They chose the latter course, and being furnished with a light canoe they

departed down the river. France and the United States being on terms of amity, Col. Robertson thought it necessary to make an explanation to the representative of the former power, then in command of a post in the Illinois country. He accordingly wrote to that functionary a letter, in which he defined very clearly the principles of international law governing such cases. He recited the grievances which his people had suffered from the savages, who were instigated to acts of war and supplied with munitions by the traders who had resided at Coldwater for several years past, of which he had ample proof, and upon which he rested his vindication of the treatment they had received at his hands in the late expedition. They had imprudently put themselves in the battle at that place, and some of them fell. As to the capture of the traders ascending the river, he declared that they had supplies for the purpose of trading with the very Indians with whom the settlers were then at war, and the seizure of their persons and goods, though without his express order, was clearly justifiable; that he was endeavoring to collect the goods, and if the owners could prove that they were not guilty of a breach of the laws, and did not intend to furnish the Indians with powder, lead, and other goods for the destruction of the Cumberland settlers, they could recover the same on application at Nashville. He closed by declaring that any traders who furnished these Indians with arms and ammunition at a time when they were in a state of hostility with his people would render themselves very insecure. Here the matter dropped, and never, as far as the writer is aware, formed the subject of a diplomatic correspondence between the two governments.

It remains now to notice the history of the expedition that left Nashville by water to co-operate with the land force. It had the same bright prospects, and promised the voyagers a modicum only of the hardships in prospect for the other, but this did not save it from an unfortunate and tragical issue. The boats descended the Cumberland with great rapidity, although the waters were low, but on entering the Tennessee the weather was so calm that the sails, upon which they had based some expectation of increased speed, proved of no use. They proceeded, however, with oars and poles, and had reached the mouth of Duck River, when their attention was drawn to a canoe tied to the bank a short distance up that stream. Captain Shelby, who commanded one of the boats, deemed it advisable to investigate the matter before proceeding farther. He thereupon turned into that stream, and had reached to within a few yards of the canoe when a dreadful volley was poured into the crew from a body of Indians concealed in the thick cane that lined the bank. Josiah Renfroe was shot through the head, Hugh Rogan (misprinted *Roquering* by Haywood and not corrected by subsequent historians) and John Topp through the body, and Edward Hogan through the arm, fracturing the bone, five others were also slightly wounded by the same fire. The surprise and consternation of the crew were so great that it was with much difficulty that the boat could be got back into the main channel, but this was at length accomplished before the enemy could reload and fire again, the several boats now collected in the middle of the river and counseled as to their future movements. Their presence being now discovered,

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they would be placed at great disadvantage ascending against the current, as the enemy could easily outstrip them and fire upon them from chosen positions, against which they had no protection. They decided therefore to return to Nashville. As to the manner of their return there is some confusion in the accounts of writers. All of these except Carr state that they returned by the route they came. Carr, who is very trustworthy on matters of pioneer history, on account of his connection with most of the events of which he treats, says that Capt. Shelby abandoned his boat, and that the crew marched through the wilderness to Nashville. This is undoubtedly the fact, for the writer has conversed with the family of Mr. Rogan, who was one of Shelby's crew and who was shot, through the lungs, and they confirm the statement. The crews of the other boats may have proceeded by water, but it is quite probable that they all acted in conjunction in a case like this, where it would be impolitic to have any division of strength, especially when Shelby's crew needed and required assistance to make sure of its march home through the dangers of the wilderness. The journey by water was, if anything, more difficult, and the open boats afforded very little protection against attack, as had just been demonstrated. The backwoodsman wanted the shelter of a tree when he fought, and freedom of movement, which he could not obtain in the confined space of a canoe.

Of the wounded, Renfroe died before he left the boat. It was a singular circumstance in his case that though he was shot through the brain he still retained the use of some of his faculties. The crew had been spearing fish with sharpened canes, and as they proceeded on water for some time after the repulse, Renfroe sat upright in the bow of the boat and speared at real or imaginary fish until he died; but it is quite probable the act was a phase of "unconscious cerebration," in which he repeated the train of ideas that was dominant in his mind up to within a few moments of the reception of his injury. Rogan was an Irishman of superlative courage and strength of will, and though he was shot through one lung he not only marched home without assistance but *carried his gun- and accoutrements*. But the men of that day possessed in an eminent degree the hardihood and tenacity of life which distinguishes the lower animals in their canes at self-preservation, such men as Edmond Jennings and Josh Thomas could swim icy rivers in mid-winter without injury or much bodily discomfort.

It should have been stated in proper chronological order that Col. Robertson had in the spring of this year, in consequence of the depredations committed about that time, marched a body of men "near the Chickamaugas," according to his official report of the Coldwater expedition previously mentioned. He imputed these murders to the Indians at that place, not having learned at that time of the existence of the Coldwater town. After his arrival he thought it best to avoid an open war, and returned without doing them any mischief, leaving them a letter containing every offer of peace that could be made on honorable terms.

After his return they sent a flag to treat, but he put no confidence in their sincerity, as several persons were killed during their stay, and one man at his house in their sight. They imputed the murders to the Creeks, but were not

believed at the time, as they gave no hint of the existence of the Coldwater town.

In the month of September of this year, 1787, Capt. Rains' company of spies was again ordered out to scour the country to the south, being joined at Nashville by Capt. Shannon's company of sixty men, the whole under command of Capt. Rains. They crossed Duck River at Greene's Lick, and passing the Pond Spring, crossed the Tombigbee Creek near its head. In proceeding towards the Elk their attention was attracted to a large number of buzzards flying around, when Capt. Rains suggested that there must be Indians about, these birds being collected to prey on the remains of the deer and other game killed by them. They encamped near by, and on search his surmise was found to be correct. The next morning Capt. Shannon was in front, but passed over a trail without noticing it. It was, however, detected by Capt. Rains, who proposed to follow it. Objection was made that it was too old, but he insisted on following it until he found a fresher one. Before night the spies came upon an encampment, and discovering an Indian fired upon him without effect. He ran off, and the entire party of the whites dashed forward at the report. Capt. Rains discovered the Indian running rapidly up a hill, and being well mounted, he soon got close on him and ordered him to halt. The Indian turned a moment as if to comply with the demand, and then set off again. Capt. Rains then jumped from his horse and fired, wounding him severely in the arm and hands. At (his moment: Reuben Parks and Beverly Ridley came up and joined in the chase. They soon overtook the Indian and knocked him down, but he made a desperate struggle, which ended in Ridley's killing him with his knife. John Rains, Jr., and Robert Evans in dashing forward came face to face with an Indian coming out of a thicket, and on his making signals for quarter they took him prisoner. It seems that these two men were the only occupants of the camp at the time, or at least the only ones discovered. Eight horses were taken, and about three hundred deer and other skins, the produce of their hunt. The horses were sold at Nashville, and the proceeds of the sale and the other property equally divided among the captors. The Indian taken was a youth about nineteen years old. He became very much attached to Capt. Shannon's family, into which he was taken for safekeeping. He was afterwards sent on to Washington (where a young white girl fell desperately in love with him), and 'at the end of two years was brought back to Capt. Shannon. He was finally released on exchange, but returned again to the whites, saying that the "Indians looked so dirty and lousy he couldn't stay with them." After remaining some time he joined the Creeks, and was wounded at the battle of Talladega, in 1813, fighting against the whites. A number of expeditions of this character were sent out during this year, which had an excellent effect towards restraining the extent of savage depredation; still there were thirty-three victims to the rifle and tomahawk in the course of the year. Among the mounted rangers of Evans' battalion were the companies of Capts. William Martin and Samuel Hadley, which also did excellent service, the records of which, however, are very meager.

About the last of July, after the return of the Coldwater expedition a Monsieur Perrault, a French trader, happened in Nashville on his way to the Indian nation. By him Col. Robertson dispatched a letter to the head men and chiefs of the Creeks, reciting the grievances which led to his late march into their country and the destruction of their warriors at Coldwater, and stating that the movement was purely for retaliation, but that he was now willing to be on terms of peace with them. On his way thither Perrault met a band of two hundred Creeks, who had crossed the Tennessee and were marching on the settlements. He expounded to them, as he claimed on his return, the nature of the letter he bore, and strongly endeavored to dissuade them from their purpose. This they positively refused to do. They said that "they wanted horses and there is the place to get them. If we cannot get the horses without killing some of the people, we shall risk the worst to obtain the horses. We will not do much harm this time, but if the whites again venture into Indian country with an army then they may expect a merciless war. We know their strength, their positions, and how and where best to worry and waste them." They claimed that their motive was to obtain satisfaction for three Creeks killed by the North Carolina people eighteen miles below Chota. Such was the purport of Perrault's language on his return, and Col. Robertson, on this report, hastened measures of defense at once. He pushed the work of collecting supplies for Evans' battalion, and used his authority to call into scouting service some of the immigrants who had lately arrived under the protection of that battalion. By this accession of strength he was now enabled to keep out strong scouting-parties in various directions, which rendered most efficient service by giving timely notice in many cases of the approach of Indians, and pursuing promptly when any mischief was done. These scouts were kept up after that as long as any necessity existed. Col. Robertson had from the first employed men in this kind of service, but now he was enabled to send out larger bodies to greater distances. Their instructions were to examine all of the buffalo-trails and crossing-places of the streams, and to that for the camps of the enemy. The country at that time being abundantly stocked with game, the Cherokees resorted here to hunt, and brought their women with them to do the drudgery of camp. After the hunt was over the women, boys, and old men were dispatched homeward with the products of the chase, while the warriors approached the settlements to steal horses and get scalps. But the activity and bravery of the scouts at length made the formation of these stationary camps hazardous within the distance of fifty miles of the whites, and they were withdrawn to points of greater security in the neighborhood of the mountains. At that time the ground was covered with leaves that had been collecting for years, amounting in places to more than a foot in depth. They were so thick that small streams were covered over with them, and springs concealed that now afford an abundant supply of water throughout the year. It is quite probable that the Indians fired the grass only in the barrens south of Duck and Elk Rivers, and these streams acted as barriers to protect the leaves and cane-thickets from destruction. The whites were also

unwilling to fire the woods on account of the great destruction of cane-thickets that would have ensued, as these afforded the main subsistence to their animals. In consequence of this uniform coating of the surface, the tracks of men and horses could be followed almost as readily and with as much certainty as if in snow. The Indians therefore resorted to the hard-beaten tracks of the buffaloes when practicable, and frequently retreated for escape along the beds of the creeks.

The duties of these scouts were very arduous and hourly attended with peril to their lives. They were particularly obnoxious to the Indians, who mangled their bodies in a most shocking manner when they fell into their hands. They always plucked out their eyes and cut off their ears, in order to heap as much indignity as possible on the organs which served their owners so well in their peculiar vocation. It is a matter of deep regret that so little has been preserved of the exploits of such men as Capts. Raids, Gordon, Shannon, Murray, and Williams. The story of their scouting adventures would make a volume of stirring and thrilling incident. As it is, we have still little besides their names and the contemporary record of duties well done on all occasions during the long years of Indian hostility which hung over the Cumberland settlers. But with a knowledge of the difficulties and dangers which beset their paths at every step, the imagination will have but little difficulty in constructing the materials of their character.

Yet all of the vigilance of these active and trusty scouts could not save their people from the devastations of a savage and revengeful foe. The destruction of the Coldwater village and the killing of so many of its warriors brought only a temporary respite from acts of hostility. Representing as they did a wide circle of relations and friends in two of the most powerful nations in the South, such an injury could only be atoned with blood. The war-whoop soon rang along the beautiful valley of the Cumberland, and the tomahawk, rifle, and torch were again at their deadly and destructive work. Although the spirit of vengeance rose to the highest pitch of demoniacal fury, its full gratification was checked by a prudential regard for the temper and resources of the whites at this time. The numbers of the settlers had been much augmented this year by the advent of the soldiers raised for the defense of the border, and the service they rendered in guarding emigrants safely through the wilderness. In consequence of this, a large force of invaders, acting in one body, could be struck by the whites with much more certainty on account of its greater difficulty of concealment, while the same force broken into small bodies could lurk close to the stations with little risk of discovery, and escape with more facility after striking a blow. This must have been the governing consideration, for we find no record of an attack in farce on any point in the county until several years later. But a number of small bands invaded the settlements continually, and committed such havoc as they could, and retreated well loaded with booty.

One of these bands was led by As-la-se-na-la, or Big Foot, a chief of gross personal appearance and most determined bravery. They had made a successful raid in which they had taken some scalps and secured various articles of property,

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when on reaching the Tennessee on their return they felt so secure from interruption that they baked to cook and make some preparation for getting their effects across the river. The halt proved fatal. Capt. Shannon, with a few followers as brave and determined as himself, William Pillow, Luke Anderson, and one of the dare-devil Castleman among them, had struck Big Foot's trail, and had been following it from the vicinity of Nashville with the persistence of bloodhounds. At the time of Shannon's arrival several of the Indians were in camp eating, and the rest down at the river-bank. The whites charged immediately and dispersed those in camp, Castleman and Pillow each killing an adversary. Big Foot, who was at the river, in hearing the firing, judged correctly from the number of shots that the attacking party was small, and he thereupon collected his warriors and hastened in the most determined manner to recover his loss. The combatants were about equally divided, and the victory for some time hung in the balance. At length Big Foot, in the ardor of revenge, pressed forward among the whites and engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with Luke Anderson for the possession of the latter's gun. Being of superior strength he was on the point of wresting it away, when William Pillow sprang to the rescue and sank his tomahawk deeply into the Indian's brain. At the fall of their leader his followers withdrew from the conflict with loud yells of disappointed rage, leaving five of their number dead on the field.

CHAPTER XV

RENEWED HOSTILITIES, 1792

Outrages on the Cumberland—Stations Abandoned—Gen. Robertson restricted by the Government at Washington—Insufficiency of Troops—Treachery of the Chiefs—Cherokees Incited to War by Lying Creek Chief—Assembling of the Militia—Attack on Buchanan's Station—Victory of the Stationers—Desultory Attacks by the Indians in 1793—Abe Castleman's Expedition.

BUT a little more than a half-month of the new year had passed when three sons of Col. Valentine Sevier, a brother of the general, had been butchered in an open boat while ascending the Cumberland from Clarksville. Following this the murders came so thick and fast that all outlying stations and settlements south of the river were abandoned except Robertson's, Raines', and Buchanan's. At Johnson's Station four children, brothers and sisters, were killed and wounded while at the spring, and three of these scalped and piled in a heap, the other making his escape with a broken arm. At Brown's four others were killed and treated similarly. On the 24th of May Gen. Robertson and his son Jonathan were severely wounded, and only escaped death by a well directed shot from the latter, which wounded two of the Indians. Col. Kilpatrick, while heading a small party in pursuit of some of the murderers, was fired upon from an ambuscade near Denham's Station and killed and beheaded. Zigler's Station, in Sumner County, containing thirty persons, was taken, only three or four escaping death or captivity. These and other outrages so wrought upon Capt.

John Edmeston that he raised a company to avenge the repeated injuries, no matter to what lengths he would have to go in the execution of his purpose. Gen. Robertson, though his heart bled with a sense of the enormous injuries of his people, felt constrained, by his oath as an officer to carry out the instructions of the government, to forbid the proposed expedition, and it was reluctantly abandoned.

The troops then on regular duty numbered only one hundred and ninety men, infantry and cavalry, under Maj. Sharp and Capt. Lusk, and were distributed in nine stations or over a distance of seventy miles. As the term of their enlistment was out in October the Governor ordered Gen. Robertson to enlist others in their places, but "to avoid a heavy expense." In the spring of this year he (Gen. R.) had visited the Indian nation, and had been received at Coyatee with much barbaric pomp by two thousand warriors drawn up in martial array. The chiefs Watts, Hanging Maw, and the Breath of Nickajack had renewed, with much seeming manifestation of sincerity, professions of friendship, and a desire to comply with the stipulations of the late treaties. He was so much elated with his reception, and so favorably impressed with what he saw and heard, that after his return in May he thought proper in a letter to rebuke the Cumberland settlers for their despondency and disposition to put out reports of danger that alarmed immigrants. He bade them to be of good cheer, that all would now be well with them. It may be proper to state that Governor Blount was not insensible to the sufferings of his people, or careless of their interests; he merely allowed himself to be duped into a belief that the chiefs were true to their professions and that in the course of time they would be able to bring their roving bands under proper restraint.

On the 10th of August, Governor Blount and Gen. Pickens met a full deputation of Chickasaw and a small representation of Choctaw chiefs at Nashville, and made a large distribution of presents. At this treaty a Creek chief named Coteatay was present, and on his return home through the lower Cherokee towns made a lying report of a "talk" which Gen. Robertson had made him, which was to this effect: There has been a great deal of blood spilt in our settlements, and I will come and sweep it out clean with your blood. And now take notice that the first mischief that is done will come." His advice to the Cherokees was that they had better prepare for war and strike the first blow. All of this was reported to the Governor with much naivete by Watts, the Glass, and the Bloody Fellow, accompanied with new declarations of amity, saying that they had ordered home all parties that were out and likely to do mischief, and that there would be no occasion for Gen. Robertson to put his threat in execution. At that very time the scalp and eagle-tail dances were being held at the lower towns, and men being embodied for an attack on the Cumberland settlements in heavy force. However, the news of these warlike preparations reached the Governor through a friendly Indian two days before the peace-talks of the chiefs sent from Lookout, and he at once dispatched orders to Gen. Robertson to call into service a part of the brigade of the Mero District, by which term the three counties on the Cumberland were officially designated. Two days later, on

the 14th, the talk of the chiefs came to band, and so thoroughly deceived him that he discredited the first report and revoked the order for the assembling of the militia, saying, "I congratulate you and the people of the Mero District upon the happy change of affairs. I had dreadful apprehensions for you." On the 16th he received positive information that the Cherokees had crossed the river and were on the march for the Cumberland, and he then issued orders not only for the assembling of the brigade of Gen. Robertson, but that of Gen. Sevier, urging them to delay not an hour, that the danger was imminent.

In the mean time tidings of the meditated invasion had reached the settlements from another source. Early in September, Findleston, a half-breed Cherokee, and Duval, a French trader, came direct from the nation under pretense of spying for the Indians and then returning, and stated in the most positive manner that over six hundred Cherokees and Creeks had crossed the Tennessee, and would attack Nashville on the full of the moon. Findleston offered to go to jail as a surety for the truth of his assertion. The news quickly spread to all of the stations and roused the inhabitants to a sense of the impending danger. So when the order came assembling the militia they turned out at once, ready and equipped for the conflict, and assembled at Rains' big spring, two miles south of Nashville. Their numbers are variously stated at from three to seven hundred.

Alexander Castleman, one of the trustiest and most daring spies among the settlers, was now out to get precise information of the hostile approach. He went as far as the Black Fox camp, where Murfreesboro' now stands, and finding it deserted by the friendly Indians who had been hunting there, his suspicions were aroused, and on proceeding beyond he discovered the fresh trail of a large body of Indians coming in the direction of Nashville. He returned at once and reported the facts, but the enemy not appearing as soon as was expected, Capt. John Rains and Abraham Kennedy were sent out. They were gone some days, and on their return Capt. Rains said he had seen no "Indian sign, but plenty of bear sign." To this he made oath, but Kennedy refused to be sworn. On this report, which was made on Friday before the attack on Buchanan's Station, the militia, who had become impatient to return home, not thinking their services would be needed, were disbanded. However, on Sunday morning, some of the inhabitants, who were not thoroughly satisfied as to the absence of danger, took the further precaution to send out two other spies, Gee and Clayton. They never returned, and at midnight of the same day Buchanan's was attacked.

They proceeded on the buffalo-path until they reached a point on the ridge dividing the waters of Duck River and Mill Creek, where a hurricane had blown down the timber. Here the path divided, and a disagreement arising between them as to which they should take they separated, each following his own path. They had not proceeded far before they concluded that it would be safer to come together again, and began to holler to each other for this purpose. It happened that they were in the vicinity of a large body of Indians, then on their way to attack the stations, and were overheard by the advance-guard, among whom was George

Fields, a half-breed Cherokee, who understood and could speak English. Fields decoyed the two spies into the woods by calling to them to "meet half-way." This they started to do, when one of them was killed and the other fled and was likely to make his escape when he was hailed by Fields and informed that the killing was done by the accidental discharge of a gun and that they were friends. He thereupon halted and was quickly killed and scalped. That night at ten o'clock Buchanan's Station was attacked by eight or nine hundred Cherokees and Creeks, led by John Watts and Chiatchattalla, son of Torn Tumbridge, a deserter from the British army, and an Indian woman. When the Indians came in hearing of the sound of the lowing of the cattle at the fort a dispute arose between Watts and Chiatchattalla as to whether Nashville or Buchanan's should be first attacked. Watts concluded that Nashville was the chief object of attack, and "that little fort could be taken on their return," pointing to Buchanan's. The other chief then called Watts a woman, and said he could take the fort himself; that he had burnt one fort, referring to Zigler's Station, in Sumner County, and that he could burn another. Watts thereupon retorted that he might go ahead and take it that he would look on. At the time of the attack there were only about twenty men in the fort, which was known as Maj. John Buchanan's Station. The assault was made about eleven o'clock at night, Sept. 30, 1792. Morris Shane, who was on guard at the block-house nearest the creek, was the first to discover and fire upon a body of Indians congregated at the fort gate. Thomas Kennedy then fired into the same group from the opposite house. At the first alarm a runner was dispatched to Nashville for assistance, and Anthony Fisher of that place was the first to enter the fort, closely followed by John Rains, just as the enemy were retiring but still in sight. The Indians on being fired into retired into an open cellar a short distance off, and to such other shelter as they could get around the fort, whence they opened a warm fire on the port-holes, yelling at the same time like fiends incarnate. The whites were quickly at their posts, and returned the fire in the most spirited manner. Mrs. Buchanan and Mrs. Shane leaped out of their beds at the first alarm, and taking no time to dress began to mould bullets, which they carried around to the men, and also a supply of brandy, adding words of cheer as they passed along. Jimmy O'Connor, an Irishman, took charge of a blunderbuss, and in the noise and confusion he charged his piece several times before it went off. When it did fire Jimmy was landed under a bed on the opposite side of the room badly bruised, but he declared he "made a lane through the yellow dogs." In the midst of the assault Chiatchattalla made a most daring attempt to fire the fort. He was quickly shot down and mortally wounded, but, with the ruling passion strong in death, he continued to blow the fire as long as life lasted. The assault lasted about an hour and a half, when the Indians began to withdraw. Only one man in the fort was wounded, and he by a splinter. Thousands of balls had penetrated the logs, but comparatively few had penetrated to the interior. During the firing there was a constant parley going on between the parties, Thomas Kennedy calling out to the Indians that they were a "set of damned squaws," and "to

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put more powder into their guns." Chiatchattalla was the only Indian found dead. He was greatly dreaded by the whites on account of his use of fire to destroy a fort, and was known by them as the "Shawnee warrior." This appellation was a mistake, caused by the report that an old Shawnee chief had come from the North among the Southern tribes to introduce this practice, which had been put in successful operation in the destruction of Zigler's Station some time before. Many others of the assailants were supposed to have been killed and wounded from the traces of blood left on their departure. John Watts, the head chief, received a desperate wound in the hip, and was carried down behind the spring-house. Supposing himself Mortally wounded, he begged George Fields, who was wounded in the heel, to cut off his head and carry it away to keep the whites from getting his scalp. His comrades, however, made a litter of blankets and carried him off. He recovered and lived many years afterwards, removing with his tribe west of the Mississippi. The whites ventured out the morning after the attack in pursuit, but were fired upon from a cedar-glade after going a short distance, when they returned. The Indians, however, becoming disheartened by the failure of their attack and the death of their bravest warrior and desperate wounding of Watts, retreated rapidly. The little swivel at Nashville had been firing signal-guns, and this seemed to add to their alarm. They left on the ground a number of guns, swords, tomahawks, blankets, and other articles of value. The defeat and failure of such a large force was another illustration of the want of harmony and discipline which characterized such attacks.

For the period of two months after this repulse not a hostile Indian appeared in the settlements. It augured well for peace, but as a company of cavalry was along a trail one day south of Nashville about eight miles, a volley was poured into them accompanied by the old familiar yell. The whites retreated in disorder, with the loss of John Hawkins, who halted to point an empty gun at the pursuers by way of intimidation. He was killed, scalped, and cut to pieces. The cavalry got some addition to their numbers and returned to the place of conflict without meeting the enemy. Several other persons were killed in December, among them John Haggard, a spy, whose wife had been killed the previous summer.

The aggregate of deaths this year was sixty; many were wounded and captured. The loss of live-stock and other property was severe.

1793

On the 5th of January Governor Blount wrote to Gen. Robertson to discharge Sharpe's brigade, but that he might organize a company of infantry and *eighteen* horsemen in its place. The Governor was led to this by the seeming contrite confession of Watts, which the fears of himself and people had induced him to make in most humble terms. On the reception of this the Governor, in order to confirm and strengthen such good resolutions, distributed a number of presents among them and appointed a conference at the Southwest Point, the outpost in East Tennessee, for April the 17th. But in the months of January and February so many murders had been committed, in connection with

information he had obtained of an invasion about the full of the moon in April, on the 25th, that on the 28th of March he ordered Gen. Robertson to increase his force to eighty men, and scour the woods for fifty miles from the settlements, but not to go beyond those limits unless in a case of imminent danger, when he might go to the Tennessee River. On April 14th he notified the general that "large bodies of Creeks had crossed the Tennessee for war and plunder." Maj. Beard's troop was ordered to the assistance of Gen. Robertson. He scoured the woods back and forth, and returned to Knoxville early in June. Capts. Rains and Johnston were also out on the same service, but were enabled to kill only a few Indians. Still they rendered much service in breaking up the station camps of the enemy in proximity to the settlements, and forcing them back to the shelter of the mountain-caves. Notwithstanding this, small bands came in and committed great havoc to life and property.

ABE CASTLE FAN'S EXPEDITION

In July Joseph Castleman was killed and John Castleman badly wounded in a field near Hays' Station, situated ten miles from Nashville, on Stoner's Creek. The Castlemans, on account of their contempt of danger, had suffered severely. They were among the earliest hunters and settlers, and had rendered signal service in shielding and guarding the infant settlements. At this new affliction he raised a company of volunteers to go as far as the Tennessee River with him on a hunt for Indians, and applied to General Robertson for permission to carry out the design. General Robertson sympathized with his sufferings and desire for revenge, and granted him the permission to seek satisfaction in his own way. His party consisted of sixteen men, some of whom agreed to go only as far as the Tennessee River. By the time he arrived at this boundary, although he had killed several Indians, his revenge was far from being satisfied, and he proposed to cross the river and carry the war into the enemy's country. Five of his party agreed to go with him, to wit: Frederick Stull, Zach Maclin, Jack Camp, Eli Hammond, and Zeke Caruthers, the rest returning to the settlements. Here they stripped themselves of their clothing, donned flaps, and painted their bodies in imitation of Indians to more effectually carry out their purpose. Thus equipped they swam the river a short distance below Nickajack, and struck into a trail which they thought led to Wills Town. They had not proceeded far before they came in view of a party of Creek warriors, numbering about fifty, seated on the ground in couples and engaged in eating. They were painted and unaccompanied by squaws, showing that they were on the war-path. Castleman's men were so well disguised that the Indians exhibited no concern at their approach, and continued their eating. On arriving within a convenient distance the whites made ready on a signal from their leader, and bringing down their guns fired into the groups, each man selecting an individual target. Castleman, whose gun was doubly charged, killed two and the others one each. The fire was so sudden and destructive that the Indians were thrown into great disorder and confusion, in the midst of which the daring little band made their retreat in safety across the river, where they resumed their proper clothing,

and thence returned to the settlements after an absence of three weeks, well satisfied with their adventure. It was ascertained afterwards that a chief of the Creeks was killed in this affair, which added greatly to their exasperation. During the month of August and following a number of savage butcheries of women and children took place in the Mero District. About the 1st of December James Robertson, a son of the general, was killed, making the third who had fallen a victim to the deadly hate of the enemy.

CHAPTER XVI

TROUBLE OF 1794

Victims at the Opening of the Year—Pursuit of the Indians by Capt. Murray—Eleven Warriors Killed—Mrs. Gear Killed and Scalped on her way to Church—Other Victims—Eventful History of Col. Joseph Brown—Expedition of Col. Roberts—Capt. Gordon's Success—Frequent Murders—Massacres in a Boat on the Cumberland—Forces Raised in Tennessee and Kentucky—Col. Brown's Narrative—Destruction of the Indian Towns and Death of Seventy Warriors—Expedition against the Creeks.

THE new year opened with a continuation of the hostilities that had marked the closing months of the old. On the 3d of January Miss Deliverance Gray, while passing between two stations, was fired upon and slightly wounded, and only escaped captivity or death by a remarkable exhibition of swiftness of foot, in which she distanced her pursuers. On the 7th John Helen, or Healing, was shot while at work for Gen. Robertson, not a half mile from his house. He ran about one hundred yards, when he was brought to bay, and after a desperate defense killed and scalped. Gen. Robertson ordered Capt. Murray to take twenty men and pursue. On striking their trail, which led southwest towards the Tennessee, Capt. Murray discovered that they had several horses and were accompanied by squaws. His pursuit was so cautious that after several days the Indians seem to have entertained no suspicion of pursuit being made. It is quite probable, from the circumstance of their being accompanied by their squaws, that this band had just concluded its fall hunt, and the object of their raid was to procure horses before returning home. On reaching the Tennessee they stopped to encamp on the slope of a ridge which jutted out into the water. Here they gathered some cane for their horses and built a large fire, evidently to attract the attention of their friends on the other side of the river. They also fired signal-guns, and imitated the howling of the wolf and the hooting of the great owl for the same purpose. Their whole deportment was indicative of a sense of security and satisfaction at the supposed safe ending of the venture. The point of the ridge was bare of cane and brush, and very favorably situated for the hemming-in which the pursuers had determined on discovering their situation. Capt. Murray and Jonathan Robertson undertook the examination of the ground, and were enabled to approach quite closely, on account of the noise made by the horses while feeding. The examination being satisfactory they

returned to their comrades and arranged for an attack at daylight, as promising the best prospect of complete success. The plan was to form a semicircle reaching to the water's edge above and below. By daylight all the positions were gained without giving alarm and the encampment completely hemmed in. A detachment then crept forward, and as soon as several of the enemy were seen to stir these poured in a volley and rushed forward with drawn tomahawks and knives to finish the work of death. Only one of the warriors was killed outright. The rest leaped to their feet and rushed towards the river, when, finding themselves intercepted by Capt. Murray, some of them jumped into the water, where they were shot. Moclin shot one before he got into the water. William Pillow, hearing a gun fire at a place he had just passed, pushed his horse up the steep second bank of the river, where he discovered Capt. John Davis running towards him, pursued by four Indians. Pillow dashed forward, and the Indians, discontinuing their pursuit of Davis, ran off in the opposite direction. He then dismounted and soon overtook and killed one of the Indians. At that moment Capt. Murray, Thomas Cox, Robert Evans, Luke Anderson, and William Ewing rode up, when Pillow pointed out to them the direction in which one of the fugitives had gone. They immediately made pursuit, and saw the Indian endeavoring to mount Pillow's horse, which he succeeded in doing. Cox ran up and shot him through the shoulder, but he nevertheless held on to the horse, which he kept at a gallop until the whole company came up with him. He now slipped off the horse, and as he came to the ground scared Luke Anderson's mule, which ran under a low tree the limbs of which jerked his gun out of his hand. The brave Indian instantly caught it up and snapped it three or four times at them before Evans shot him down. Pursuit was then made by Andrew Castleman and others of the two other Indians whom Pillow had driven off from Davis. They were found hid in the water under a bluff of rocks and both shot. Others were found concealing themselves under the bank and suffered the same fate. Eleven warriors were killed, the whole party, as was ascertained from the squaws who were taken prisoners. Three of the squaws were also killed in firing into the camp, two only being taken alive.

Early in May, Nathaniel Teal, the express-rider from Natchez, was killed a short distance from Gen. Robertson's. Capts. Rains and Gordon soon got ready their companies and pursued. The trail led out to Cuthry's Creek, about twenty miles to the west of Columbia, and was that of a band which had been hunting in that locality and had come in for horses to carry off the produce of their hunt. They were overtaken at the second creek below the mouth of Elk, where they had halted to rest. The uplands were open, but the bottoms covered with cane. Twenty men advanced in the centre, Rains to the right and Gordon to the left when the centre fired, the wings charged. Capt. Cordon was stopped by a high bluff, but he and Joseph Brown dismounted and continued the pursuit. Brown was suffering at the time with a wound in the shoulder, which necessitated his carrying a light shot-gun loaded with buck-shot. He discovered an Indian squat in the bed of a branch to avoid the observation of Gordon, who was after another, when he raised his gun at



Photo by Armstrong of Nashville

John Thompson

JOHN THOMPSON, the subject of this sketch, was of ScotchIrish descent; and was the son of Thomas and Nancy Thompson, and was born in an old stockade on the farm where he always lived, four miles south of Nashville, on the 1st of June, 1793. His father was a native of Guilford, N. C., and emigrated to Tennessee, and settled on a tract of six hundred and forty acres of land, four miles south of Nashville, soon after the first settlement of Davidson County. Here lie built a log cabin and commenced the clearing of his farm. Here was the place where his children were born, among whom was his son John. Thomas Thompson became greatly embarrassed on account of his going security for friends, but the farm was redeemed by his son John, who became in time the sole owner of the old home.

Thomas Thompson was a plain, unassuming man, charitable towards all, and hospitable to the poor. He had five children, of whom John was the second. He died March, 1837, his wife having died previously, and both were buried on the farm in the old family cemetery.

John Thompson died April 18, 1876, and from the pen of a friend we quote the following, written at the time of his death:

"It is not often one is called upon to chronicle the events of such a life. Nearly eighty-three years ago, in the then sparsely settled neighborhood a few miles south of Nashville, in a block house, John Thompson first saw the light. Then Davidson County had some three or four thousand inhabitants, and the whole State of Tennessee not over forty thousand. Nashville was a trading-post, a mere village; canebrakes were everywhere; a few settlers' cabins and an occasional blockhouse might be found; and the Indians were still occupying the country. He lived through nearly three generations; saw Nashville grow from a village to be a city of, say, thirty thousand inhabitants, and Davidson County with sixty-four thousand people, and the State with more than one and a quarter million of inhabitants. These are wonderful changes to take place in a single lifetime,—and yet he witnessed them all. The cane-brakes have disappeared; the Indians are gone; beautiful farms and splendid residences dot the country in every direction, and all these changes have been wrought in his day.

"Mr. Thompson commenced life poor,—as the world calls poor,—and yet he was rich, endowed by nature with a capability of self-reliance. Trusting in his own strong arm, with persistent energy he secured a competency, and finally a large property.

"The subject of this sketch was four times married: first to Miss Mary Washington, then to Mrs. Buchanan, Mrs. Raw. lings, and finally to Mrs. Mary H. House, who survives him. Only three children survive these marriages,—one daughter (Mrs. Jo. Horton) and two sons, all living near the city. Mr. Thompson was a man of the strongest native sense, clear judgment, the strictest morals, and an integrity unstained and unquestioned. Sober, thoughtful, patient, kind in his feelings and expressions towards his fellow-men, he was honored and esteemed by those who knew him best in a very high degree. He was the kindest of husbands, and a loving, faithful father, sparing no pains and no expense to make all about him comfortable and happy.

"His home was the abode of hospitality. The writer knew him intimately for many years, and was often at his house, and spent many pleasant hours with him and his happy family. But he has gone; he who for more than fourscore years walked among men has met the fate of all, and gone down to his grave. He leaves behind a large estate, and what is far better, that best heritage for his children, a good name.

"Only the actions of the just

Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

His daughter—Ann Elizabeth—by his third marriage married Joseph W. Horton, who is a hardware merchant in Nashville. His sons, John M. and Joseph H., are the children of his fourth wife, Mrs. Mary H. House,—maiden name, Hamilton, —daughter of Joseph D. and Sarah B. Hamilton, of Russellville, Ky. John M. Thompson married Mary McConnel, daughter of John Overton, and has one daughter, Mary. He occupies the old house, is a large farmer, and deals largely in fine stock. Joseph H. is also a farmer, and resides on a part of the old farm, very near where his father was born. He married Ella, daughter of Michael Vaughn, and has one daughter, Emma.

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the distance of three rods and, firing, tore his head to fragments. Gordon killed his man. Capt. Rains' company, on the right, killed three and took a boy.

On June 11th, Mrs. Gear was killed and scalped while on her way to church four miles south of Nashville. By this time the list of victims had become fearful and sickening to contemplate. Capt. Gordon, on the death of Mrs. Gear, was ordered by Col. Winchester to pursue, Gen. Robertson being absent on a visit to the Governor at Knoxville. He had private instructions to explore a route by which an army could reach the Nickajack and Running Water towns.

On reaching the foot of the Cumberland Mountains to the southeast of Nashville, Col. Roberts, who was along in some capacity not officially recorded, asked for volunteers to go on a scout with him to the Tennessee River. Joshua Thomas, Elihu Green, and Joseph Brown were the ones who came forward to accompany him on this dangerous service. Joseph Brown was the first to volunteer, but as he was then suffering from a wound in the shoulder inflicted some months before, Col. Roberts declined his services, saying that he did not want "invalids." Brown, however, had peculiar qualifications for this occasion, as will appear by the recital below, and was at length accepted. He had a singularly eventful history. His father had started in a boat to descend the Tennessee and thus reach the Cumberland settlements in 1788, having a large family of his own besides five young men and an old lady. On reaching the Nickajack town he was boarded by a large body of Indians in canoes, under the guise of friendship and pretense of a desire to trade. On getting possession, the Indians cut off his head with a sword, killed two of his sons and the five young men and the old lady mentioned above. His mother, the rest of his brothers and sisters, and himself were taken prisoners. He was then a lad twelve years old. Being claimed by Chiachattalla, the desperate chief who was afterwards killed while endeavoring to set fire to Buchanan's Station, he was adopted into the family of Tom Tunbridge,* the father of Chiachattalla, which proved a fortunate circumstance. He was threatened with death several times, and the would-be murderers were only restrained by a fear that Chiachattalla, then regarded as the most desperate man in the nation, though young in years, would exact revenge, as Brown had become by the act of adoption his property. The menaces against his life were instigated by an old woman who practiced the art of conjuring by some kind of manipulation of different colored beans in a sifter. Repeated trials of the process resulted uniformly against him, and she declared that, "unless he was killed, he would pilot an army there when he grew up to be a man, and cut them all off," a prophecy that was now about to have a literal fulfillment. After a captivity of eleven months he was rescued by General Sevier, when he found his way to the Cumberland settlements, where on every occasion he was foremost in seeking satisfaction for the injuries he had sustained at the hands of his cruel and bloodthirsty enemies.

* Tom Tunbridge was an *Irishman*. His wife was a Frenchwoman. They had no children. The captor of Brown was her son by an Indian father. This half-breed was known by the name of Job. See Brown's narrative, in Ramsey. The Indian who threatened to kill him was Cutleatoy.

These circumstances made him peculiarly qualified for the service on which he was now called. The party of Col. Roberts started early in the morning, and on reaching the top of the mountain discovered a well-beaten path which led in the direction of the river, which they followed, and reached the foot on the other side, at the mouth of Battle Creek, about sunset. There being good moonlight, they went up by Lowery's Island, to a point opposite Nickajack, when their exploration being satisfactory, they returned up the mountain, marching nearly all night; after resting two hours, they resumed their march and came into the settlements.

Capt. Gordon, after the departure of the scouts, turned down Elk River, where he overtook and defeated a party of Indians, killing one and losing one of his own men, Robert McRory.

As said before, the murders had now become frequent, and of the most exasperating nature. Col. Chew and fifteen companions had been massacred in a boat while descending to the lower Cumberland; Maj. George Winchester, a brother of Col. James Winchester, and a most valuable citizen, and the two young Bledsoe's, sons of Cols. Anthony and Isaac Bledsoe, had been waylaid and killed in the very heart of the settlement in Sumner County. Besides these many others had fallen. Forbearance could endure no longer. The fiat went forth that this modern Carthage should be destroyed. The feelings of the people could no longer be restrained, and they determined with one voice that the lower towns should not be spared longer than it would require an army to march thither and effect their utter destruction. Gen. Robertson had been urging upon the Governor, and through him the general government, the necessity of such an invasion in the interests of peace. The Governor, though he secretly approved of the proposed measures, and actually threw means in the way to aid its accomplishment, protested that his orders from President Washington would not permit his sanction of it, especially as Congress at its last session, with a full statement of the facts before it, had failed to authorize such an invasion. On receipt of this intelligence, active preparations were at once set on foot for the successful prosecution of the campaign, and such was the temper of the people, from Gen. Robertson down, that nothing short of actual physical force on the part of the government could have prevented its execution. They had brooded over their wrongs and injuries until it was a cruel insult to ask of them further forbearance.

To make sure of the success of their enterprise, it was decided to ask aid from Kentucky, and Capt. Sampson Williams was dispatched thither to ask co-operation. The border settlements of that State had long been sufferers from the same cruelties and at the same hands. The mission was successful. Col. Whitley, an active and experienced leader in Indian warfare, engaged to come at the appointed time and bring all the men he could raise. Col. Ford raised a force between Nashville and Clarksville, on the north side of the river, and Col. John Montgomery levied a body at Clarksville, which constituted a company under Capt. Miles, while Gen. Robertson collected volunteers south of the river. About the time these troops were being concentrated at Brown's Station, Maj. Orr opportunely arrived from

Knoxville with a force dispatched by order of the Governor for the protection of the Mere District. On being solicited, he too joined heartily in the enterprise, a pretty fair indication that he had an understanding with the Governor. In order to give the color of claim for the pay and equipment of the entire body of troops, he was requested to take command, and the expedition was known as "Orr's campaign." However, on the arrival of Col. Whitley the command was conferred upon him by unanimous consent, on account of his long services and experience. Col. John Montgomery was elected to command the Cumberland volunteers. The order of march was made to Maj. Orr by Gen. Robertson for reasons above given, and was express as to his passing the river and attacking the lower towns if he failed to find the enemy before reaching that boundary; this order was dated September the 6th. On the 7th, which was Sunday, the column took up line of march, and encamped that night at the Black Fox Spring, having made about thirty miles; they then crossed the Barren Fork of Duck River, near the ancient Stone Fort, thence to Fennison's Spring, thence crossing Elk River at a point since known as Caldwell's Bridge, and thence over the Cumberland Mountain, reaching the Tennessee about three miles below the mouth of the Sequatchie about nightfall. Most of the troops remained on this bank until daylight, but many swam over to make sure of the crossing. George Flynn, a *protégé* of old Obed Terrill, who explored and hunted on the Cumberland in 1769, was the first to swim over. The river was about three-fourths of a mile wide at this point, and Flynn. was so chilled by his long stay in the water that on arriving on the other bank he built up a little fire in a sheltered place. Lieut. George Blackemore, of the Sumner volunteers, on observing this swore and railed so loudly to put out the fire that he committed the worst offense of the two.

Col. Joseph Brown in his narrative says that Findleston, the half-breed guide, was the first to swim over, accompanied by his brother, Daniel G. Brown, and William Topp, to make sure against treachery. The statement of George Flynn's claim to the credit of being the first to cross is that advanced and maintained by Edmond Jennings, who was present and himself swam the river many times during the night, pushing over the rawhide boats containing the arms and ammunition. We here give an extract from Col. Brown's narrative:

"We killed four steers, stretched their hides, and thus made two hide-boats to carry our arms over the Tennessee River. On my arrival there I found myself in my old horse range whilst with the Indians, and of course capable of serving as a guide or pilot. Findleston, a half-breed Indian, in whom I had no confidence, was the regular guide, and he proposed to swim the river, build a fire on the other bank to guide the rest and the two boats, and wait for us. My brother, Daniel G. Brown, and William Topp swam over with him and stayed by him until the men, about two hundred and thirty in all, who could swim, got across. Many, however, who could swim were afraid of taking the cramp from so long an immersion in the water. It certainly appeared a desperate adventure at first sight to swim a river half a mile wide in the night to fight a horde of savages who

had never been chastised. However, into the river we went, and fortunately not one was drowned, as, had any been in danger, the two little hide-boats, fragile as they were, and laden with arms, would have been of no service to aid in saving life. The men swam and pushed over the boats. Some pushed over rafts they had made, rather than wait for the boats to be shoved backwards and forwards, and Col. William Pillow was one of the number who made the raft. Maj. Joseph B. Porter, who could not swim a rod, got a little bunch of cane, tied them together, and holding on to them, kicked himself across, landing in safety. Maj. Orr had nominally the command; but Col. Whitley, of Kentucky, old Col. Mansco, of Sumner, and such other old men and officers as Edmonston, Rains, Gordon, Pillow, and Johnston, were summoned in council upon the movements of the expedition. We kept the hide-boats going back and forth, carrying arms and clothes, until it was day; and we did not get off until after sunrise. We went straight onward along between Nickajack Town and Long Island Town, and up the mountain, coming in opposite Nickajack. I was sent off with twenty men to head the Indians at the mouth of the creek, supposing they should run that way.

"There I lay for an hour, hearing the Indians frolicking, they not dreaming of danger until the guns fired at the upper end of the town, when myself and men dashed forward, and we had a severe fight of it in the canebrake. We killed a good many of them. I took a squaw prisoner and got into the mouth of the creek, where I found the main body of our men, with many prisoners (sure enough I had made good the fears of the Indians, expressed when I was a prisoner among them: I had grown up to be a man, and had piloted an army there to cut them off!). I found in a canoe across the creek a wounded Indian, and on turning him over he attacked, and after a hard struggle, in which he tried to throw me overboard, I nearly scalped him, and he cried enough. I told him in my wrath it was not enough, and throwing him overboard, one of the men shot him in the water. I went on with the squaw to a cabin and saw a good deal of whispering amongst others of them whom I found there, they having recognized their old prisoner. They were much gratified when I told them in Cherokee that we did not intend to massacre them. One of the women told me that she had often warned her husband that such would be the result in return for their cruelties,' and in reply I told them we were compelled to fight them, because they would not let us remain at peace. They asked how we got there at that time of day;' whether we came from the clouds, as they knew nothing of our approach.

"We took twenty-two prisoners, and on the road from Nickajack to Running Water we had another fight, and my brother-in-law, Joshua Thomas, was shot, the wound being mortal. He, however, was carried home, and lived six weeks. He was the first man fired at near Eaton's Fort, and the only one killed on this expedition."

Thomas was one of the most active and daring of the defenders of the infant settlements. Several of his family had already been killed. His death was due to his imprudence in not taking a tree in the fight at the Narrows, as he was urged

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to do by Edmond Jennings, who had been his almost constant companion for years.

We quote from Ramsey:

"Nickajack was a small town inhabited by two or three hundred men and their families ... The troops were landed a little before day. At daylight they fell into ranks and were counted by Capt. John Gordon, and the exact number who had crossed over was ascertained to be two hundred and sixty-five. At the back of Nickajack field the men were formed into line of battle among the cane. Col. Whitley was on the right, and struck above the mouth of the creek that rose in the field. Col. Montgomery was on the right of the troops from the Territory. Orders were given for the two wings to march so as to strike the river above and below the towns. On the march two houses were found standing out in the field about two hundred and fifty yards from the town. Expecting that from these houses their approach would be discovered by the Indians, the troops were here directed to push with all speed to the town. The corn was growing close up to and around the houses. Near the house on the left the firing commenced, and was returned by the Indians, one of whom was here killed. From one of the houses already mentioned a plain path was seen leading to the town. William Pillow got into it, and ran rapidly along it until he reached the commons. Perceiving that he had got in advance of such of the troops as had come through the corn-field, Pillow halted until others came up. The march or run was then continued by the doors of the houses, which were all open. The Indians at the report of the first gun had run off to the bank of the river. The troops pursued the leading way to the landing. Here they saw five or six large canoes, stored with goods and Indians, and twenty-five or thirty warriors standing on the shore near the edge of the water. At these Pillow fired, and soon after a whole platoon sent a volley of rifle-balls, from the effect of which scarce an Indian escaped alive. A few by diving and others by covering themselves over in the canoes with goods escaped, and got out of reach of the rifles.

"About the same time the havoc 'took place at the landing below, Col. Whitley attacked the Indians above the mouth of the creek. They were not more than a gun-shot apart. Fifteen men had been directed to stop near the two houses in the corn-field and waylay there until the firing had taken place in the town. When the report of the rifles was heard this detachment attacked the houses. A squaw had remained outside to listen. A fellow came to the door and was shot down. Those within drew him inside and closed the door, leaving the squaw on the outside. She attempted to escape by flight, but after a hard chase was taken prisoner. The warriors within made holes through the wall, and made a desperate defense. The squaw taken prisoner was carried up to the town, and placed among the other prisoners in canoes. As they were taking them down the river to the crossing the squaw loosed her clothes and sprang headforemost into the river, disengaging herself artfully from her clothes and leaving them floating on the water. She swam with great agility, and was rapidly making her escape; some hallooed 'Shoot her! Shoot her!' But others, admiring her energy,

activity, and boldness, replied, 'She is too smart to kill!' and allowed the heroine to escape.

"After the troop got on the mountain on the other side of the town, Joseph Brown was sent back with twenty men to head and intercept the Indians at the mouth of the creek below the town, when the main body of the assailants should have driven the enemy to that point. This he effected successfully, though his return was resisted the whole way down, about a quarter of a mile, by the constant fire of the Indians. When Brown met the main body he inquired if they had taken any prisoners, and was immediately conducted to a house in which a number of them had been fastened up. When he came to the door he was at once recognized by the captives, who appeared to be horrorstricken, remembering, no doubt, that they had murdered his people in the same town five years before. At length one of them ventured to speak to him, reminding Brown that his life had been spared by them, and importuning him now to plead in their behalf. He quieted their apprehensions by remarking that these were white people, who did not kill women and children. Her answer was, O see skinny cotanconey (Oh, that is good news for the wretched!)"

When the Indians in the upper town, Running Water, heard the firing, they caught up their guns and repaired to the assistance of their friends, whom they soon met in terrified retreat. These made a stand at a narrow pass where the mountain juts against the river, where, placing themselves behind rocks, they made a brief stand, but were soon driven back through their town, which was destroyed. The Nickajack town was also burnt. The loss of the Indians was seventy warriors, as they afterwards confessed, a great many having been killed in the water of which no estimate could be made by the whites at the time. The Breath, a renowned Cherokee chief, was among the slain, along with several others of lesser note. This victory was the counterpart of Coldwater, and broke up the operations of the most daring and enterprising band of robbers and marauders that ever infested the Western waters. It was the point of crossing for the Creek invaders, and was the source of innumerable woes to the Cumberland settlers. The situation was well adapted for security from attack, being protected by three mountains and a wide river.

This battle was fought on the 13th of September, 1794. In the afternoon of this day the troops re-crossed the river and rejoined their comrades, who had been left in charge of the horses. The next morning they took up the line of march homeward, and reached Nashville on the fifth day, where the volunteers were disbanded, having been absent twelve days.

Notwithstanding the destruction of Nickajack and Running Water, murder and devastation were still carried into the very heart of the Cumberland settlements. It was evident that these marauders had come principally from the Creek nation, as the Cherokees were now too much humbled to dare any further hostility, especially as they now learned that an invasion of the lower Creek towns was being organized in Kentucky and Tennessee. Gen. Logan, of the former State, had already advanced for this purpose, and Maj. Orr had passed through Knoxville in order to co-operate with him, when Governor Blount, having received

very friendly overtures from Double-Head, a leading Cherokee chief, wrote to these officers to postpone operations. This they consented to do, and on the 7th of November the conference was held at Tillico, attended by John Watts, old Solacutta, and other chiefs, and about four hundred warriors. In the mean time Gen. Robertson had written Watts, after the Nickajack campaign that another expedition would be sent against the Cherokee towns if he did not restrain his men from incursions upon his people and restore the captive women and children.

At this conference the chiefs were very contrite, and fully admitted that the Nickajack and Running Water towns deserved the treatment they had received. At this time the tidings of another defeat had reached the ears of the Southern Indians, which went further towards breaking their spirits. Wayne had won a great victory over the Indians and Canadian militia, on the 20th of August, on the Miami River.

Governor Blount now recommended to the government, at the instance of his council, Gens. Robertson and Sevier, that an expedition be sent into the Creek country, suggesting a plan and time of invasion. The question was ably argued by him in all its bearings, but the secretary, Mr. Pickering, returned an answer that all ideas of offensive operations must be abandoned. He intimated further that the whites were the aggressors, and that the Indians needed more protection against the whites than they against the Indians.

In this and the succeeding conferences it was sought to engage the Cherokees in war against the Creeks as the most effective way of restraining their depredations. At the conclusion of a treaty with Spain, whose influence was now in some measure withdrawn from Indian affairs, hostilities on the part of the Creeks now gradually abated, and the succeeding year witnessed the burying of the tomahawk, where it rested undisturbed until it was again uplifted and bathed in the blood of hundreds of innocent victims at the massacre of Fort Mimms, Alabama, in 1813.

But one other organized force during the pioneer period left the Cumberland to engage in a hostile expedition. Early in the year 1795 a large force of Creeks, numbering it is said two thousand warriors, took up their march to attack the Chickasaws, on account of their friendship for the whites. Piamingo, the Chickasaw leader, now applied to his friend, Gen. Robertson, for assistance, claiming the reciprocal benefit of the treaties, and reminding him of the firm friendship of his nation and the services his warriors had rendered as allies of the whites. Gen. Robertson had no authority to make a levy for this purpose, but asked old Col. Mansker and Capt. David Smith and others to go to the assistance of their friends, the Chickasaws. Capt. Smith accompanied Gen. Colbert, a Chickasaw chief, with fifteen or twenty men, by land to Logtown, in the Chickasaw country. Col. John Mansker, Capt. John Gwynn, and Capt. George went down the river in boats, and reached their destination early in May.

On the 28th of May the Creeks appeared before the fort and killed and scalped two women who had gone out for wood. Capt. Smith proposed to Colbert to take charge of the whites, if Colbert would take the Indians and make a sortie.

Colbert objected, saying that it was what the Creeks wanted, to get the men drawn out of the fort. At this stage some relatives of the murdered women rushed out and fell upon the Creeks, but being overpowered were compelled to retreat with the loss of one of their number killed and scalped. Capt. Smith's feelings becoming very much excited at this, he again renewed his proposition to Colbert to make a sortie, who now consented. Seeing these demonstrations the Creeks began to retreat, but they were overtaken and fired into by Smith's and Colbert's men, leaving a number killed and wounded. They thereupon shortly returned to their homes without making any further demonstration.

CHAPTER XVII

RECOLLECTIONS OF COL. WILLOUGHBY WILLIAMS

Early Settlers' of Davidson County—Brief Reminiscences of those living on the Different Roads leading out of Nashville as early as 1809—Magistrates of the County.

THE following recollections of Col. Willoughby Williams, an old resident of Nashville and former sheriff of Davidson County, begin with the year 1809. They form a valuable contribution to the early history of the county, by preserving the names, locations, and many facts of interest respecting a large number of citizens who resided, at the period of which he writes, on the different roads leading in and out of Nashville.

The most important road leading to and from Nashville at that time, and up to the building of the turnpike road, was the Murfreesboro' dirt road, which led from the public square on Market Street, out by the old Cumberland College to where Mr. John Trimble now resides, then on, crossing Mill Creek at R. C. Foster's mill. The first prominent citizen on this road was Col. Joel Lewis, who had a brother living at Fairfield, William Terrel Lewis, which was afterwards the home of William B. Lewis. There was no road leading by William B. Lewis' house; a lane, however, extended to the Murfreesboro' road, and this was the road to Fairfield, the stopping-place of Gen. Jackson when he visited Nashville.

Col. Joel Lewis was the father of Mrs. Thomas Claiborne, who was the widow of James King, a wealthy merchant, and brother of William King, the owner of "King's Salt Works" in Virginia. He had other daughters and sons, John H. Lewis, a lawyer, who moved to Huntsville, Ala., at an early day William Terrel Lewis, who lived at Fairfield, had five or six daughters. Dr. Claiborne, a brother of Governor Claiborne, of New Orleans, married the eldest daughter, who died early in life, leaving two children, Micajah G. L. and Mary Claiborne. She afterwards married Abram P. Murry, a very prominent man, and once an editor of a Nashville paper. Alfred Balch, John H. Eaton, and William B. Lewis



Eng'd by A. H. Ritchie N.A.

William Lloyd Garrison

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married three other daughters, all of whom died soon after marriage. The youngest daughter, whose name was Charlotte, lived some years before marrying, but finally married Maj. Baker, of New Orleans, and died soon afterwards.

Maj. William B. Lewis, although of the same name, was not related; he had two children who inherited the home of William Terrel Lewis. There is where William B. Lewis became the confidential friend of Gen. Jackson.

A few miles farther on this road forked, one branch going to Lebanon by Buchanan's mill. The most prominent citizen on this road was Col. Michael Campbell, an early settler and large land-owner, and the grandfather of Col. Campbell Goodlett, a lawyer of Nashville. At the crossing of Mill Creek, on this road, was where Maj. John Buchanan built his famous "Fort" which served as a protection from the assaults of the Indians. Maj. Buchanan left several sons, from whom much information can be obtained. This road continues on by Walter Sims' to Thomas Harding's, by Jackson and Coffee's old store-house, crossing Stone's River, passing Timothy Dodson's, to the Hermitage. Mr. Dodson was a successful farmer, and left several sons, who reside at the old homestead.

The Hermitage neighborhood was regarded as the best section of Davidson County, the soil being better adapted for cotton than any other part of the country, and was settled by wealthy men and cotton-planters; among them were Gen. Jackson, Col. Edward Ward (who was speaker of the Senate in 1817, a man of talent and fine personal appearance, was a candidate for Governor, and beaten for that office by Gen. William Carroll), Maj. William Ward, Capt. John Donelson, the brother of Mrs. Jackson and the father of Mrs. Gen. Coffee, Mrs. McLemore, Mrs. William Easton, Mrs. James Martin, and Mrs. Andrew J. Donelson. Capt. Donelson was a wealthy man in lands and slaves, and a successful planter. Sevan and Severn Donelson were also brothers of Mrs. Jackson. Gen. Thomas Overton, the friend of Gen. Jackson in the duel with Charles Dickinson, Dr. Hadley, Capt. Moseley, the step-father of John L. Brown, of Nashville, and others, all lived in this neighborhood.

There also lived here John Anthony Winston and brother, two very prominent men, who emigrated to Alabama and settled near Tusculumbia. They are the ancestors of the numerous Winstons in that State, among whom was Governor John A. Winston.

In the same neighborhood lived a large family of Cleaves, early settlers and prominent men, some of whom are still living.

On the Murfreesboro' fork of this road the first prominent citizen was Robert C. Foster, the father of Ephraim H. Foster and other sons, who were all prominent men. He had no daughters. Mr. Foster was one of the very best men of the county, a leading magistrate, and a Christian gentleman, a member of the Legislature, and once a candidate for Governor in opposition to Governor McMinn. He erected a large mill upon Mill Creek, which was a great convenience to the neighborhood. The next man was Mr. Kennedy, the father of Mrs. Hettie McEwen and Judge Kennedy, who moved to Lincoln County in 1808 or 1809. Mr. Murphy

came next as an early and respectable settler. In this section lived Esquire Samuel Bell, the father of Hon. John Bell, a distinguished statesman of Tennessee, who was born on Mill Creek. Also, Col. Thomas Williamson, one of Jackson's colonels in the Creek war and at New Orleans, who was regarded as a brave, gallant, and chivalrous gentleman, was a member of the Legislature of Tennessee in 1817, representing the lower house with the Hon. James Trimble, in session at Knoxville; and Esquire E. H. East, the father of Judge East of Nashville, a man of positive character, fearless and independent in his expression of opinion of men and measures, and one of the most ardent Whigs of the county. Then comes John Sangster, who kept tavern on the hill; next Esquire King, a clever, wealthy citizen, who lived where Dempey Weaver now lives. Then Mrs. Vaulx, living near the present Hospital for the Insane; she was the mother of the late Joseph Vaulx and James Vaulx, the latter being then a large locator of lands in the western district. In this neighborhood lived Charles Hays, the grandfather of Thomas Hays and Mrs. Samuel Murphy, a prominent citizen, Christian man, and the founder of the Baptist Church at Antioch. Next came Buchanan's tavern, a noted house of entertainment near Smyrna.

The next road leading from Nashville commenced on College Street, passing the city cemetery, crossing Brown's Creek just above the railroad-crossing. The first prominent man on this road was Mr. John Rains, the grandfather of Robertson Rains. Then came Mr. Ridley, an early settler, who raised a large family; two of his sons, Moses and Henry Ridley, lived on Stuart's Creek, in Rutherford County, and were large cotton-planters, prominent and influential men. Another son was James Ridley; he was a noted citizen of Davidson County. The next man worthy of note was Michael C. Dunn, a very intelligent man, once sheriff of Davidson County, who married the daughter of John Rains. He raised a large family of talented sons and daughters, one of whom is William D. Dunn, a lawyer and wealthy citizen of Mobile, and also the grandfather of Mrs. Joseph W. Horton. William Dickson, once a senator in Congress, lived on this road, and Hinchy Petway owned the place afterwards. The next man was Jonas Menifee, an old settler, owning a fine body of land, which was his "Headright," now owned by Melville Williams. The next place was John Topp's, the father of four sons, all prominent men in Tennessee and Mississippi; Robertson Topp, of Memphis; Mrs. Thomas Martin, of Pulaski, the mother of Mrs. Judge Spofford; and Mrs. Claiborne, who lives on Spruce Street. The next man was Judge John Haywood, a learned lawyer of North Carolina, judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and an ornament to the legal profession, who lived and died and was buried on this place. Next was Dr. William Moore, a son-in-law of Judge Haywood, who moved at an early day to Huntsville. In this neighborhood lived W. H. Nance, a magistrate of the county and a leading member of the Baptist Church, full of energy and devotion to the public good. Then comes Benajah Gray, an intelligent, leading man, and one of the magistrates of the county. Mr. Enoch Ensley also lived in this neighborhood; he was a constable with great moneymaking capacity, and became one of the

wealthy men of Tennessee. Esquire Herbert Towns lived in this neighborhood; he was a magistrate and a man of intelligence, from whom much information can be obtained, as he is still living. This road was known then as the "Fishing Ford" of Duck River, passing Hardiman's crossroads, now known as the Nolansville Pike.

The next road leading from Nashville was called the Upper Franklin, now known as the Franklin Turnpike. It passes out Spruce Street by the custom-house. The first prominent man on the road was Joseph Coleman, who was an officer in the United States army. He built the first fine house, which still stands behind the undertaking establishment of Groomes & Co., on Cherry Street, owned afterwards by Josiah Nichol. He also built the house on College Hill formerly owned by Maj. Rutledge, now the residence of Edward Baxter. Mr. Coleman also built the house of Mr. Joseph W. Horton, where he lived and died.

The next man of note was George Michael Deaderick, who lived at the place now owned by the Robert Wood's estate. He was the first president of the old Nashville Bank, and a wealthy leading citizen of Nashville.

Then came Thomas Thompson, the father of the late John Thompson, both of whom lived and died on this place. Also, in this neighborhood lived Jason Thompson, who married a sister of Judge McNairy, also the grandfather of Emmett Thompson, of Lebanon. John Overton, known throughout the State as a man of great legal ability and the wealthiest man in the State. Next man was Thomas Edmondson, one of the best citizens of the county, and a leading magistrate. He possessed the entire confidence of Judge Overton, his near neighbor. The next early settler was Robert Scales, a very clever gentleman.

The next road was called the Middle Franklin, now known as the Granny White Pike. The first prominent men on this road were Dr. James Overton and Robert B. Curry, who lived on what is called Curry's Hill. The next place was Nathan Ewing's, where Dr. Gale now resides. Then Tanner Johnson, a clever Christian man and an early settler. The heirs of Mr. John Johns now own his place. You next came to Judge John Overton's lands, now owned by Judge John M. Lea. Then came the "Tavern of Granny White," where all travelers from Franklin and Nashville were entertained. In this same neighborhood lived Edwin Smith, a well-known citizen of that section.

The next road was known as the Richland Creek and Wharton road, which forked at Cockrill's Spring. This road led from Church Street by the Female Academy, round to Cedar Street or Charlotte road, running with that road and turning towards Maj. Boyd's residence, now owned by Hal Hays. Maj. Boyd owned the entire land from the Charlotte to the Granny White Pike, all being a cornfield. The road by the State Prison was not opened until about 1830. Cockrill's Spring was a noted place, the preemption title or claim of John Cockrill, who married a sister of Gen. James Robertson, also one of the first settlers in the county. One of his sons was the late Mark R. Cockrill.

On the Wharton road the first prominent man was Jesse Wharton, who married the daughter of Joseph Phillips, and was a retired lawyer, once a member of Congress from the

Nashville district, and candidate for Governor in opposition to Governor McMinn; also a magistrate of Davidson County. The next man was Andrew Castleman, a brother-in-law of Nathan Ewing, a pure Christian gentleman, universally beloved, who settled on his preemption title, and there lived and died, leaving many descendants, among whom is Robert B. Castleman, now living in Nashville. Then came William Compton, a successful trader. Next Stockell's Meeting-house, in the neighborhood of which a large family of McCutcheons lived, all good citizens and Christian men. At this "Meeting-house," on Little Harpeth River, ten miles from Nashville, the Rev. William Hunre preached once a month, from 1817 up to the time of his death. In this neighborhood lived Maj. William Edmondson, a prominent man in his section, and was one of Gen. Jackson's soldiers at the battles of the Creek war and New Orleans. This road is known as the Hillsboro' Pike, now leading from Nashville.

I now return to the other fork leading from Cockrill's Spring to Richland Creek, which was known as the Harding Pike. The first man of note on this road was Capt. Joseph Erwin, who settled on this place in 1805. He was a very wealthy man, having large sugar-plantations at Plaquemine, La., though he resided in Tennessee. He was the father-in-law of Charles Dickinson; who was killed by Gen. Jackson in a duel, and was buried on this place, near the turnpike. Dickinson also lived in this neighborhood, in sight, on the opposite side of the road. Capt. Erwin was the uncle of Governor Newton Cannon, and was the friend and backer of Cannon in the great Clover-Bottom race between Gen. Jackson and Governor Cannon, which resulted in the duel between Dickinson and Jackson. The next man was Charles Bosley, a brother of John Bosley, who married the sister of Gen. Robertson. Mr. Charles Bosley was a large trader and operator at Natchez, Miss., and settled on this place in 1818. I neglected to mention some points of interest in regard to Capt. Erwin which are important. He raised a large family, among them three daughters, one of whom married Charles Dickinson; after his death she married Mr. John B. Craighead; another married Col. Andrew Hynes; and a third married William Blount Robertson, a brother of Dr. Felix Robertson. He was a lawyer by profession, owned and lived at the place where Mark Cockrill lived and died. The next man was Capt. John Nichols, who settled on his place in 1807. He was the bosom friend of Capt. Erwin and Mr. Charles Dickinson.

The next man was James Maxwell, a Scotchman, who owned and lived on the place of the late Archer Cheatham. The next man was Mr. John Harding, one of the most industrious and successful men of the county. He settled in a populous neighborhood, and finally owned the entire section. He was the father of William Giles Harding, of Belle-Meade. Next was Mr. Giles Harding, a brother of John Harding, who lived on the place owned afterwards by Maj. Daniel Graham, who was one of the best-informed men of that age, who filled the offices of Secretary of State, comptroller, and cashier of the Bank of Tennessee with the highest honor.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Crossing Harpeth Ridge you come to the Demoss settlement, a fine section of country, settled by four brothers, the most prominent and intelligent of whom was Esquire Abram Demoss, the father of Judge Abram Demoss, of the Nashville bar. Esquire Abram Demoss built a fine grist and saw-mill over Big Harpeth, which was of vast importance to the neighborhood. He married the daughter of Mr. William Newsom, a lady of fine executive ability, who aided him in the management of his affairs and contributed largely towards his success in life. He was long a prominent magistrate of the county. In this neighborhood lived Esquire John Davis, the county surveyor, a man more universally beloved and esteemed than any man in the county for his integrity, honesty, and benevolence. He was the grandfather of Ed. D. Hick, of the Commercial Insurance Company, and one of the earliest settlers of the county. Crossing Harpeth you came to "Edney's Meetinghouse," at Tank, where all the neighborhood gathered to hear Rev. Mr. Edney, a Methodist minister, as early as the year 1812. The next man was Mr. Thomas Allison, who lived on South Harpeth. Mr. Allison was a leading man in this part of the country, and one of the first Van Buren men in the county. His son, Thomas Allison, now lives at the old homestead. Farther down South Harpeth there was a large family of Greers, and a very prominent magistrate, William H. Shelton, who was a leading man in his section, and one of the few outspoken Crawford men at that day, when Crawford was a candidate for President. He was also quite a military man, and was familiarly known as "Baron Steuben," from his efforts to instill those well-known tactics in the minds of the soldiers of that day.

The next road leading from Nashville out by Charlotte, now known as the Charlotte Pike, was second in importance to the Murfreesboro' road, as it led west, and was greatly traveled by emigrants. The first man of note on this road was Matthew Barrow, who lived on the opposite side of the road from what is known as Barrow's Hill, in a little frame house. He moved afterwards to Barrow's Hill, now the "Yellow Fever Hospital," where he died. The next man was Dr. Peyton Robertson, a son of Gen. James Robertson. This was the beginning of Robertson's Bend, owned and occupied by the descendants of Gen. James Robertson. Near this place lived John Bosley, who married the sister of Gen. Robertson, and was one of the first settlers of the county. Above the crossing of Richland Creek lived Robert Hewitt, who owned a large tract of land. One of his daughters married Edwin H. Childress, who lived at the old homestead. Dr. Felix Robertson owned a large tract of land on the right of the road, on which he planted a large vineyard in 1818. The place was afterwards owned by Brent Spence.

Next, William E. Watkins, who also married a daughter of Mr. Hewitt; he was a thrifty citizen of this county.

Then came William Blount Robertson, a lawyer and a son of Gen. James Robertson, who married a daughter of Capt. Joseph Erwin.

Next was B. J. Joslin, one of the most noted men of that day, who lived at a place called Hillsboro'. He held the mail contracts leading south to New Orleans, and was familiarly known as "Old B. J."

Next was Col. "Dick" Boyd, who commanded a regiment in the Creek war, a brave soldier, and afterwards a leading man in all the elections. He married the daughter of Josiah Horton, who was ore sheriff of Davidson County, and the father of Joseph W. Horton, also sheriff of Davidson County.

Next was a family of Gowers, early settlers, for whom Gower's Island in the Cumberland was called.

Then we came to the ridge on the top of which lived Christopher Robertson, who kept a tavern, which was the general stopping place. Not far from here was a road leading to Sam's Creek Springs, a noted place of resort for the old families of the county.

The next place was Dog Creek, on whose waters lived Martin Ussory, an old settler. After crossing Big Harpeth, at the mouth of this creek lived Thomas Osborn, a clever man and early settler.

Below the crossing lived Thomas Scott, the leading magistrate of the county; also Jeremiah Baxter, the father of Judge Nathaniel Baxter.

Next came old Mr. Rape, who lived in that neighborhood. It was here that Montgomery Bell, the "Iron King" of that day, constructed a tunnel, changing the course of the river, at the foot of which he erected large iron-works. On the waters of Sam's Creek, leading into the Cumberland, lived Jesse Cullom, who raised a large family of sons. At the mouth of this creek lived William Shelton. On the waters of Pond Creek, near this creek, lived a large family of Hoopers, among whom is John Hooper, ninety years old, and still living.

On the Cumberland, near the Shoals, lived Enoch Dozier, a wealthy man, good citizen, and a large landowner. He has two sons, Dennis and Willoughby Dozier, still living in the same neighborhood.

The magistrates of the county at that day were appointed by the Governor, and selected from the most intelligent and best men of the county. The office was held by them for the public good, as there was very little profit attached to the office. This is why I have mentioned them so often.

IMPORTANT ROADS LEADING FROM NASHVILLE ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE RIVER

There were at that day two ferries on the Cumberland, one at the mouth of Wilson Spring Branch, above the present wharf; the other was near the Sulphur Spring Branch, and was the main crossing going to Gallatin and to Springfield. There was a third, called Page's Ferry, near the race-track, where the river was fordable in low water. On the Gallatin road lived Col. Robert Weakley, a very prominent citizen of the county. He was afterwards a member of the Legislature and once a candidate for Governor; was also a leading magistrate of the county, a very influential citizen, and one of the first settlers of the county. Near him lived David Vaughn, a very wealthy man and the father of Michael and Hiram Vaughn.

Then Mr. William Williams, a retired lawyer and a man of fine intelligence, Josiah Williams, and Thomas Martin, all sons-in-law of Mr. Joseph Phillips, a leading wealthy citizen.

Mrs. Martin is still living, in her eighty-seventh year, at her old home.

Just beyond Mr. Williams lived Samuel Love, near Haysboro, which place was settled about the time Nashville was, and for some time there was great competition between the two places. This place was settled by Col. Robert Hays, who married the sister of Mrs. Jackson, and was the father of Col. Storkley D. Hays and the father-in-law of Dr. William E. Butler and Robert I. Chester, both of whom are now living at Jackson, Tenn.

Near Haysboro lived the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, a learned Presbyterian preacher and a very patriotic citizen. He built a large church near his residence, and the cemetery near the church contains the remains of most of the prominent citizens of that day.

Mr. Maxey, the father of Powhatan and Dr. William Maxey, lived at this place.

Dr. William Gwin, the son of Parson Gwin, who was the life-long friend of Jackson, lived here. He was a senator from California, and is still living.

The next man was Blind-Man Walker. Dr. William Maxey, "Gee's Tavern," and Reuben Payne, an enterprising merchant at the mouth of Dry Creek.

The next early settler was Col. William Donelson, a very wealthy man and brother of Mrs. Jackson. His granddaughter married Senator McAdoo, of Waverly.

Then Mr. Paul Dismukes, living on Mansker's Creek, who raised a large family of sons and daughters, among whom was John T. Dismukes, a very intelligent and prominent man, who died early in life. There was a road passing up Mansker's Creek, by Dr. Dunn's spring near Goodlettsville, up said creek to E. P. Connell's and John Bowers', both prominent men in this county. E. P. Connell was once candidate for county clerk, and was an intelligent magistrate of the county.

Between the Gallatin and Springfield roads there were two country roads. On one of these roads lived a noted turfman, Duke W. Sumner. He owned many fine race-horses. Near him lived Mr. George Wharton, a brother of Jesse Wharton, one of whose daughters married Gen. William White, who fought a duel with Gen. Samuel Houston. Another daughter married Mr. Samuel Seay, long a prominent merchant of Nashville, at whose wedding I officiated as groomsman nearly sixty years ago. He was the father of George W. Seay.

Claiborne Hooper also lived in this neighborhood, a wealthy, prominent man, and the father of the Hooper who had the difficulty with Nance.

There also lived in this neighborhood Thomas Shannon, a leading magistrate of the county. Then came Michael Gleaves, the father of John E. Gleaves, late clerk of the Chancery Court; Col. Jesse J. Everett, a prominent citizen and the father of Mr. Everett, the county register. He was colonel of a regiment of militia, which embraced the entire county on the north side of the river.

The road to Springfield and Clarksville passed Page's and Hyde's Ferry. Mr. Page lived on the first bluff below Nashville, which was afterwards owned by Judge William L. Brown, a distinguished lawyer of Tennessee and one of

the judges of the Supreme Court. He died at this place, and his remains were buried in an excavation in the bluff overlooking the Cumberland River.

Next, Charles Moorman, a magistrate of the county, and a good citizen and a Wealthy man.

We now come to White's Creek, which was largely owned by the Stumps, wealthy and influential men of that day. Col. John Stump was one of the largest operators of that day and a prominent merchant of Nashville, under the firm of Stump & Cox, who traded in everything raised in the county. They possessed the most unlimited confidence of that section, the people depositing all moneys with them. The firm failed in 1818 and produced widespread ruin throughout the county. Col. Stumps was afterwards a large locator of lands in the mountains of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia.

On this creek lived two noted men, Isaac and Lewis Earthman; Buchanan H. Lanier, the father of the commission merchant at Nashville; and two brothers, Laban and Freeman Abernathy.

We next come to Paradise Hill, on the top of which Esquire Thomas Shannon erected a large brick house. Here the road forks, one going to Clarksville and the other to Springfield.

Maj. Thomas Hickman, an early settler, lived at Hickman's Ferry, on the Cumberland, about twelve miles below Nashville. He was an early settler, a justice of the peace, and once sheriff of Davidson County. His only daughter married George W. L. Marr, a member of Congress from the Clarksville district and a very wealthy man. Below Hickman's Ferry, on Sycamore Creek, now Cheatham County, but at that time Davidson, was a large settlement, among whom were Thomas Shearon, a wealthy gentleman; Wilson Crockett, the magistrate of the county; William Hollis, Mr. Brinkley, Mr. Demombrune; also Mr. Eaton, an old settler and very intelligent man.

The road leading from Nashville to Hyde's Ferry passed between the lands of David McGavock and Beal Bosley, two of the first settlers and owners of large bodies of land, and very wealthy men. Mr. McGavock lived on and owned the place where the cotton-factory now stands. In the rear of this farm is where the duel between Jesse Benton and Gen. Carroll took place. Crossing the river at this point you came to the Hyde settlement, two of whom were Richard and Tazewell Hyde, both early settlers and clever, rich men.

This road also led to White's Creek, on whose waters also lived Gilbert Marshall and his father; and Joseph L. Ewing, who married a daughter of David McGavock.

WILLOUGHBY WILLIAMS

Born in the year 1798; now in my eighty-second year; mind and memory unimpaired by age.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WAR OF 1812-14

Declaration of War—Expedition to Natchez—The Creek War—Jackson's Message to the Spanish Governor—Capt. Gordon's Perilous Mission—British Attack on Fort Bowyer—Invasion of the Lower Mississippi—Capture of Pensacola by Gen. Jackson—Movement upon New Orleans—Memorable March of Gen. Coffee—Battle of New Orleans—Conspicuous and Leading Part taken by Davidson County Men.

REPEATED acts of aggression on the part of Great Britain had ended in a declaration of war against that nation by the Congress of the United States on June 12, 1812. The news reached Nashville in an unusually short time for that period, and on the 25th Gen. Jackson, who was then senior major-general in the State, having received the appointment on the death of Gen. Conway, made a tender through Governor Willie Blount to the government of the services of twenty-five hundred volunteers. The Secretary of War, appreciating the tremendous responsibility of the administration in declaring war against the wishes of a powerful party, representing the shipping and fishing interests, received the offer with "peculiar satisfaction." The people of Tennessee had watched with deep interest the course of British aggression, and when the "Leopard" fired into the "Chesapeake" and forcibly took away a number of American sailors whom she claimed as British subjects, the indignation broke forth in patriotic meetings and resolutions at Nashville. Gen. James Robertson, the now aged pioneer, immediately raised a company of old men, principally Revolutionary soldiers, styling themselves "Silver Grays," and offered their services to Gen. Jackson. The population of this State at that time was composed almost wholly of Revolutionary soldiers or their immediate descendants, and its soil probably now holds as much of this sacred dust as any State in the Union. Even as late as the year 1840 there were more than one thousand of these pensioners within its limits. These men could not believe that the government would hesitate an instant to resent such a wanton outrage on its flag and to exact a swift vengeance. Diplomacy smoothed over the great wrong, but the insult still burned in the bosoms of the Western people.

So when the declaration of actual hostilities reached them it brought no sense of alarm, but was hailed merely as the hour of ripened vengeance. Although the tender of Gen. Jackson was accepted, no call was made for the services of Tennessee troops, and the summer wore away in suspense and inaction, notwithstanding the disasters to the American arms on the Northern lakes. At length the government became apprehensive that the success of the enemy would induce an invasion of the Southern coast, and on October 21st requested Governor Blount to dispatch fifteen hundred men to the aid of Gen. Wilkerson, for the defense of New Orleans. On the 1st of November the Governor issued orders to Gen. Jackson to prepare for the movement. On the 14th Gen. Jackson issued an address to his division, which he began by saying that he could now greet them with the feelings of a soldier. He called upon them to remember that they were sons of Revolutionary sires; that the theatre upon which they were to act possessed for them a peculiar interest. If the mouth of the Mississippi was blocked by a

hostile force, the fruits of their industry would rot on their hands; open and our commerce goes to all the nations of the earth. To the keeping of the Western people was committed the defense of the lower Mississippi.

The requisition being made at a season when the farmers were busy gathering their crops and preparing for winter, the 10th of December was set as the time of rendezvous, and the place Nashville. However, this proved to be too early for the extent of preparation necessary: supplies of clothing and food for a long and arduous journey had to be procured, and then boats had to be built to transport the army down the river. Still, on the day appointed over two thousand volunteers presented themselves. Col. John Coffee came with a regiment of cavalry numbering six hundred and seventy. Col. William Hall, of Sumner County, the hero of Greenfields and other hard Conflicts in the pioneer period, brought one of the two regiments of infantry, and Thomas H. Benton, of Williamson, the "Old Bullion" of history, brought the other, together numbering fourteen hundred men. Maj. W. B. Lewis was quartermaster, Capt. William Carroll, afterwards Governor of the State, inspector, and John Reid aide and secretary to Gen. Jackson. With all the hurry it was the 7th of January before the embarkation of the infantry was accomplished, and on the same day Col. Coffee set out overland to Natchez. Both detachments arrived at Natchez on the 15th of February, where they were halted by Gen. Wilkerson to await further orders, which came on March 4th, discharging them from service. This order Jackson refused to obey until proper provision for the pay and subsistence of the men during their return march should be made. Finding many obstacles thrown in the way of his purpose, he provided the means on his own credit, and marched his troops through by land, bringing all of his sick to Nashville.

TILE CREEK WAR

In the month of September, 1813, the tidings burst upon the people of Tennessee of the terrible massacre at Fort Minims on the 30th of August preceding. This was a stockade fort on the Tensas Bay, in the southern limits of the present State of Alabama, at that time known as the Mississippi Territory. The causes which led to this unexpected uprising of a nation in which the agent of the government was then quietly residing, and performing the functions of his office without any suspicion of an interruption of peaceful relations, may be briefly stated:

The limits of the Muscogee or Creek Nation at that time embraced the region between the Chattahoochee on the east, the Tombigbee on the west, the Tennessee on the north, and Florida on the south. The title of this tribe to this region of country was probably the clearest of any on the North American continent, at any rate the clearest of that of any of the Southern tribes. Their claim went back to "the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." All other tribes had a tradition of having come from the West or North, but to the Creeks they ascribed a spontaneous origin, speaking of them as "coming out of the ground." Being brave and numerous, they had never been dispossessed by conquest of the more central seats of their

dominion. The Hickory or "Holy Ground" had never been desecrated by the foot of an enemy. But the time came when they listened to the voice of a tempter and, heedless of the lessons before their eyes, gave themselves up to a delusive dream of conquest which was to end in driving the hated white race forever from the American continent, and in restoring the land which the Great Spirit had given as an inheritance to his red children. Tecumseh came, and ruin followed. This peerless warrior made his last visit to the Muskogee's on the occasion of the holding of the grand council of the tribe in the autumn of 1812, at which the agent, Col. Hawkins, was assisting as adviser and director of their affairs.

Every day during its session Tecumseh strode into the arena with his party from Ohio, naked except as to their flaps and ornaments, which latter consisted of buffalo tails dependent from their arms and wrists. After a ceremonious parade around the circle, he shook each warrior by the hand, at the conclusion of which he would announce that the sun had gone too far for him to make his talk that day, but that he would finish it the next. However, he took care to make no disclosure of his mission until the agent, Col. Hawkins, departed to hold a council on the Chattahoochee (Flint).

That night the great round-house was crowded with chiefs and warriors eager to hear the purport of Tecumseh's "talk," already shadowed forth in a visit during the previous year. In a long speech, full of eloquent fire, he unfolded his mission, which was to unite the northern and southern tribes, and at a given signal strike a simultaneous blow from every available quarter at their old enemies the Americans, and drive them into the sea. Their Great Father, the English king, had promised him that this should be done. Before the night had passed more than half of his audience were ready and burning to begin the war. Indeed, to such a height was the spirit of vengeance raised that it was with the utmost difficulty that many of the warriors could be restrained from entering at once on the work of destruction, without waiting for the signal, which the prophets declared would be announced by the appearance of Tecumseh's hand in the heavens. Tecumseh then went from town to town, and before he left the great bulk of the Creek nation had entered heart and soul into his grand scheme of conquest. The utmost secrecy was enjoined, but the proverbial indiscipline of the Indians unmasked their hostility to the settlers on the lower Alabama in time to put them on their guard, but not to a sufficient extent to awaken them to an adequate sense of the real danger. In July, 1813, a considerable body of Creek warriors having repaired to Pensacola for promised supplies of ammunition from the Spanish and English, a body of settlers one hundred and eighty in number met them on their return at Burnt Corn and attacked them in their bivouac, but were defeated, the Indians acting with great bravery. The tiger was now thoroughly aroused, and thirsted for the blood of his enemy. A force of one thousand warriors quickly gathered under William Weatherford, Peter McQueen, and the Prophet Francis, and stealthily approached the stockade of Samuel Mimms, on the Tensa Lake, where the neighboring settlers had collected under the protection of one hundred and seventy volunteers from the Natchez

country, and seventy militiamen, making in all five hundred and fifty-three souls within the enclosure.

The Indians lay in a ravine four hundred yards from the eastern gate until noon of the 30th of August, when, as the drum in the fort beat the call to dinner, they dashed forward and entered the open gate, which could not be closed in time on account of an accumulation of sand in the way. The garrison made a brave defense, and were on the point of beating off their assailants after a conflict of two hours, when Weatherford succeeded in firing the houses, which resulted in the total destruction of the fort. An indiscriminate and barbarous slaughter of the white women and children then took place, not one of whom was left alive. A few of the friendly Indians and some of the Negroes were spared, amounting to less than fifty in all. It is to the credit of Weatherford to state that when he saw that his victory was assured he exerted himself to stay the carnage of the women and children, but his voice and influence were unheeded in the raging thirst for blood. The cruel victory had a dear atonement, as we shall see.

The tidings of this terrible outburst of Creek hostility reached Governor Blount at Nashville in a dispatch from Mr. George S. Gaines. A meeting of citizens was held at Nashville on the 18th of September, and was eloquently addressed by the Rev. T. B. Craighead, in favor of marching an army at once into the Indian country for the protection of the border settlements and avenging the inhuman massacre of defenseless women and children. Fortunately the Legislature was on the point of assembling at Nashville, and when it met an act was passed, on the 25th of September, at the recommendation of the Governor, calling into the field thirty-five hundred volunteers, in addition to the fifteen hundred already in the service, and voting three hundred thousand dollars for the immediate wants of the troops. Gen. Jackson, though confined to his couch from a dreadful wound received a short time before in an affray with the Bentons, began the work of organization with characteristic energy. The troops were ordered to rendezvous at Fayetteville, Tenn., near the Alabama line, on the 4th of October, which was only ten days from the passage of the act. It was construed by the authorities that the volunteers in the Natchez expedition still owed their services to fill out the unexpired term of their twelve months' enlistment, which would end on the 10th of December. Although they had received a certificate of discharge, they collected at the rendezvous, with few exceptions, at the appointed time, under the expectation that, as their services were called into requisition to meet an extraordinary emergency, the period of absence would not be long. Few of them had time to make arrangements for the gathering of their crops, or make provision even for a limited absence from home. Many went without a proper supply of winter clothing, and all left on the briefest notice, having time only to prepare for the most pressing needs of the occasion. Jackson, yet unable to mount his horse without assistance, started to the rendezvous, but his sufferings were so great that he could only reach it on the 7th, but he sent forward his aide, Maj. Reid, to read an order, which began by saying, "We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to subordination and discipline."

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

In the meantime Col. Coffee had been dispatched with his regiment of mounted gunmen to Huntsville, Ala., and beyond for the protection of the citizens along the Tennessee River. On the 11th a dispatch came from that officer to the effect that friendly refugee Creeks had come in, and stated that one thousand warriors were approaching the river to cross and make an attack on Huntsville. Jackson instantly issued orders for the march, and at three o'clock P.M. his division was on the road, and at eight o'clock P.M. had reached Huntsville, at the distance of thirty miles. His force consisted of two brigades, one of volunteers, commanded by Gen. William Hall, and the other of militia, commanded by Gen. Isaac Roberts both of whom were killed in Indian warfare, having been in numerous conflicts and expeditions in the pioneer period.

On arrival at Huntsville the reports of a hostile advance were found to be untrue, and the army proceeded more leisurely to Ditto's Landing, on the Tennessee River. Here Jackson expected supplies by boats from East Tennessee, but the low stage of water above had prevented their arrival, and on the 19th he broke camp and marched up the river over a mountainous country, cutting a road as he went. He halted at Thompson's Creek, where he erected shelter for the reception of the stores when they should arrive from above, and named his camp Fort Deposit. His supplies were about exhausted before he started for this point, and the non-arrival of the expected boats had now reduced his army to the greatest straits. Col. Coffee soon after came in from a scout with three or four hundred bushels of captured corn. At length, having accumulated two days' rations of bread and six of beef, he set out for the Two Islands of the Coosa on the 25th, whither he had been entreated by daily runners to go for the relief of the friendly Indians in that vicinity. He arrived in a week within a few miles of the place, having to halt frequently and scour the country for food.

Learning on arrival that a considerable body of Creeks had assembled at Tullusatches, thirteen miles distant from his camp, on the south side of the Coosa, Gen. Coffee was dispatched with one thousand mounted men to strike them. Being piloted by friendly Indians he surrounded the town, and after a desperate conflict took it, killing one hundred and ninety warriors and capturing eighty-four women and children his own loss was five killed and forty wounded, mostly from arrows, which the enemy relied upon after firing their guns.

Maj. Gen. Cocke was acting in concert with a force from East Tennessee, and Gen. White's brigade, of that command, having arrived at Turkey Town, twenty-five miles distant, the latter was ordered by Gen. Jackson to join him for an advance into the Indian country as far as the Tallapoosa, where he learned that the enemy were collecting in great force. Having strengthened his camp, which he named Fort Strother, he set out on the 8th of December for Talladega, where a number of friendly Indians had taken refuge in a fort from a large force of hostile warriors who had completely invested the place and cut off every avenue of escape. He arrived within six miles of the place at night, and sent out scouts to ascertain the numbers and position of the enemy. He was here informed that the march of Gen. White

on Fort Strother had been countermanded by Gen. Cocke, which left his sick and wounded at the mercy of any hostile party that might discover the weakness of the place. He thereupon decided to give battle the next morning in order to hasten his return to his defenseless camp. At daylight on the 9th the march was resumed, and on reaching within a mile of the enemy the army was thrown into line of battle, Hull's brigade being on the right, and Roberts' on the left. The mounted men were divided into three portions, two to occupy the respective wings with orders to encircle the enemy, and one posted in the rear to act as reserve. The lines then moved forward in columns of companies until the advance-guard of four companies, among them Capt. Deaderick's company of artillery, from Nashville, armed with muskets, reached within eighty yards of the concealed enemy, who now rose and, opening a hot fire, made a general advance along their lines. Several companies of Gen. Roberts' militia, getting alarmed at the impetuous rush and yells of the Indians, gave way on the first fire, leaving a gap in the lines, which, however, was quickly filled by the reserve cavalry under Col. Dyer, who advanced with great intrepidity and in turn drove the enemy, being assisted by the militia, who now returned to the battle. As the enemy began to retreat a general advance was made along Jackson's lines, which met the fleeing savages at every turn. In a brief time the battle was ended. Two hundred and ninety-nine warriors were killed, and the destruction would have been much greater but for a gap which was left in the encircling line, through which many escaped. Jackson had seventeen killed and eighty-three wounded. The joy of the besieged Creeks, who knew nothing of Jackson's approach until the battle opened, was said to have been indescribable. The army started on its return to Camp Strother the next day, and on arrival found that the contractors had not only failed to bring up provisions, but that the scanty stock left at the place for the sick and wounded had been consumed. Ten days of starvation at this point brought about such a state of discontent that the troops demanded to be marched home, or to a point where supplies could be had. The general asked for two days' further delay, and, if at the end of that time supplies failed to come, he would grant their request. At the appointed time, no relief having come, the troops started on their return but on the second day, a herd of beef cattle having been met, the whole body returned to Camp Strother, but not without reluctance and an altercation with the general.

The expiration of the time of enlistment of the volunteers being now close at hand, the general was sounded as to whether he would dismiss them honorably from the service and allow them to proceed to their homes. He firmly refused their request, and announced his determination to hold them five months longer, to complete the amount of service which under his construction of the law they still owed to the government. The announcement of this answer, which the men construed in turn to be a direct violation of the terms of their enlistment and of their constitutional rights, in which opinion they were sustained by most of their officers, aroused the feelings of the brigade to such a pitch that they announced their intention of marching home on the

expiration of their time, which was on the 10th of December. On the night of the 9th, Gen. Jackson, having learned through the officers that the men were still firmly bent on executing their purpose, had them suddenly paraded in front of the fort, with the brigade of militia stationed to one side, and the artillery in front with lighted matches. A violent altercation now ensued between Gen. Jackson and Col. William Martin, who commanded one of the offending regiments. Col. Martin was an old pioneer soldier, a man of great personal worth of character, and one of the most faithful and vigilant officers in the service, exacting at all times of his men a rigid compliance with disciplinary regulations. The matter ended at length in a temporary relinquishment on the part of the men of their design to march home, but their discontent was so evident, notwithstanding the stirring appeals of their general to their patriotism, that on the arrival of the new regiments, which had been raised by Governor Blount for a service of two months, Gen. Jackson gave orders for their return home and discharge, in which the militia brigade was also included, at the expiration of its term, January 4th, it having turned out with the volunteers at the same short notice, and being equally as badly provided for the rigors of a winter campaign or for a lengthened absence from home.

In the mean time Col. Carroll and Gen. Roberts had by great exertions gotten up some recruits for a short time to go to Gen. Jackson's relief and enable him to hold the advanced post of Fort Strother. These amounted to nine hundred two months' volunteers under the command of Cols. Higgins and Perkins, and were assembled at Strother by the 15th of January. Besides, he had two spy companies (Capts. Gordon's and Russell's), the company of artillery from Nashville with one six pounder, commanded by Lieut. Robert Armstrong, a company of volunteer officers raised by Gen. Coffee on the disbandment of the latter's brigade, and one company of infantry. With a net force of nine hundred men, exclusive of friendly Indians, he took up the line of march on the 17th for the purpose of striking the enemy a blow if possible, but particularly to give the raw recruits employment, a matter of vital importance in circumstances where discontent could be so easily fomented. On the 20th he encamped at Enotachopco, twelve miles from the mouth of the Emuckfaw, in a bend of the Tallapoosa. The next day he resumed his march, and by night found himself in the vicinity of a large force of the enemy. He encamped in a hollow square to guard against a night attack. A little before day the enemy attacked in heavy force the left wing, which held firm until daylight, when, being reinforced by Capt. Ferrill's infantry company, a charge was made along the entire line, which pushed the enemy back with much slaughter for the distance of two miles. The friendly Indians joined in the pursuit with much ardor. Gen. Coffee was now detached with four hundred men to burn their fortification; but in making a reconnaissance he thought it prudent not to make the attempt but to return to camp. In a half-hour after his return a fire on the right and rear of Jackson's little army showed that Gen. Coffee had acted with wisdom. This officer at his request was now dispatched with two hundred men to act against the

left flank of this force, but by mistake only about one-fourth of the number accompanied him. Two hundred friendly Indians were also sent to cooperate. At the moment the firing began in this quarter a violent attack was made on Jackson's left, for which he had made preparation, correctly judging that the first attack was intended as a diversion to engage his attention. The general repaired to this point in person with his reserve, and after four or five volleys had been fired a vigorous charge was ordered, which drove the enemy back to the distance of a mile. In this pursuit a hand-to-hand conflict took place between Lieut. Demoss, of Capt. Pipkins' company, and a large Creek warrior. Each snapped his gun at the other, when, these weapons being discarded, they drew their knives and clinched in a desperate struggle; but the issue was decided by a comrade of Demoss, who hastened to his succor and assisted in killing the warrior. Demoss was badly cut by his antagonist, and had to be carried to Fort Strother on a litter. On the first alarm in this quarter, the friendly Indians instantly quitted Gen. Coffee and hastened to this point, thus leaving him to contend with a greatly superior force which was posted in a reedy creek affording many advantages. Coffee, however, made a vigorous fight, and was enabled to hold his ground until assistance came after the main battle was over, when a gallant charge was made and the Indians driven from that part of the field with a loss of forty-three killed.

In this charge Gen. Coffee was wounded, and his aide, Maj. Alexander Donelson, and three others were killed. Maj. Donelson was a grandson of Col. John Donelson, one of the founders of Davidson County, and the commander of the emigrants' boats in their marvelous voyage down the Tennessee in 1780. He was a young officer of ardent and determined bravery, and his death was greatly lamented. This ended the battle. The dead having been collected and buried, and the wounded attended to, Jackson began his return march on the 23d, and encamped that night near Enotachopco Creek. The presence of the enemy was unmistakable during the night, and the general became satisfied that he would be attacked the next morning at a ravine on the route, which he had noted in his advance several days before, the place being admirably suited for an ambuscade. He thereupon turned to the right to effect a crossing below, where the woods were open. His conjecture was correct; the front column had just crossed the creek, and also part of the flanking column, with the piece of the artillery just entering the descent, when shots were heard in the rear, being fired at Samuel Watkins (still surviving at the age of eighty-six), who had lagged behind to let his hungry horse pick on the cane-leaves. The Indians had quit their cover on discovering the maneuver of Gen. Jackson, and now threw themselves precipitately on his rear. The onslaught was so sudden and vigorous that the right and left columns of the rear-guard gave way in confusion, which soon extended to part of the centre column. Some of this column remained firm, and with Russell's spy company and a part of the artillery company, dispatched to hold the ground with their muskets until the piece could be brought up, which was soon effected by the exertions of Lieut. Armstrong, held the hordes of the enemy in check. The gun

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was pushed up under a galling fire, and quickly opened with a discharge of grape. The rammer and picker having been left tied to the limber in the hurry of the movement, Craven Jackson used the ramrod of his musket for a picker, and Constantine Perkins used his gun for a rammer. In this way the piece was loaded. A vigorous charge was now made on the Indians by those gathered at this point, by which they were repulsed. At this moment Col. Higgins had led his regiment across the creek, and also Capt. John Gordon, an old pioneer hero, when a determined advance was made, before which the Indians fled, being chased for two miles. In this chase Col. Higgins engaged in combat with an Indian and slew him with his own hand far in advance of his men. Capt. Pipkins, who commanded a company from Davidson County, was conspicuous also in the pursuit. The enemy left twenty-six warriors dead on the field. Of the whites who were killed were two very brave officers, Capts. Hamilton and Quarles. The entire loss in the two engagements was twenty-two killed and sixty wounded.

The army continued its retreat without further interruption, and reached Fort Strother on the 26th.

Reinforcements having shortly arrived from East and West Tennessee, the volunteers were now discharged, and preparations made for a decisive blow at the large force of Creeks assembled within a strong fortification in the horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa. On the 14th of March Jackson set out on his march with something over three thousand militia and a regiment of regular infantry six hundred strong. On the 26th he reached the mouth of Cedar Creek, where Fort Williams was established. A force under Brig. Gen. Johnson; having been left as a guard for this post, he set out on the 24th, by way of Emuckfaw, for the Tallapoosa Bend, near which were situated the Oakfuskee villages. The Indian name of the bend was Tohopoka or the Horseshoe. This peninsula contained about one hundred acres, and the isthmus, which was about three hundred and fifty yards across, had been fortified with unusual care, with a high breastwork of logs, in which were two rows of port-holes. Behind this fortification were nine hundred Creek warriors, and at the village in the rear over three hundred women and children. The river-bank at the farther point of the bend was lined with canoes, to favor escape in case of disaster. The interior of the space was covered with brush, trees, and ravines, admirably adapted for defense.

Jackson arrived on the 27th of March before the place, and saw at once his opportunity of surrounding the enemy and destroying the whole force. He, therefore, dispatched Gen. Coffee with his mounted brigade to the right to cross the river below and cut off escape in that quarter. At half-past ten the artillery a three and a six-pounder was brought to bear on the works at a distance of eighty yards, and fired for two hours without any other effect than to provoke derisive cheers from the besieged warriors.

At this juncture Gen. Coffee detached Col. Morgan with Russell's spy company to cross the river in some canoes which had been procured by volunteer swimmers. This detachment quickly acted fire to the Indian village near the bank and opened fire on such warriors as were in sight. This diversion being discovered by the troops at the front, these

were now ordered to charge; a desperate contest ensued for the possession of the works, in which Maj. Montgomery of the Thirty-ninth Regulars lost his life as he mounted the parapet. The assault was at length successful, and the Indians took refuge behind trees and logs to the rear, whence they waged an obstinate conflict, but they were gradually driven from this shelter, when they sought to make their escape in canoes. Finding retreat cut off in this direction, many of them took shelter in the deep ravine and under the river-bank, where in the course of the day they were destroyed, disdaining to the last to surrender. Only about twenty escaped by swimming and diving. Four surrendered, and about three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. Jackson's loss was fifty-five killed and one hundred and forty-six wounded, of whom quite one-half were friendly Indians. Jackson sunk his dead in the river to prevent them being scalped by the enemy after his departure, and returned to Fort Williams. On the 7th of April he again set out on his march, and reached the Holy Ground of the Creeks, at the junction of the Tallapoosa and the Coosa, without bringing the Indians to another engagement. Here the chiefs of the hostile party began to arrive in his camp and make professions of submission, among them Weatherford, the leader of the attack on Fort Mimms. This brave chief, in tendering his submission, said, "I am in your power; do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and have fought them bravely. If I had an army I would yet fight, and contend to the last; but I have none, my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation." These professions proved sincere as to the great body of these people; a certain part took refuge with the English and Spaniards at Pensacola, and continued in a state of hostility.

The war being virtually over, those troops whose term of service was nearly out were now discharged, the artillery company from Nashville among the rest, and on the 21st of April they started on their return home. Capt. Hammond's spy company from Davidson was retained to do duty at Fort Deposit.

Gen. Jackson being anxious to make sure of the fruits of his important victories, now sought to make the Spanish Governor of Pensacola a party, as it were, to the treaty with the Indians, so as to hold him to a stricter responsibility for his future conduct. But to reach him it was necessary for the bearer of his messages to traverse a long stretch of tropical wilderness, unmarked by road or path, and rendered doubly difficult of penetration by reason of numerous swamps, lagoons, and rivers. The bearer of the dispatches was Capt. John Gordon, of Davidson County, who, with a single companion, undertook the dangerous and seemingly desperate mission. At the end of the first day's journey the companion of Capt. Gordon became so much appalled by the prospects ahead that the captain drove him back and continued his mission alone. After many difficulties and dangers from hostile Creeks, he reached Pensacola. On his arrival he was surrounded by a large body of Indians, and it was only by the greatest presence of mind that he escaped instant death and reached the protection of the commandant.

His mission being ended, he returned as he came, and reached Gen. Jackson in safety.

The designs of the British against the Gulf coast having been made known to Gen. Jackson, he urged at once on the neighboring Governors to hasten forward their levies. The call having been made on the 9th of September, the quota of Tennessee was soon full, many paying for the privilege of places in the draft. About the 1st of October these troops, under Gen. Coffee, set out from the rendezvous to join Gen. Jackson at Mobile. The attack on Fort Bowyer, at the entrance of Mobile Bay, on September 10th, by a British fleet of ninety guns and a combined land force of Spaniards and Indians, was but the precursor of greater events, and the development of the design of the grand invasion of the lower Mississippi region. The attack failed and the enemy's ships, with blood-stained decks, cockpits full of dead and wounded, and shattered hulls were scarce able to reach the shelter of Pensacola, whence they had rallied. Jackson now saw that the defense of New Orleans could not be successfully maintained until Pensacola was reduced. Gen. Coffee having reached the vicinity of Fort St. Stephens, he repaired there on the 26th of October and began preparations for an expedition against that point. Coffee's men, being mounted, cheerfully abandoned their horses, on account of the difficulty of procuring forage, and marched on foot. Besides these were some regulars and a few Indians, the whole force amounting in all to about three thousand men. The march began on November 2d, and the neighborhood of Pensacola was reached on the 6th. The news of Jackson's approach having been received at the place, it was in a state of preparation for an active defense.

Jackson, feeling the nature of the responsibility he was incurring in proceeding against a neutral power with which the United States were at peace, dispatched a flag to demand of the Spanish Governor the possession of the forts, in which a United States garrison should be placed to insure the preservation of neutrality from violation by the forces of Great Britain, then at war with his country. The flag was fired upon and forced to return. However, the American commander was anxious to make another effort at negotiation, and he sent a letter by a Spanish corporal who had been captured the day before. The Governor now replied that the outrage of the flag was committed by the British, and that he would be glad to hear any overtures that might be made. Jackson therefore dispatched the same officer with a communication in which he demanded possession of the forts within an hour. To this a decided refusal was returned. It being important to avoid the fire of the British fleet in the bay, Jackson sent forward a body of five hundred men to occupy the attention of the enemy, while the greater force was carried to a point whence it could issue against the forts under the cover of the houses. The maneuver was eminently successful. The troops stormed the field-guns of the Spaniards posted in the street, and took them at the point of the bayonet, seeing which the intendant, fearing Jackson's vengeance, rushed from his quarters with a white flag and submitted to his fate, which was the rendition of the various forts under his command. However, Spanish resentment and treachery in giving up Fort St. Michel came near provoking

an indiscriminate slaughter of its garrison. During these transactions the British men-of-war kept up an active cannonade on the Americans, but were finally driven off by the fire of the light batteries ranged along the beach. Fort Barrancos was fourteen miles to the west, and preparations had been made for receiving its surrender the next day, but during the night it was blown up, and the British fleet, retired from the bay. Jackson held the town two days, and then abandoned it, hastening to Mobile, whither the fleet seemed to be bearing. The danger having blown over in this quarter, he left for New Orleans on the 22d of November, where he arrived the 1st of December. The troops under Gen. Coffee marched across the country, striking the Mississippi at the present site of Port Hudson. This journey is memorable for the hardships endured. It rained constantly, and the march lay through an uninhabited pine forest, intersected by numerous cypress swamps. Many of the horses succumbed to toil and hunger, while the backs of the survivors were stripped of hair, owing to the constant drenching of their bodies with water.

On the 17th of December he received orders from Gen. Jackson to hasten his march. Starting on the 18th, he accomplished one hundred and fifty miles in two days, reaching within fifteen miles of New Orleans on the night of the 19th. In the mean time two thousand five hundred Tennessee militia had embarked at Nashville on the 19th of November, under Maj. Gen. Carroll, and were hastening in boats down the Mississippi to New Orleans, which they reached on December 21st. Gen. Jackson had been making superhuman exertions for the defense of the place, but his preparations were far from complete when it was announced that the British army had come through Bayou Bienvenue and established itself on the Mississippi at Gen. Villery's plantation. He received these tidings about noon of the 23d of December, and resolved on a movement which virtually decided the fate of the invading army. Gens. Carroll and Coffee from above the city were ordered to join him at once, and in two hours those active and experienced officers had arrived at his headquarters with their respective commands. Here it was decided to detach Carroll's division to guard the Gentilly road, leading from Chef Menteur to the city, in case of a hostile movement from that quarter. With Coffee's brigade, the 7th and 44th regulars, the Louisiana battalions, and Col. Hind's Mississippi dragoons, Jackson arrived in presence of the enemy a little before dark. He immediately made his dispositions for the attack, Coffee being ordered to bear to the left and gain the rear of the British right wing, which extended out into the plain at right angles to the river, on which their left rested. The remainder of his forces were held to strike in the front at a signal from the "Caroline," an armed schooner, which had orders to drop down the river to a point opposite the enemy's camp, and open with grape-shot. Coffee, having farther to go than the rest, was unable to get in position before the signal-guns from the "Caroline" mine need that the battle was opened; but his brave fellows immediately dismounted, and turning their horses loose stripped for the fight, and advanced in the direction of the British camp. They had proceeded but a short distance in the darkness before they received an unexpected fire from a line

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of the enemy which had taken refuge in that quarter from the guns of the "Caroline." Coffee ordered his men to press forward in a line, and only fire when close enough to distinguish the enemy's line with certainty. This was done, and such a destructive volley was opened at short range that the British were driven back; but they soon reformed, to be again forced back by the steady advance of the Tennesseans, until they reached an orange-grove, along which ran a ditch, where they halted in full confidence of maintaining their position. From this, however, they were driven, to the mortification of the British officers, and in a short time from another position of similar nature, whence they retreated to the bank of the river, where, by great exertions, they were enabled to withstand further assaults for a half-hour, but at length they were forced to take refuge behind the remains of an old levee, which afforded security from the fire of the American rifles.

In the mean time the battle on the right wing had been pushed by Gen. Jackson in person, and the enemy driven nearly a mile from successive positions. In the last charge made by Coffee, Cols. Dyer and Gibson, with about two hundred men and Capt. Beal's company of riflemen, became separated from the rest of the brigade, and unexpectedly found themselves in the presence of a line which they took for their own. On being hailed their officers rode forward and announced that they belonged to Coffee's brigade, when, discovering that it was a line of the enemy, they wheeled to retire. Col. Gibson fell over some obstacle, and before he could rise was pinioned to the ground by the bayonet of an adversary who sprang forward upon him. Fortunately the bayonet inflicted only a slight wound, and held him only by his clothing. With a violent effort he regained his feet, and knocking his enemy down made his escape. Col. Dyer's horse was killed by the fire of the enemy before going fifty yards, and himself slightly wounded and entangled in the fall. He called out to his men to fire, which arrested the advance of the enemy, and enabled him to make good his retreat. Capt. John Donelson, who commanded a company from Davidson County, during the confusion of this movement, discovered a line advancing in his rear and on hailing it was answered that it was "Coffee's brigade." This line advanced rapidly with their guns at a "ready" until within a few paces, when it fiercely ordered the "d--d Yankees" to surrender. Capt. Donelson instantly ordered his company to fire, but the British line being prepared delivered the first volley, by which three of his men were killed and several wounded. Donelson had no thought of surrendering, but ordered his men to charge and cut their way through. In this desperate attempt he not only succeeded, but brought off Maj. Mitchell of the Ninety-second Royal Foot a prisoner of war, taking him with his own hands. He, however, lost some prisoners.

The success of this first battle had answered Jackson's anticipations, but burning to make it complete, he ordered

Carroll's Tennessee division to report to him for an attack on the British lines at daylight. This design, however, was relinquished in favor of one of greater safety, and the troops were ordered to form on the Rodriguez Canal and fortify in haste. The events that followed, culminating in the battle of

the 8th of January, are too familiar to need repetition in this place. From the date of their landing the invaders were put on the defensive day after day. Caution on their part took the place of enterprise, and when they advanced, seventeen days after their landing, it was but to slaughter and repulse from a line of fortifications which had sprung into existence in this interval. In the final battle the brunt of the attack fell upon the division of Gen. Carroll and the brigade of Gen. Coffee, which occupied the left wing of Jackson's line. Coffee was on the extreme left, and Carroll next supported by the Kentuckians under Gen. Adair. The centre of Carroll's division was selected for the attack by the British commander on the information of a deserter from the American lines, who reported this as the weakest point on account of being occupied by "militia." The British advance was made in column, with a front of about seventy men, and hence the terrible destruction of life when, failing to carry the works, it had to retire across an open plain under a deliberate fire of rifles and cannon from many quarters.

In this battle, as in all of the events which have been related so briefly in connection with the history of this period, the sons of Davidson County bore a conspicuous and leading part. Her fame is indelibly linked with the immortal name of Jackson, while she borrows additional luster from those of Carroll, Coffee, and thousands of others who occupied subordinate relations to their great chief, but in their spheres sustained the glory and prestige of the pioneer period.

CHAPTER XIX

SEMINOLE WARS

Influence of the Creeks with the Seminoles—First Seminole War Gen. Jackson ordered to command the Campaign—He seizes the Spanish Fort of St. Mark's—His Decisive Measures—Second Seminole War—Tennessee Troops—The Davidson "Highlanders"—"State Guards."

NOTWITHSTANDING their terrible defeat at the Horseshoe in 1814, many of the Creeks still remained implacable, and sought safety in the neutral Spanish territory of Florida, where they were taken into the service of Great Britain. By the treaty of Ghent, which concluded the war between the United States and Great Britain, it was stipulated that the former power was to restore to the Indian tribes with which it was at war at the time of the ratification of this treaty all the possessions and rights that said tribes were entitled to in the year 1811. Peace had been made with the Creek nation many months before the ratification, but this government construed that the terms did not apply to them, and erected forts and permitted settlements to be made quite down to the Spanish boundary. The hostile Creeks, on the other hand, claimed that they had not been a party to the treaty by which their lands were ceded, and that they had remained in a state of hostility. The Seminoles, with whom

they had become assimilated, also claimed certain boundaries on which the Georgians were making settlements. Individual acts of murder and rapine on either side led at length to an open rupture with the United States in the latter part of the year 1817. On the 21st of November of this year, Col. Twiggs, in command at Fort Scott, sent a body of troops to Fowltown, a Seminole village twelve miles east of the fort, to demand of the chief the surrender of some of his warriors who had been committing murder upon the Georgia settlers. The troops were fired upon as they approached the village, before time was had for a parley and statement of their mission. The fire was returned, by which two warriors and a woman were killed. The town was captured, and after a few days was burnt by order of Gen. Gaines. This act kindled into flame at once a bloody and devastating war. The government having obtained the right of passage up the Apalachicola for the better supplying of the forts in this quarter, an opportunity was soon afforded the Seminoles of wreaking a terrible revenge for their late injury. On the 30th of this month, as Lieut. Scott was proceeding up this river in a large boat, containing forty soldiers of the Seventh Infantry, seven soldiers' wives, and four little children, a sudden fire was poured into the party from the bank, killing and wounding- nearly every person on board at the first volley. The Indians then rose from their concealment and, getting possession of the boat, began an indiscriminate massacre. Four men leaped overboard at the first fire and swam to the other bank, two of whom only reached it uninjured and got into Fort Scott in safety. One woman, who was uninjured by the volley, was bound and carried off.

The Prophet Francis, one of the leaders in the Fort Mimms massacre and a refugee from his nation since their defeat four years before, soon appeared in the field at the head of the warriors of his tribe who, like himself, had refused to acquiesce in the results of that war. Having captured a Georgia militiaman, he doomed him to the stake, but his daughter, Milly Francis, a girl of fifteen years, being moved to pity at the fearful spectacle about to be enacted, fell upon her knees before her father and begged the prisoner's life. The fierce chief at length relented and granted her prayer. The prisoner was given up to the Spanish commandant for safe-keeping, and by this means regained his liberty.

The news of hostilities having reached the government, Gen. Jackson was ordered to proceed to the South and conduct the war, Gen. Gaines being absent at the time, engaged in ousting a band of filibusters who had taken possession of Amelia Island, on the Florida coast, for the purpose of overthrowing Spanish rule in this province. Gen. Jackson, being directed by the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, to call upon the "adjacent States" for any additional troops he might need, decided to construe the order to mean Tennessee as an adjacent State, in order to get the services of his veterans of the war of 1812. Two regiments of over a thousand mounted men assembled at Fayetteville on his call, and were ready to march in twenty days after the Secretary's dispatch came. These were commanded by Cols. Dyer and Williamson. A company of

over one hundred men, under the command of Capt. A. Dunlap, went from Nashville as his life-guard.

Profiting by experience, Gen. Jackson ordered supplies to be sent from New Orleans to Fort Scott, and on the 22d of January set out from Nashville on horseback to reach his destination, four hundred and fifty miles distant. On the 9th of March he reached Fort Scott, where he was soon after joined by Cols. Williamson and Dyer, commanding the two Tennessee regiments. About two thousand friendly Creek Indians came also to war upon the Seminoles and their own kindred. The campaign was brief and unmarked by a determined battle upon the part of the hostile warriors, who fled to the security of swamps where it was useless to attempt to follow them. Gen. Jackson set out from Fort Gadsden on the 26th of March for St. Mark's, in the Spanish province of Florida, where he had arranged with Capt. McKeever, of the navy, to meet him with the gunboats and transports. With his long experience of Spanish influence and intrigue in the affairs of the adjacent Indian tribes, he had determined on the grave responsibility of an invasion of the territory of a neutral power with his usual firmness and decision. He had two objects in view by this step, to strike the enemy in his stronghold whence issued the raids on the whites, and to seize and hold the Spanish fort at St. Mark's, and garrison it with his troops as security against the outrages which the representatives of his Catholic Majesty acknowledged themselves as powerless to prevent. On his way he had an affair on the 1st of April, in which he lost one man killed and four wounded, and killed fourteen Indians and captured and burnt their town, in the square of which were found over fifty fresh scalps hanging from a red pole erected at the council house. King Hajah's town was also destroyed *en route*, and one thousand head of cattle and three thousand bushels of corn taken.

St. Mark's was reached on the 6th, and the Governor having stated his want of authority to enter into an agreement by which an American garrison would take possession of a fort belonging to his Catholic Majesty, and asked for a suspension of operations until he could get proper instructions, Jackson entered on the 7th, and lowering the Spanish colors, hoisted the American flag in their place. This was accomplished without any resistance further than a formal protest from the Governor. In the fort was found Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scotchman and Indian trader, who had allowed his "philanthropy" and zeal to right the wrongs of the red man to betray him into undoubted acts of hostility against the United States, and he was ordered into confinement. Before Jackson's arrival McKeever's fleet had appeared in the lower bay, and on displaying the English colors the Prophet Francis and his next chief, Himmolemmico, came aboard in full anticipation of finding some expected military stores from his friends in England for the prosecution of the war. They were seized and bound, and on arrival of the fleet at anchor, Jackson, mindful of Fort Minims and their present purposes, ordered them to be hung, which sentence was executed the next day. The fate of this brave prophet-chief was greatly deplored even in America, but especially in England, where he had made a favorable

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impression when on a visit after the conclusion of the late war.

After two days' stay at St. Mark's, Jackson set out for Suwanee, one hundred and seven miles distant. This was the stronghold of the great chief Boleck or Bowlegs, and the refuge of runaway Negroes. The march was through swamps a great part of the way, the troops having often to wade for hours through water waist deep. The Indians, however, got warning in time to escape without much loss of life. This was a large town, extending for three miles along the Suwanee, and was burned to the ground. During the stay here Robert C. Ambrister, an Englishman and nephew of the British Governor of New Providence, came incautiously into the American camp, and was taken prisoner. He had been an officer of the British army, but in consequence of a duel had been suspended from his rank, and while waiting the expiration of his sentence his love of adventure and his military tastes had led him to embark in the cause of exciting the Florida Indians to acts of hostility against the United States, then at peace with his government.

This expedition virtually ended the war, and on the 26th Gen. Jackson was again back at St. Mark's. A court-martial was at once convened for the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and at the end of two days the verdict was returned that Ambrister should be shot and Arbuthnot executed on the gallows. The finding and sentence of the court were submitted to the commanding general as he was leaving for Pensacola with his army, and being approved, the execution of the prisoners took place the following day. This execution created a tremendous sensation in England, and but for the firmness of the British ministry would have involved the two countries in immediate war. Jackson now returned to Fort Gadsen, which had been erected by him on the ruins of the Negro Fort. This fort had been built and strongly armed by Col. Nichols, a British officer, who had figured in the war of 1812 on the southern coast as friend, patron, and commandant of the hostile Indians in that quarter. He remained several years after the cessation of hostilities actively engaged in the interests of these Indians, but with what ultimate design is unknown to the historian. He finally departed for England, leaving his stronghold, which was on a bluff of the Apalachicola, seventeen miles from the coast, defended by ten or twelve pieces of artillery and a large store of warlike munitions, including over seven hundred barrels of powder. The Indians not being suited by nature or habit for garrison duty, the care of the fort was neglected, when it was seized by several hundred free and runaway Negroes, under one Garcon, in 1816, and held against all corners. They soon attacked some boats going up with supplies for Gen. Gaines, at Fort Scott, which determined the latter to destroy the place at once. He surrounded it with a detachment of soldiers and Seminole Indians, who claimed the guardianship of it in Col. Nichols' absence, but was unable to make any impression on its skillfully-fortified walls. In the mean time he had ordered a gunboat under Sailing-Master Loomis to work up the river and co-operate. Loomis finally reached his position and opened fire, which at first proved futile; but having heated some solid shot to redness, a gun was trained to drop a ball

within the enclosure. It was aimed with deadly precision, and alighted in the magazine; an explosion followed which shook the earth for a hundred miles. Of the three hundred and thirty four inmates of the fort only three crawled from the ruins unhurt, and one of these was Garcon, the Negro commander. Two hundred and seventy were killed instantly, and most of the others perished soon after of their injuries.

Jackson rested at this point a few days, when he started westward with a detachment of regulars and six hundred Tennesseans to scour the country in that direction. He had proceeded but a short distance when he was informed that a large body of hostile Indians, who harbored at Pensacola, had recently massacred a number of the Alabama settlers. This was enough; he instantly turned his march in the direction of the hated place, and Pensacola was again doomed to submit in humiliation to the presence and occupation of an American army. The Governor protested and then tried force, but Jackson brought his guns to bear actively on Fort Barrancos and got ready his scaling-ladders to storm the place, when it was surrendered. An American garrison replaced the Spanish occupants, and the place was held subject to the action of the United States government. As said before, the acts of Gen. Jackson in this campaign created a tremendous sensation abroad, and involved him at home in conflicts with prominent political leaders, which only ended with the death of the parties concerned; but he was backed by the general approbation of the country, and came out triumphant over all opposition.

SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

By the treaty of Sept. 18, 1823, at Moultrie Creek, in the Territory of Florida, the Seminoles were put on a reservation of sufficiently large extent, the boundaries of which, however, were not to approach the coast nearer than fifteen miles. If these bounds were found on survey not sufficiently large to include the necessary farming lands, they were to be extended to a stated line farther north. For the cession of the rest of their lands they were to receive five thousand dollars a year for twenty years. Six of the leading chiefs having shown great reluctance to give up their settlements under the stipulations, new reservations were allowed outside of the general reservation to suit these special cases. The hummock-lands of Florida, being equal in fertility to any in the United States, were quickly appropriated by white settlers, who in many instances sternly ordered off, rifle in hand, any wandering Indian who happened to be found north of the imaginary line that was intended to keep the two races asunder and preserve them in a state of amity. For some years the agents had their hands full settling disputes and keeping down an open outbreak of war between them.

The complaints of mutual and flagrant aggression grew so frequent that the state of affairs in the years 1829 and 1830 was very critical indeed, and likely to end at any moment in a devastating onslaught upon the white settlements. Then came up the question of the removal of these Indians, as had been done with many other tribes, to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, as the quickest and most economical solution of a difficulty that was growing in gravity every year. The frontier settlers, who were anxious to obtain the

valuable lands included in the reservation, or solicitous to bold peaceable possession of those already taken, pressed this question of removal upon the authorities, alleging that their slaves, cattle, and other property were daily stolen, and that there could be no peace possible under the circumstances. Indeed, this was the only wise course left, and the government directed Col. Gadsen to endeavor to engage the Seminoles to relinquish their lands in exchange for good lands in the Creek nation. On this wish being made known, great opposition was manifested, and it was with great difficulty that Col. Gadsen succeeded in getting a council of chiefs at Payne's Landing. Here, after many vexatious delays, such a treaty was at length concluded on the 9th of May, 1832. One provision of this treaty was that the new country *was* to be visited by a delegation of chiefs and examined, and if their report was favorable and the Creeks should express a willingness to receive and reunite with them, the exchange would be made and the migration completed by the end of the year 1835. The delegation was sent at the expense of the government, but the visit being made in the midst of winter, when the country looked drear and uninviting, and the antipodes of their verdant landscape in Florida at this season, the result was not satisfactory. Still they were induced to sign a favorable report, which thereby bound their nation irrevocably to a removal. In the mean time an opposition party had been formed, headed by the youthful Osceola, who was the animating spirit, but void of a voice in the councils of the nation at this time on account of the obscurity of his station and want of hereditary authority as a chief. His mother was a Creek, and became a Seminole by leaving her tribe and taking refuge among these people, the word Seminole meaning *runaway*. The term thus derisively applied became at length generic.

The hostility soon became so formidable that the offending chiefs either disclaimed their signatures to the late agreement or denied a true knowledge of its nature. The government, being thoroughly persuaded that the only solution of the question was in removal soon or late, insisted on the performance of the contract, and made due preparations to carry through its part of the business, notwithstanding the evident determination of the great majority of these people to the contrary. As the time approached, the love of home and native soil grew so strong in the breasts of the Seminoles that they determined to die to a man rather than submit to the expatriation. Still the government disregarded their threats and continued its preparations for their removal. By dissembling their feelings and making show occasionally of compliance, the Indians were enabled to purchase extra supplies of ammunition, ostensibly for use in their new hunting-grounds. Even Osceola seemed to grow penitent, although he had been ironed and incarcerated at Fort King for six days for violent and abusive language to the agent, Gen. Thompson.

All things being in readiness for the rising, Osceola repaired with a band of warriors to the vicinity of Fort King, determined to execute his vengeance on the man who had shackled his free limbs with chains a short while before. He lay concealed in a hummock near by for two days before the opportunity came of gratifying his revenge, the strongest

and most enduring feeling of Indian nature. On the afternoon of the 28th of December, Gen. Thompson, while taking a walk in company with Lieut. Constantine Smith, of the Second Artillery, came in short range of his ambush, and fell pierced with twenty-four balls, Lieut. Smith receiving thirteen. The assassins then rushed forward in eager emulation for the first trophy of their long-anticipated and now un-smothered revenge. The scalps of the victims were cut into small pieces for distribution to gratify the feelings of all the participants. On the same day Maj. Dade, on his way to Fort King with two companies of regulars, amounting to one hundred and eight officers and men, was waylaid near the Wahoo Swamp, and his entire command destroyed after an obstinate resistance, with the exception of two privates, who escaped badly wounded and bore the intelligence to Fort Brooke.

Thus began a war which for seven successive years filled Florida with rapine and blood, and cost the government nineteen million four hundred and eighty thousand dollars, *exclusive* of the expense pertaining to the regular army. Owing to the scattered condition of its regular forces, the government was compelled to call upon the neighboring States for volunteers. Tennessee promptly furnished three regiments of mounted volunteers, which gathered at the old rendezvous, Fayetteville. Of these the First and Second Regiments were received into the service, and the Third discharged. In the Second Regiment were three companies raised wholly or in part from Davidson, namely, the "Highlanders," commanded successively by Capt. William Washington and John J. Chandler; the "State Guards," by James Grundy and Joseph Leake successively; and a company from Davidson and Williamson Counties, commanded by Capt. Joel A. Battle. At the organization of the regiment William Trousdale was elected colonel, J. C. Guild lieutenant-colonel, Joseph Meadows 1st major, William Washington (captain of the Highlanders) 2d major. The two regiments were formed into a brigade, to the command of which the President appointed Brig. Gen. Robert Armstrong, of Nashville, one of the heroes of Enotochopco. The men were enlisted to serve for six months. The brigade marched from their rendezvous on the 4th of July direct for Columbus, Ga., but were detained several weeks on the Tallapoosa, which they crossed by swimming to awe into submission a large body of Creek Indians, then collected for emigration across the Mississippi. Some of these Indians were largely in debt to traders, who instigated them to remain in order to made collections. It was feared also that they in their irritated state would catch the spirit of hostility then prevailing in Florida. In consequence of this diversion the Secretary of War ordered the brigade not to enter the sickly region of Florida in the midst of the hot season. Therefore it was about the middle of September before the Tennessee troops reached Tallahassee. From this point they soon started for the Indian country. On reaching Suwanee they found the yellow fever prevailing, and during their brief stay a number were attacked with the disease and died. From this point they marched south sixty miles to Fort Drane, where on arrival they broke up a large encampment of Indians without being able to bring them to

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an engagement. This body retreated to the cove in the forks of the Withlacoochee, whither Gen. Armstrong, reinforced by some regulars and two pieces of artillery, took up the line of march on October 10th. On the 12th an encampment of about fifty Indians was attacked, and seven were killed, and eleven squaws and children captured. It was here ascertained that a large body of the enemy with women and children occupied the forks of the Withlacoochee, while another large force was below to dispute the passage of the river. Gen. Armstrong marched with the main body to the latter point, while Lieut. Col. J. C. Guild was ordered to take a detachment of four hundred volunteers and move upon the enemy in the cove.

The route lay through dense hummocks along the river, and one of the captured squaws was taken along for a guide. As Col. Guild's detachment approached the fork and reached a deep muddy creek, a heavy fire was opened from the opposite bank at the head of the column, by which the friendly chief, Capt. Billy, was killed at the side of the commander. The command was ordered to dismount and open fire along the stream; an action of a half-hour ensued. Maj. Goff, of the First Tennessee, was ordered to take two hundred men and go up the stream and endeavor to affect a passage, which, if successful, would be followed by the entire command. He returned in a short time with the information that the stream was too deep for fording. In the mean time a vigorous fire had been kept up to cover the crossing, which was continued until the enemy retired. Col. Guild lost four men killed and about twenty wounded. The main body, under Gen. Armstrong, found the river too deep to ford under the hot fire of the enemy, and returned to camp. On the 22d, Col. Trousdale crossed the river, which had fallen at this point, with his regiment, and entered the cove. Two large towns were found and destroyed, the warriors having made their escape. From an old Negro who was captured it was ascertained that the Indians had gone to Wahoo Swamp, which was in the vicinity of the Dade massacre. He also stated that in Guild's battle twenty-eight Indians and five Negroes were killed, and in Maj. Gordon's affair under Gen. Armstrong, on the 13th, nineteen were killed.

The provisions having given out, and nearly all of the horses having succumbed to hunger and fatigue, it was determined in council to march to the mouth of the Withlacoochee, where a depot was to be established. On the 25th wagons were met with supplies, when the march was turned to Fort Drane. Getting reinforcements, the First and Second Tennessee regiments moved up the north side of the Withlacoochee, and the regulars and friendly Indians on the south side. On the 17th a short skirmish took place, in which eighteen Indians were killed, and the whites had one man killed and ten wounded. On the 18th the large number of fresh trails indicated that there was a large force of the enemy in the vicinity, and on approaching the town of Nickanopa which was discovered to be on fire, a heavy volley was poured into the Second Tennessee as it advanced with the rest of the army through an open field. The Indians were in a dense hummock about seventy-five yards distant. The men poured in one volley, and when they had reloaded

they charged the hummock, driving the enemy slowly before them. So dense was the growth that the combatants often fired at each other at the distance of a few feet. The action lasted about two hours and a half, when the command drew off at dark, and camped in the vicinity of the scene of Dade's massacre.

On the 21st, Gen. Armstrong ordered a combined movement against the enemy, who occupied the battleground of the 18th. The Tennesseans were on the right, the regulars in the centre, and the friendly Indians on the left. The advance was made through open ground, and when the line reached a point within fifty yards of a dense hummock, a simultaneous fire broke forth from both sides. The exposed situation of the troops rendered it imperative that they should go forward, and this they did with great impetuosity. The Indians stood the charge stubbornly, firing into the men's faces; but they were gradually forced back through the hummock and the open space beyond into another hummock, whence they were again driven to take refuge on the margin of a shallow lake into which the men plunged in pursuit, wading up to their waists. The enemy, being again dislodged, sought refuge behind a deep channel connecting two lakes, whence it was impossible to drive them farther. About sunset the troops were withdrawn to camp three miles distant, bringing off the dead and wounded. The provisions being exhausted the brigade marched after this engagement to Velusia. Supplies being obtained here, the sick and disabled, one hundred and twenty in number, were sent around the cape on their homeward journey, and Armstrong's brigade returned by the late battleground to Fort Dade. The Indians had all returned south into the Everglades. From this point the Tennesseans marched on foot (having to use the remaining horses for pack-animals) to Tampa Bay, where they embarked on the 25th of December for New Orleans, at which place they were discharged, ending a six-months' term of service, the most arduous that can well be imagined.

Judge Guild mentions among the members of this regiment who afterwards became distinguished, Ex-Governor Neill S. Brown, Ex-Governor William Trousdale, Ex-Governor William B. Campbell, Gen. Robert Armstrong, Gen. Felix K. Zollickoffer, Hon. Russell Houston, Judge Terry H. Cabal, Judge Nathaniel Baxter, Gen. J. B. Bradford, Oscar F. Bledsoe, Capt. Frierson, Col. Henry, Maj. Goff, Col. John H. Savage, Col. J. H. McMahon, Gen. Lee Read, and Hon. Jesse Finley, of Florida.

CHAPTER XX

COURTS

Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions—First Session in Davidson—Full List of Justices and Judges of the County—Clerks Sheriffs—Circuit Court Record—Supreme Court of Law and Equity—Superior Court of Errors and Appeals—Court of Chancery Law Court—Criminal Court.

INFERIOR COURT OF PLEAS AND QUARTER SESSIONS

UNDER an act of North Carolina, of Oct. 6, 1783, the Governor issued commissions to four of the citizens on the

Cumberland to wit: Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel Barton, Francis Prince, and Isaac Lindsay to organize" An Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions" at Nashborough. This Inferior Court was by the act invested with extraordinary powers, and embraced a very wide range of subjects. It was, in fact, invested with jurisdiction over all the legal, judicial, legislative, executive, military, and prudential affairs of the county. It was like a country store in a new and frontier state of society, which is supplied with all sorts of miscellaneous commodities adapted to the wants of the early settlers, but as order and population advance and society becomes more systematized, these things are separated and distributed into different branches and departments, according to the wants and demands of amore civilized community; so the general and miscellaneous functions discharged by the first court became after a time separated and assigned to different branches of a systematic judiciary, demanded by a more perfect state of society.

At first as many of the justices of the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions as could attend sat in court together. This continued to be the practice until the January term of 1791, when, "the several commissions of the peace being all of the same date, it was agreed by the court that each person named in the commission of the peace, with others who had been in former commissions, should all place their names upon separate tickets, which should be drawn in three classes, and a reserve. Samuel Barton was elected to succeed Robert Hay as chairman. Several subsequent attempts were made to form four separate benches for the different sessions, but without success, as each had to draw on the other for members to form a quorum."

The first emancipation of Negro slaves within the county was ordered by this court April 18, 1801, on the petition of Thomas Molloy, Esq., "praying leave of the court to emancipate three slaves, Sam, Sophi, and Harry, or either of them, free by deed at any time hereafter, and the same may be entered on record."

At the first session of the Davidson County Court, Anthony Bledsoe and James Mulherin were both candidates for the office of surveyor. The vote resulting in a tie, that office was left vacant until the ensuing court. Samuel Mason was appointed constable at Maulding's, James McCain at Mansker's, Stephen Ray at Heatonsburg, John McAdams at Nashborough, and Edward Swanson at Freeland's Station. James Freeland was appointed overseer of the road from Nashborough to as far as opposite Mr. Buchanan's spring, and Josiah Shaw from Mansker's to said spring, with authority to call together as many of the inhabitants of their respective stations as should be necessary.

The following persons were named by the court as the first grand jurymen: James Shaw, Ebenezer Titus, James Mulherio, Isaac Johnson, Daniel Williams, Sr., Robert Espey, John Buchanan, William Gowen, James Freeland, George Freeland, Francis Hodge, John Thomas, Heydan Wells, David Rounsevall, James Hollis, Sr., John Hamilton, Capt. Gasper Mansker, Benjamin Kuykendall, Elmore Douglass, Joseph Masdin, Capt. McFadden, Solomon White, Charles Thompson, Benjamin Drake. Daniel Smith

was elected surveyor, and James McCain coroner, at the next session of the court.

FIRST MILL

"The Court give leave to Headon Wells to build a water grist-mill on Thomas Creek, about a quarter and a half a quarter up said creek from the mouth."

FIRST ROAD LAID OUT.

"Ordered, that the road leading from Nashville to Mansker's Station, as laid of heretofore by order of the Committee, be cleared out.

"1784, January 5. Court met. Members present, the Worshipful Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel Barton, and Isaac Lindsay, Esqs.

"January 6. On motion made to the Court concerning allegations against George Montgomery, as an aider and abettor in the treasonable piratical proceedings carried in the Mississippi against the Spaniards, it is the opinion of the Court that the said M. be in security in the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds for his appearance at our next Court, on which Elijah Robertson and Stephen Ray became securities for his appearance.

"William Cocke and John Sevier were offered as securities on the bond of Matthew Talbot, elected as Clerk. It is the opinion of the Court that *he* is not entitled thereto.

"The following military officers were sworn: Anthony Bledsoe, 1st Colonel; Isaac Bledsoe, 1st Major; Samuel Barton, 2d Major; Gasper Mansker, 1st Captain; George Freeland, 2d; John Buchanan, 3d; James Ford, 4th; William Ramsey, Jonathan Drake, Ambrose Mauldin; and Peter Sides, Lieutenants; William Collins and Elmore Douglass, Ensigns.

"Daniel Smith appointed Surveyor.

"1784, April 5.-Court met at the house where Jonathan Drake lately lived. Adjourned to meet immediately in the house in Nashborough where Israel Harmon lately lived." We give below a complete list of the justices, clerks, and sheriffs from the date of organization of the court to the present year, 1880, with the years in which they were commissioned:

JUSTICES.

1783.—Anthony Bledsoe, Daniel Smith, James Robertson, Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel Barton, Thomas Molloy, Francis Prince, Isaac Lindsay.

1784.—James Ford, Elijah Robertson, James Mulherin.

1785.—Samuel Marston, Ephraim McLean.

1787.—Benjamin Hardin, James Mears.

1788.—John Sappington, Adam Lynn, John Kirkpatrick, David Hay.

1789.—John Donelson, Robert Hay, Robert Weakley, Robert Ewin.

1790.—Robert Edmundson, Joel Rice.

1791.—Lardner Clark, Edwin Hickman, James Ross, James Hoggatt.

1792.—John Nichols.

1794.—Seth Lewis, Thomas Smith, Sampson Williams.

1795.—James Byrns.

1796.—John Gordon, Joseph Phillips.

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1797.—Thomas Hutchings, George McWhirter, Thomas Talbott, William Donelson.

1798. —John Davis, Thomas Dilahunty,* Andrew Castleman, Joel Lewis, Henry Redford.

1799. —John Thompson, Thomas Hickman, Robert Searcy, Robert Hewitt, Samuel Bell, Nicholas Tait, Perkins, Benjamin D. Wells, John Weathers, Abraham Boyd, David McEwen, John Hope, John Witherspoon, David Shannon, Robert Thompson, Willie Barrow, Daniel Young, Thomas Thompson.

1800.—Edmond Gamble, James Dickson, James M. Lewis, Josiah Horton, Sampson Harris, Elisha Rice.

1802.—William Nash, John Anderson, Joseph Coleman, Sampson Harris, James Byrns.

1803.—Joseph Horton.

1804.—John Stump, William Hall, Lewis Demoss, Joshua Balance, Robert Heaton, John Lewis, Isham Allen Parker, Thomas Deaderick, Charles Robertson, Isaac Roberts, Thomas Williams, Thomas A. Claiborne, Eli Hammond.

1805.—James Demoss, Michael C. Dunn, Carey Felts, William Donelson, Christopher Stump.

1806.—Francis Sanders, Candour McFadden, Robert Horton, Samuel Shannon, Peter Perkins, M. Donelson, Thomas Williams, Robert C. Foster, George S. Allen.

1807.—John Wilkes, Henry Hamilton.

1808.—Edmond Cooper, George Wade, Hugh Allison, George Wharton, Joseph Love.

1809.—Christopher Robertson, Joseph Green, Benjamin J. Bradford, Benajah Gray, Philip Pipkin, Robert Johnson, P. S. Allen.

1810.—John Goodrich, Elihu S. Hall, William Childress, Jr., William Anderson, Alexander Walker, John Read, James Shannon, Braxton Lee.

1812.—Richard D. Harmon, Eldridge Newsom, Robert Edmonson, John Childress.†

1813.—Levi McCollum, Jonathan Drake.

1815.—George M. Martin, Eldridge Newscom, Zachariah Allen.†

1816.—Stephen Cantrell, Jr., Wilkins Eli Talbot,* William Russell, Jeremiah Ezell, William Sanders, Joseph Caldwell, Isaac Redding, Robert B. Cherry, E. H. Call, William B. Lewis.

1817.—Edmond Goodrich, Iredale Redding, Joseph T. Elliston, William Williams, Jesse Wharton, William Wallace, William H. Shelton, William H. Nance, Richard Tate.

1818.—Thomas Claiborne.

1820.—George Wilson, John P. Erwin, Daniel A. Dunham, David Dunn, V. Buchanan Lanier, Alpha Kingsley, Sampson Prowell, Thomas Edmonston.

1821.—Daniel A. Dunham, Silas Dilahunty, William Faulkner, Willis L. Shumate, Thomas G. Bradford, Absalom Graves, William Lytle.

1822.—James Carter, John Bell, Robert C. Thompson, William Ramsey, Leonard Keeling, Michael Gleaves,†

Gilbert G. Wellington, Eli Talbott, John Pirtle, Philip Campbell.

1824.—Joseph Narville, Jeremiah Baxter, John Davis, Stephen Cantrell, John R. Grundy, Andrew Hynes, Enoch P. Crowell, David Ralston, James Marshall, Herbert Towns, John M. Lovell, Henry Whyte.

1826.—Samuel McManners, † Anthony W. Johnson; John Jones, George W. Chariton, Thomas Welch, Nicholas B. Pryor, Thomas Scott, Isaac Hunter.

1827.—Jesse Shelton, Willoughby Williams, William E. Watkins, Jordan Hyde, Wilson L. Gower, Daniel Brice.

1828.—Robert Farquharson, Hays Blackman, Thomas Fenbee, William Donelson, John Hall, Abraham Demoss, Reuben Payne.

1830.—Enoch Ensley, William L. Willis, Jonathan Garrett, Thomas Bell, Herbert Owen, Nathaniel Gillian, John Berry, John P. Erwin, William Armstrong.†

1831.—James Sims, Jonathan Browning, John Wright, William James, Francis McGavock, Howell Harris.

1832.—William H. Hogans.

1833.—Allen Knight, Edward H. East, David Abernathy.

1834.—Joseph W. Clay, James H. Foster, Brent Spence, Joseph B. Knowles, L. P. Cheatham.

1835.—*Quorum*, William Williams, Elihu S. Hall, Gilbert G. Washington.

Agreeable to the "Act to Reorganize the County Courts of this State," passed by the Legislature of Tennessee, Dec. 3, 1835, the County Court was opened May 2, 1836, by Gilbert G. Washington, Esq., a justice of the former court, and commissions from the Governor of the State were presented, authorizing the following-named gentlemen to serve as justices of the peace in and for the county of Davidson for a term of six years:

In the District of Nashville (No. 1). —Elihu S. Hall, John P. Erwin, Joseph B. Knowles, Joseph Norvell, Thomas J. Read, Thomas Calendar.

District No. 2.—John H. Clopton, William G. M. Campbell.

District No. 3. —Edward H. East, John Vandeville.

District No. 4. —John A. Shute, John McNeill.

District No. 5. —Herbert Towns, Thomas S. King.

District No. 6. —William Hagans, James R. Chilleutt.

District No. 7. —Enoch Ensley, John B. Hodges.

District, No. 8. —William Owen, John Hogan.

District No. 9. —John Cortwell, John Hathaway.

District No. 10. —John McRobertson, Joshua McIntosh.

District, No. 11. —Robert Bradford, Philip Shute.

District No. 12. —William E. Watkins, Samuel B. Davidson.

District No. 13. —William Shelton, Elijah Nicholson.

District No. 14. —John Davis, Martin Forehand.

District No. 15. —Thomas Alliston, William Herrin.

District No. 16. —Greer, Lewis Dunn.

District No. 17. —Francis Carter, Moses Crisp.

District No. 18. —John McGavock, John Hobson.

District No. 19. —Reuben Payne, Edmund Goodrich.

District No. 20. —Enoch P. Connell, John C. Bowers.

District No. 21. —Charles W. Moorman, Claiborne Y. Hooper.

District No. 22. —David Ralston, John Cloyd.

* Originally spelled De La Houté

† Resigned

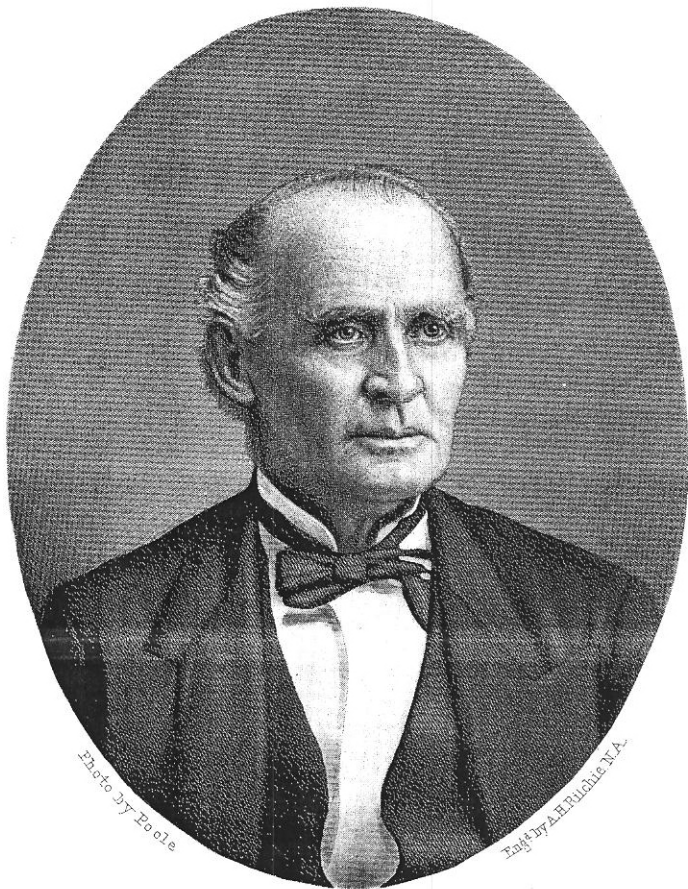


Photo by Poole

Eng'd by A.H. Ritchie N.Y.

Nathaniel Baxter

District No. 23.—William I. Drake, David Abernathy.

District No. 24.—Jonathan R. Garrett, Daniel Brice:

District No. 25.—Thomas W. Sherron, Wilson Crockett, Elihu S. Hall, of Nashville, was elected chairman. Those whose names appear in italics constituted with him the quorum for the ensuing year.

1836.—William Williams, John Wright, Robert Weakley, Blackstone F. Brinkley.

1837.—James M. Cook, Bartlett M. Barnes, William Stringfellow, Thomas Scott, William Hassell.

1838.—E. M. Patterson, John Beasley, Marshall B. Mumford, Peter B. Morris.

1839.—William H. Hambelin, William M. Bartle, William Faulkner, Benjamin D. Pack, Joseph Kellam *Quorum*, Robert Bradford, Charles W. Moorman, John McIntosh.

1840.—George S. Smith, Thomas Gale* *Quorum*, Elihu S. Hall.

1841.—Samuel W. Hope, Elihu S. Hall, William Tannehill,* Joseph H. McEwen, Josiah Ferris, W. H. Hamlin, John McIntosh, William Williams, Jonas Shivers, W. R. Elliston, James Yarborough, George W. Charlton, James H. Cook, W. H. Clemons, David Ralston, Samuel W. Hope, C. W. Nance, Enoch P. Connell, Lewis Joslin, Samuel B. Davidson, G. F. Hamilton, Robert Goodlett, A. G. Briley, Thomas Bell, C. G. Lovell, Benjamin D. Pack, W. H. Lovell, Thomas J. Hale, Leonard Burnett, Martin Forehand, Mastin Ussery, William J. Drake, David Abernathy, William Greer, Benjamin Sharpe *Quorum*, Elihu S. Hall, Charles W. Moorman, John Hogan.

1842.—George D. Falmer, William E. Cartwright, Herbert Towns, T. N. Cotton, John Hogan, John Corbitt, Allen Knight, John P. Still, John A. Shute, Felix G. Earthman, B. M. Barnes, Zachariah Jones, William Herrin, R. M. Pallemmon *Quorum*, Elihu S. Hall, John Hogan, David Abernathy.

1843.—William Cummings, John J. Henton, H. I. Anderson *Quorum*, Josiah Ferris, William Williams, C. W. Nance.

1844.—William H. Coleman, John B. McCutchen, Sterling W. Goodrich, James H. Hagar, James R. Allen. *Quorum*, Josiah Ferris, William Williams, William R. Elliston.

1845.—Theodore Fagundus,† S. W. Edmondson, Roger Pegrant. *Quorum*, Josiah Ferris, William Williams, William R. Elliston.

1846.—Robert L. Neely, George Gill, David Williams, Hugh I. Patterson. *Quorum*, Joseph M. McEwen, Williams, William R. Elliston.

1847.—Moses Newell, Hollis Hagar, William Nelson, John M. Thompson, William G. Lanier, James H. Wilson. *Quorum*, Joseph H. McEwen, William R. Elliston.

1848.—Hiram Gray, John F. Felts, Walter T. Greer, William Greer, William McIntosh, Mastin Ussery, Zachariah Jones, Robert Green, E. A. Raworth, George Gill, D. F. McGhee, Robert Goodlett, P. B. Morris, Josiah Ferris, Isaac Paul, Lawson Barry, I. R. Garrett, Benjamin Sharpe,

Rolla Harrison, John H. Cartwin, Benjamin A. Phillips, Hollis Hagar, Henry Rumer, John M. Thompson, William Williams, Samuel S. Hall, Thomas N. Cotton, Hugh J. Patterson, Henry Holt, Jesse Jordan, Chilson Crockett, William Johnson, C. G. Lovell, Joseph L. Jenill, Noah Underwood, Samuel B. Davidson, James R. Allen, Herbert Towns, Richard A. Turner, James H. Austin, Andrew Gregory, H. I. Anderson, Samuel W. Edmonson, Henry M. Hutton, John B. McCutchen, George B. Goodwin, James H. Wilson, John Corbitt, Benjamin L. Pack, Hawes Graves. *Quorum*, Josiah W. Ferris, Joseph H. McEwen, Isaac Paul.

1849.—*Quorum*, Josiah W. Ferris, Joseph H. McEwen, Isaac Paul.

1850.—William Dobson, Sterling Goodrich. *Quorum*, Joseph H. McEwen, Hawes Graves, Henry M. Hutton.

1851.—John House. *Quorum*, Joseph H. McEwen, Hawes Graves, Isaac Paul.

1852.—Washington G. Smith, Joseph L. Garrett, Edmond B. Bigley. *Quorum*, Joseph H. McEwen, Hawes Graves, Isaac Paul.

1853.—John W. Baker. *Quorum*, Joseph H. McEwen, Hawes Graves, Isaac Paul.

1854.—John Chickering, Michael H. Gleaves, Hiram Gray, A. J. Ramsey, W. C. Briley, William K. Wair, George Gill, Napoleon B. Willis, W. G. Lanier, Hawes Graves, John Taylor, Andrew Gregory, W. B. Phillips, J. W. F. Manning,† Benjamin F. Drake, Thomas Fuqua, William D. Baker, John W. Cartwright, Samuel B. Davidson, Jesse Jordan, W. G. Smith, H. L. Parch, William Herrin, William Scott, Hollis Hagar, Isaac Paul,† H. C. Marcell, N. H. Belcher, I. G. Briley, W. Freeman, W. E. Cartwright, John Collart, P. B. Morris, S. S. Hall, I. N. Brinkley, Josiah Ferris, J. L. Willis. *Quorum*, Hawes Graves, W. Crockett, Hollis Hagar.

1855.—*Quorum*, Hawes Graves, Wilson Crockett, Thomas B. Page.

1856.—Herbert Towns, Joel F. Mays, R. G. Reeves, Ishana Dyer, John Greer, J. B. G. Carney. *Quorum*, Hawes Graves, Arthur C. White, Napoleon B. Willis†

1858.—I. N. Alexander, Robert Holt, Felix Compton. *Quorum*, F. W. Maxey, Arthur C. White, T. W. Balance.

1859.—M. I. Couch, William D. Robertson.

1860.—William D. Robertson, G. M. Southgate, W. C. Briley, William W. Goodwin, Nathan Harsh, Joseph A. Brent, George W. Spain, James Williams, Horace G. Scales, G. B. Gunter, Samuel B. Davidson, Church Hooper, Benjamin Williams, E. H. Childress, John Taylor, W. B. Hudson, Robert Holt, George Harsh, George Gill, Napoleon B. Willis, T. F. McNeill, William Curtis, Willis Wade, T. M. Patterson, Gilpin Hallum, John H. Cartwright, J. Creighton, N. H. Belcher, Theodore B. Page, W. J. Chandler, S. D. Corley, George Greer, I. G. Powell, B. Gray, John G. Briley, George Lunisden, James Thomas, Zachariah Payne, James Fleming, Alexander McDaniels, Benjamin Williams, Charles Burrows, James Haynie, William F. Meacham, Benjamin N. Dodd.

† These were succeeded by Bon. James Whitworth, who was elected first judge of the County Court of Davidson County on Saturday, May 3d, and took his oath of office May 9, 1856, when he immediately took his seat as judge of the County Court.

* Enlisted

† Resigned

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

1861.—I. N. Hobbs, William W. Garrett, P. B. Coleman.

1862.—Herbert Towns, John W. Rucker.

1864.*—C. M. Stewart, I. R. W. Peavey, Enoch Cunningham, Wesley Drake, Joseph I. Robb, D. Bruce Blair, Thomas McCarty, A. B. Shankland.

1865.—I. B. Canfield, John R. Cowan, Jeremiah Bowen, William A. Knight, Z. T. Hays, Drury A. Phelan, James Norvell, Isaac Whitworth.

1866.—W. D. Baker, William J. Chandler, Henry McNeil, Henry Holt, Jr., James S. Williams, W. B. Hudson, William Curtis, Paschal W. Brien, A. S. Edwards, John W. Bush.

1867.—Ernst Pohl.

1868.—B. N. Dodd, Samuel B. Davidson, A. S. Thurneck, T. A. Harris, J. Albert Smith, D. L. Lapsley, Herbert Towns.

1869.—John H. Baskette, Isaac Paul, Patrick McTigue, James M. Hinton, Thomas T. Saunders, William B. Ewing, Fletcher W. Horn.[†]

1870.—A. C. Phelan, Daniel N. Neylan, W. F. Meacham, W. H. Wilkinson, W. A. Wherry, J. H. Galbreath, J. M. Shives, H. G. Scales, W. M. Butler,[‡] D. S. Graves, John W. Rucker, C. B. Chickering, L. B. Bigley, Oswell Newby, W. A. Knight, Thomas T. Saunders, G. W. McCarley, H. L. Abernathy, James S. Williams, R. D. Campbell, Joseph W. Bigley, B. F. Weaves, A. Peebles, W. J. Wade, James Wyatt, D. A. Phelan, W. J. Chandler, William Curtis, Patrick Walsh, Thomas K. Griggs, Isaac Paul, M. I. Couch, James T. Patterson, James A. Steele, F. P. Sullivan, Patrick McTigue, E. H. Childress, P. R. Albert, John H. Baskette, H. L. Claiborne, John T. C. Davidson, James Everett, George J. Hooper, Martin Kerrigan, B. W. Maxey, W. Neylan, Isaac Paul, George W. Spain, Jerry Bowen, H. Childress, William B. Ewing, Thomas J. Hardy, John G. Marshall, James S. Read, John Taylor, John Bush, Hat. F. Dortch, Benajah Gray, John Hews, James T. Patterson, F. P. Sullivan, Isaac Whitworth, W. A. Sizemore, T. D. Cassetty, F. A. Treppard, James Wyatt, J. S. Dillahunt.

1871.—J. E. Wright.

1872.—James H. Brantley, John F. Hide.

1873.—A. D. Creighton, R. B. Cheatham, S. A. Dialing, R. S. Miller, James H. Still, Thomas Harris, Chris. Power.

1874.—Frederick Ehrhart, George Mayfield, S. Y. Norvell, James M. Simpkins.

1875.—J. H. Bruce, Peter Tamble.

1876.—R. K. Adams, W. H. Ambrose, John H. Baskette, H. J. Bruce, Joseph W. Bigley, J. B. Brown, W. D. Baker, T. D. Cassetty, A. D. Creighton, J. B. Canfield, H. L. Claiborne, J. B. Cox, C. B. Chickering, W. J. Chandler, W. S. Craig, J. J. Corley, M. J. Couch, M. S. Cockrill, John S. Dasheids, John S. C. Davidson, S. A. Duling, John V. Dennison, James Everett, Philip Ehrhart, W. L. Earthman, J. R. Evans, John H. Graves, J. H. Galbreath, Benajah Gray, Peter Harris, Jr., P. A. Harris, C. B. Hall, Stephen H. Hows, James Haynie, John A. Hamblen, W. A. Hadley, Robert C. Hill, T. C. Hibbett, Andrew H. Johnson, Martin Kerrigan, R. S. Knowles, Isaac Setton, R. S. Miller, John G. Marshall, George Mayfield, D. N. Neylan, George W. Norvell, John

Overton, C. Power, A. Peebles, Howard Peckett, T. A. Sykes, Jerry Sullivan, James H. Still, James M. Simpkins, T. T. Saunders, John W. Shule, John M. Simpkins, J. M. Shivers, L. M. Temple, F. O. Treanor, Peter Tamble, John Taylor, S. M. Wene, James Whitworth.

1878.—Robert R. Caldwell.

JUDGES

The judges of this court have been Hon. James Whitworth, commissioned May 9, 1856, and March, 1858; Hon. William A. Glenn, qualified April 3, 1866, and was his immediate successor.

Hon. William K. Turner first presided over this court in July, and was sworn into office as county judge Sept. 1, 1870. He died while in office, Thursday, Aug. 10, 1871.

Hon. W. A. Glenn was elected by the court to fill the vacancy. His seat was contested by Hon. Thomas T. Smiley, "Case of State of Tennessee on the election of Thomas T. Smiley, William A. Glenn," which resulted in declaring Thomas T. Smiley judge of the County Court of Davidson County, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. W. K. Turner, in accordance with a commission from His Excellency D. W. C. Seater, Governor of Tennessee, dated Aug. 26, 1871. He took his oath and entered upon the duties of his office Feb. 11, 1872. He was succeeded by Hon. John C. Ferriss, the present judge, Aug. 8, 1872.

At the expiration of Judge Whitworth's term of office the court passed the following resolution of respect:

Resolved, That we bid adieu to James Whitworth, late judge of this court, with feelings of kindness and heartfelt gratitude for the very able manner in which he has managed the financial affairs of this county during the late troublous times incident to the war; and that it has been a pleasure to this court to review the acts and deliberations of this court for the last four years, when it is remembered that the County Court has been the only part of the civil machinery belonging to the civil government that has been free and untrammelled and suffered to exercise its legal functions, and, as this court is constrained to believe, in a very great measure, attributable to the wise head at the helm."

On the organization of the first court, in 1783, Matthew Talbott, Esq., was elected clerk, and given until the opening of the next day's court in which to make his bonds. Failing in this, Mr. Andrew Ewing was elected in his stead the next morning, and continued to fill the position of clerk of the court until Feb. 1, 1813, when his son, Nathan Ewing, qualified as deputy clerk. He resigned in April ensuing, signing his formal resignation upon the record of the court and affixing a seal. Nathan Ewing, who had resigned his position as register in 1812, was then elected clerk.

The court minutes contain the following record relating to the death of Nathan Ewing, under date of Saturday, May 1, 1830: "At one o'clock P.M., Thomas Crutcher, Esq., treasurer of West Tennessee, came into open court and solemnly announced that Nathan Ewing, clerk of the court, was no more; whereupon, on motion of Andrew Hays, Esq., attorney-general, the court suspended all further judicial proceedings, and the following preamble and resolutions

* Commissioned by Andrew Johnson, military governor.

† Resigned.

‡ Colored.

were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be entered on record:

"Nathan Ewing is dead. His long-continued and useful labors as an officer of this court are at an end; his place cannot be filled. In the discharge of his official duties he united industry with intelligence, inflexibility with good nature and urbanity, and for a period of forty years stood before the public in a situation of the most delicate trust, not only without imputation, but without suspicion; and it may be stated with confidence that as a clerk he had no superior and scarcely an equal. As a neighbor, a citizen, and Christian he was admired by all. As a father, a husband, and master he was an example worthy of imitation. Penetrated with a just sense of the loss which the public has sustained by his untimely death, and with a view of manifesting our regard for his private virtues, "*Resolved*, That the justices of the court, the members of the bar, and the officers of the court will wear crape for thirty days as an evidence of their respect for the memory of Nathan Ewing, late clerk of the court.' "

CLERKS

Andrew Ewing, 1783-1813; Nathan Ewing, 1813-30; Henry Ewing, 1830-35; Smith Criddle; 1836-40; Robert Castleman, 1840-50; Felix R. Cheatham, 1850-61; Philip L. Nichol, 1862-70; W. G. Ewing, 1870-73; James G. Bell, 1874-78; Joseph R. McCann, 1878-80.

SHERIFFS

Daniel Williams, 1783; Thomas Marston; 1785; David Way, 1787; Thomas Hickman, 1788; Sampson Williams, 1789; William Porter, 1790; Sampson Williams, 1791-93; Nicholas P. Hardiman, 1794-98; Wright Williams, 1799; Joseph Johnson, 1800-1; John Boyd, 1802-7; Michael Dunn, 1808-15; Caleb Hewitt, 1816-17; Thomas Hickman, 1818-21; Joseph W. Horton, 1822-29; Willoughby Williams, 1830-35; Philip Campbell, 1836-38; Felix R. Rains, 1838-43; Churchill Lanier, 1844-47; B. M. Barnes, 1848-51; Littlebury W. Fussell, 1852-53; Edward B. Bigley, 1854-57; John K. Edmundson, 1857; James Hinton, 1858; Robert Campbell, 1859; John K. Edmundson, 1860-61; James M. Hinton, 1862-65; E. E. Patterson, 1866-67; C. M. Donelson, 1868-72; E. D. Whitworth, 1872-75; Francis M. Woodall, 1876-77; John L. Price, 1878-79.

CIRCUIT COURT OF DAVIDSON COUNTY

Pursuant to an act of the Legislature passed at Knoxville, Nov. 7, 1809, entitled "An Act to Establish Circuit Courts and a Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals," on the 12th day of March, 1810, a commission from William Blount, the Governor of the State of Tennessee, and under seal thereof, bearing date the 24th day of November, 1809, directed to Thomas Stuart, to be judge of the Fourth Circuit, was produced and read. The Circuit Court for Davidson County was thereupon organized and preceded to business.

The judges and clerks of this court have been the following:

JUDGES

Hon. Thomas Stuart, commissioned Nov. 24, 1809.

Hon. William F. Brown, commissioned Feb. 5, 1836; resigned 1838.

Hon. James Rucks, commissioned Jan. 19, 1838.

Hon. Thomas Maney, commissioned Sept. 5, 1839; resigned 1852.

Hon. Nathaniel Baxter, qualified Sept. 20, 1852.

Hon. Manson M. Brien, commissioned June 28, 1864.

Hon. John M. Lea, commissioned July 25, 1865.

Hon. Manson M. Brien, commissioned May 18, 1866.

Hon. Eugene Cary, commissioned Jan. 9, 1868.

Hon. Nathaniel Baxter (elected), commissioned Sept. 1, 1870.

Hon. Frank T. Reid, commissioned Sept. 1, 1878.

CLERKS

Randall McGavock, qualified March, 1810.

Jacob McGavock, qualified November, 1834.

Robert B. Turner, qualified May 9, 1836.

Thomas T. Smiley, qualified March 2, 1844.

David C. Love, qualified March, 1858; reappointed Sept. 5, 1864.

Albert Akens, qualified May, 1870.

Nat. F. Dortch qualified September, 1874.

At the last session of September, 1861, the court met, but no judge was present. The clerk, David C. Love, Esq., recorded the meetings of the court March 3, 4, and 5, 1862; Sept. 1, 2, and 3, 1863; and March 2, 3, and 4, 1863, no judge being present on either occasion. The next court convened Sept. 5, 1861, and was presided over by Judge Brien.

SUPERIOR AND SUPREME COURTS

The Supreme Court of Tennessee was organized under the Constitution of 1834. It was preceded by the Superior Court of Law and Equity, from 1790 to 1810, and by the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, from 1810 to 1834.

The judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity were:

HON. DAVID CAMPBELL

A judge under the authority of North Carolina, appointed by the President in the spring of 1790 Territorial judge. Upon the Territory south of the Ohio being admitted into the Union as the State of Tennessee, Judge Campbell went out of office. He was again appointed a judge of the Superior Courts in the fall of 1797 by the Legislature, *vice* W. C. C. Claiborne resigned; went out of office on the abolition of the District or Superior Courts, on the 1st of January, 1810, and in the session of Congress, 1810 and 1811, was appointed by the President one of the judges of the Mississippi Territory, and died in the fall of 1812.

HON. JOHN McNAIRY

A judge under the authority of North Carolina; was appointed by the President Territorial judge in the spring of 1790. He continued in that office until the formation of the State, April, 1796, when he was appointed by the Legislature one of the three judges of the Superior Courts. In the spring of 1797 he was appointed district judge of the Federal courts for the State of Tennessee, which office he held till his death, in 1831 (?)

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

HON. JOSEPH ANDERSON

Appointed by the President Territorial judge in February, 1791; continued in that office till the spring of 1796, when the Territory ceased and the State took its place. He was then appointed a senator in Congress.

HON. ARCHIBALD ROANE

Appointed by the Legislature of the State in April, 1796; resigned in June, 1801, In August, following he was elected Governor for two years,, and in November, 1811, appointed circuit judge.

HON. WILLIE BLOUNT

Appointed in April, 1796; resigned in September following. In August, 1809, elected Governor for two years, and again. Elected to the same office in August, 1811.

HON. WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE

Appointed by the Executive, vice Willie Blount resigned, in the fall of 1796. In the summer of 1797 he resigned, and was elected a member of the House of Representatives, and by re-elections continued in Congress until appointed by the President Governor of the Mississippi Territory, in the year 1801. After the Territory of Orleans was formed he was, appointed by the President. Governor of that Territory, and was also elected Governor, of the State in the fall of 1812.

HON. HOWELL TATUM

Appointed by the Governor in May, 1797, *vice* John McNairy; resigned in June, 1798, and subsequently appointed by the Legislature commissioner of land-claims.

HON. ANDREW JACKSON

United States senator from Tennessee; resigned in June, 1798; in the fall or winter of that year was appointed a judge of the Superior Courts; continued in office until June, 1804, when he resigned, having been appointed major-general of the militia.

HON. HUGH L. WHITE

Appointed by the Legislature in the fall of 1801, *vice* Archibald Roane; resigned in April, 1807; the same year elected a Senator in the State Legislature; in the fall of 1809 appointed by the Legislature one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, which office he held till Dec. 31, 1814, when he resigned, and was afterwards appointed president of the State Bank.

HON. JOHN OVERTON

Former supervisor of the revenue of the United States, appointed in July, 1804, a judge of the Superior Courts, *vice* Andrew Jackson, resigned; went out of office on the abolition of those courts on the 1st of January, 1810. In November, 1811, he was appointed by the Legislature one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, *vice* George W. Campbell.

HON. THOMAS EMMERSON .

Appointed by the Governor in April, 1807, *vice* H. L. White; resigned in the fall following.

HON. PARRY W. HUMPHREYS .

Appointed an additional judge of the Superior Courts in the fall of 1807; continued in office till the abolition of those courts on the 1st of January, 1810, having in the preceding fall been appointed one of the judges of the Circuit Courts. In April, 1813, he was elected a member of Congress, and thereupon resigned the office of circuit judge.

HON. SAMUEL POWEL

Appointed by the Legislature in the fall of 1807, *vice* Hugh L. White, resigned; continued in office until the abolition of the Superior Courts. In the fall of 1812 he was elected a circuit judge, which office he declined:

The following were judges of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals:

HON. GEORGE W. CAMPBELL George W. Campbell

Formerly representative in Congress; was appointed judge by the legislature in the fall of 1809; he continued on the bench till the fall of 1811, when he was elected United States senator.

HON. HUGH L. WHITE

Appointed by the Legislature in the fall of 1809. He, resigned Dec. 31, 1814, and was afterwards appointed president of the State Bank.

HON. JOHN OVERTON

Appointed in November, 1811, *vice* George W. Campbell. He remained on the bench till his resignation, April 11, 1816.

HON. WILLIAM W. COOKE

Appointed by the Governor, May 27, 1815, *vice* H. L. White, resigned; also appointed by the Legislature, Oct. 21, 1815, and remained in office until his death, July 20, 1816.

The vacancy had been tendered by the Governor to Samuel Powel, of Rogersville, January 2d; to Enoch Parsons, of Maryville, in January; to George Duffield, of Elizabethtown, in February; and to John Williams, of Knoxville, in March, 1815; but they had severally declined. Mr. Powel was afterwards elected to Congress, and Mr. Williams to the United States Senate.

HON. ARCHIBALD ROANE

Appointed by the Legislature as third, or an additional, judge of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, Oct. 21, 1815.

HON. ROBERT WHYTE

Appointed by the Legislature, May 22, 1816, *vice* John Overton, resigned, and continued in office till the court was abolished in 1834 by the adoption of the new Constitution. Judge Haywood had been offered the appointment, April 23, 1816, but had declined.

HON. JOHN HAYWOOD

Appointed by the Legislature, Sept. 14, 1816, *vice* William W. Cooke, deceased, and remained on the bench till his death, Dec. 22, 1826.

HON. JACOB PECK

Appointed by the Legislature in 1822, upon the resignation of Judge Emmerson, and remained on the bench till 1834.

HON. WILLIAM L. BROWN

Appointed by the Legislature in 1822, upon the resignation of Judge Emmerson, and resigned in 1824, and Hon. Henry Crabb was appointed in his place.

HON. JOHN CATRON

Appointed by the Legislature in December, 1824, *vice* William L. Brown, resigned, and remained upon the bench until superseded by the election under the new Constitution of 1834. He was afterwards, in March, 1837, appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

HON. HENRY CRABB

Appointed by the Governor in 1827, *vice* Hon. John Haywood, deceased, and died the same year.

HON. NATHAN GREEN

Appointed by the Legislature, in 1831, an additional judge; and remained on the bench till the change of the court under the Constitution of 1834.

Nine of the above judges viz., Messrs. McNairy, Tatum, Jackson, Overton, Campbell, Emmerson, Cooke, Haywood, and Whyte were residents of Davidson County; the others resided chiefly or wholly in East-Tennessee.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT (Since 1834.)

Under the Constitution of 1834 the following judges of the Supreme Court were elected, viz.:

Hon. William B. Turley.

Hon. William B. Reese.

Hon. Nathan Green.

These were all re-elected in 1848.

Judge Reese resigned in 1848, and Hon. Robert J. McKinney was elected in his place.

In 1850, Judge Turley resigned, and Hon. A. W. O. Totten was elected in his place.

Judge Green resigned in 1852, and Hon. Robert L. Caruthers was appointed to fill the vacancy.

In 1853 the Constitution was revised, and the existing judges were re-elected, viz.:

Hon. Robert J. McKinney.

Hon. Robert L. Caruthers.

Hon. A. W. O. Totten.

Judge Totten resigned Aug. 20, 1855, and Hon. William R. Harris was elected in his place.

Judge Harris died June 19, 1858, and Hon. Archibald Wright was elected in his place.

Judge Caruthers resigned in 1861, and Hon. William F. Cooper was elected in his place.

No term of the court was held during the civil war, and in 1865, His Excellency William G. Brownlow, Governor of the State, appointed new judges as follows:

Hon. Samuel Milligan.

Hon. J. O. Shackelford.

Hon. Alvin Hawkins.

Judge Shackelford resigned in 1867, and Hon. Horace H. Harrison was appointed in his place.

Judge Harrison resigned in 1868, and Hon. J. O. Shackelford was appointed in his place.

In 1868, Judge Hawkins resigned, and his place was filled by the appointment of Hon. Henry G. Smith.

Upon the resignation of Judge Milligan, in 1868, Hon. George Andrews was appointed judge.

In May, 1869, there was an election by the people, under the restricted suffrages which then prevailed, and the following judges were chosen:

Hon. George Andrews.

Hon. Andrew McClain.

Hon. Alvin Hawkins.

In August, 1870, there was a new election held under the revised Constitution of that year, and six judges were elected, to wit:

Hon. Alfred O. P. Nicholson.

Hon. James W. Deaderick.

Hon. Peter Turney.

Hon. Thomas A. R. Nelson.

Hon. John L. T. Sneed.

Hon. Thomas J. Freeman.

In 1871, Judge Nelson resigned, and Hon. Robert McFarland was elected in his place.

Judge Nicholson was elected chief justice. He died on the 23d of March, 1876.

By a provision of the Constitution of 1870, the judges of the Supreme Court are, by the death of Judge Nicholson, reduced to five.

Judge Deaderick was then elected chief justice.

In August, 1878, there was a new elution, and the following five judges were elected:

Hon. J. W. Deaderick.

Hon. Robert McFarland.

Hon. Peter Turney.

Hon. Thomas J. Freeman.

Hon. William F. Cooper.

Judge Deaderick was again elected chief justice. These constitute the present bench of the Supreme Court of Tennessee.

Of the judges of the Supreme Court since 1834 only Messrs. Caruthers, Nicholson, and Cooper are, or have been, residents of Davidson County.

Judges of the Supreme Court were elected by the Legislature till 1853, at which date, by provision of the revised Constitution, they became elective by the people, and hold their office eight years instead of twelve, as under the former Constitution. District and State attorneys also hold for a term of eight years.

COURT OF CHANCERY

From the adoption of the Constitution of 1834 to 1847 the Court of Chancery was held at Franklin. In the latter year a



Edward H. East

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Court of Chancery was established at Nashville for Davidson County. Hon. Terry H. Cabal was appointed chancellor in 1846, and continued to occupy that station till his death, which occurred in February, 1851. We give below a list of the chancellors and clerks of this court for Davidson County:

CHANCELLORS

Terry H. Cabal, 1846, to Feb: 19, 1851.
B. L. Ridley, * June, 1851.
John S. Brien, Oct. 29, 1851, to November, 1853.
Samuel D. Frierson, November, 1853.
David Campbell; commissioned: March 12, 1866.
Horace H. Harrison, commissioned April 2, 1867:
J. O. Shackelford, commissioned Feb. 28, 1868.
E. A. Otis, commissioned Dec. 16, 1:868.
Edward H. East, elected May 27, 1869.
William F. Cooper, commissioned Nov. 20; 1872.
Alfred G. Merritt, elected Aug. 1, 1878.

CLERKS.

Jackson B. White, appointed Feb. 3, 1846, and Feb. 3, 1862.

Carlton D. Brien, appointed March 12, 1853.
John E. Gleaves, appointed March 2, 1858.
Morton B. Howell, appointed Sept. 9, 1865.
Nathaniel Baxter, appointed Nov. 16, 1870,
Robert Ewing, appointed Nov. 18, 1876.

The Court of Chancery held jurisdiction over equity causes exclusively till 1877, since which certain legal causes are included.

Benjamin Litton, clerk of the Court of Chancery for Williamson County, was a resident of Nashville, and resided till his death at the Litton place, where the Vanderbilt University now stands. He was a brother of Mr. Isaac Litton, one of the present justices of the County Court.

CRIMINAL COURT

This court Was organized under the revised Constitution of 1853, and originally embraced Davidson, Rutherford, Sumner, and Montgomery Counties. On the 17th of June, 1870, its limits were reduced to Davidson and Rutherford Counties. The judges of this court have been as follows:

Hon. William K. Turner, 1853-64.
Hon. Thomas N. Frazier, 1864-67; removed.
Hon. John Hugh Smith, 1867-70,
Hon. Thomas N. Frazier (elected), 1870-78.
Hon. James M. Quarles, 1878; present incumbent.

CLERKS

Thomas T. Smiley, 1853[†] to 1856.
John Shane, 1856 to 1860.
Charles E. Diggins, from March 3, 1860, to April 6, 1863, when he was removed from office.
Charles W. Smith, appointed April 6, 1863.
John H. Hall, elected March 5, 1864; died in office in 1865.

Charles E. Diggins, appointed to vacancy Aug. 8, 1865; elected, and served to 1870.

Hugh W. Frizzell, September, 1870, to August, 1872. Samuel Donelson, August, 1872; re-elected, 1874, to September, 1878.

Albert S. Williams, September, 1878, to serve until September, 1882.

LAW COURT OF NASHVILLE

This court was established by act of the Legislature in 1870, with jurisdiction of law causes for Davidson and Sumner Counties. The first term began in Nashville on the first Monday of September, 1870.

JUDGE

Hon. Josephus C. Guild, elected by the people for a term of eight years, and occupied the bench till September, 1878, when the court was abolished by the Legislature.

The clerks of the Circuit Court, Messrs. Albert Akers and Nat. F. Dortch, officiated as clerks of the Law Court.

We subjoin the following list of United States Senators and Representatives from Davidson County, with the number of the Congress in which they served:

SENATORS

V.—Andrew Jackson took his seat Nov. 22, 1797; resigned 1798.

V., IX., X.—Daniel Smith, Dec. 3, 1798, to March 3, 1799; Dec. 2, 1805, to March 3, 1809.

XI.—Jenkin Whiteside, May 29, 1809; resigned 1811.

XII., XIII.—George Washington Campbell, Nov. 4, 1811; resigned Feb. 9, 1814.

XIII.—Jesse Wharton, April 9, 1814, to March 2, 1815.

XIV., XV.—George Washington Campbell, Dec. 4, 1815; resigned 1818.

XVIII.—Andrew Jackson, Dec. 1, 1823; resigned, 1825.

XXI.—John H. Eaton, Nov. 16, 1818 (XV. Cong.), to resignation, March, 1829. A resident of Williamson County previous to 1825.

XXI., XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXV.—Felix Grundy, Dec. 7, 1829; resigned July 4, 1838.

XXV. —Ephraim H. Foster, Dec. 3, 1838, to March 3, 1839.

XXVI.—Felix Grundy, Dec. 2, 1839, to his death, Dec. 19, 1840.

XX VII.— *Vacant.*

XXVIII.—Ephraim H. Foster, Dec. 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845.

XXX., XXXI., XXXIII., XXXIV., XXXV.—John Bell, Dec. 6, 1847, to March 3, 1859.

XXXVIII. —*Vacant*, 1863 to 1865.

XXXIX., XL., XLI.—Joseph S. Fowler, July 25, 1866, to March 3, 1871.

XLII., XLIII., X LIV.—Henry Cooper, March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1877.

XLV.—Isham G. Harris, Oct. 15, 1877.

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS

IV.—Andrew Jackson, Dec. 5, 1796, to March 3, 1797.

V., VI. —William Charles Cole Claiborne, Nov. 23, 1797., to March 3, 1801.

* Served in May and June Term 1851.

† Clerk of Circuit Court for 1844.

VIII., IX., X. —George Washington Campbell, Oct. 17, 1803, to March 3, 1809.

XI—Robert Weakley, May 22, 1809, to March 3, 1811.

XII, XIII. —Felix Grundy, Nov. 4, 1811; resigned 1814.

XIII, XIV. —Newton Cannon, Oct. 15, 1814, to March 3, 1817.

XV. —Thomas Claiborne, Dec. 1, 1817, to March 3, 1819.

XVI., XVII—Newton Cannon, Dec. 6, 1819, to March 3, 1823,

XVIII., XIX. —Samuel Houston, Dec. 1, 1823, to March 3, 1827.

XX., XXI., XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXVI. —John Bell, Dec. 3, 1827, to March 3, 1841.

XXIX. —Edwin H. Ewing, Dec. 1, 1845, to March 3, 1847.

XXX. —Washington Barrow, Dec. 6, 1847, to March 3, 1849.

XXXI—Andrew Ewing, Dec. 3, 1849, to March 3, 1851.

XXXII—James M. Quarles, Dec. 1, 1851, to March 3, 1853.

XXXIII., XXXIV., XXXV. —Felix K. Zollicoffer, Dec. 5, 1853, to March 3, 1859.

XXXVI.—James M. Quarles, Dec. 5, 1859, to March 3, 1861,

XXXVIII. —*Vacant*, Dec. 7, 1863, to March 3, 1865.

XL.—John Trimble, Nov. 21, 1867, to March 3, 1869.

XLL.—William F. Prosser, March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1871.

XLIII. —Horace H. Harrison, Dec. 1, 1873, to March 3, 1875.

CONVENTIONAL RECORD

The following named persons served as members of the Constitutional Conventions from this county:

CONVENTION OF 1796, TO FORM THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE

Convened at Knoxville, January 11th, and adjourned Feb. 6, 1796. Hon. William Blount, President; William Maclin, Secretary; John Sevier, Jr., Reading and Engrossing Clerk.

Delegates from Davidson. John McNairy, Andrew Jackson, James Robertson, Thomas Hardeman, Joel Lewis.

Of the two members from each county appointed by the Convention to draft the Constitution, Hon. John McNairy and Hon. Andrew Jackson were appointed for Davidson.

CONVENTION OF 1834, FOR THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Convened at Nashville, May 19th, and adjourned Aug. 30., 1834, William B. Carter, President; William K. Kill, Secretary.

Delegates from Davidson.—Francis B. Fogg, Robert Weakley, Three, only of the members of this Convention from the whole State are living at this writing, viz.: Francis B. Fogg, of Davidson; West H. Humphreys, of Fayette; and Bolling Gordon, of Hickman.

CHAPTER XXI

BENCH AND BAR OF DAVIDSON COUNTY

Status of the Legal Profession—List of Admissions to the Davidson County Bar—Bar Association—Biographical Sketches of Prominent Lawyers and Judges.

FROM the earliest period of the history of our country the legal profession has constituted a most valuable and important element in society. In all countries where jurisprudence has reached the dignity of a science, it has become more complicated and minute in its ramifications from one generation to another, extending through all the frame-work of society, from the greatest to the least of human concerns, and exerting an omnipresent spell and power second only to that of religion itself. To people thus educated *reverence* for the law becomes a powerful and controlling sentiment, and this reverence attaches in a very large degree to the outward exponents and officers of the law, whose duty it is to expound and apply its principles, to pronounce its authoritative judgments, and to enforce and execute its mandates.

In proportion as a country is free or despotic, in proportion as her laws are oppressive or just and beneficent, does this reverence become a fear and a dread, or, on the other hand, a loving and cordial appreciation of that which is designed to subserve the highest ends of justice and liberty among the people. Hence a very different feeling prevails towards lawyers and judges in a free country from that which exists in a country ruled more or less by despotic power. In the one case they are dreaded as more or less the tools and agents of irresponsible and arbitrary rulers; in the other they are loved and venerated as the wise and just executors of laws of their own enactment, based upon an authority emanating from the people themselves and designed to promote the welfare of the humblest citizen. Especially does this reverence become a cordial and an affectionate sentiment, and primitive of the highest influence for good, when the characters of these legal executors become conspicuous for honor, for patriotism, for eminent abilities, for learning, for high culture, and for all the domestic and social virtues.

In a free country, like our own, members of the legal profession exert an influence which they can nowhere else attain. They are not merely expounders and administrators of the law, but law-makers also; not only counselors and jurists, but legislators as well. It is not only a fact apparent at the present time that a large proportion of the members of our legislative bodies, both State and national, are lawyers, but it has always been so from the foundation of our government. The fact did not escape the observation of that great statesman, Edmund Burke, who remarked on a very grave and interesting occasion in Parliament, when our national struggle for independence was in progress, that in both the national and colonial Legislatures, and in the first Congress of the Union, a much larger proportion of lawyers were occupants of seats in those bodies than had been elsewhere known. This order of things, which began with the first legislative bodies of our government, has continued to the present time in all the States of the Union.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

The influential bar of Davidson County has furnished a striking illustration of this rule, from the time when Jackson and Grundy, Campbell and Whiteside, Houston and Peyton, Bell and Foster, Cooper and Harris, and many other bright lights, among whom are the Browns, the Ewings, the Claibornes and the Trimbles, carried their great talents and abilities from the legal profession to the halls of Congress and the State Legislature, From this profession, too, how many have graduated up to the highest bench of the State and nation, and worn the judicial ermine with honor to themselves and their country

On looking over the following sketches of lawyers and judges, it will be seen how large a proportion of them have been sent to the legislative bodies, both State and national. The plan of the present subject, the bench and bar of Davidson County, has been arranged in such a manner as to give first a list of the lawyers of the county, with dates of their admission to the bar, and then to follow the list with personal sketches of greater or less length of the more prominent and noticeable members,.

MEMBERS OF THE DAVIDSON COUNTY BAR.

The following is a list of the members of the Davidson County bar, with the dates of their admission:

- 1785. —William Grubbins,
- 1789. —Andrew Jackson.
- 1790. —James White, James Cole.
- 1791. —Howell Tatum, Hopkins Lacy.
- 1793. —James Dougherty.
- 1796. —Thomas Stuart, Gideon Davis Pendleton, John Brown, Joseph Herrendon.
- 1797. —George Smith, Francis Hall, Robert Hamilton.
- 1798. —John Hamilton, Preston Anderson, Howell Tatum.
- 1800. —John Dickson, Samuel Henry.
- 1801. —Matthew Lodge.
- 1802. —Peter Richardson Booker.
- 1803. —Hutchins G. Burton.
- 1804. —Robert Whyte, Thomas Overton, Washington L. Hannum, William Barton.
- 1805. —George W. L. Marr, Robert F. N. Smith, William Burton.
- 1806. —John E. Beck, Thomas Swann, Thomas K. Harris, Jenkin Whiteside, Blount Robertson, Thomas H. Benton.
- 1807. —William Sanders, Thomas Claiborne, L. D. Powell.
- 1808. —Felix Grundy, Thomas E. Turnbull, Kinehen Turner, Eli Talbott, James Rucks, Oliver B. Hays.
- 1809. —Gabriel Moore, Joseph Phillips.
- 1810. —Alfred H. Lewis, Lemuel P. Montgomery.
- 1812. —Stockley D. Hays.
- 1813. —Elias K. Kam, John G. Syms, Samuel Smith Hall, Thomas Washington,
- 1814. —William R. Hess, Douglass J. Puckett, William Alexander, David Craighead, Henry Crabbe, Patrick H. Darby, James Trimble, Ephraim H. Foster.
- 1815. —James G. Martin, John Bell,
- 1816. —Robert Goodlett, John J. White, W. L. Brown, John A. Cheatham, Aaron V. Brown, Robert P. Dunlap.

1817. —Robert H. Adams, George W. Gibbs, Argyle Campbell, Aaron V. Brown, Neill S. Brown, Morgan W. Brown.

1818. —John Catron, Francis B. Fogg, James P. Clarke.

1819. —Samuel Houston.

1820. —John P. Erwin, George S. Yeager.

1821. —David Barrow, Alfred Murray.

1822. —Alexander Barrow, Thomas A. Duncan, James C. Hays, William Stevens, William Cooper.

1823. —Benjamin S. Litton, John L. Allen, Nelson Patterson, McCoy W. Campbell, Andrew J. Donelson, James Collinsworth.

1824. —Samuel Yerger, Baylie Peyton, Allen A. Hall, William E. Andrews, John H. Martin.

1825. —Thomas Haywood, John Colwell.

1826. —Joseph J. Anthony.

1827. —Henry Rutledge, Thomas H. Fletcher, George Washington Barrow.

1828. —George C. Childress, Samuel Hays, James P. Thompson, Andrew Bachus, Richard S. Williams,

1829. —Orville Ewing, Felix Catron, George W. Foster, Samuel Watson, Henry A. Wise, William L. Washington, Thomas J. Lacy, Micajah Claiborne, John A. Walker.

1830. —Thomas C. Whiteside, William Woodson, John M. Bass, John Bruce, James I. Dozier, Henry B. Shaw, John R. Shenault.

1831. —Charles D. Shewsbury, William T. Brown, Benjamin Patton, George R. Fall, David Campbell.

1833. —William F. White.

1834. —Joseph W. Perkins, John M. Hays, John Childress, Charles Scott, John W. Goode, Robert B. Castleman, J. S. Yeager.

1835. —Henry Hollingsworth, David Sheldon, John W. Barker, Augustus L. Hays, John Trimble, Nathaniel Baxter (judge), Godfrey M. Fogg.

1836. —Thomas T. Smiley,

1838. —Isaac F. Anderson, Jordan G. Stokes.

1841. —John M. Lea, James Campbell.

MEMBERS OF THE BAR ASSOCIATION,

(Incorporated May 10, 1875.)

1840. —M. C. Goodlett.

1841. —W. F. Cooper.

1847. —D. F. Wilkin.

1854. —Baxter Smith.

1857. —Horace H. Harrison.

1858. —Morton B. Howell.

1858. —Thomas H. Malone,

1859. —James Chamberlin.

1860. —R. McP. Smith.

1860. —G. P. Thruston.

1861. —Thomas L. Dodd.

1863. —D. W. Peabody.

1864. —John Frizzell.

1865. —Andrew Allison

1866. —John Lawrence.

1866. —G. M. Fogg, Jr.

1866. —John Lellyett.

1866. —Matthew W. Allen.

1866.—Frank T. Reid.
 1867.—Nicholas D. Malone.
 1867.—John M. Gant.
 1867.—T. M. Steger.
 1867.—Nathaniel Baxter.
 1867.—J. B. Brown.
 1867.—Edward Baxter.
 1867.—Thomas M. Osment.
 1868.—James D. Park.
 1869.—John Ruhm.
 1869.—C. D. Berry.
 1869.—Wirt Hughes.
 1869.—James Trimble.
 1869.—M. T. Bryard.
 1870.—William E. McNeilly.
 1870.—J. C. Cartwright.
 1870.—William K. McAlister.
 1870.—S. Watson, Jr.
 1870.—Harry Harrison.
 1871.—H. D. Smith.
 1871.—E. T. Morris.
 1871.—Robert S. Overall.
 1872.—A. H. Lusk.
 1872.—George H. Vaughan, West H. Humphreys.
 1873.—J. C. Bradford.
 1873.—James S. Frazer.
 1874.—J. M. Dickinson.
 1874.—Robert B. Lea.
 1874.—Jere Baxter.
 1874.—John L. Kennedy.
 1876.—Edward Gawnaway.
 1876.—William G. Brien, Jr.
 1876.—George C. Hunt.
 1877.—Lewis B. McWhirter.
 1878.—T. E. Matthews.
 1879.—J. P. Helms.
 1879.—Paul Jones.

To this list should be added the following-named Members of the Davidson bar, not members of the Bar Association, the dates of whose admission to the bar have not been obtained. Some of them are noticed in sketches further on in this chapter: J. B. White, Neill S. Brown, Thomas T. Smiley, George Stubblefield, Jackson B. White, George Marley, Matthew W. Allen, M. M. Brien, Nathaniel Baxter, J. W. Horton, Jr., E. H. East, John C. Grant.

The above list of admissions to the Davidson County bar contains the names of but three lawyers of any considerable note up to 1806: these are Andrew Jackson, Thomas Stuart, and Robert Whyte. With respect to Jackson, it may be remarked that he exhibited no special greatness either as a lawyer or as a jurist, nor did he remain long in the profession. His taste, his ambition, and his providential calling led him into other fields in which his great talents were fully displayed, and where he won imperishable renown. The life of Gen. Jackson; as a hero, patriot, and statesman, will be found in another part of this work. It is only necessary to record here the few brief facts respecting his early career as a lawyer and judge. He read law and obtained license to practice before emigrating from his

native State. When he came to Nashville he was admitted to the Davidson County bar, at the date above given, 1789, and practiced in the courts here with other early lawyers several years. For about six years he exercised the functions of judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, from the autumn of 1798 to the month of June, 1804. When he was appointed major-general, and was succeeded on the bench by Hon. John Overton.

HON. JOHN OVERTON.

Judge Overton was born in Louisa Co., Va., the 9th day of April, 1766; His family was not wealthy, and his education was only such as could be procured at that day in the best common schools of Virginia. While a youth he taught school for several years, chiefly for the purpose of educating his brothers and sisters; but his attention soon became directed towards the profession of the law, in which numbers of his family connections, the Wythes, and Carrs, had become highly distinguished. He removed to Kentucky before his majority, studied law there, but, it is believed, began the practice in Nashville, Tenn. The litigation then was chiefly concerning the titles to real estate, and old lawyers, as well in Kentucky as Tennessee, will remember that there was a good deal of it, and very profitable it was too. A good land-lawyer was the highest eminence of the profession. Judge Overton at once obtained a full practice, and by his industry and attention to business kept it till he was transferred to the bench. A system of law, based upon the acts of 1777 and 1783 of the North Carolina Legislature, disposing of lands in the Territory of Tennessee, had to be built up by the bar and bench of Tennessee, and Overton, as lawyer and judge, exercised considerable influence in molding the system to suit the wants and necessities of the new community. The English law-books failed to afford a precedent for settling the titles to boundaries of adjacent wild lands, involving the questions of special entries, younger grants, elder entries, the ages of marks on trees, the authority of plats to control the calls in grants, and various other points springing from the peculiar system adopted by North Carolina; and hence the difficulty of the task which had to be encountered by our earlier judges. The constructions of our land-laws; as ruled whilst Overton was on the bench, became established law, and the points are not now controverted in the courts. He was conscientious in the discharge of his duties, giving to every case, no matter how small the amount involved, a patient attention, and studying it before he delivered an opinion. His private journal, now in the possession of his son-in-law, shows that during vacation he was constantly engaged in studying the cases which had been laid over from the last term, and there is an abstract of the principal points of almost every case that was before the court whilst he was a member.

He was appointed supervisor of the revenue of the United States, and held the office till it was abolished by Congress. The office was one of responsibility and trust, and, as a mark of his industry, it may be proper to state that he kept copies of every letter to his various agents, his correspondence with the department at Washington, and of even the minutest transaction, so that a correct statement of the business and

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accounts of his office could now, after the lapse of half a century, be accurately made.

In 1804 he was elected a judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, in place of Gen. Jackson, who resigned, and held the office till the abolition of the court on the 1st day of January, 1810. During this period Judge Overton was also appointed by the Legislature as agent to confer with the Legislature of North Carolina respecting the land-titles of the separate States, and to make such agreement, stipulation, or compromise as might be necessary. The appointment evidences the estimation in which Judge Overton was held as a land-lawyer. In November, 1811, he was elected a judge of the Supreme Court in place of Hon. George W. Campbell, who was transferred to the Senate of the United States, and continued to discharge the duties of said office till his resignation in 1816. Overton's Reports run through a series of years from 1791 to 1817, and are valuable as a repository of the land-law, now almost obsolete, however, as the healing power of the statute of limitations has cured all titles originally defective, and titles at this day are seldom controverted except on principles arising from irregular sales, the construction of wills, etc.

After Judge Overton's retirement from the bench he practiced in important cases, and used the same industry and energy that had characterized his early professional life. His private business also required his attention, and that, with his limited but important practice, kept him constantly engaged. He never knew what, it was to be idle, and always did well what he undertook. Judge Overton and Gen. Jackson were throughout their lives firm and unwavering friends, and it was singular that individuals differing in many points of character should have such an ardent attachment for each other. Gen. Jackson seldom advised with anybody but Judge Overton, and it is said, by those who know, that it was his custom to consult Judge Overton upon all important subjects; he certainly had a very high respect for his opinion, and a confidential correspondence was carried on between them till the day of Judge Overton's death. During the Presidential campaigns of 1824 and 1828, Judge Overton labored assiduously for the success of Gen. Jackson. He had the happiness to see his early and fast friend elected to the Presidency, and immediately withdrew from political strife. The relations of Gen. Jackson and Judge Overton were most intimate and confidential and unreserved on all subjects of men and measures. A few days before Judge Overton's death he caused all the correspondence of Gen. Jackson, embracing a life-time (for Judge Overton never lost or mislaid a paper or letter), to be brought to his bedside. Political excitement was then at the highest pitch, and the war between Jackson and the Bank was raging. He reflected that, after his death, many of those letters, intended for his own eye, might fall into the hands of his friend's enemies, and garbled extracts find their way to the public, such a thing had happened and might happen again, few would be living who could explain the circumstances under which they were written, time and the events of life might have induced a change of opinion concerning men and things, and with a singular prudence he committed the correspondence to the flames, remarking that,

living or dead, he would not betray the confidence of a friend. It is a matter of regret that this correspondence was not preserved and trusted to a judicious and impartial historian. It would have developed the true character of Gen. Jackson, and have shown that, in addition to all the honorable, noble, and generous qualities of which the world is well aware in the character of that great man, he was also a reflecting, thinking, prudent man, there was a degree of coolness in all his rashness.

Judge Overton died the 12th day of April, 1833, at his residence, near Nashville. He was an influential citizen. He had some peculiar idiosyncrasies of character, but was universally respected and loved by his family and a chosen body of friends, who cherished for him the warmest affection. His success in the pursuits of life was very great, and, though economical in the smallest particulars, he was liberal towards all public improvements and institutions, and by his will gave handsome legacies to many of his wife's relatives. He predicted the success of George S. Yerger, of Mississippi, as a lawyer, and gave him his law library, the largest then in the West; he was of a discriminating mind, and read character well. Though his life was emphatically one of business, overflowing with private and public duties, and though his large private interests often brought him into conflict with others, no word of suspicion was ever whispered against his character, and his children are justly proud of the name he has left, them.

Judge Overton left three children, two of whom, a son and a daughter (Mrs. John M. Lea), reside in Nashville; the other daughter married Mr. R. C. Brinkley, of Memphis, and has departed this life.

THOMAS STUART.

Thomas Stuart was an active, industrious, and laborious lawyer; was for many years judge of the Circuit Court at Nashville, and retired from that position upon the adoption of the Constitution of 1834. He was then a very old man, and retired to his farm in Williamson County. He practiced law in a feeble way in the courts of that county, coming into court on crutches, which he was obliged to use from an accidental injury. He died, it is believed, about 1840.

ROBERT WHYTE.

Robert Whyte was a Scotchman by birth, and a very excellent lawyer and judge. He vacated the bench of the Supreme Court in 1834 upon the adoption of the new Constitution, having served as an honored judge for many years. He was then a feeble old man; he lived to a great age, but appeared no more in public life after his retirement from the bench. He was a laborious and accurate lawyer, and exceedingly tenacious of his views and opinions. His opinions as a judge are remarkable for laborious research and accuracy. (See Haywood's, Peck's, Martin and Yerger's, and 1 Yerger's "Reports.")

JENKIN WHITESIDE.

"Jenkin Whiteside," says Governor Foote, in his "Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest," "has come down to the men of this generation exclusively as a great land-lawyer. No one was more familiar than he with all that Coke and Blackstone and the other English writers have said in their labored and profoundly-reasoned treatises upon the laws of real property.

No man had mastered more fully than himself the principles involved in the doctrine of executory devises and contingent remainders. No lawyer of his time could talk more learnedly and luminously upon the celebrated rule in Shelley's case; and he manifested a steady energy and masterly dexterity in the management of all the sharp points and subtle devices that appertain to the trial of actions of adjustment, which things gave him many advantages over a sluggish and less wily adversary. No mail could be more conversant than was Jenkin Whiteside with the whole history of land-titles in Tennessee; as well as with the operations of the land-offices both in that State and North Carolina, a species of knowledge quite indispensable to success in the arduous but profitable vocation in which he had enlisted, and upon which his attention had been concentrated in a manner rarely exemplified. He was undoubtedly a man of vigorous understanding, of wonderful sagacity and acuteness, devoted much to money-making, and especially delighting in what was known as speculation in uncultivated lands; of which he had, in one way and another, at different times, accumulated large bodies, the titles to which were not rarely involved in troublesome and expensive litigation." From an unfortunate speculation in what was called for many years Balch and Whiteside Addition to Nashville, he died insolvent, and his estate became the subject of very extensive litigation. He lived and died a bachelor: He is described as a man "of rough and unimposing exterior, of awkward and ungainly manners, and had no relish whatever for those elegant and refined pursuits which are understood to distinguish polished and aristocratic communities." Still, he is admitted by all who knew him to have been "civil and unobtrusive in his general demeanor, not deficient in public spirit, and of a coarse and unpretending cordiality which made him many friends and no enemies,"

THOMAS H. BENTON

Thomas H. Benton, it will be seen from our list, was admitted to the bar of this county in 1806. He came from North Carolina, where he had received a collegiate education, and taught a small school upon Duck River, not many miles from Franklin, in which latter place he subsequently began the practice of law. From the first it is said that Mr. Benton was "much fonder of political pursuits than of the study of law-books, and greatly preferred the making of stump-speeches to the argument of legal causes." He, however, possessed great powers, as is clearly evinced in his future almost unbounded control of politics in the Territory and State of Missouri, and his unrivaled career of thirty years in the United States Senate, where he was regarded as the peer of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. "No man," says a late writer "was ever more industrious, more persevering, or more fertile in expedients than Mr. Benton." The same writer, however, thinks that "no amount of rhetorical training could ever have enabled Mr. Benton to cope in lively and splendid forensic eloquence with such persons as Mr. Clay or Felix Grundy," or in legal argumentation "to rival the condensed vigor of a Marshall or a Pinckney." "The ready and rapid flow of choice and appropriate words," says our author, "and of earnest, clear,

and forcible logic, sometimes bordering upon metaphysical subtlety, and occasionally embellished and adorned with sublime generalities, to which Mr. Calhoun was indebted for so large a portion of his fame and influence, seemed ever to arouse in Mr. Benton. A feeling allied to astonishment, not unmixed with an emulation nearly akin to resentment." As a writer Mr. Benton is accorded great excellence "When he chose to do so, he could express himself on paper with a clearness and precision not often equaled. He had command of a simple, nervous; and idiomatic English style which few of his own generation could boast."

For a year or two of Mr. Benton's residence in Tennessee he was the law-partner of the Hon: Oliver B. Hays, Who became a resident of Nashville in 1808, but whose name does not appear on our list of admissions at the bar. He was probably admitted in Baltimore, where he had studied law before he came here. Mr. Benton probably removed from Tennessee on account of his difficulty with Gen. Jackson respecting the duel of his brother, Jesse, about 1810. He was exceedingly ambitious, and could not brook the ascendancy of his great rival, he therefore concluded that so far as his own personal competition was concerned, he would withdraw from the immediate arena, and leave Jackson "alone in his glory." He removed to St. Louis, where he had things very much his own way, and erected a throne on which he reigned without a rival for the rest of his days. The career of Mr. Benton in politics is one of the most remarkable in the history of our country,*

HON. FELIX GRUNDY.

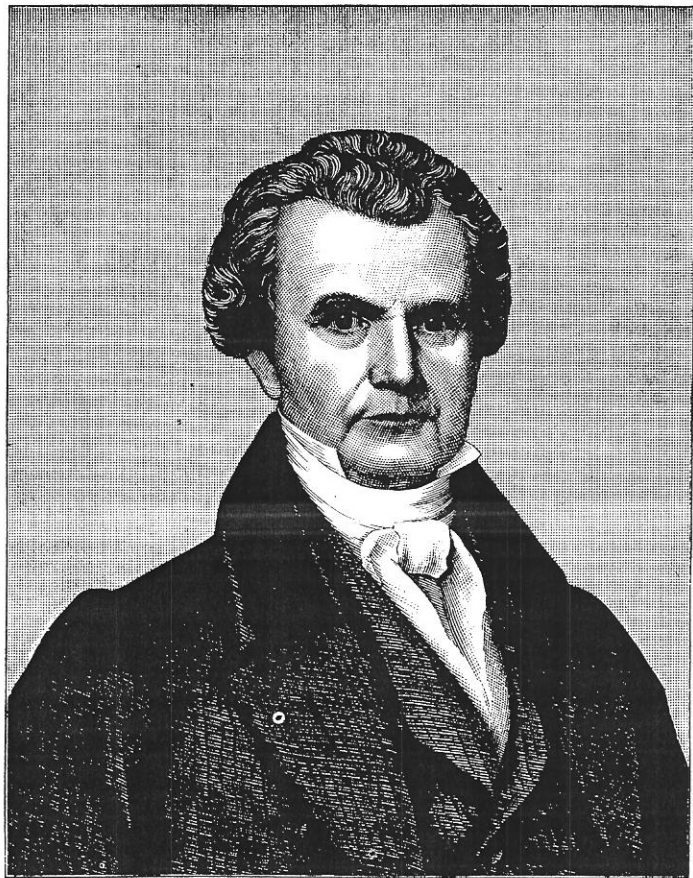
This eminent jurist and statesman was born in Berkeley Co., Va., on the 11th of September, 1777, and died in Nashville; Tenn., Dec. 19, 1840. His father was an Englishman, and settled in Kentucky in the year 1780. Felix was educated at Bardstown Academy, and was admitted to the practice of law in the courts of Kentucky, where he soon attained a high reputation. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Kentucky in 1799; a member of the Legislature of that State from 1800 to 1805; was appointed judge of the Supreme Court in 1806, and soon after made chief justice.

Such is a brief outline of his record in Kentucky. In the winter of 1807-8 he removed to Nashville, where his fame had preceded him, and for a long series of years maintained a position at the head of the bar as a criminal advocate. He was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1814; was in the Tennessee Legislature for several years; was United States senator from 1829 to 1838, and elected to the same office in 1840. He was a strong Jackson man, and was United States attorney general from July 5, 1838, to Dec. 1, 1840.

From the sources of information within our reach respecting Mr. Grundy's forensic character and reputation we select the following. Hon. Edwin H. Ewing, who has kindly furnished us valuable notes on a number of the leading members of the bar of which he himself has long been an honored member, says of Mr. Grundy, _____

"He was a fluent and dignified speaker, and ranked high in Tennessee as an orator, an adroit and skillful practitioner, especially on the criminal side of the law. He was a keen judge of men and motives. His manner of speaking would

* See "Thirty Years in the Senate."



Felix Grundy

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now be considered somewhat affected and stilted it was, however, very effective for its time. He had very little learning as a lawyer, but was exceedingly quick and skillful in taking up and appropriating the knowledge of others. Of his more public history as a member of Congress of both houses and as attorney-general of the United States, I need not speak."

Judge Guild says, "Felix Grundy will always rank among the greatest men this century has produced. He was Tennessee's greatest criminal advocate, and he was the peer of any the United States has produced. He was not only a great lawyer, but was a powerful stump-speaker, and ranked with Henry Clay as an orator before he removed from Kentucky to Tennessee, which occurred about the year 1807. He had been a distinguished member of the Kentucky Legislature, a member of the convention that framed the Constitution, and chief justice of that State. He was a member of the United States House of Representatives from Tennessee, and sustained the war of 1812 with great eloquence. He was a member of the Tennessee Legislature in 1820, and was the author of the relief measures adopted by that body for the purpose of mitigating the severity of the revolution of 1819. He was elected to the United States Senate, and was a tower of strength in that body to Gen. Jackson's administration. He was attorney general under Mr. Van Buren's administration, the duties of which he discharged with the same marked ability that he had brought to bear in every position he had accepted.

"Judge Grundy was not what may be called a book man or a book-lawyer. To his fine voice and inimitable action there was added a brilliant intellect, through which ran a vein of strong common sense. He was good at repartee, and his wit fairly sparkled. He possessed in a marked degree the power to arouse and sway the passions of the heart, to excite sympathy or indignation, to parry the blows of an adversary, and to carry his point by brilliant charge. He was a consummate judge of human nature, and this rendered him unrivaled in the selection of a jury. He was unsurpassed in developing the facts of a case, and wonderful in the cross-examination of a witness introduced against his client. He generally relied upon his associate counsel to bring into court the books containing the law of the case in which they were employed, and the law was read and commented upon by these associates. And then, when Mr. Grundy came to close the case, so clear were his deductions, so striking his illustrations, so systematically would he tear to pieces the superstructure of the opposing counsel, and so vividly portray the right and justice for which he contended, that all who heard him regarded him as the finest lawyer of that or any other age. So thoroughly did he carry the crowd with him that he may be aptly likened to Paul when he made his great speech before King Agrippa, and extorted from that monarch the expression, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.

"While I was reading law in Nashville, in 1821," says Judge Guild, "Judge Grundy and William L. Brown were engaged on the same side in an ejectment case involving the construction of the phrase, Being in possession of the land under a deed or assurance of title founded on a grant,

contained in the statute of limitations of 1796. Some judges held that the words founded on a grant meant that the deed must be connected by a regular chain of title down to the grantee, while others held the meaning to be that the land must be granted, but the deed under which it was held need not be connected with the grant. This conflict of opinion rendered the present case all the more important. The proof was all heard, as also the tide-papers, and the case was ready for argument. Judge Grundy had expected to make the closing speech, as was usual with him in all cases in which he was employed, and had not examined the law and the decisions bearing upon the suit. This he had left for Judge Brown to do, intending to avail himself of that gentleman's research to enable him to make the closing argument. He requested Judge Brown to open the case, but he refused. Grundy appealed to Brown to open the argument, but the latter pointedly refused to do so. Judge Grundy was therefore compelled to open the case, and this was the only occasion, as was said at the time, that he was ever known to make an utter failure. If Judge Brown had opened with his clear and exhaustive exposition of the law, he would have laid the foundation upon which Judge Grundy would have built a brilliant and masterly argument. Judge Grundy was a great manager, and he relied for success upon his knowledge of men, his brilliant wit, and his unrivaled eloquence, more than upon the dry details of the law.

"The happy personal relations between Mr. Grundy and Mr. Clay were never seriously disturbed by their political differences, and each frequently indulged in sallies of wit and humor at the expense of the other in their political speeches.

"In the Presidential campaign of 1840, Mr. Clay, Mr. Crittenden, and other leading Whig orators visited Nashville, and held forth at a great barbecue prepared for the occasion. They came first into East Tennessee and crossed over the mountains. When speaking at Knoxville, Mr. Clay said when he came through Cumberland Gap into Tennessee one of the first questions he asked was, where is my old friend, Felix Grundy? And, he continued, being informed that he was away down in Alabama, making speeches for Mr. Van Buren, I raised my hands and exclaimed, "All, yes still pleading the cause of criminals!"

"When Mr. Grundy returned to Nashville he was invited to address the people of Rutherford, at Murfreesboro. He availed himself of the opportunity to say that he had seen the report of Mr. Clay's Knoxville speech in the newspapers, and regretted that he was not there to reply to it, or that he could not now make a reply in Mr. Clay's hearing. He said it was true he had acquired some reputation as a criminal lawyer, and expressed a belief that he still retained all his professional faculties; but he felt well assured that if Mr. Clay should be indicted and brought before a court of strict justice for all his political offenses, and he (Mr. G.) were to be retained as his counsel, it would prove to be another Bennett care.

"This elicited a round of applause that made the welkin ring, for everybody seemed to know the fact that of the many causes of criminals managed by Mr. Grundy, he never lost but one and that was the cause of a notoriously guilty

client by the name of Bennett, who had murdered a Mr. Hays in Wilson County. For many years the case was continued in the courts, and at last, by a change of venue, Bennett was convicted and hanged in Williamson County."

HON. JOHN HAYWOOD.

[We extract the following sketch of Judge Haywood, the earliest historian of Tennessee, from the *Southwestern Law Journal and Reporter* for June, 1844:]

"John Haywood, the subject of the present memoir; was born in the county of Halifax, in the State of North Carolina on the 16th of March, 1762, of a family engaged in agriculture. His ancestors emigrated originally from England, and settled at an early period in the city of New York, whence they subsequently removed to Norfolk, Va. The latter town was almost entirely consumed by fire in the year 17, and the fortune of William his grandfather, was involved in the general ruin. With a view to retrieve his losses, he soon after withdrew from this ill-fated town to the infant colony of North Carolina, and established himself near the town of Halifax on the Roanoke. Egbert, the father of John, was a respectable farmer in moderate circumstances; and followed his occupation in the same neighborhood. He discharged with credit to himself such county offices as are usually filled by country gentlemen but was by no means remarkable for a love of letters. He delighted rather in the amusements of the chase, and other field sports which are known to possess so many attractions for those who *faterna rare bovibus exercent sus*. From the too great love of these diversions, united with the low state of learning in the colonies, it is probable that the family name, which has been borne by very distinguished individuals in England, fell into obscurity for a time in America. Previous to the Revolution few of the family seemed to have enjoyed the smiles of executive favor, or to have been members of the public councils of the country, or in any way distinguished for literary attainments.

"William, a paternal uncle, from whom the Haywoods of Raleigh, N.C., derived their lineage, was the only one whose fortune it was, previous to the Revolution, to enjoy an office of distinction. He was a member of the Executive Council. His descendants have always filled since that time the highest offices of the State, one of whom was a distinguished United States senator in 1844. John, the subject of our brief memoir, with limited means of instruction, and deprived of the invaluable blessings of a collegiate education, by indefatigable industry, and ardent, exclusive devotion to the profession he had chosen, has acquired for himself a reputation which, if less brilliant than that of many of his contemporaries whose lot it was to enroll their names on the bright page of their country's glory, will be equally appreciated for the lasting and substantial benefits it has conferred on his native and adopted State. He may be considered a *pioneer of the law*. He was the first lawyer and judge who reported cases decided in the courts of North Carolina and Tennessee, and in future time, on account of his learned decisions, will be regarded as the leading authority on all questions which involve doubt in the organic laws of these infant States. Doubtless the individuals who have mainly contributed lay industry and learning to fix

the meaning and the deficiencies of our fundamental institutions have done as much service and deserve no less praise than the most gifted of those who have held more distinguished stations while engaged in framing them.

"The names of Coke, Hale, and Holt, the pioneers of English law, are not less respected, nor are the benefits derived from their exertions likely to be sooner forgotten by their countrymen than the services of. Their political contemporaries: Who at present ever hears the names of the signers of the great English charter? and indeed most of those inscribed on our own bright roll have nearly faded from the recollections of the people. Not so with our distinguished judges; Wythie, Marshall, Haywood; are as familiar in the mouths of the people as household words. We have said thus much to encourage the diligent student with the hope of ample reward, who with pure ambition exclusively devotes himself to his profession, by the example of one who made it -the sole business of his life, his only pursuit. He was contented with the tenors to be derived from his profession alone, and owes whatever reputation he has attained to his untiring application and great diligence in its prosecution,

"Of his early education there is not much to be said, for of this he had but little. His father being in moderate circumstances, had it not in his power however much he might have inclined to send him to a foreign country, or even to a neighboring province, for education, which was the general practice at that time of the wealthy colonists. Enabled by their wealth to dispense with domestic institutions of learning, they illiberally failed to provide means of education for the gifted sons of their less fortunate neighbors. But this deficiency was in some measure supplied by the conductors of private academies who were generally well grounded in the branches they professed to teach and the learned languages especially were thoroughly taught. To one of these in a neighboring county, by an intelligent minister of the gospel, was he sent by his father at an early age to receive the rudiments of a learned education. In justice to the memory of this gentleman, whose name was Castle, it is not useless to remark that another individual, Mr. Harper, of Maryland, equally distinguished for his eminence in the legal profession, was educated at the same school. Honor to these humble benefactors of mankind, without whose fostering care many genius of the brightest talents would be left to wither under the blighting influence of poverty and neglect!

"Here Haywood acquired the usual knowledge of Latin and Greek, geography, and the elements of mathematics. Of the higher branches of science, mental and moral philosophy, and physics, he learned but little, and perhaps nothing. In after-life, when he had attained distinction in his profession, he relaxed in his diligent pursuit of the law, and turned his attention to more agreeable studies. He made deep researches into history and theology, and became well acquainted with the general results of natural science. Thus it is seen that on his return to his paternal abode he had traversed but few of the wide fields of human knowledge, and was but scantily prepared to thread with success the intricate mazes of a profession which requires almost

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universal knowledge. But so strong was the direction which his mind had received from nature towards legal pursuits that he soon after entered upon the task, under difficulties which to minds endowed with ordinary vigor and perseverance would have been insurmountable. Less favored than other individuals who from a humble beginning have risen to eminence by the vigor of their intellect and untiring industry, he had not the advantages of access to the library of a friend or the benefit of legal tuition in a lawyer's office. In law he was his own instructor. Coming by some accident into possession of an old volume of Raymond's Reports, with this he commenced his study, thus pursuing a course the very reverse of ordinary students. They usually study the principles of the law, which they afterwards trace in their application to particular cases, while his vigorous intellect traveled at once through the details of a case; deducing from it those great principles on which all law is founded. Nothing so strikingly marks the vigor of his mind and the enthusiastic ardor with which he entered upon his legal studies as the fact that he could master the extremely technical statements of Lord Raymond's Reports, interspersed as they are with the old Latin and French phrases which were in use in those times.

"With no preparation, except such as he had made by his own unaided genius, he began the practice of law in his native county, and in a very short time took his stand by the side of such men as Gen. Davie, Nash, McCoy, Badger, and Martin, men whose learning and ability had placed them at the head of the North Carolina bar. His first argument before the Supreme Court of the State was made when he was about twenty-four years of age, and was said to have displayed as much learning and as comprehensive a view of the great landmarks of the law as any argument which had ever been from before it. From that time his services were engaged in all important causes, and he advanced rapidly to professional honor, and secured a large share of professional emolument.

"As attorney-general for the State, in the year 1794, he had the address to procure a reconsideration of the opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court in a case where the court had decided the act of 1793 unconstitutional, which authorized judgments to be taken by *motion without notice* against defaulting public officers. After a most learned and elaborate argument from Haywood, the court reversed their judgment, Judge Macey remarking that he "had given such strong reasons that his objections were vanquished, and, therefore, that the attorney general might proceed, —"*but yet that he did not very much like it*" 1 Hay. R. 40. This was the first innovation on the common law allowing those summary proceedings by motion which are now so common in our courts; and the synopsis of the argument of Mr. Haywood, in Hay. R. 40-50, evinces thus early the power and vigor of his mind.

"During the same year he was elevated to the bench of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity. He entered immediately on a vigorous discharge of his duties. In the five or six years during which he occupied a place on the bench, he collected with great care and published three volumes of reports of cases decided by the Superior Court of North Carolina from

the year 1789 to 1798. In the decision of a great majority of these cases Mr. Haywood took part, either as counsel or judge. And throughout the whole range of subjects which arose in the establishment of the government subsequent to the Revolution, no great question arose which was not elucidated by his learning and generally determined by his great ability. As an instance of the effect which his reasoning had upon the current of decisions in North Carolina, as well as in Tennessee, we need only refer to the case of the State vs. Long, decided at Hillsborough, N. C., April, 1795 (Haywood R. 177, Battles Ed.). This was an indictment against Long for larceny, on the authority of the English cases, that a borrowing with a fraudulent intent to steal the property borrowed would constitute larceny. Two of the judges went with the English authorities; Judges Haywood and Williams held that in order to constitute the offense the property should have been taken *invite domino*; and Long was pardoned. To Haywood's report of this case he appended a note opposing the authority of the English modern cases, and contending for the law as laid down in Coke, Hale, and Hawkins. Upon the authority of this extra-judicial opinion of Judge Haywood, the courts of Tennessee (and of North Carolina, too, it is believed) have uniformly acted: first, in Bradens case, 2 Term (Overtons) R. 68, and then in Martin and Yerg., 526; Wrights case, 5 Yerg., 154; Hites case, 9 Yerg. 11., 205; Dodge vs. Brittain, Meigs IL, 84. In Bradens case, Overton, judge, said, THE RULE LAID DOWN IN THE NOTE TO TUE CASE OF THE STATE vs. LONG, Hay., 197, IS CORRECT LAW, AND THE REASONING, THOUGH CONTRARY TO MANY LATE DECISIONS IN ENGLAND, IS INCONTROVERTIBLE. But by an act of the Legislature of 21st of January, 1842, the law which had thus been established was thrown years was thrown aside, and the English law established in all its vigor.

"But the ability and learning of Judge Haywood were nowhere so fully displayed as in the celebrated case of the University of North Carolina vs. Toy & Bishop. The Legislature in 1789 conferred upon the university all the property which had or might hereafter *escheat* to the State; but by an act of 1800 this right was attempted to be taken from the university, which was resisted by Judge Haywood, who was then at the bar. The law divesting the university was declared void and unconstitutional, and the rights of the university triumphantly sustained.

"About the year 1800, Judge Haywood left the bench and entered again into the field of litigation, where he continued to add to the already unequalled reputation which he had acquired as a judge. Giving himself up strictly to the business of his profession, and to those studies which enabled him so long to adorn it, he was enabled to take the lead in all questions of constitutional and international law, and in the interpretation of the laws of descent, limitations, land-laws, etc., which arose in the courts of his native State. In the case of Crutcher vs. Punnell (Murphy's R., 22), Judge Haywood's argument at the bar, in reference to the act of 1715, on the Statute of Limitation, had the effect to Produce the decision *that seven years possession without color of title will not bar an ejectment.*' In reference to this argument Judge Murphy remarks (1 Murphy. R., 30), that it had the

effect of changing the current of decisions and unsettling the opinions of the profession as to the construction of the Act of Limitations, and at the distance of one hundred years after the passage of the act more diversity of opinion seems to exist as to its meaning and operation than at any former period. Twenty years after the Revolution the doctrine of color of title was introduced, which, being urged with ability, has supplanted the construction which had been given to the act for a century. Such a compliment from one who heard the argument and felt its force is the highest tribute to his learning and genius.

"Having already secured the highest judicial and professional honor in his own State, and having acquired a respectable fortune, Judge Haywood in 1807 came to the county of Davidson and settled seven miles south of Nashville. Middle Tennessee was then the frontier of the West. Having doffed the judicial ermine in his native State, he came with his family and entered immediately upon the practice of his profession. He was then but little over forty years of age, and almost as well known in Tennessee as in North Carolina. As a judge he had already decided many of the questions which were arising in the courts of Tennessee, and was, perhaps, at that time more familiar with the Constitution and laws of both States than any other member of the bar. Unlike most of the profession, he kept no office in town, but kept his office and library and received his clients at his residence in the country.

"The leading members of the bar were then in the habit of attending the sessions of the Supreme Court at all the places for holding it, so that most of them were brought into immediate contact. Haywood, Grundy, Jackson, Whiteside, Robert Whyte, Hugh L. White, George W. Campbell, and others, were then the leading members of the Tennessee bar. The questions growing out of land-titles afforded a fruitful source of litigation, and in all these suits Judge Haywood was almost invariably retained.

"When Judge Haywood came to Tennessee the profession was much divided in reference to the construction of the act of 1797 explaining the Statute of Limitations of 1715. The question involved in this statute had been decided in North Carolina, in the case of Crutcher vs. Parnell, 1 Murphy's R. 22. In that case the argument of Judge Haywood had the effect to produce the decision that seven years possession, with a color of title, would bar an action of ejectment, and that it was not necessary to show a regular chain of title. The act of 1797 provided that the act of 1715 should apply in all cases where any person or persons shall have had seven years peaceable possession of any land by virtue of a grant, or deed of conveyance founded on a grant, and no legal claim by suit, etc. The cases of Sawyers lessee vs. Shannon, 1 Tenn. R. 465; Lillard vs. Elliot, Patten vs. Eaton, 1 Wheaton R. 476, and Hamptons lessee vs. McGinnis, 1 Term. R. 286, were decided about the time Judge Haywood made his appearance at the bar of Tennessee, in which the doctrine of the *connection of title* seemed to be settled. The case of Weatherhead and Douglass vs. Bledsoe's heirs, reported in 2 Tenn. 352, was the first leading case on the construction of this statute in which Judge Haywood took a part as counsel. A distinguished and able lawyer who was

then at the bar thus describes the position of Judge Haywood in reference to this case:

"No case could have been more thoroughly investigated and ably argued at the bar than that of Weatherhead and Douglass vs. Bledsoe's heirs. By the time at which it came up for final adjudication many cases involving the same question were in progress in the Circuit Courts; the subject had been very much discussed, both at the bar and elsewhere; public attention was strongly directed to it, and the faculties of the profession had become quickened and invigorated, all their zeal and energy aroused, and all their resources stimulated into action, by the general interest which now began to be felt in the issue. All seemed to anticipate that a decisive battle was to be fought, and, however it might terminate, that the result would be most disastrous to some, most fortunate to others, and of very doubtful influence to the community at large. Jenkin Whiteside appeared as the great champion for Bledsoe's heirs and connection of title; John Haywood for Weatherhead and Douglass and the doctrine of "color of title." A number of other professional gentlemen, of less celebrity, but of various degrees of talent and acquirement, were arranged on both sides of this question. The leading counsel referred to were known each to advocate his own private opinion; and they all brought to the discussion that thorough knowledge of the subject which, when united with great abilities, and with the expectations which hung upon the cause, was sure to produce an intellectual display pre-eminently interesting and captivating. Such was truly the character of the distinguished forensic contest which took place on that memorable occasion. The event of it has been told; and that which to all human appearance now seemed the consummation of the thing proved only a prelude to one of the most agitating and exacerbated controversies, perhaps, that ever grew out of a question which was purely judicial.

"But notwithstanding Judge Haywood's great talent, he lost this case, by the opinion of all the judges, except Judge Overton, dissenting. Soon after this opinion Judge Overton resigned and Cooke died, and their places were supplied by Robert Whyte and John Haywood, in the year 1816. When Mr. Haywood became a judge of the Supreme Court, although he stood alone on the subject of his doctrine of color of title, he never yielded it. From that time until 1825 he persevered in his opposition to the construction of the Statute of Limitation which made a *connection of title necessary*. From being alone in his view of this law, Judge Haywood found himself at last sustained by all the members of the court of five judges, with the exception of Judge Whyte, who was not to be moved from his opinion by popular feeling or the sophistry of legal learning.

"We have seen Judge Haywood establishing the doctrine of color of title in his native State, and unsettling, according to Judge Murphy, the current of decisions for more than a century, while we find him arrayed against and apparently overwhelmed by the force of a powerful opposition, struggling for years against it, and finally establishing the same doctrine in his adopted State. Much was due, no doubt, to the popular feeling which grew up in the country in favor of his construction of the law, which tended directly to

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establish the doubtful claims of many resident citizens of Tennessee against the superior claims of nonresidents."

The same gentleman quoted above says, "Judge Haywood was a fine genius and a most powerful and unrivaled advocate. In tact and eloquence such eloquence as reaches the heart and convinces the judgment he had no equal in Tennessee. He was often employed with and against the late Felix Grundy in the most critical criminal cases, and it would not be saying too much, perhaps, to say that as an orator he was equal, if not superior to that distinguished advocate. Both had been on the supreme bench of their respective States, and both came to Tennessee preceded by the most brilliant reputation. Both were men of great learning and attainments, but in all the learning which pertained to his profession Judge Haywood stood far in advance of his great rival. He possessed inexhaustible stores of imagination, was quick and ready in argument, and prompt in reply. But withal his judgment was too much under the dominion of imaginative faculty, which gave to some of his opinions too great an air of eccentricity and uncertainty. He had many sympathies in common with his fellow-men, and highly cherished their good opinion, particularly of his own fame. He was ambitious in the highest degree, somewhat overbearing in his desire to be considered the Court, and perhaps thought too highly of his own and too little of his brother-judges opinions, and acted and felt that he was the master-spirit in the settlement and determination of all leading questions of jurisprudence. I do not think I should do him injustice if I should say he never delivered an opinion without desiring the presence of a large audience.

"Withal, he was agreeable in his manners, fond of society, and entertaining to the highest degree in his conversation. Although not educated in his youth in the sciences, he amassed a large amount of learning in reference to natural history, astronomy, antiquarian research, relics, fossils, shells, and aboriginal history, which he gave to the world under the title of the Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, containing about four hundred pages.

"He also found leisure to prepare a very minute though somewhat inartistically arranged History of Tennessee, in five hundred pages, from 1770 to 1795, embracing a variety of most interesting traditions, which he obtained from the first settlers of the Cumberland Valley. During his residence in Tennessee he reported three volumes of decisions, given while he was on the bench. He also prepared a manual for clerks and justices.

"Another work which he published during his residence in Tennessee was entitled The Evidences of Christianity. It was much read in Tennessee at the time of its publication. It was a work *sui generis*. It embraced a variety, it might almost be said a *medley*, of historical, traditional, scientific, Scriptural, and antiquarian learning. Taken in connection with his Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, it might be considered a wonderful production. They both dealt largely in the supernatural and marvelous, giving accounts of earthquakes, dreams, ghosts, meteors, bones of giants and pigmies; caves and strange and supernatural voices which were heard in the air; and portents and signs and wonders;

but with all this there was mixed up much real and valuable information, displaying great historical and scientific research. These works have given rise to the common opinion that Judge Haywood was credulous and superstitious, and his introduction into one of those works of a remarkable ghost story, with an apparent belief in its reality, has led many persons to say that he was a believer in ghosts! The truth is, perhaps, that Judge Haywood, like Dr. Johnson and some other great men, could not entirely divest himself of a belief in the supernatural; and it is probable, had he lived in the present day, he would, like many other distinguished judges, have been a believer in the sciences of phrenology, mesmerism, and *clairvoyance*. But it might as well be charged against the inimitable author of Waverley that because he wrote the history of demonology and the wonderful story of Woodstock he was a believer in witchcraft as to attribute superstition to Judge Haywood because he wrote the marvelous and wonderful things contained in The Evidences of Christianity and Aboriginal History of Tennessee.

"His information and learning were varied and extensive, and we might almost apply to him the language of Canterbury when describing King Henry's great attainments:

"Hear him but reason in divinity,
And, all-admiring, with an inward wish,
You would desire the king were made a prelate;
Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
You would say, it bath been all in all his study;
List his discourse in war, and you should hear
A fearful battle rendered you in music;
Turn him to any cause of policy,
The Gordian knot of it will be unloose,
Familiar as his garter; that when he speaks,
The air, a chartered libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears
To steal his sweet and honeyed sentences.

King Henry V.

"From the moment when he entered the profession his mind and his energies were constantly directed to the improvement and advancement of his private fortune and the attainment of distinction in his profession. Notwithstanding the whole vigor of his powerful mind seemed to have been directed to the science of jurisprudence, he was yet enabled to amass and leave to his children a very large fortune.

"But few men possessed in a higher degree the elements which constitute a great jurist; and had he been placed under circumstances of fortune and education more favorable to the development of his faculties, he might, perhaps, have left more enduring monuments of his genius. As it was, however, he impressed his spirit upon the jurisprudence of Carolina and Tennessee, and contributed more than any other man to give it form and shape. From the year 1786, when he began the practice of his profession in his native State, to 1826, when he died, in this State, he has left in the reports of adjudications in these States evidences in every volume of his learning, "ability, and indomitable energy of character. And even now his opinions and arguments, whether right or wrong, are more quoted and. relied upon in

the courts of both these States than those of any other judge who has ever presided in them."

Judge Haywood died on the 22d of December, 1826, at his residence near Nashville, after a few days illness, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His death was hastened by his extreme corpulence, which in his old age greatly harassed him. He left three sons and three daughters.

His children were Thomas Haywood, a lawyer by profession and teacher of fine classical education, who lived and died in this county, at his residence near the Nolensville Turnpike, about six miles from Nashville, about 1868; Dr. George Haywood, a well-known physician of Marshall County, where he died some years ago; Dr. Egbert Haywood, who practiced in Brownville, Haywood Co., Tenn., where he acquired a fine reputation as a physician, and where he died. Of his three daughters, one married Dr. Moore, of Huntsville, Ala.; one married Col. Jones, of Tusculumbia, Ala.; the third was the wife of Col. Spottswood Jones, of Limestone Co., Ala. None of his descendants are now residing in Davidson by the name of Haywood.

Upon the meeting of the Supreme Court on the first Monday in January, 1827, the late Hon. Felix Grundy offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:

"*Whereas*, The Hon. John Haywood, one of the judges of this court, departed this life on the 22d of December last, as an evidence of that high regard justly due to his legal acquirements and extensive erudition, and the great public services rendered to his country, in a long life devoted to the profession of the law, of which he was the pride and ornament,

Therefore, 1st It is ordered by the court, with the unanimous assent of the bar, that the court and the several officers wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

"2d. That a similar proceeding be recommended to all the inferior jurisdictions of the State.

"3d. And that these resolutions be entered on the minutes of this court."

HON. JAMES TRIMBLE.

James Trimble, counselor and attorney-at-law, was born in 1781, in Rockbridge Co., Va., a Scotch Irish settlement famous for its schools and churches and its self-dependent people, and their patriotism during the war of independence. His ancestors—the Trimbles and Alexanders—were plain, educated, and religious people in the middle class of life. The Trimbles of Ohio and Kentucky—two of whom were members of the United States Senate, one a justice of the United States Supreme Court; and several members of the lower house of Congress—were connections. Dr. Archibald Alexander and his sons, well-known divines at Princeton College, New Jersey, were also connections on his mothers' side.

James Trimble was educated at Washington College, East Tennessee. He studied law at Staunton, Va., and settled at Knoxville, E. Tenn., the seat of government of the State at that time. He was soon thereafter chosen a clerk of the General Assembly,

In 1809 he was elected a member of that body from Knox County.

In 1810 he was elected a State circuit judge.

In 1813 he came with his family to Nashville to reside, where he opened a law-office, and followed his profession until his death.

While a member of the General Assembly he procured the charter of the Nashville Female Academy, and upon its organization became an active trustee thereof.

He was also a trustee of Cumberland College, now the University of Nashville, and in connection with Judge Henry Crabb, an eminent member of the Nashville bar, was active in reviving the college in 1823, and he was instrumental in procuring as its president Philip Lindsley, one of the most famous and distinguished educators of the Mississippi valley.

James Trimble was known throughout the State as one of its leading minds, and as one of the leading members of the Nashville bar. He ranked with Whiteside, Overton, Dickinson, White, Williams, Crabb, and others. His law-library was a large and costly one, consisting of standard English and American works, and with which as a lawyer he was well acquainted. He was also a student of history, and had a choice and select library of English and American works.

He was well acquainted with human nature and with the people among whom he lived. In his manners and conversation he was pleasant and affable, and mingled with all classes of society, and had the good-will and respect of the entire community.

His ability, skill, and integrity as a lawyer procured him a large practice and secured to him a large estate, which he bequeathed to his wife and children.

As a citizen, in his politics, he was a Republican, of the school of Madison. In 1822 he preferred Crawford to Jackson, although the latter was a personal friend. From Jefferson and Madison he received several civil commissions.

He was a close and intimate friend of John Dickinson, an eminent lawyer, and also with George W. Campbell, Felix Grundy, William Brown, lawyers and well-known public men of Tennessee.

Among the law-students in his office were Gen. Sam Houston, Aaron V. Brown, Judge William E. Kennedy, of Maury County, Samuel P. Montgomery, who was killed at the battle of the Horseshoe under Gen. Jackson, George S. Verger, attorney-general of the State.

He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church, and for many years an elder therein. He was liberal in his religious ideas, and was held a man of integrity and honor, and of high moral character.

In his law-cases he was laborious and always well prepared to conduct them. His style was that of animated conversation. He reasoned well and was persuasive. His tone of voice and expression of eye told his zeal and interest in his cases. He died, from over-labor in his profession, in July, 1824. His funeral was largely attended by citizens of Nashville.

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JOHN DICKERSON.*

John Dickinson was Massachusetts born and educated, came to Nashville a young man, earned a living as deputy clerk in the office of the United States District Court, and prosecuted the study of the law. His mind and moral greatness, and habits of industry and economy, soon qualified him for his profession, and he rose to distinction, and stood among the most eminent of the able men of the profession and times. His success was brain-work and training, close, faithful attention to his business, and honorable conduct; he was a cool, clear-headed, upright, honorable man, respected and esteemed throughout the State for his intellect and moral qualities. Always self-possessed and under self-control, he earned and deserved his high place. He never sought popularity. His self-respect was high, and he deserved and had the respect of his fellow-men. He was one of the able land-lawyers of his day, an able commercial lawyer, and collected the claims of Eastern merchants. He acquired a large and remunerative practice. His capacity and fidelity and honorable conduct secured him a large estate,—probably the best estate up to that day which any lawyer had earned and laid up. He died in 1813-14, of consumption, in early manhood, leaving a rich widow, young and handsome, and a son. Ephraim H. Foster, a law-student in his office, afterwards United States senator, married his widow. John Dickinson and James Trimble were close and intimate friends; the latter survived the former for many years. From him these reminiscences and traits of character of Mr. Dickinson were obtained by the writer, from and through James P. Clark and Thomas Warington.

OLIVER B. HAYS

Oliver B. Hays was a native of Massachusetts, and received in that State a liberal education. He studied law and was probably admitted to the bar in the city of Baltimore. Governor Foote is authority for saying that he came to Nashville in 1808, which is probably correct, as he was a partner with Thomas H. Benton before the removal of the latter to Missouri. Mr. Hays had a taste for classical studies, which he pursued more or less all his life. He was a good speaker, had an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the law, was an acute, diligent, and energetic practitioner. "He appeared often in the argument of land-causes, and the briefs filed by him will be found always to have been skillfully framed and full to exuberance of the citations of adjudicated cases."

At middle age he retired from the bar, became a Presbyterian minister of what was known as the New School, led a rather recluse life, and died an old man in 1858†

GEORGE S. YERGER.

"Towards the close of the last century a very worthy Dutch family was residing in the town of Lebanon, Tenn., now so celebrated for its institutions of learning, and especially for its law-school. The Yerger mansion is still standing, and in a comfortable state of preservation. In this

house were born eight worthy gentlemen, all brothers, and all but one of them practitioners of law."

The eldest brother was the subject of this notice; he was at one time a prominent member of the Nashville bar, and officiated for some years as reporter of the judicial decisions of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, at first alone and afterwards with his younger brother. Hon. E. H. Ewing, speaking of him in a recent letter, says, "George S. Yerger was rather an uncommon man. I do not know when he came to the bar; I should say, however, not before 1820. He was first a merchant's clerk, with very little education, but felt this to be too narrow a field for his abilities. He read law at odd times, and when he began practice soon got into business. He was what might be called eminently an indefatigable man. He became State reporter in 1831, and we have ten volumes of his reports. The editing and compiling of these did not interfere with a full and extensive practice at the bar. He was fluent, had a remarkable memory for cases and dates, never gave up a point, however desperate, and occupied a first rank at the bar, where he had as associates and rivals Washington, Fogg, Bell, and others. He removed to Mississippi early in 1839, and there maintained his character as a sound and able lawyer."

Governor Foote speaks of him as an intimate acquaintance, and, in some important cases, an associate in practice in Mississippi. He says, "He brought with him to this new home a high reputation for legal learning, and this reputation he succeeded in maintaining unimpaired to the last moment of his life. His impulsive nature was easily roused, but never ran into excesses of any kind. He always spoke with animation, and sometimes with no little fervor and emphasis. His manner was uniformly easy and natural, his diction chaste and unpretending, and his gesticulations decorous and impressive. He preferred taking part in the trial of commercial causes, or in the discussion of such as were of equitable jurisdiction; but he was well fitted both by temperament and intellectual training for the vindication of the innocent or the prosecution of the guilty before courts of criminal cognizance.‡ He died in Mississippi about 1859.

J. S. YERGER.

J. S. Yerger, a younger brother of the above, possessed many of the qualities of Mind which give fame at the bar. His stock of general knowledge was larger than his brothers. His powers of perception were unusually quick, and his judgment strong. He had read deeply and generally, and was a good judge both of men and their motives of action. He was of an eminently sociable disposition, and possessed conversational powers of a most entertaining and instructive order. He had made his mark as a lawyer at this bar before removing to Mississippi, where he became an eminent circuit judge. A still younger brother, William Yerger, was afterwards judge of the Supreme Court of Mississippi. He was a very gifted man, and it is said that an effort of his made in court when he was only twenty-two years of age—his first plea at the Mississippi bar—"suggested almost

* By John Trimble.

† Hays vs. Hays, 3 Tenn. chal. lxxxviii.

‡ Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest, pp. 78,79.

inevitably the examples of intellectual precocity of the younger Pitt and Alexander Hamilton"

In our list we find the name of Samuel Yerger, admitted in Nashville in 1824. He was probably one of the brothers, as seven out of the eight are known to have been lawyers. But of Samuel we have no further account.

GEN. GEORGE W. GIBBS.

Gen. George W. Gibbs was admitted to the Davidson bar in 1817, and was for many years the law-partner of Judge James Rucks. Both maintained high characters as gentlemen, and did a large amount of professional business. Gen. Gibbs settled on a farm near or including the site of Union City, Tenn. The present Secretary of State, Hon. Charles N. Gibbs, is one of his sons.

HON. JOHN CATRON.

A life of Judge Catron, or rather a somewhat humorous letter embracing the principal points of his life, written by himself from Washington, D. C., in December, 1851, while he was a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, appears in "Sketches of Eminent Americans," having been furnished at the solicitation of John Livingston, Esq., the editor of that work. We have also been furnished with a copy of the same in pamphlet form by the friends of Judge Catron. It is a rich and original document, full of the quaint humor of the judge, which rendered his speeches and writings so pleasing, and often amusing. We regret that we have not space to quote it in full; but such extracts as we shall make will serve the double purpose of giving the reader an outline of his legal career, and at the same time a sample of his racy, original, and interesting style. He begins:

"I do not believe there is a man living who could give you any tolerable account of my early life except myself; and when the incidents were narrated they would only prove what Campbell says of Lord Mansfield,—that when he came up from Scotland to Westminster school on a Highland pony, the chances were a billion to one against his ever being chief justice; and I can safely say that quite as many chances stood in the way of my being a supreme judge when of the same age as was His Lordship at the time he wended his solitary way south, with his pony as his only companion. Your readers would only learn that I had been reared on a farm, and been flogged through the common schools of Western Virginia and Kentucky, and then had had the advantages of such academies as the Western country afforded,—humble enough, in all conscience, and where little else than Latin and the lower mathematics was added to the common-school training; that, with this amount of acquired knowledge, I read history, novels, and poetry; grounded myself well, as *I thought*, in Virginia politics; that I read everything which came to hand as it came,—Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith, and up through Tom Paine, Hume, and Gibbon. Everything, or nearly so, then to be had in the country, of history, ancient and modern, was read, and much of it with a devouring appetite. Prester John, Peter the Hermit, Richard and Saladin, Falstaff and Frederick, were all jumbled up together. It is due, however, to say that preparatory to taking up Blackstone I carefully re-read

Hume's History of England,' with Smollett's and Bisset's continuations; Robertson's Charles the Fifth,' and also Gibbon's Decline and Fall,' and made extensive notes on each, which I thought exceeding valuable at the time. They were on large foolscap, bound in pasteboard, and, all told, were, when packed on each other, two-thirds as high as a table; nor did I doubt that my *condensed* Gibbon would go forth some day in print; nor do I now remember at what time it was used to kindle the office fire, but this was its fate. With my old friends, Pope, Shakespeare, and Sterne, I had to act as I have often done since with my snuff-box, hide them from myself....

"The Bible being the common reader of my early schools, of course I knew almost by memory. Of geography I learned more than most men and know more now. With this confused mass of self-taught knowledge I commenced to read law in April, 1812, in the State of Tennessee. Up to this date I had never been sick a day or hour and had a frame rarely equaled; one that could bear ardent and rigorous application for sixteen hours in the day, and which was well tried about four years at something like this rate. Late in 1815 I tried my chances at the bar and succeeded, certainly in the main chance of getting fees; but then I had a good deal of worldly experience and availed myself of the cases in court, throughout a heavy circuit, of a retiring brother-lawyer and friend who was elected to Congress.... The courts were full of indictments for crimes from murder down. Here I had to fight the battle single and alone and to work day and night. No man ever worked much harder, I think; my circuit judge was an excellent criminal lawyer, and being partly Scotch always stood firmly by the State and leaned *strongly* against the culprit; so that I got on very well, but often with an arrogance that would have done credit to Castlereagh, for blundering in my law certainly, if not in my grammar. Like His Lordship, I was given to white waistcoats and small-clothes, and drew pretty largely on the adventitious aids furnished by the tailor.

"The lawyers then traveled the circuit from county to county usually of a Sunday. Each man that was well appointed carried pistols and holsters and a Negro waiter with a large portmanteau behind him. All went on horseback. The pistols were carried not to shoot thieves and robbers, but to fight each other, if by any chance a quarrel was hatched up furnishing an occasion for a duel, then a very favorite amusement and liberally indulged in, and the attorney-general for the circuit was expected to be, and always was, prepared for such a contingency. He managed to keep from fighting, however. His equipments were of the best, with a led third horse now and then for the sake of parade."...

We cannot quote further from Judge Catron, although his account of himself is very interesting to the end. He settled in Nashville at the close of the year 1818. In 1824_k he was elected by the Legislature a judge of the Supreme Court, and continued on the bench till the change of the judicial system by the Constitution of 1834. On the 4th of March, 1837, he was nominated to the Senate by President Jackson as a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States and confirmed for that office, which he held till his death.

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PATRICK H. DARBY.

Patrick H. Darby was a native of Ireland. He came to Tennessee from Kentucky about 1814. He was a lawyer of considerable ability, a fluent speaker, but did not sustain himself as to character. He returned to Kentucky, where he died about 1830.

HON. HENRY CRABB.

Henry Crabb came to the bar about 1814. He was a dignified, somewhat haughty and polished gentleman of more than common talents, and a man of learning for his time. He was probably about forty years of age when he died. He occupied a position in the front rank at the bar, and was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court in 1827. He was then in a state of rapid physical decline, and died a few years after. The opinions delivered by him during the brief period he occupied his seat upon the bench are found in Martin and Yerger's Reports, the most noted of which was upon the question, How far an attorney in the State of Tennessee was entitled to claim pecuniary remuneration for professional services rendered by him, upon the basis of a *quantum meruit*, and the interesting ease of Vaughn vs. Phebe.

Judge Crabb left one son, Henry A. Crabb, who became quite prominent as a lawyer and politician in California, where he was a candidate for the United States Senate, and was one of the Fillmore and Donelson electors of that State in 1856.

THOMAS H. FLETCHER.

Thomas H. Fletcher, one of the early and well-known attorneys of Nashville, was a resident of the city upwards of thirty-five years, and held a high rank in the profession. He was born in the town of Warren, Albemarle Co., Va., on the 15th of September, 1792. He came to Nashville in 1808, at the age of sixteen, having walked all the way from Virginia. His first engagement in business was with Col. Andrew Hynes, as clerk in his store, with whom he subsequently became a partner. He afterwards largely engaged in mercantile pursuits, but was unfortunate, like hundreds of his fellow-citizens, in the financial disaster of 1818—19. This led him to the study of law. He commenced practice in Fayetteville, Tenn., in 1821, having been appointed by his life-long friend, Governor Carroll, district attorney or attorney-general. His acquaintance with the politics of the country was very general, and few men could trace their progress from the early days of the Constitution to his own time with more accuracy.

He had a great taste for political pursuits, and his ready talents would have adorned any station to which he might have aspired, but his pecuniary disasters prevented him engaging in that field, and hung over him like a cloud the whole of his life. In 1825 he represented the county of Franklin for two terms in the State Legislature, and was chiefly instrumental in the removal of the seat of government from Murfreesboro to Nashville, and at a later period served as Secretary of State under a *pro tern* appointment from his intimate and valued friend, Governor Carroll.

With these exceptions, he contented himself with the expression of his political sentiments in private circles.

Mr. Fletcher served his country in the Indian campaigns of 1813; was in the battles of Talladega and the Horseshoe as a member of Capt. Deaderick's company, which was Gen. Jackson's life-guard and in December, 1812, was appointed by Gen. Jackson his second aide-de-camp, but declined the position. During the Creek campaign at Camp Coffee, Gen. Jackson tendered him the appointment of Military secretary, which he also declined.

He married, Jan. 10, 1814, Sarah G., a daughter of Thomas Talbot, an old resident of Davidson County. He died suddenly of apoplexy, Jan. 12, 1845, in the fifty-third year of his age. He was the father of twelve children, four of whom are yet living.

Mr. Fletcher became widely known in 1823-24 as the author of "The Political Horse-race," in which he humorously and graphically portrayed the characteristics and conjectured popularity of the Presidential candidates of that period, Messrs. Clay, Crawford, Adams, Jackson, and Calhoun. It was one of the most popular effusions of the kind ever written, and has been several times republished. It appeared lately in the Nashville *Banner*, with some very excellent and appreciative introductory remarks respecting the article and its author by Hon. John M. Lea, which we quote, as containing the best summary of Mr. Fletcher's character and standing as a lawyer which we have seen. Judge Lea says,

"The piece was copied with notices of commendation in the newspapers, and inquiry showed the author was an eminent lawyer of Nashville, the late Thomas H. Fletcher, a most eminent advocate, who stood in the front rank of his profession, the peer of Whiteside, Brown, Grundy, and Crabb. Mr. Fletcher, though he had a large and general practice, stood pre-eminently high as a criminal lawyer, and possessed all the requisites for success in that special forensic field. A good judge of human nature, knowing its strong and its weak side, he selected his jury with great discrimination, and having a heart as tender as a woman's, his feelings were naturally with his clients in their distress, and he always made their cause his own. There have been great criminal lawyers in Tennessee, but few his equals and none his superior. His voice was clear and strong; manner earnest and excited, but never rude and boisterous; pathetic or humorous as the occasion suggested, he always spoke with good taste and made, perhaps, fewer failures than almost any lawyer at the bar. He was very popular with the profession, especially among the younger lawyers, whom he always treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy. His reading was extensive and not confined to professional works, and often he beguiled his leisure hours in composition for the newspapers on ephemeral subjects of the day. Those who have had the good fortune to listen to his interesting conversation will never forget the pleasant impression which he always made. There was in his manner no rudeness, in his speech no coarseness or invective, and his sympathy for the misfortunes of his fellow-men was unbounded. His death was the subject of universal grief in Nashville. He had been engaged for a week on the trial of a

murder case,—of course, for the defense,—and became very much exhausted. On Saturday a verdict of acquittal was brought in, and Mr. Fletcher walked to his office, saying that he did not feel at all well. The next afternoon, about three o'clock, the unhappy news was circulated that this worthy man and distinguished advocate had instantly died from a stroke of apoplexy. The writer of this brief notice immediately hastened to his office and assisted in raising from the floor his manly form, his hand still grasping the book from which he had been reading when death summoned his presence to the higher court above."

Perhaps the character of Mr. Fletcher's legal mind may be best illustrated by one of his own anecdotes, which he was in the habit of telling with great glee. Owing to his reputation as a jury advocate, he was retained as counsel in a large ejectment suit pending in an adjoining county. Now, Mr. Fletcher would say, if there was any branch of the law about which he knew less than any other (and, he would add, he knew very little about any), it was land-law. He tried to read up for the occasion, but the more he read the less he knew about it. When he went to try the case he was in great tribulation. Luckily, however, it was developed in the testimony of one of the first witnesses that the parties had gone upon the land for the purpose of trying to adjust the matters of difficulty amicably, the result of which was a free fight, participated in by the litigants and their friends in attendance. At once, Fletcher would say, "my foot was on my native heath and my name was Macgregor." He was at home in an assault-and-battery case. He set to work to bring out all the details of the fight, turned the whole case into the charge of an assault by the opposite party on his client, and won his case with flying colors.*

HON. THOMAS WASHINGTON.

Thomas Washington (not mentioned in the above list) came to the bar in 1813. Although making an unpromising beginning, he attained a good degree of eminence in his profession. By perseverance and application he brought out what was latent within him, and became a very able and effective lawyer. His law-papers were drawn with great care and ability, and were perfect models of their kind. He was a slow, deliberate speaker, but always correct in his language. In manner he was courteous and dignified, firm and outspoken in his opinions, and "a gentleman to the core." He was fine and polished as a literary writer. The obituary notices of Chancellor Kent and Hon. W. G. Campbell (printed in the beginning of 8 Humphreys) and of Judge Turley (at the end of 11 Humphreys) were written by him. Perhaps the ablest of his arguments was made in the great case of the Ohio Life Insurance and Transportation Company vs. Merchants Insurance and Transportation Company (11 Humph. 1). He died quite advanced in years during the civil war.

HON. JAMES RUCKS.

Hon. James Rucks was at one time a prominent attorney at Nashville, and afterwards circuit judge. He was born in

North Carolina, and came to Tennessee with his parents when in his seventeenth year. He soon went back and finished his classical education at the university of his native State. Returning to Tennessee, he read law diligently and successfully for two years, and commenced the practice of his profession in Carthage, where he soon obtained a profitable business, in competition with some of the ablest attorneys that Tennessee could then boast. He is said to have been singularly industrious in the preparation of his cases, and remarkably clear and forcible in his manner of discussing them in court. He subsequently located in the town of Lebanon, where he remained until 1828, when he removed to the city of Nashville, and was associated in business with Felix Grundy and Gen. Gibbs. He afterwards became one of the circuit judges. He removed to Jackson, Miss., in 1829, where he became quite wealthy, and died in February, 1862.

HON. THOMAS CLAIBORNE.

Hon. Thomas Claiborne was admitted to the Nashville bar in 1807. He was distinguished more in politics than in law, being an intense Jeffersonian Democrat. He was an able and fluent speaker, and a man of honorable and upright character who left many descendants. He was member of Congress from 1817 to 1819. He was the first Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Tennessee.

DAVID CRAIGHEAD.

David Craighead came to the bar about 1814, and would have acquired more distinction as a lawyer had he not when young married into wealth, and thus become relieved from the spur of necessity. He was a man of native wit, a good speaker, and possessed fine conversational powers. Occasionally he appeared with great effect at the bar in important cases. His son, Thomas B. Craighead, now resides in Nashville.

GEN. SAM HOUSTON.

Gen. Sam Houston deserves to be mentioned in connection with the bar of Davidson County, not because he was great or very much noted as a lawyer, but because of his eminent distinction in other respects. His career was truly one of the most remarkable of modern times, and we have reserved a sketch of him to be placed by the side of Gen. Jackson's, whom he somewhat resembled in certain phases of his character. Probably his reverence and respect for Jackson, under whom he had fought and achieved his first distinction in the Southern Indian war, brought him to the home of that great hero to embark in his civil and political career. He read law for a short time with James Trimble, at Nashville, and was admitted to the bar in 1819. His personal qualities rather than his learning or legal attainments of the hitter of which he must have possessed very little at that time gave him prestige and place, and in a very short time he was district attorney and member of Congress. He was elected to the former office by the Legislature in October, 1818, and to the latter in 1823, and again in 1825, serving two consecutive terms, which closed in 1827. In August, 1827, he was elected Governor of Tennessee by a majority

*Anecdote related by Judge Cooper.

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of about twelve thousand over his worthy competitor, Hon. Newton Cannon. Such was his personal popularity that upon his accession to the gubernatorial office he had not a single opponent in the Legislature. He was the nominee again for Governor in 1829, and undoubtedly would have been elected had he not, in consequence of his unhappy domestic difficulty, renounced the canvass and the prospect not alone of immediate success, but of a future brilliant and perhaps unrivaled career in Tennessee, and hid himself for several years in the heart of the Cherokee Nation, west of the Mississippi. He emerged, however, from the wilderness and from a life among savages to be the herald of the "Lone Star" of the Texan republic, and the leader and founder of civilization upon the great southwestern frontier of the United States, carving out for himself a sphere of splendor which far outshone his earlier achievements in Tennessee. When he had, by his military genius, achieved the independence of Texas, he was chosen its civil president, then its representative in the hail of Congress from 1838 to 1840, then again president from 1841 to 1844, then, after its annexation, its senator in Congress from 1846 to 1859, and lastly Governor of Texas from 1859 to 1861.

Of his talents and rank as a lawyer little is to be said. What he might have been in this department would no-doubt contrast very strikingly with what he actually was, had he not been early tempted to abandon his professional studies for the allurements of political life. But he was doubtless better adapted to the sphere of action into which he seemed to drift, almost without intention on his part, than to the forensic arena or the judicial seat.

A more complete sketch of his life will be found elsewhere in this work.

WILLIAM E. ANDERSON.

William E. Anderson was a native of Rockbridge Co., Va. Mr. Ewing says he came to Nashville about 1825. He is described by Governor Foote as "truly a Samson Agonist's, alike in his physical frame and in his gigantic mental proportions. He was considerably more than six feet in height. His shoulders were broad and massive. His limbs were huge and muscular, but of most harmonious proportions. His figure was perfectly erect, even when he was far past the meridian of life. His expansive chest gave shelter to one of the most generous and sympathizing hearts that ever yet palpitated in a human bosom. His physiognomy was most striking and expressive, and when kindled into excitement, as in his later days he rarely was, there flashed forth from his commanding visage the mingled light of reason and sentiment, the effulgent beaming of which no man ever beheld and afterwards forgot." He has been compared to a volcano ordinarily in a state of slumberous repose, but capable of being stirred into sublime and terrible commotion by some adequate cause. Although such was his great power, he has left, behind him the reputation of having never been a very diligent student of the learning appertaining to his profession. He was self-indulgent and fond of conviviality. One who knew him well, writing of this peculiarity of his character, and how it sometimes betrayed him into excesses, says, "But with all this he was a

man of powerful intellect, and such were his acuteness, ingenuity, and analytic power that the truth seemed to be whatever he desired to make it. His mind was not of the more subtle and hair-splitting order (rail-splitting, rather), but, like the trunk of the elephant, tore up trees while it could pick up pin. He stood high at the bar, and his services were eagerly sought, but he was too negligent in the preparation of his cases to be a truly successful lawyer. His resources and Power, however, in the day of conflict frequently overcame his negligence in preparation. I was once smashed by him before a jury in this way where I had felt secure of a verdict.

"Anderson and Yerger in their encounters at the bar reminded me sometimes of a powerful bull and a stubborn bull-dog: sometimes the dog would be gored and tossed upon the horns, and sometimes the bull, bellowing with pain, would have his nose dragged to the ground and held there as in a vice. Anderson, for native intellectual power, had few superiors anywhere, so far as I have known men; and I have known Webster, Clay, and Calhoun." He was at one time a judge of the Circuit Court, and removed to Mississippi about 1845.

ANDREW C. HAYES.

Andrew C. Hayes is yet well remembered by his surviving friends and old associates in Tennessee. He was a native of Rockbridge Co., Va., and was educated at what was formerly known as Washington College. During his practice in Nashville he held the office of district attorney for several years. He removed to Mississippi in 1837, and was there associated in practice with Volney E. Howard. He died quite suddenly a few years after his settlement in Mississippi.

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.

George W. Campbell was an early member of the Davidson bar and a contemporary of Felix Grundy and Gen. Jackson during his early career. He enjoyed a large and lucrative practice, acquired national distinction, and accumulated a handsome fortune. He was a member of Congress prior to 1809, when he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court; he continued on the bench till 1811, and was then chosen United States senator, which office he filled till Mr. Monroe made him Secretary of the Treasury, 1813-14. He resigned his place in the Cabinet, and was appointed minister to Russia.

Some interesting reminiscences might be related of Judge Campbell's family did space permit. His only daughter, a most accomplished lady and heiress, became the wife of Gen. Ewell at the close of the late war. In 1873 they both died at the same time with malignant fever. "The dying hero, on hearing of her decease, demanded a last sight of those beloved features which he had so long felt to be identified with his own being. Her yet life-like but inanimate form, dressed for the tomb, was borne to his bedside; he gazed upon the face of his beloved for one single moment of heart-convulsing but tearless agony, and fell back upon his pillow as dead as the corpse upon which he had been tenderly gazing."



Ephraim K. Houston

CHAPTER XXII

BENCH AND BAR—Continued

Members of Davidson Bench and Bar—Biographical Sketches.

HON. JOHN BELL.

THIS gentleman, whose talents and distinction shed a lustre upon the place of his birth, was a native of Davidson County, born about 1795. He was educated at the University of Nashville, and began his career as a lawyer in Williamson County. He was sent to the Legislature from Williamson County before he was twenty-one years of age. He came to practice at Nashville, and entered into partnership with Judge Crabb prior to the elevation of the latter to the Supreme Bench in 1827. Before he entered politics as a life-business he had acquired a high standing at the bar as a lawyer of great acuteness, research, and ability, and as a speaker of no ordinary merits. He was about thirty-five when he entered the lower house of Congress, and from that till 1860 he was in public life most of his time. With the exception of appearing occasionally with his usual force and ability, he did, little in the practice of his profession after he entered into public life.

He was a Representative in Congress from 1827 to 1841, and was elected Speaker of the House on entering upon his first term. He was Secretary of War under Gen. Taylor's administration, United States senator for two full terms, from 1847 to 1859, and Whig, or Conservative, candidate for the Presidency in 1860.

We cannot resist the temptation to introduce a passage or two here from Governor Foote respecting Mr. Bell's introduction into politics and a few other incidents of his

W^c quote from Mr. Foote's work on the "Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest," page 177:

"In his first contest for a seat in Congress he had to encounter as an opposing aspirant the celebrated Felix Grundy. A more excited canvass than that just alluded to has never occurred in any State of the Union. There are some remarkable features about it which imparted to it at the time it was in progress peculiar interest. Mr. Bell was a young man of yet un-established reputation. Mr. Grundy was a man past the middle stage of life and of worldwide fame. They were both avowed friends and supporters of Gen. Jackson in the coming Presidential election, but Jackson openly declared his preference for Mr. Grundy over his more youthful and inexperienced opponent. Often did the two candidates meet in discussion, and sometimes words were uttered by each of them not altogether comporting with kindness and courtesy. Several of the speeches made by Mr. Bell during this heated conflict are yet referred to often by old residents of Tennessee as master pieces in what may be called political *digladiation*. The success of Mr. Bell over such a competitor as Mr. Grundy at once gave him a high national attitude.

"When he reached Congress he soon found himself in the midst of a new contest. Mr. Polk and himself were pitted against each other by their respective friends as candidates for the Speaker ship of the House, and a bitter political antagonism sprang up between them, which did not sensibly abate for a long series of years. Mr. Polk attained the

Presidential station through the election of 1844; Mr. Bell was unsuccessfully run for the same high place in 1860. Mr. Polk served in the office of Governor of Tennessee for a single term; Mr. Bell officiated as senator of the United States for two full terms. They are both now dead, and the questions upon which they were arrayed against each other are at rest, perhaps forever. They were both men of eminently conservative turn of mind and devoted friends of the National Union. Mr. Polk, as a popular speaker, has perhaps never had his equal in Tennessee; Mr. Bell occasionally delivered a profound and Statesmanlike discourse which would have done credit to any public man that our country has produced."

Governor Foote refers to his great speech, delivered at Vauxhall Garden, in Nashville, in 1836, and relates a very interesting incident connected with it. "Having," he says, "the honor of being on exceedingly intimate terms with Mr. Bell in the latter years of his life, I recollect having said to him, in the presence of his most intelligent and estimable lady, that I thought this Vauxhall speech by far the best I had ever seen of his composition, and that I had heard much as to its effect upon those who listened to it. He very modestly declared that he had taken more pains in preparing it than he had exercised in any other instance. Mrs. Bell said, with that noble and hearty frankness and freedom from false delicacy which so distinguished her, that there was an anecdote connected with that same speech which she would relate to me, which she did, very much in these words: I had never seen Mr. Bell until the day on which he addressed the large assemblage at Vauxhall, though I had heard much of him and sympathized with him deeply as a public man. I listened to the whole of it with the warmest admiration. When he had closed, I whispered to a friend that, though I had never before thought of marrying a second time, I did not know how I should be able to refuse a nuptial offer from such an orator and patriot as I had been just listening to with such unfeigned delight. Whether Mr. Bell heard of my commendations or not, it is not for me to say; but not many days elapsed before he called to pay his personal respects, and in little less time we became, as you see us, man and wife.' "

Judge Cooper says in a recent note, "Mr. Bell was a practicing lawyer at the bar, after I came to Nashville, for two or three years. On every occasion in which he undertook to argue a cause he showed a thorough mastery of it, and in one ease, certainly, and perhaps two cases, where the cause was worthy of his steel, his forensic efforts were masterly. He was possessed in an eminent degree of the power of sarcasm; The late Judge William B. Turley, who was at college with Mr. Bell, once said to me that the young men rated their college-mates much as they stood in afterlife, and that they all looked upon John Bell as the most talented man at college,—Cumberland College, now the University of Nashville."

Hon. E. H. Ewing, in furnishing some reminiscences of Mr. Bell, remarks, "He was a man of a powerful and comprehensive mind, in many respects well fitted to occupy the highest positions as a statesman. Though not a man of learning in the usual sense, he was a man of very extensive

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reading and information. His knowledge was of the most practical and effective character. In speaking he was equally at home before a jury, a crowd at the hosting, a Supreme Court, or the United States Senate. He enlisted attention everywhere by his complete mastery of his subject in all its bearings, and his earnestness and impressiveness in the enforcement of his argument. He had little wit, some humor, no coruscating brilliancy like Prentiss, but a large vocabulary, brought well into use in the clothing mighty thoughts and well-considered opinions."

HON. EPHRAIM H. FOSTER.

Ephraim H. Foster was born near Bardstown, Nelson Co., Ky., on the 17th of September, 1794. His father, Robert C. Foster, located with his family in Davidson County, near Nashville, in 1797. He became a prominent citizen, filling at different times almost every civil office within the gift of the people, was repeatedly elected to both branches of the State Legislature, and was twice made presiding officer of the Senate. He died at Col. Foster's residence in 1845, at the advanced age of seventy-six, respected and honored by a people among whom he had so long lived. Col. Foster received the best advantages in the way of an education that the schools of a *new* and sparsely settled country afforded, and graduated in 1813 with the first class that was matriculated in Cumberland College, afterwards known as the University of Nashville.

He immediately commenced the study of law with John Dickinson, a lawyer of fine acquirements, who had emigrated from Massachusetts, and at that time stood high at the Nashville bar.

While pursuing his studies the news reached Nashville of the Indian massacre at Fort Minims, and upon a call being made for men be enrolled as a volunteer, and marched under Gen. Jackson to the scene of action. He was taken into Gen. Jackson's military family as private secretary, and manfully endured all the hardships of this perilous campaign, bearing himself gallantly in the battles of Talladega, Enotochopee, Emucfaw, and Topeka.

Upon the Indians being subdued and the campaign closing, Mr. Foster was honorably discharged, returned home, and in a short time commenced the practice of his profession.

He soon took rank with the first members of the bar, and by close application to business, combined with a high and manly bearing, and being kind, courteous, and pleasant in his intercourse with all, was soon the recipient of a large and lucrative practice. In 1817 he married the widow of Mr. Dickinson, the gentleman with whom he had prepared himself for his profession, and about this time, his engagements becoming too arduous and heavy for one person, he formed a partnership with William L. Brown, a man of quiet and retiring disposition, but without a superior in his profession, and who was subsequently placed upon the bench of the Supreme Court.

When Mr. Brown assumed his place upon the bench, Mr. Foster formed a partnership with Francis B. Fogg, who had emigrated from Connecticut to Tennessee in 1817. Mr. Fogg was a retiring, studious man, possessed of an inexhaustible

store of legal learning, combined with a most remarkable knowledge upon all subjects and the most retentive of memories, but so reserved that his practice was limited. The association with Mr. Foster brought him more fully before the public, and his immense powers soon became known and appreciated. In a little while he took rank with the first lawyers of the State, and his services were eagerly sought, especially in the higher courts. This good man and great jurist lived to the advanced age of eighty-five, and was regarded by all as one of the founders of Tennessee jurisprudence. This partnership continued until Col. Foster's political engagements forced him to retire from the practice. To the last hour of his life he always regarded his old friend and partner with the affection of a brother.

Col. Foster was a fine speaker, had a noble carriage and commanding presence. His mind was elastic, and his perception quick; his wit and repartee sparkling. He was social and very agreeable in his manners; very fond of a joke, which he would indulge in and play upon his best friends, either male or female. He was always companionable and pleasant with the ladies, who permitted him to perpetrate a joke that would not be tolerated from another. All in all he was as brave and gallant a man as ever trod the earth; was a stranger to fear; might be inclined to yield his life,—his honor, never. He was no stickler, either at the bar, in private life, or in politics, bearing himself under all circumstances as the brave, courteous, and accomplished gentleman.

With all his good qualities, Mr. Foster was not limitless. What mortal is or ever was? He had by nature a quick and violent temper, under the influence of which he sometimes did things that in his cooler moments no one regretted more than himself. In 1821, while arguing a case in which his feelings were very much enlisted, he became angry at some remark that fell from the bench and threw a book at the presiding judge, who, throwing aside the dignity of the court, sprang towards Mr. Foster, a heavy hickory walking-stick in his hand, and but for the intervention of friends a serious difficulty would have been the result. Peace, however, was restored without bloodshed. Mr. Foster made the proper apology, paid a heavy fine for his rashness, and the honorable but belligerent court adjourned. In a few minutes Mr. Foster was in his office quietly writing, when in came the now venerable Judge J. C. Guild, then a country boy of some nineteen years, a total stranger and without recommendations, and asked permission to study law under him. Mr. Foster readily consented, thus exhibiting in a brief period of time two very antagonistic traits of character. Judge Guild remained in his office until he completed his studies, subsequently rose to eminence in his profession, and, although a zealous antagonist of Col. Foster at the height of his political career, always retained for him the warmest personal attachment, with the most profound respect and admiration, and now in his green old age delights in relating incidents, both personal and political, that occurred between them in years long gone by.

For years Mr. Foster pursued his profession with great assiduity; his practice was large and very lucrative. He lived in princely style, and his hospitality was proverbial, and yet,

with all his lavish expenditures upon family and friends, he accumulated a fine estate, and his surroundings at this time gave every promise of a long and happy life.

In 1832 he gave the first evidence of the political aspirations that marked his subsequent career. Previous to this time he had served his county in the State Legislature, but always reluctantly, and never had any formidable opposition when his name was before the people. When a member, he was invariably elected Speaker of the House, and by his courtly manners and an unequalled capacity for the dispatch of business acquired an enviable reputation as a presiding officer.

Hon. Felix Grundy was at this time United States senator from Tennessee, his term of service to expire in March, 1833. Col. Foster's popularity had grown until it was coextensive with the limits of the State, and his friends determined to place him in competition with Judge Grundy for this exalted position. The contests for seats in the Legislature were warm. In his own county Mr. Foster's friends were elected by large majorities. When the Legislature assembled the name of Maj. John H. Eaton was brought forward as a candidate whose success would be more than gratifying to Gen. Jackson.

The balloting continued from time to time for weeks, and was terminated on the fifty-fifth ballot by the election of Mr. Grundy. The secret history of this result was known to but few. Mr. Foster became satisfied that Tennessee would be without her full representation in the United States Senate unless some of the aspirants should withdraw, and, fully determined that the President should not dictate who should be the senator from Tennessee, prevailed upon enough of his own friends to vote for Mr. Grundy to secure his election.

Mr. Foster, with a zeal and devotion unsurpassed by any one, had to this time supported Gen. Jackson in all of his political conflicts. In 1835 he united his influence with that of the Tennessee delegation in the United States House of Representatives—with the exception of James K. Polk and Cave Johnson in prevailing upon Hugh L. White, then a senator from Tennessee, to permit his name to be placed before the country for the Presidency in opposition to Mr. Van Buren, advocated his election before the people, and ended in giving the vote of Tennessee to this pure and unspotted statesman and patriot. From this time to his death Mr. Foster was a warm, zealous, and devoted Whig. In 1837, Mr. Foster was elected to succeed Judge Grundy in the United States Senate, whose term of service would expire in March, 1839. Soon after this Judge Grundy accepted a seat in Mr. Van Buren's Cabinet, and Mr. Foster received the executive appointment to fill his unexpired term, and took his seat in the Senate in December, 1838, and continued in office until March 3, 1839. The elections in Tennessee this year proved a Democratic success, and the Legislature which convened in the fall passed resolutions of instructions which neither Judge White nor himself could obey, and they both resigned. The resignation of Mr. Foster was transmitted to the Legislature Nov. 15, 1839, and closed with these words: "I surrender without painful regret a trust which, under the circumstances, I could not hope to retain without reproach, and now deliver to the representatives of

the people the commission I have the honor to hold in their service. It reached my hands without stain or corruption, and I return it without a blot of dishonor."

From this time for years the political strife and excitement in Tennessee were intense and bitter. The home of Jackson was battled for by both parties, without any regard whatever to the expenditure of brains, muscle, or money.

In 1840, Mr. Foster was placed upon the Whig electoral ticket for the State at large, and commenced in May the most exciting campaign that had ever been inaugurated in Tennessee, and continued in the field without rest until the election, and made speeches in every county in the State. The Whigs were triumphant by a majority of twelve thousand, and to this result, without doing injustice to others, it can be truly said Mr. Foster contributed more than any other one person.

In 1841 the Democratic majority in the State Senate was one; in the House the Whigs were in the ascendant by three votes, giving them a majority on joint ballot.

The Democratic senators, subsequently known as the "immortal thirteen," refused to join the House in convention for the purpose of a senatorial election, and the State was left without her full representation in the United States Senate.

In 1843 the Whigs were again in the ascendant, and Mr. Foster was elected senator a second time, and served until March 3, 1845. During this term of his senatorial life, Mr. Foster had the severest trial of all his political career. He advocated the admission of Texas into the Union, and his sense of duty to his native South prompted him to part company, for a little while at least, with a party to which he had so long clung alike in defeat as in victory. We give in his own words his painful feelings under the circumstances.

In a letter dated Washington, Feb. 12, 1845, to a devoted personal friend, he says, "No one can conceive the tortures I have suffered and am suffering in connection with the Texas question. I took my ground, as you will have seen from my declarations in the Senate, without saying a word or giving notice of my intentions to any member of that body. I did so for a reason which I also stated when I introduced my resolutions. This circumstance, in connection with the fixed and I fear deleterious repugnance of the leading Whigs here against the measure, occasioned jealousies and suspicions which it required no little skill and tact on my part to attack and overcome. Whilst all this was going on I was assailed by the locals with the most disagreeable flatteries and congratulations, which I always repelled with a true and becoming spirit. And now, when I apprehend from the signs that all hope of annexation during this session of Congress is lost, you tell me that both parties at home, believing it to be in my power to accomplish the task, look to me to secure the passage of the resolutions, and that success is essential to my fate, as some of my friends think. Was ever a poor, impotent devil in such a hopeless, helpless category? I have done my duty. I have done the best I could, and I shall continue in the same fidelity; but, alas! I do despair, and my despair is almost without hope."

The Presidential canvass of 1844 exceeded in excitement, bitterness, and animosity that of 1840. James K. Polk, one of



Engd. by S. Holyer.

HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY FOGG.

OF NASHVILLE TENNESSEE.

Engrd. for the Biographical Sketches of Eminent Americans

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Tennessee's favorite sons, was the Democratic nominee. The canvass throughout was one continued scene of excitement beyond description. Victory again perched upon the Whig banner, and Mr. Clay carried the State by the bare majority of one hundred and thirteen votes. Mr. Foster was a participant in all this excitement and strife, battling manfully for his now personal as well as political friend, Henry Clay. In 1845 he received the Whig nomination as candidate for Governor, and again made a long and arduous campaign, speaking throughout the entire State. He was unsuccessful, his competitor, Aaron V. Brown, receiving a majority of some fourteen hundred in a poll of upwards of one hundred and fifteen thousand votes. Two consecutive years of intense excitement, with the attendant labor of traveling and speaking, made great inroads upon his constitution, and laid the foundation of his subsequent sickness and suffering.

In 1847, Mr. Foster lost his wife. She had been to him a "help-meet" indeed, presiding over his hospitable home in a way to win the hearts of all, and in his absence watching with a sleepless eye his personal interest, always displaying an energy of character that could not be surpassed. The day of her death was one of mourning with all, high and low, rich and poor alike.

He subsequently lost two married daughters, in whom he had taken great pride, and to whom he had always been most tenderly attached, and was never again the social and pleasant companion of former days.

In 1852, at the earnest solicitation of numerous friends, he consented to prepare an oration for the funeral obsequies of Mr. Clay, but when the day for its delivery came he was stretched upon a bed of suffering, unable to rise, and it was read to a large audience by the Hon. Andrew Ewing. This production has always been pronounced one of the best efforts of his life.

From this time to his death he was a confirmed invalid, and often his sufferings were intense.

He died Sept. 14, 1854, with an abiding hope and faith that he would be reunited in another and better world to venerated parents and an idolized wife and daughters who had gone before.

Upon the monument that marks his grave should be written: "He loved wife, children, and friends; they loved him."

HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY FOGG.

This gentleman, who recently died in Nashville, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, was the oldest member of the Davidson County bar. He was born in Brooklyn, Conn., on the 21st of September, 1795, being the son of Rev. Daniel Fogg, a native of New Hampshire and a worthy minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His mother, whose maiden name was Brinley, came of one of the most respectable families of New England, and was a lady of excellent character.

The first ten years of Mr. Fogg's life were spent under the paternal roof, where he received such instruction as could be obtained at home and at the common schools. He was subsequently sent to an academy at Plainfield, where he made rapid progress in Greek and Latin, becoming well

versed in these languages at the age of thirteen. At the conclusion of these academical studies a relative of his, Hon. William Hunter, of Newport, R. I., for many years a United States senator, and later in life minister to Brazil, being delighted with the early talents of his young kinsman, invited him to pursue his studies, including that of law, in his family at Newport and under his own immediate instruction. This was most fortunate for the mental training of our young student, as his instructor was a gentleman of liberal culture and wide acquaintance with literature. While availing himself fully of these accessory advantages he made special preparation in that particular branch which he had chosen as his profession, and at the age of twenty was admitted to the Newport bar.

Declining a generous invitation of Mr. Hunter to establish himself with him on equal terms in the profession at Philadelphia,—an unusually flattering proposition to a young man just admitted to the bar, Mr. Fogg set his face southward, and after spending a few days in Washington continued his journey, and in February, 1818, reached Columbia, a beautiful and thriving village of Tennessee, about forty miles south of Nashville. Here he opened an office, but was soon induced by Hon. Felix Grundy to remove to Nashville, which he did in the latter part of the year 1818. Since that day Nashville has been his home, the theatre of his various labors and triumphs, and the scene of the checkered experiences of joy and sorrow of his long, useful, and honored life. No man had been more fully identified with all the important legal and judicial proceedings of this county and of the State for the last half-century up to the time of his retirement from active business than the subject of this notice.

Tennessee, at the time of his advent to the then young State, was celebrated for her patriotism and for the "heroic achievements which had closed the last war with England in a blaze of glory." Nashville, though but a respectable village in size and population, was the acknowledged city of the State. Her bar, which in previous years had acquired a good degree of fame, was then renowned throughout the State and in many foreign parts for the learning, the great abilities, and the honorable bearing of its members.

At such a bar Mr. Fogg took his place, then young and inexperienced. He was not a man who, by boldness and self-confidence; would thrust himself into the professional field to reap prematurely the fruits which he knew could only grow and ripen by patience and enlarged study. He could well afford to wait for the fruit to mature, that when the harvest came it might be full, rich, and ample. By his modesty and solid attainments he soon won the confidence and esteem of the leading members of the profession, and business followed as a natural consequence, slowly at first, but surely and cumulative, so that in a few years his professional labors were large and remunerative. He was first employed to make up pleadings, a most difficult branch of legal science; but in this his great memory and wonderful acquaintance with law-books became apparent, and he was an acknowledged adept in that department of the profession.

While waiting for that recognition which his learning and talents justly entitled him to expect, he was constantly busy in his office and among his books, mingling in his daily exercises the study of law, politics, and abstruse literature, and never forgetting to keep up and extend his critical learning in the ancient classics. He was thus improving himself and enlarging those rich and abundant stores which subsequently obtained for his judgment and opinions almost oracular authority.

Mr. Fogg was for nearly twenty-five years the law-partner of Hon. Ephraim H. Foster. The latter member was engaged in the law practice, and the former in the chancery practice. A living member of the bar, intimately acquainted with Mr. Fogg, says, "He was exceedingly well educated, and even profoundly read in the elements of the law. He soon made his mark, and before 1830 was one of the leaders of the bar of Tennessee. He was a man of high honor, of amiable temper, of pleasing and kindly manners, always ready to help and instruct the younger members of the bar, with whom he was universally popular. I acknowledge my obligations to him in many a difficulty. He was the most learned lawyer of his day in Tennessee. He had an extraordinary memory, especially for dates and cases. Of him it might be truly said, he was a walking library. He was eminently a lawyer calculated for the Chancery and Supreme Courts, not a jury lawyer. He was of a quick apprehension and suggestive mind, able in exposition, a fluent speaker, and overflowing with learning, both classical and legal. It was a delight to hear him, even when one took no interest in the particular case to which he addressed himself. The late Chancellor Cabal, a man of strong mind and strong appetites, was in the habit of saying that he would rather hear Mr. Fogg speak than to eat. Mr. Fogg's brain did fairly overflow with learning. He was a long time a partner of Hon. E. H. Foster, and also for a while a partner of W. L. Brown. He never interfered in party politics, looking with some disdain upon the ignoble conflicts to which they give rise. He was a mild Union man during the civil war, but found much to censure on both sides. He will leave behind him a character unstained and almost unapproachable. He was a true but large-hearted and liberal Christian. One might well say, May my last days be like his!" Mr. Fogg died on the 13th day of April, 1880, aged eighty-five years.

"A large number of lawyers and citizens assembled yesterday afternoon at two o'clock in the Circuit Court room to offer a public tribute of respect to the memory of the late Francis B. Fogg, Esq.

"The meeting was called to order by ex-Governor Neill S. Brown, who made a motion, which was adopted, that Judge J. C. Guild take the chair. Mr. Nicholas Vaughn and the *American* representative were chosen secretaries.

"After the purpose of the meeting had been stated with some eulogistic remarks upon the character of the deceased and the recognition of his qualities due to the occasion, the chairman, upon motion, appointed a committee of six to draft and report suitable resolutions. The committee, composed of J. B. White, ex-Governor Neill S. Brown, Judge E. H. East, Gen. T. T. Smiley, George Stubblefield, and Judge J. M. Lea, made the following report:

"This meeting have heard with deep regret of the death of our esteemed and distinguished friend and fellow-citizen, Hon. Francis B. Fogg, which occurred at the residence of Col. W. B. Reese, in this city, on the morning of the 13th inst.

"Mr. Fogg was born in Brooklyn, Conn., in 1795, and after receiving an education, both scholastic and legal, emigrated to Tennessee in 1817, where he made his home for the remainder of his life. Upon his settlement in Tennessee he commenced the practice of law, which he pursued with unremitting diligence for half a century, until age and disease disqualified him for labor. It is no disparagement to his many distinguished cotemporaries in the profession during that long and eventful period to say that he had few rivals and no superiors. His success was eminent. He commanded the confidence of the community in a remarkable degree. To a mind naturally strong and vigorous he united rare industry, and, with original scholarship of a high order, he was able to amass stores of learning on all subjects. He possessed a wonderful memory, by which he could recall cases and incidents that most others had forgotten. He was familiar, not only with the history of the law, but with the history of this and other countries.

"Mr. Fogg was not ambitious for office, and never sought promotion; but, in 1834, he was, by the voluntary Action of this community, elected a member of the Constitutional Convention, and took a prominent part in its deliberations. In 1851-52 he was elected to the State Senate from this county, and aided efficiently in inaugurating our system of internal improvements, which has done so much for the State. He was also prominent in the establishment of the free schools of Nashville, which have accomplished so much for its population,

"In a word, he was the friend of education in all its phases, and contributed whatever he could to make society better and happier. It is impossible now to tell how many of the statutes that adorn our code and measure and regulate the rights of persons and property he was the author of. It was the habit of legislators to call upon him on all occasions for aid in the preparation of bills.

"But in this hour of sorrow at his loss, it is consoling to reflect upon his high moral nature. He lived a long life of struggle and toil, but no stain of vice rests upon his memory. He was a Christian gentleman, the highest eulogium that can be paid to any man, and for half a century he was a consistent member of the Episcopal Church. But in religion, as in everything else, he was tolerant to all. If he could have had his way he would have made all men prosperous and happy, without any special superiority to himself; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Francis B. Fogg not only this bar, but the whole State, has sustained a great loss.

"*Resolved*, That we will attend his funeral at four o'clock this afternoon.

"*Resolved*, That this preamble and resolutions be published in the city papers, and that a copy be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

"A motion was then made, and adopted, that a committee of one for each court be appointed to present the resolutions and request that they be spread upon the minutes. The

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following were appointed: Mr. R. McPhail Smith, for the Federal Court; Gen. George Marley, for the Circuit Court; Mr. Matthew W. Allen, for the Chancery Court; Mr. J. W. Horton, Jr., for the Criminal Court; and Judge John C. Gaut, for the Supreme Court.

"While the committee on resolutions were absent, Hon. Horace H. Harrison made the following address, which, on motion of Gen. Maney, was directed to be published as an accompaniment to the resolutions:

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I approach the bier of the distinguished and worthy dead, whose life and character we have met to speak of, with solemnity, affection, and veneration.

"He illustrated in his long and useful career all the sterling virtues which can adorn human character. He was true to himself, true to his friends, and true to his professions. He was never known to break a promise, or to be guilty of the slightest dissimulation. He was just in his dealings and just in holding the scales as he judged his fellow men.

"He was prudent, temperate, discreet, and charitable. He was quiet in his demeanor, unobtrusive in his manner, and actually shrank from notoriety and prominence. He never seemed to be conscious of his own intellectual power, or to realize that he possessed the most extensive and varied acquirements. While he was a giant in intellect and attainments, he was a child in the simplicity and modesty of his general bearing. Of his profound legal learning I need not speak in this presence. The reports of causes argued and decided in the highest court in our State for forty years, until within the last few years, are full of evidences of his industrious labors, his skill in dealing with the intricate and difficult questions before that court, and of the prominent role he played in building up our jurisprudence.

"He has been thrown into the most intricate professional association with three generations of lawyers in Tennessee, and no man who ever lived in our State has been more universally honored and respected by his brethren.

"No unkind word was ever heard to fall from his lips. No bitter resentments ever found a place in his bosom. Nearly thirty years ago I was an officer of the State Senate, of which he was a member, and during the eventful session of that body, of 1851-52, I learned to know him well. In the heated debates of that session he never lost his equality of temper or uttered an unkind word against his political opponents, and it was noticeable that at the close of the session the Democratic members of the Senate were as warmly and affectionately devoted to him as were the Whigs with whom he acted.

"He never sought an office. Those he filled so ably and conscientiously were thrust upon him.

"He lived out more than his threescore and ten years, and died at peace with the world at the advanced age of eighty-five, a ripened sheaf ready to be garnered in that unseen country to which faith, hope, and love all, all combined to lead his tottering steps.

"He has gone from us. No more will his voice be heard in our temples of justice. No more his kindly greetings to lawyers, young and old, will be extended; but his name we will find on the pages of our State Reports so frequently

that we will be continually reminded of this, as in his day, the foremost lawyer in the State, and his character and example will, I trust, continually excite in all of us a desire to emulate his sterling qualities of head and heart.

"He needs no other monument to perpetuate his memory than those which he himself has erected. The Constitution of 1834, the legislation which sent the locomotive through the valleys and under and over the hills and mountains of his adopted State, the jurisprudence of the State which he aided so powerfully in placing on firm foundations, and the public-school system of our beautiful and prosperous city, will speak his praises and remind us of the master-builder long after those who knew and loved him have passed away.'

"Governor Neil S. Brown then addressed the meeting. He said he could never forget when he first met the distinguished man. He had heard of him before he knew of Coke or Blackstone. He had supposed this eminent lawyer, like many other men in high life, was arrogant and self-sufficient. He had been surprised to find a man affable and simple of manner and generous of heart. And throughout his long acquaintance with him he found him what he now could say of him, the kindest man he ever knew. His life was an example to every young man. No finger of criticism could be put upon it. He acted out the principles of honor and of the Christian religion. Governor Brown here related incidents illustrative of the wonderful memory Mr. Fogg possessed, and which he made profitably useful to others around him as well as to himself. His death was a premonition to others of the bar who were old in years. There was something to lament in the devastation of death, even among the aged. How old must a man grow whom we have known and loved that we should be willing to see him die? It was not well for them to refrain to give just meet to Francis B. Fogg, for who had done as much as he? His handiwork could be seen all through the history of Tennessee. His great, quiet, unobtrusive merit, contrasted with that which has laurels and plaudits from the multitude, was what won the hearts of those who knew him. There was no better way to close these words than to apostrophize him:

"Full of honors and of years, fare thee well
While o'er thy tomb all Tennessee will sigh,
The lessons of thy life shall tell
The young how to struggle and the old how to die.'

"Mr. Jackson B. White here related of the deceased an incident of his great legal and historical learning which astonished those who knew of it, and which had been the cause of a great event. Shortly after the war a large gathering of Nashville lawyers were assembled at a session of the United States Court, over which Judge Trigg presided, and at which the famous test oath was administered. Mr. Fogg refused to take the oath, and gave his reasons in an exhaustive argument, which he sustained with a wealth of historical reference and illustration that combined to make his objections irresistible. When he finished his remarks, he left the court-room, followed by a number of citizens who with him had refused to take the oath. Judge Trigg, turning to Mr. White, told him to go after Mr. Fogg and induce him to write out his argument and present in the proper way, and the law would be repealed. Mr. Fogg

declined to do this, as he did not believe he could completely recall what he had said. It had all occurred to him as he spoke. Col. W. B. Reese, however, wrote as much of it as he could recall, and it was presented to the court at Knoxville, where the same Judge Trigg declared the oath unconstitutional. Mr. Fogg was, perhaps, the first lawyer in the country to argue against the constitutionality of the act of Congress in prescribing the oath.

"Several other citizens made warmly eulogistic allusions to the character and bore witness to the profound and varied learning of the distinguished lawyer.

"The meeting was one which evoked deep interest. The older members of the bar always spoke with emotion when they talked of the pure life of the man they had known and honored and who was gone from among them.

"The meeting then adjourned."

GODFREY M. FOGG ,

A brothel& of Francis 13, was a worthy and respectable man of business and a practitioner at the Nashville bar.

HON. AARON V. BROWN.

Governor Brown was a student-at-law in Nashville with Judge Trimble, and entered the profession in this city. He was born on the 15th of August, 1795, in the county of Brunswick, Va., the same county in which Gen. James Robertson was born. His father, the Rev. Aaron Brown, enlisted when not yet of lawful age for three years in the Revolutionary army. He was in the battle of Trenton, and participated in that ever-memorable march through the Jerseys where the course of Washington's army was known to the enemy by the blood of it's barefooted soldiery. He was also one of the sufferers in the encampment at Valley Forge during the severe winter of 1777-78, where disease, famine, and nakedness so often drew tears from the illustrious Washington. At the close of his term of service he returned to the county of Brunswick, where he continued to reside for nearly forty years in the midst of those who had witnessed his early and patriotic career, respected and honored by all as a faithful and useful minister of the gospel of the Methodist persuasion, an upright civil magistrate, a staunch Republican of the old Jefferson school, and an honest man.

The subject of this memoir was the issue of his second marriage, with Elizabeth Melton (corrupted from Milton), of Northampton Co., N. C. Except in the simplest dements, Governor Brown was educated in the last-mentioned State. He was sent when very young to Westrayville Academy, in the county of Nash, in order to be placed under the care of Mr. John Babbitt, one of the best educators of his time. After continuing there for two years, lie was transferred in 1812 to the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. He graduated at this institution in 1814, in a large class, of which Senator Mangum and Ex-Governor Manley, of North Carolina, were also members. The duty was assigned to him by the faculty and trustees of delivering the valedictory oration on commencement-day, and the service was performed in a manner which produced the most striking impression on the large assembly then in attendance. The collegiate career of but few young men is marked by incidents of sufficient importance to be noticed in a sketch

like this. Industry in preparing for and punctuality in attending at the hour of recitation, as well as the most cheerful conformity to the rules of the institution, were the most striking characteristics of his educational course. And it should be added that these characteristics, becoming a confirmed habit, were of great service in after-life in his professional and public career.

Having finished his educational career, Governor Brown returned to his parents, who in the previous year had removed to the county of Giles, in Tennessee. About the beginning of the year 1815 he entered upon the study of his profession in the office of the late Judge Trimble at Nashville. With this gentleman he continued to read for two years, and often referred to him as one of the most sympathetic, able, and upright men he ever knew. Having obtained a license, he opened art office in Nashville, and commenced practice with the most flattering prospects of success.

About this time, however, Alfred M. Harris, who was engaged in an extensive practice in all the southern counties in Middle Tennessee, accepted a place on the bench, and solicited Governor Brown to remove to the county of Giles and close up his extensive business for him. The opportunity was inviting, and that being the residence of his now aged parents, he determined to settle in that county. Taking charge at once of an extensive practice, both civil and criminal, including the land-litigations, then an important and almost distinctive branch of the profession, Governor Brown found all the resources of his mind brought into immediate requisition. No time was to be lost in idleness, none to be devoted to pleasure. One of his maxims about this period was "Always to be the first at court, and never to leave it until the adjourning order was made." Under such habits it was no matter of surprise to those who observed them that there were but few causes of importance in the counties in which he practiced in which he was not engaged.

In a few years after Governor Brown commenced his career in Giles the late President Polk commenced his in Columbia, in the adjoining county of Maury. They soon formed a law-partnership, thereby extending the field of their professional labors into more counties than they could have done without this union of interests. This partnership continued for several years, until Mr. Polk engaged in his Congressional career. Its dissolution brought no termination of that cordial friendship, personal and political, in which it had commenced, and which continued until the death of the late lamented President. Governor Brown continued engaged in profession until the year 1839, when, having been elected to Congress, he gave it up altogether. Much of the time in which he was engaged in regular and full practice he was also a member of one branch or the other of the State Legislature. This service, being near home, and the counties he represented being those in which he practiced, produced no material impediment to the progress of his professional business. But the case was different in his distant service in Congress. Governor Brown served as a senator from the counties of Lincoln and Giles at all the sessions of the Legislature, regular and called, from 1821 to 1827 inclusive, except the session of 1825, when he was not a candidate. In

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the session of 1831-32 he was the representative of the county of Giles in the other branch of the General Assembly. In this session, by the order of the judiciary committee, he prepared an elaborate and able report, which he submitted to the House, on the subject of capital punishment, which attracted great attention throughout the country.

Governor Brown first became a candidate for Congress in 1839, and during the period of his Congressional services—beginning 1839 and ending 1845—he seems to have been an active member, taking a part in nearly all the great questions which came up during that eventful period of our political history. His services in Congress ended with the commencement of President Polk's administration. He declined any office under the administration, and determined to return home and devote himself to the education of his children and the management of his own private affairs. Before he reached home, however, he was nominated by the Democrats as a candidate for Governor of Tennessee, and met the news of his candidacy at Pittsburgh on his return. He hesitated several days before accepting the nomination. It conflicted with his purpose to retire to private life, and opened a wide field of labor with what seemed a doubtful prospect of success. The Whig strength had not yet been decisively broken in the State, notwithstanding the prestige gained by the election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency. Besides, Mr. Polk, in organizing his administration and selecting his friends for different offices, had withdrawn from the State some of the most influential and powerful members of the party. He himself was gone, Hon. Cave Johnson was gone, Gen. Robert Armstrong was gone, and several others, whose weight had always been felt in State elections. Discouraging, however, as were the prospects, he finally determined to take the field against Col. S. Foster, a late senator, and one of the most popular and able men of the Whig party. The discussions of the canvass turned chiefly on the tariff, the admission of Texas, and the Oregon question. Governor Brown was elected by a majority of fifteen or sixteen hundred, but in the canvass of 1847 he was defeated by about half that number. At this period, and for some time previous, political parties in Tennessee were so evenly balanced that they carried the State alternately against each other.

In 1848, Governor Brown was a candidate for Presidential elector-at-large, and canvassed the State with great vigor.

In 1850 he was a member of the Southern Convention, held at Nashville, and while he concurred fully in the resolutions passed by that body, dissented from and protested against the address.

He was also a delegate to the Baltimore convention in 1852, and introduced a resolution into that body, raising a committee of one from each State, to be appointed by the delegates of the same, to whom all the resolutions relative to the principles or platform of the Democratic Party should be referred without debate. This postponing the discussion of resolutions till after the report of the committee was an important improvement, the utility of which was at once perceived by the convention and the resolution was adopted. Governor Brown was unanimously appointed chairman of the committee, and reported the platform, which gave such

general satisfaction to the party throughout the United States. He was, in fact, the great platform-maker of his party at most of the important conventions.

BAILIE PEYTON

Half a century ago Bailie Peyton and Henry A. Wise were practicing attorneys in Nashville. Both have since become renowned names,—one in Tennessee and the other in Virginia, their native States.

Bailie Peyton was born in Sumner County in 1803. In 1824 he was admitted to the Davidson County bar, and soon after formed a partnership with Henry A. Wise, then a young man about of his own age, whom he met for the first time in Nashville. Being of a congenial disposition, they at once became familiar and intimate friends. Nature had lavished her gifts upon both, and at the commencement of their career hosts of admiring friends predicted for them alike quite as much distinction as it was afterwards their fortune to acquire. The partnership lasted about two years, when Mr. Wise returned to win honor and distinction in a most brilliant political career in his native State. Mr. Peyton remained to become no less renowned in Tennessee.

Mr. Peyton was a Whig, and was thirty years of age when he first ran for Congress, in 1833. His competitor was Col. Archie Overton. Peyton was elected, and was returned twice afterwards, serving till 1839. He was lieutenant-colonel of a Louisiana regiment in the Mexican war, and was conspicuous for his gallantry. He entered heartily and eloquently into the canvass for both of the successful Whig candidates, Harrison and Taylor. The latter appointed him United States district attorney at New Orleans, and, with the concurrence of the United States Senate, sent him as minister to Chili. By President Pierce he was tendered the portfolio of the war department, but declined it, preferring to engage in the practice of law in California. How long he practiced there we are not informed.

Mr. Peyton possessed no great legal learning, and as a *lawyer* was not ranked high by the profession generally; but as an advocate and political speaker he had few equals. He possessed wit, fervor, strong common sense, a vehement and impressive delivery, fluency, imagination, and personal magnetism. His conversational powers were of a high order, and his friends were devotedly attached to him.

Throughout his life Mr. Peyton was noted for his fondness for the turf, and it is said that no man in the South did more to maintain its purity and tone. He got up the great Peyton's stake of forty-three thousand dollars, which drew thousands of people to the Nashville race-course in 1843. He was a man of fine physical appearance, "and, taken all in all, was one of Tennessee's greatest sons." He died at his home near Gallatin, Aug. 18, 1878, aged seventy-five years.

HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH.

Henry Hollingsworth, admitted in 1835, was a self-made man; he possessed little learning, no early advantages, and forced his way up to a good position as a politician and lawyer by native strength and perseverance. He did not remain long at the bar, but acquiring considerable property by his marriage, he retired to the country, where he died many years ago.

RETURN J. MEIGS.

Return J. Meigs, who, with Judge William F. Cooper, compiled the "Code of Tennessee," practiced law for many years in Athens, E. Tenn., and afterwards removed to Nashville, where he ran as brilliant and useful a career as any lawyer or jurist in the State. He was concerned for nearly thirty years in the management of a large number of difficult and important causes. He was not only learned in the law, but in ancient and modern languages, and was a comparative philologist of no common attainments. He is the author of a voluminous digest of the judicial decisions of the State of Tennessee, a work which is regarded by many as the most skillfully compiled book of the kind to be found anywhere in the United States. Mr. Meigs, being an uncompromising Union man, and unable to concur in the measures which carried the State in favor of secession in 1861, removed to Washington, and is now holding a very responsible official position under the government.

It has been remarked that when Mr. Meigs left the city of Nashville he left no equal behind him in general scholarship, and no superior in legal attainments. The only man then living who could risk a comparison with him was the venerable Francis B. Fogg, a gentleman who, for deep scholarly research and unstained purity of morals, had no superior west of the Alleghany Mountains.

WILLIAM L. BROWN.

William L. Brown commenced his legal career in Clarksville, Tenn. He is reputed to have been a native of South Carolina. He was a man of fine natural endowments and a persevering and untiring student of books. Such was his tenacity of purpose that no difficulty could turn him aside. His energy verged upon combativeness. He had little claim to be recognized as an orator of the highest grade, but he always spoke with earnestness, precision, and force. His elaborate speeches were free from flowery rhetoric, which he utterly despised, and, were models of condensed logic and argument. The great peculiarity of Judge Brown was that he sought neither argument, illustration, nor inspiration outside of his large and well-selected library' of law-books, believing these to be the richest and best-supplied armory from which to draw his weapons for every encounter, great or small, in the legal arena. He was appointed with Hon. Jacob Peck one of the judges of the Supreme Court in 1822, in the place of Judge Emmerson, resigned, and held the office two years, when he resigned.

JOHN M. BASS.

John M. Bass was admitted to the bar in 1830. He was a young man of fine estate; married a daughter of Hon. Felix Grundy, and having no taste for the law, never practiced it. He was a man of fine abilities, of liberal education, and in every respect a first-rate citizen. He was an active promoter of every scheme for the advancement of the interests of Nashville; was mayor of the city several times, president of the Union Bank, and an extensive planter in Louisiana and Arkansas. Though decided in his party politics, he was entirely above the tricks and devices of the ordinary politician, and was universally respected for his good sense

and probity. Few men have impressed themselves more powerfully upon the city of their residence. He died a few years since in New Orleans, having become much embarrassed by losses consequent upon the civil war, and by some unfortunate surety-ships.

HENRY B. SHAW.

Henry B. Shaw, admitted in 1830," was a young man of fine talents, but did not practice long in Nashville. He died young, it is believed, in St. Louis.

DAVID CAMPBELL.

David Campbell is still alive and a lawyer of high standing in Franklin. He was admitted to the Davidson bar in 1831, and was chancellor of this district a short time after the late war.

WILLIAM T. BROWN.

William T. Brown was an able lawyer, and was for some time a circuit judge. He afterwards removed to Memphis, where he held a high rank at the bar. He has been dead quite a number of years.

MORGAN W. BROWN.

Morgan W. Brown came to the bar some time prior to 1830. He was for a number of years judge of the United States Court for the Middle District of Tennessee. He was a man of considerable reading and literary taste, a fine miscellaneous writer, for some time editor of one of the leading newspapers of Nashville, and a gentleman of polished manners and high social qualities. He was a brother of Hon. William L. Brown, one of the judges of the Supreme Court.

HON. ANDREW EWING.

The subject of this memoir was the youngest of six brothers, sons of Nathan Ewing, and grandsons of Andrew Ewing, the first clerk of the County Court of Davidson County. He was born in Nashville in 1813; graduated at the University of Nashville 1831; was admitted to the bar in 1835, and formed a partnership in law in 1837 with his brother, Hon. Edwin H. Ewing, now of Murfreesboro'. This business connection continued till 1851, when the latter relinquished practice for a time and made a tour in Europe. Andrew Ewing, though somewhat careless in his diction, was easy, fluent, and unembarrassed at the bar from the first, and was a speaker of great persuasiveness and force. He was also a diligent and laborious student, and strictly attentive to business. Those best acquainted with him at the outset of his career felt sure that he only needed time to make him deservedly prominent at the bar. And it so turned out. He was one of those men (not very common) who grow in knowledge, wisdom, and ability so long as they live. While giving diligent attention to professional business, he also mingled considerably in the politics of the day as a speaker and counselor.

He was an earnest, moderate, and liberal Democrat, while his brother was a Whig. While in business together they did not discuss their political differences, and, indeed, found in

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some of their more private interviews that these differences were not so radical after all. In 1844, and ever after, he was much sought for, at home and in other parts of Tennessee, as a political speaker. In discussion and debate, whether at law or in politics, he feared no opponent, and had few equals. Especially were his speeches effective and powerful, for many years before his death, in the Circuit and Criminal Courts, and in the argument of the cases which went up by appeal, from these to the Supreme Court.

He was liberal, kindly, sympathetic, and very popular, not only with his oxen party, but also with the Whigs. In 1846-47,, when his brother and partner was in Congress, he gave attention, not to the law branch of their business, which was his own, but also to the chancery branch, which was his partner's, and to the entire satisfaction of their clients. He was liberal in his purchase of law-books, and studied them well. He was an excellent case-lawyer, as well as one thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of elements and principles.

His party was largely in the minority in the Nashville Congressional District, and he did not therefore seek office at first, but in 1849 his friends thought proper to bring him forward as a candidate for Congress. He was elected against a vigorous, active, and energetic opponent, so much stronger was he than his party. He served two sessions in Congress with credit, having made two respectable speeches; but not having much taste for the House of Representatives, and not being willing to impose on his friends again an arduous struggle against a party majority, he declined a re-nomination by his party.

At the political convention which first nominated Andrew Johnson for Governor, Andrew Ewing was first nominated by acclamation after a number of efforts to nominate others, but he declined, and Johnson was finally the nominee. Andrew Ewing was a prominent candidate before the Legislature for United States senator when Senator Nicholson was elected, in 1860.

Upon the erection of a statue to Gen. Jackson at Memphis, by public request Andrew Ewing delivered an address on Jackson's character and services, which was one of a high order of merit, and was received with general applause.

In 1851 he formed a partnership with Hon. W. F. Cooper. This continued with mutual satisfaction till the year 1861, when Mr. Cooper was elected a judge of the Supreme Court. A partnership was then formed between Mr. Ewing and John Marshall, of Franklin, but this was unfruitful of professional results, as the civil war came on immediately, and they both died before it ended.

Though a sincere Democrat, he was not a secessionist. On the contrary, he struggled with all his might to make the Union vote of February, 1861, as large as possible, thus offending many of his old associates and admirers. With many others, he yielded to the overwhelming current which set in against the North after Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. He retired South with the Southern army in the spring of 1862, making every sort of sacrifice of business and property, and was appointed one of a permanent court-martial of lawyers, which sat until towards the close of the war, under the commands of Bragg and Johnson. He was much beloved and

admired in the army. He died in 1864 at Atlanta, Ga., worn out and overborne by a complication of diseases, the result of exposure,,anxiety, and excessive labor. He left behind him a character without stain or reproach. He was twice married, and his last wife survives him.

HON. EDWIN H. EWING, LL.D.

This gentleman is connected by his father, Nathan , and by his grandfather, Andrew Ewing, with the first settlers of Nashville. Both of his progenitors were men of prominence, and among the best educated of the pioneers of the Cumberland Valley, being descended from the intelligent and enterprising Scotch-Irish stock, an infusion of which constituted so large and influential an element in the early population of Middle Tennessee. The names of the E wings, Andrew and Nathan, appear in the County Court records as clerks, successively, from 1783 to 1830, a period of forty-seven years. The former was the chief scribe, and did most of the public 'Writing, as well as much for private individuals, under the temporary form of government which preceded Davidson County. Both Andrew and Nathan Ewing were well educated for men of their times, with that tendency to self-reliant study and mental discipline which has been prominently characteristic of their descendants.

Edwin H. Ewing was born in Nashville on the 2d of December, 1809, and, from the age of three years till his recent removal to Murfreesboro' resided in this city constantly, with the exception of temporary absences on official duties at Washington and in travels abroad. He graduated at the University of Nashville in 1827, received in due course the degree of A.M., and within a few years past the honorary title of LL.D. He studied law without a preceptor, using the books of an older brother who had studied but did not practice the profession, and appealing for aid in his difficulties to that truly learned and generous member of the Nashville bar, Hon. Francis B. Fogg, than whom no man could be found better qualified to correctly guide his inquiries or more ready to extend to him a helping hand. Mr. Ewing cherishes a grateful remembrance of the kindness of Mr. Fogg in those days of preparation for the profession, and for the sympathy shown him in his early difficulties and struggles, as well as the uniform courtesy received from him on all occasions. Mr. Ewing obtained a license to practice in 1830, and was regularly admitted to the bar in 1831. He then formed a partnership with James P. Grundy, which continued till 1837. During this time they did a large amount of business, and Mr. Ewing was growing in character as a lawyer. In January, 1837, he dissolved the partnership with Mr. Grundy, and formed a partnership with his younger brother, Andrew Ewing, who had shortly before come to the bar. In 1840 he took a very active part in Gen. Harrison's election, having become a Whig in the previous canvass of Van Buren, White, and Harrison. This involved him in some personal conflicts and quarrels, and made him so far a favorite of his own party that he was elected along with James Campbell, Esq., without opposition, to the General Assembly of 1842. In that body he gained in reputation by several able speeches.

Meantime, he married in December, 1832. His wife died in 1844, and he has not since married.

In the canvass of 1844 he took an active part in favor of Mr. Clay's candidacy and against Mr. Polk; and by request delivered an oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the capitol at Nashville, on the 4th of July, 1845. In the winter of that year he was elected to fill a vacancy in the Nashville district in Congress, Hon. I. H. Peyton (a brother of Bailie Peyton) having been elected and having died without taking his seat. He served two sessions in Congress, from December, 1845, to March 4, 1847, and might have been re-elected had he not declined on account of a "distaste to a seat in the house." While in the house he delivered several able speeches,—one on the Oregon question; one on the tariff of 1846, which his room-mate, Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, said was the best delivered on the Whig side of the question, or against the bill; one on the river and harbor bill of 1846 (which, by the way, contained some doctrines he would hardly indorse now); and one on the Mexican war. He delivered also some other speeches of minor importance. With characteristic modesty, Mr. Ewing has said, "I do not think I made much character in Congress." His friends think this an underestimate of his services and of the credit generally awarded him.

In the mean time his reputation as a lawyer increased. He sat frequently as a special judge on the supreme bench, delivered an opinion in the great Winchester case, which has been a good deal talked about, and has been as much cited as any case in the courts of Tennessee, together with several other opinions in important cases. His partnership with his brother continuing and their business enlarging, in 1850 he made a fortunate speculation in real estate, which rendered him independent of further practice; and this, together with impaired health, induced him to carry out a purpose which he had long cherished, of somewhat extensive travel. He dissolved his business relations with his brother, and in April, 1851, being forty-one years of age, he left for a tour in Europe. He was absent about eighteen months, visiting England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Western Asia, Constantinople, and Greece, making extensive notes of travel, and writing many long letters. Upon his return he was urgently solicited to write a book of travels, and had some idea of it, but has never put it into execution.

In 1852 he delivered, by request, at Nashville an oration on the death and services of Daniel Webster, then lately deceased. This oration compares favorably with Mr. Ewing's many able productions. He continued to practice law, taking fees only in important cases, till 1856, when he went to Rutherford County and lived with one of his daughters, then lately married. She removed to Nashville in 1860; he returned with her, and lived in the city again one year, or until the winter of 1860-61, when he went and lived with his son in Rutherford County till the war broke out. He still, however, kept his citizenship in Davidson County, and kept up constant communication by letters and visits,

He spoke and voted for the Union in the election of February, 1861. Mr. Lincoln's proclamation in April raised a storm in Tennessee which carried almost every one into

opposition to the North. Mr. Ewing's sympathies being with the Southern people and no neutrality being possible, he naturally went with his State, and took a position against coercion with John Bell, John Marshall, Andrew Ewing, Neill S. Brown, and others. In the latter part of 1863, however, when he saw that Tennessee was irrecoverably lost to the South, he advised the people of the State who were staying at home to submit to the Federal government. The letter containing this advice was published, and subjected him to much obloquy, and being brought out again at the time of his candidacy for judge of the Supreme Court, probably defeated his election to that bench.

After the war Mr. Ewing formed a partnership and recommenced the practice of the law at Murfreesboro, practicing also in the courts at Nashville. He has appeared in a number of very important cases since that period; notably he was one of the counsel for Judge Frazer when he was impeached before the Senate in 1868. He was also, in connection with Judge Cooper and William B. Reese, Esq., counsel for the State in the suit for the sale of all the delinquent railroads in Tennessee under the act of 1870, and went with Judge Cooper to Washington to resist the appointment of a receiver for the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. They successfully accomplished the object of their mission.

Mr. Ewing is now seventy years of age; his health is good, and his mental faculties scarcely impaired. He has some important cases yet unfinished, but he has been aiming for some time to draw his legal business to a close. He has been a voluminous newspaper writer and an omnivorous reader of books, is fond of metaphysical studies, and has been much sought after as a public lecturer.

HON. W. F. COOPER

William Frierson Cooper was born in Williamson Co., Tenn. on the 11th of March, 1820. He was reared in Maury County, and since early manhood has resided in Nashville, where his high reputation as a lawyer and jurist has been attained. By both parents Judge Cooper is descended from the Scotch-Irish race of the north of Ireland, which constitutes so large a portion of the population of the Southern States. Both families, the Coopers and the Friersons, settled in South Carolina, his paternal grandfather being a captain in Sumter's brigade during the Revolutionary war, and both moved to Middle Tennessee early in the present century.

Being sent early to school and having a ready memory, he was pushed forward beyond his years, and was always in classes of which he was the youngest member, and so continued till he graduated at college when only eighteen years of age. The strain upon his mental faculties was, however, as he is in the habit of saying, moderated by the absence of emulation, which he was too young to feel in its full force, and by an uncontrollable appetite for general reading. At twelve years of age he spent a winter in New Orleans, where he learned the French language and acquired a taste for French literature. In the summer of 1834, Mr. Polk, then a member of Congress from Maury County,

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concluded to take his youngest brother and two of his nephews to Yale College to finish their education, and young Cooper was persuaded to join them. Under the charge of the future President of the United States, these young Tennesseans paid their respects to the then President, the venerable chief from their own State, and bowed before the tomb of the first President. They entered the same class at Yale College, were joined by two other students from their State, making perhaps a larger number of Tennesseans than were ever together there at one time before or since, and five of them graduated in the-class of 1838.

Upon his return home one of the leading lawyers of Columbia, who needed a young man in whom he could have confidence to aid him in his heavy practice, offered to give him an equal partnership as soon as he could obtain a license. But the young graduate considered himself unfitted for the contests of the forum, and declined the generous offer. He had previously concluded to study medicine, and diligently applied himself accordingly for the next two years, taking during the time a course of lectures at the University of Pennsylvania. This period was sufficient to satisfy him that while the study of the profession chosen was profoundly interesting; its practice was not suited to his tastes. Having ascertained this fact, he made up his mind to change his profession, and immediately commenced the study of law. The lawyer already mentioned renewed his offer, and in the same month that he came of age the subject of our notice obtained a license to practice law, and went into partnership with the late chancellor, Samuel D. Frierson.

The next three years were spent in active business and diligent study, which so increased the self-confidence of the young lawyer that he determined to seek a wider field. He spent the fall and part of the winter in New Orleans, being inclined to remove to that city. On his return he remained a few days at Nashville to argue some of his cases in the Supreme Court, and was so much pleased that he concluded to spend at least the ensuing summer in that city. Understanding his intentions, the Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, late the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, who had then only recently removed from Columbia to Nashville, kindly took him into partnership. Nashville thus became the home, and, as it proved, the permanent home, of the young lawyer. The comparative leisure of the next few years gave him the opportunity of deepening the foundations of his legal studies. He commenced at the same time, as a mode of disciplining his faculties and increasing the accuracy of his knowledge of the State decisions, to report the opinions of the Supreme Court for one of the daily papers, preparing the head-notes, and, with occasional suggestions from the Hon. W. B. Turley, one of the judges of the court, condensing the opinions themselves when too long to be inserted *in extenso*. This he continued to do for several years. At the December term, 1846, of the Supreme Court., his arguments were twice favorably noticed by the judge who delivered the opinion in the cases, one of these arguments receiving the unusual, if not unprecedented, honor of being expressly referred to and adopted by the court. (Brown vs. Vanlier, 7 Hum. 239.) All of the judges of

that court treated them with the kindness which was their uniform characteristic towards young men, but he formed an intimate and cordial friendship with Judge Turley, who, to a lofty intellect and genial disposition, added a fondness for general literature, which was a powerful connecting-link between them.

In 1851, upon the death of Chancellor Cabal, the Nashville bar united in recommending Judge Cooper to fill the vacancy, but he declined to allow his name to be used when he understood that Judge Nicholson, who had returned to Columbia, was willing to accept the position. And afterwards, when Judge Nicholson resigned, he warmly supported Judge Frierson for the office. In the latter part of the same year he entered into partnership in the practice of the law with the Hon. Andrew Ewing, which continued for ten years, and until he was elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court. By the terms of the partnership, Judge Cooper took exclusive charge of the chancery business, and Mr. Ewing of the business of the law-courts, each following his cases to the Supreme Court. The equity business, into which Judge Cooper thus stepped, had been built up by the Hon. Edwin H. Ewing, then and now one of the first lawyers and public men of the State, who had concluded to spend a few years in Europe. It taxed his powers to the utmost, and increasing as it did with the growth of the city, it kept him incessantly employed during this period.

On the 8th of February, 1852, the Legislature of the State appointed Return J. Meigs, Esq., and Judge Cooper to revise and digest the general statutes of the State. Under this appointment the present code of Tennessee was prepared, and passed into a law by the General Assembly of 1857-58. Both revisers separately went over and digested the whole body of the law, compared together their separate work, and united in the drafts submitted to the legislative committee, and which were adopted by the Legislature almost without modification. The analytic plan of the code is, however, the exclusive work of Judge Cooper.

In 1854, upon the change in the State constitution giving the election of judicial officers to the people, Judge Cooper was a candidate for the office of attorney-general and reporter, but was defeated, his successful competitor being the Hon. John L. T. Sneed, then a deservedly popular member of the opposite political party, and subsequently one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In October, 1861, he became a candidate to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court, occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. Robert L. Caruthers, and was elected. The courts were, however, almost immediately thereafter closed by the late civil war, and upon the reorganization of the State government in 1865, new judges were appointed by the executive. The enforced leisure occasioned by the war gave to Judge Cooper the opportunity of carrying out a long-cherished plan of a trip to Europe. Some of the fruits of this trip appeared in the *Southern Law Review*, published in St. Louis after the civil war, under the style of "English and French Law" and "Modern Theories of Government."

Upon the reopening of the courts at the close of the war, Judge Cooper resumed the practice of his profession, confining himself to chancery cases. He was in partnership

for a few years with the Hon. Robert L. Caruthers, his predecessor on the Supreme Bench, and upon his retirement with his brother, the Hon. Henry Cooper, late member of Congress. In November, 1872, he was appointed by the Governor chancellor of the Nashville chancery district, and in August, 1874, he was elected by the people to the same place. His decisions while upon the bench have been published in three volumes of "Tennessee Chancery Reports," the last of which appeared in 1879.

In the year 1870, Judge Cooper superintended the republication of the early "Tennessee Reports." He prepared or rewrote the head-notes of the first eight volumes of these reports, with notes and references. These volumes, together with a new annotated edition of "Meigs' Reports," were republished in 1870. Upon the republication of the "Reports of the Supreme Court of Tennessee," begun in 1875, by G. I. Jones & Co., of St. Louis, Judge Cooper consented to edit the entire work. He has since completed the forty volumes, with annotations and references rewritten, a herculean labor, exhibiting in its results great care, industry, and legal acumen. Of twenty-nine of the volumes he has written the head-notes. He has also just finished re-editing an edition of "Daniels' Chancery Practice" for Little, Brown & Co., law-publishers, of Boston, bringing down the references and annotations to the present time. In this work he has examined nearly a thousand volumes of reports.

In August, 1878, Judge Cooper was elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State for the constitutional term of eight years from Jan. 1, 1879. The duties of this high and responsible position he is now discharging with the modesty, ability, and address which have characterized him in all his official and professional relations, together with his other various and arduous labors in the departments of jurisprudence. His works will be a monument of which his native State will have reason to be proud.

It should be stated, also, that Judge Cooper, among his other labors, has succeeded in establishing a bar association at Nashville, and in building up in connection therewith a law-library now numbering about three thousand volumes. As a suitable tribute the American Bar Association, which convened at Saratoga in the summer of 1879, elected him one of its vice-presidents.

Judge Cooper is now sixty years of age. The longevity of his ancestors and his temperate and orderly habits and cheerful disposition point to the conclusion that many years of useful labor yet remain to him. Those years will yield the greatest benefits to society if consumed in the labors of judicial science. It may with some degree of truth be said of a judge, as of a poet, that he is born, not made. We mean that the judicial temperament is innate in some men. Judge Cooper is one of those men. He loves the administration of justice. The possession of an ample competence places him beyond the reach of every ambition, except the ambition that has moved the greatest and best of judges,—the desire to do right and to leave behind an honorable name. The death of his former partner, the great and learned Chief Justice Nicholson, reduced the judges of the Supreme Court to five, the number provided for by the revised Constitution of 1870.

At the next election Judge Cooper took his place upon the bench. Says a late writer, intimately acquainted with the character and services of Judge Cooper, "We shall not be contented to see his usefulness limited to that position, "the Supreme Court of Tennessee "For twelve years the South has had no representative on the supreme bench of the United States. The exclusion from the national court of last resort of a section embracing one-third of the population of the Union—a section which has contributed to that bench such great names as Marshall, Taney, Catron, and Campbell; a section, too, whose laws and institutions contain so much that differs from those of the rest of the Union—cannot be expected to last much longer. The South is fairly entitled to her representative on that bench,—unless she is unable to produce lawyers worthy of that high position. She can certainly produce one such man, and that is the subject of this sketch. When it shall become necessary to look to the South for a suitable appointee to that great court the general consent of the bar will, unless we are greatly mistaken, point to him."

HON. JOHN TRIMBLE.

John Trimble, counselor and attorney-at-law, son of James Trimble, was born in Roane Co., E. Tenn., on the 7th day of February, 1812. He was educated at Nashville at a classic school taught by Moses Stevens, and at the Nashville University, whose president was Philip Lindsay.

In 1836 he was elected attorney-general for the Nashville district, which position he held for six years.

In 1843 he was nominated and elected by the Whigs to the General Assembly.

In 1845 he was nominated and elected to the State Senate.

In 1847 he refused a re-nomination, as also a nomination to the United States Congress.

He preferred his professional pursuits, and he acquired a large practice in all the courts, criminal, law, and equity, in both State and United States courts.

He soon found himself in possession of as large an estate as he *desired* to have, and losing his taste for the profession he gradually retired from it. He acquired a taste for literary pursuits, and his ruling passion became love of knowledge and culture, mental and moral. He had acquired a large and select library of miscellaneous works, the best English and American authors, and he gave his time almost wholly to the acquisition of knowledge and culture.

In 1859 he was placed by the Whig party on their ticket as a candidate to the State Senate. He was elected without canvassing, and almost without opposition.

He was in the extra session of the Senate in January, 1861; also in the extra session of April, 1861, during which session was passed the "ordinance of secession," against which and all acts tending towards secession of the State lie voted, being an "unconditional" Union and National man. When the act of secession was passed he resigned his seat as a senator and retired to private life.

During the entire civil war he was well known to be a National Union man, with firm convictions and faith in favor of the United States government.



EX. GOV. NEILL S. BROWN .

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His firm convictions were that the Rebellion ought not and could not succeed, and if by possibility it did it would be the greatest of calamities to the South and Southwest; and that the State had been betrayed by its public men and forced out of the Union. Yet during the entire war his opinions were respected, and he was treated kindly and with respect by all, which he will ever hold in grateful remembrance.

In 1862, Justice Ogren, of the United States Supreme Court and circuit judge for Tennessee, brought with him from Washington a commission for Mr. Trimble from Mr. Lincoln, appointing him United States district attorney. This position he held for two years and then resigned.

In 1865 he was again elected to the State Senate, and as such sat in the "Reconstruction General Assembly," and aided in reconstructing the State government.

While in the Senate at this time he voted for the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution; also in favor of *universal* suffrage and the re-franchisement of the people of the State.

In 1867 he was elected a member of Congress, and sat as a member of the Fortieth Congress in the House of Representatives. As such member he voted for the Fifteenth Amendment and for the restoration of the Southern States to the Union.

He declined to be a candidate for re-election, and returned again to private life and his "books."

He liberated his servants *before* the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, from a conviction that it was an emancipation of the *whites* from the greatest of evils, and his views were from a white man's standpoint looking at their enlightened interests and welfare.

HON. NEILL S. BROWN.

Hon. Neill S. Brown, ex-Governor of Tennessee, is a native of Giles County, in this State, where he was born on the 18th of April, 1810. His parents were descendants of Scotch Presbyterians, respectable and enterprising people, and were among the pioneers of Giles County when that region of country was a wilderness. In such a new country educational advantages were limited, so that the subject of this sketch received little more than a knowledge of the common English branches up to the age of seventeen, at which time he was thrown upon his own resources, and took to teaching school as a means of promoting his ardent desire to obtain a collegiate education. In this laudable undertaking he was not disappointed, his energy and ambition being sufficient to carry him through the multiplied difficulties and hardships which beset his path until he had completed, unassisted, his college and his law course, and been admitted to the bar with as brilliant and encouraging prospects as most young lawyers.

In 1836 he served as a soldier in the Seminole war in Florida, and upon his return in 1837 was elected a member of the Legislature from Giles County. He soon acquired in politics not only influence, but considerable ambition, being a fluent and effective speaker both in the hall of legislation and upon the stump. His oratory was of that earnest and persuasive kind, mixed with anecdote, keen wit, and satire, which renders a speaker popular and effective with juries

and before the people. When the great political parties were formed he took an active and prominent part as a Whig, and after a very spirited contest was elected Governor in 1847. He was an honorable and popular chief magistrate. In 1850 he was appointed United States minister to Russia, and was abroad in that capacity about three years. In 1855 he was chosen to represent Davidson County in the Legislature, and was elected Speaker of the House. From this time he held no political office until 1870, when he was elected a member of the convention called to remodel the existing Constitution of the State.

Governor Brown, though opposed to the war of 1861-65, and an anti-secessionist, yielded to the issue when it was made up, and took sides with the South. Since the war he has neither held nor sought any public office, but has been an active and open advocate of the Union and of peace and reconciliation. His professional career as a lawyer began in 1835 and he has practiced ever since except when prevented by political engagements. Few men in the profession have attained a better standing at the bar, although it is undoubtedly true that public duties have somewhat divided his attention and detracted from the full exercise of his powers and abilities in the strict line of his profession. Still, he is one of the ablest lawyers of the county bar, and his services are retained in the most important cases both in the criminal and civil courts.

He took an active part in the political campaigns of 1836, 1840, 1844, 1856, and 1860, and was an elector on the ticket of Judge White in 1836 and of Henry Clay in 1844. He has always been an ardent friend of common schools and of education in all its branches, and few men are more fully trusted and highly esteemed in the community in which he resides. We might write much more in his praise, but such is his modesty that we forbear, lest we might inflict a wound where we mean simply to do justice.

GEN. THOMAS T. SMILEY.

Gen. Thomas T. Smiley was born in Nashville, Oct. 8, 1813. He graduated at the University of Nashville in 1833; studied law with Hon. Ephraim H. Foster, and was admitted to the bar in 1836. He has ever since practiced in Nashville. Gen. Smiley was fourteen years clerk of the Circuit Court, from 1844 to 1859.

JUDGE JOSEPHUS C. GUILD.

Judge Josephus C. Guild was born in the county of Pittsylvania, Va., in 1803; came to Sumner County with his parents in 1806; studied law with Ephraim H. Foster at Nashville, and admitted to practice in 1822; began practice in Sumner County, where he remained till the close of the civil war, and acquired a high reputation at the bar and as a public speaker and lecturer. He was a member of the General Assembly in 1833, 1835, and 1852, and of the Senate in 1837 and 1845; was lieutenant-colonel of the Second Tennessee Regiment, under Gen. Armstrong, in the Florida campaign of 1836; Presidential elector for James K. Polk in 1844; elector at-large for Franklin Pierce in 1852; and was elected chancellor for the seventh chancery division of the State in 1860. The court was broken up by the war in



J. C. Guild

1861. In 1870, Mr. Guild was elected judge of the law-court at Nashville for a term of eight years, and held the office until the court was abolished by the Legislature in 1878.

CHAPTER XXIII

GEN. JAMES ROBERTSON

Notices of Him in History—Early Life and Education—Associations with Daniel Boone—Robertson and Sevier—Perilous Mission to the Cherokees—Indian Diplomacy—Settlement on the Cumberland—Civil Administration—His Career as a Legislator—His Appointment as Indian Agent—Treaties with the Chickasaws and Choctaws —Last Hours and Death of Gen. Robertson.

THE Life of Gen. Robertson is interwoven with the whole history of Middle Tennessee, and with events which extend far beyond its limits. In this locality, which was more especially the theatre of his action, it is desirable to bring these events together and, as it were, to focalize them in a personal sketch of the chief actor.

Haywood, speaking of Robertson's first visit to the Cumberland, says,

"He is the same person who will appear hereafter by his actions to have merited all the eulogium, esteem, and affection which the most ardent of his countrymen have ever bestowed upon him. Like almost all those in America who have attained eminent celebrity, he had not a noble lineage to boast of, nor the escutcheoned armorials of a splendid ancestry. But he had what was far more valuable, a sound mind, healthy constitution, a robust frame, a love of virtue, an intrepid soul, and an emulous desire for honest fame."

Mrs. Dr. Blackie, of Nashville, who is a great-granddaughter of Gen. Robertson, under date of Feb. 28, 1880, relates the following interview with the historian Bancroft respecting Gen. Robertson:

"I met him more than twenty-five years ago at a dinner-party in New York. Hearing that I was from Tennessee, he soon began to speak of Gen. Robertson, saying he was his 'favorite hero of those times.' He told me how he had become possessed of some of his letters, and of some authentic accounts of him, which had won his admiration and respect. I was proud to tell him that he was my great-grandfather. I was much gratified afterwards to see how honorably he was woven into his great history.' The passage in Bancroft referred to by Mrs. Blackie is vol. xi. chap. xlv. History of the United States; November, A.D. 1770.

"This year James Robertson, from the home of the Regulators in North Carolina, a poor and unlettered forester of humble birth, but of inborn nobleness of soul, cultivated maize on the Watauga. The frame of the heroic hunter was robust, his constitution hardy, he trod the soil as if he was the rightful lord. Intrepid, loving virtue for its own sake, and emulous of honorable fame, he had self-possession,

quickness of discernment, and a sound judgment. Wherever he was thrown, on whatever he was engaged, he knew how to use all the means within his reach, whether small or great, to their proper end, seeing at a glance their latent capacities, and devising the simplest and surest way to bring' them forth; and so he became the greatest benefactor of the early settlers of Tennessee, confirming to them peace, securing their independence, and leaving a name blessed by the esteem and love and praise of a commonwealth."

James Robertson was born in Brunswick Co., Va., on the 28th of June, 1742, and when he was quite young his parents removed with him to Wake Co., N. C. Here he was reared to manhood and married Miss Charlotte Reeves. The influences upon him in early life were such as to lay the foundation of a good moral character, develop personal energy and independence, and imbue his mind with those principles of liberty of which he was in after-years so earnest and faithful an exponent. Wake County, at the time of his residence there, was the centre of the most intelligent and refined society in the colony, the future capital of the State being in this county,—and it is but reasonable to believe that such associations had a powerful influence in molding the character or the subject of our notice, and that he went out into the world not unacquainted with the usages of good society, and with at least the rudiments of an education. Mrs. Elizabeth Cheatham, his granddaughter, now living with her son, Felix R. Cheatham, Esq., in North Nashville, writes under date of Feb. 28, 1880: "He had as good an education as most gentlemen of his day, and was not indebted to his wife for his knowledge of letters, as Mr. Putnam says. I know that he received his education in his youth; and I have a letter from Uncle Felix Robertson denying this statement of Mr. Putnam's, and saying that he was astonished that he had made such a mistake. I do not suppose he was a rich man in Carolina, but he certainly brought a good many slaves and fine stock and cattle with him to this settlement."

Mrs. Cheatham also, in the same letter, speaks of the personal appearance of her grandfather, thus:

"Gen. Robertson was about five feet nine inches in height, heavy built, but not too fat. His head inclined slightly forward, so that his light-blue eyes were usually shaded by his heavy eyebrows. His hair was very dark, like a mole in color, and his complexion, though naturally very fair, was darkened and reddened by exposure. I remember him as being usually quiet and thoughtful, and full of the cares of business. We all loved and venerated him."

This was when Robertson was quite advanced in years. He was twenty-eight years old when he left North Carolina and crossed the mountains. In his hunting excursions on the Watauga he was an associate of Daniel Boone, and they were probably together on the Holston in 1770. Robertson returned, and is believed to have been engaged with the Regulators in the battle of Alamance, but there is no positive proof of it. It was soon after the battle, in 1771, that he started with his wife and child to an almost unknown country beyond the great range of mountains, never to return to claim the right of citizenship in the old settled portion of the State. Henceforth his life was identified with that heroic

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class of frontiersmen whose mission it has been to push the advance of civilization into new countries.

On his arrival at Watauga he met Boone there again, but the latter had no intention of remaining. Boone and Robertson, though intimately associated, were very different types of men. The former was ever on the move. He acted as pilot to new settlements, and continued the pioneer of civilization from the Yadkin, in North Carolina, to the district of St. Charles, in Missouri, where he ended his remarkable and eventful life in 1820, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. Robertson, on the other hand, remained to organize the settlements, and to extend over them the protection of a simple but efficient form of government. In this he was successful both at Watauga and on the Cumberland, being in both places the master-spirit and the principal man in authority, the organizing force and the chief executive head. Nor do we know of a single instance in the forty years of his life where that authority was ever abused. His loyalty to the people—his sacrifice of personal ambition to the public welfare—was one of the most remarkable traits of his character; and it places him high above many of the rulers of mankind who have filled the world with their fame.

The tyranny which drove him and his associates beyond the mountains is but another illustration of how new settlements and States have been formed. Out of tyranny into liberty has ever been the progress of man. The tyranny of rulers has been the most fruitful cause of the colonization of new countries. People fleeing from oppression have planted the seeds of states and republics. So was it in this case: the refugees from North Carolina laid the foundation of the commonwealth of Tennessee. Was there not a providence in it? Did not the pioneers "build wiser than they knew"? Were they not sent to open this beautiful country, which was destined to send down its blessings of civilization to unborn generations?

Robertson frequently alluded to the tyranny of British officials in the old State. "This was the best thing," he remarked, "ever done by the British government. Never were threats so harmless, and yet so powerful: they were laughed to scorn. No man feared them out here, whatever they might have done in old Orange and in Wake." Again he said, "These acts made a new set of Regulators, patriots and soldiers out in the mountains; and they were thus preparing to prove themselves such at King's Mountain, and wherever else God, in his providence, or their country, in her need, should call them."

The part taken by Robertson and Sevier in the battle with the Indians at the Kanawha deserves to be mentioned. This was in the year 1774. The little settlement west of the mountains was in its infancy; yet when the warlike Shawnees and their confederates threatened the destruction of the settlements in Western Virginia, they raised and equipped a company, which they placed under their own officers, and marched to the scene of action. James Robertson and Valentine Sevier held commissions in Shelby's company: On the morning of the 10th of October these men were beyond the encampment looking after deer, and came suddenly upon the Indians, who had advanced within half a mile of Gen. Lewis' camp. They were

approaching in very regular order, and by a line extending from the banks of the Ohio back to the hills, and across the point towards the Kanawha, evidently intending to confine the Americans to their position on the point between the two rivers. Roberson and Sevier were within ten steps of the advancing foe: they fired at the front column. It was yet too dark in the twilight of the morning to take sight or deliberate aim, but the fire was so unexpected that the Indians came to a general halt, thus affording Robertson and Sevier time to run into the camp, give the alarm, and arouse every man to arms. Instantly Col. Charles Lewis was ordered to advance with one hundred and fifty men towards the hills, and near the Kanawha River. The little force under Col. William Fleming was directed to the right, up the banks of the Ohio. These forces had scarcely passed the line of sentinels when they were met by the enemy, and a hot and deadly conflict commenced. In a short time the entire force on each side was fiercely engaged, and the battle continued during most of the day. Many feats of daring and individual contests took place under and along the banks of the rivers, and the dead Americans and Indians were scattered from the waters of one river to those of the other. Before the close of the day the savages had retreated, the firing ceased, and the dead and wounded were gathered and properly attended to.

It has been ever since admitted on all hands that this victory was attributable to Robinson and Sevier, who discovered the plan of the Indians and gave timely warning, without which the whole camp must have been surprised and either cut to pieces or driven into the river.

As an Indian diplomatist Gen. Robertson had no superiors and very few equals. The Indians, as a general rule, had confidence in him and respected his judgment. He had not been long a member of the settlement at Watauga before his excellent services in this direction were called into requisition. In 1772, at the time the Watauga lease was negotiated with the Cherokees, some hunters from the Wolf-Hills in Virginia shot an Indian while they were engaged in friendly contests of foot-races and other athletic sports. The Indians were highly excited and contemplated revenge. The chief citizens at this critical moment selected Robertson to go upon the perilous mission to the Indian towns to seek to appease their anger. It was certainly putting his life in jeopardy; nevertheless, such was his desire to protect and benefit his neighbors that he undertook the embassy, taking with him, as was customary, a few presents. He penetrated to the Cherokee towns, called the chiefs and head-men together, and succeeded in convincing them that the murder, which he and his people universally condemned, had been committed by irresponsible renegades outside of their community; that should the assassin fall into their hands he would be dealt with according to his deserts; and that the Watauga settlers were anxious to preserve peace and intercourse with their nation lie remained several days with the chiefs, who, from his courage, address, and friendly manner, conceived a very high regard for him.

The successful manner in which he executed this difficult and dangerous mission elevated him in the regard of his townsmen. From this time he was granted the post of honor. The cares and responsibilities of a leader in civil and

military affairs now devolved upon him, and to the close of his life he found them both weighty and many.

After this Gen. Robertson held more negotiations with the Indians than any other man of his times. Those masterly feats of diplomacy by which, later in life, he secured treaties for the relinquishment of their lands from the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and other tribes will be considered in their chronological place farther on.

But Gen. Robertson could not only make treaties with the Indians; he could fight them when occasion required, and when diplomacy failed to keep them in their proper place. We shall not here give an account of his various expeditions, campaigns, and engagements in Indian warfare; for these the reader is referred to the military history of the pioneer period in another part of this work. While at Watauga he held the rank of captain; soon after his settlement on the Cumberland the people elected him colonel, and upon the organization of the Territorial government he was commissioned a general by President Washington. This was at a time when the title meant service as well as honor.

Gen. Robertson was one of the committee who drew up the memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina, asking for the "annexation" of Watauga to that colony. In this famous document the name Washington is for the first time in America applied to any portion or district of territory. His residence at Watauga was on the north side of the river, at the upper end of the island. The fort or block-house of which he was appointed commandant stood upon a knoll on the bottom-land, a mile north of the mouth of Gap Creek. It is identified by a large locust-tree and a few graves on the right of the highway leading to Elizabethtown.

During the winter of 1776-77, Gen. Robertson was in Wake Co., N. C., for the purpose of settling his private affairs, and to receive from Col. Michael Rogers, guardian of his brother Mark, the legacies and personal estates due him under the will of his father.

On the 10th of July, 1777, Robertson, co-operating with the force of Col. Christian, which had been sent by Virginia to invade the very heart of the Cherokee Nation, repulsed a considerable band of Indians who attacked the settlement.

During this year he was appointed temporary agent of North Carolina, and instructed to repair to Chota (the *beloved town*) in company with the warriors returning from the treaty, there to reside until otherwise ordered by the Governor. He resided there some time, the accredited minister of North Carolina at the court of the Cherokee Nation, rendered himself popular among the chiefs of the ancient order of red men, and accomplished some valuable services for his fellow-citizens. We have his own words for it that about this time he was a subject of more than ordinary consideration on the part of his native State. He says, "Without inquiring how, I was restored to citizenship and invested with office in my native State: we lived and fought as neighbors for each other and our united country. Whether we were Virginians or Carolinians we asked and eared not; we were all for the General Congress and for Washington." Mrs. Robertson remembered to have once asked the question, "I wonder if they will make Washington a king?" and the answer was, "If they do, he will be the king of our

own choice. We will change the man, but not the *name*. He will still be King *George* by the will of the people and the grace of God."

On the 16th of October, 1777, Governor Caswell addressed a letter to Robertson, as superintendent of Indian affairs, in which he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from the latter, covering a talk from old Savanuca, one of the Cherokee chiefs, with whom Robertson was on most friendly terms. The Governor enclosed a talk in return for the old chief, to be delivered to him and the nation at Chota, the Beloved Town. Robertson was informed in this letter that it was the wish of the General Assembly that he should remain as Indian agent in the nation, which wish the Governor heartily seconded and urged. But he had business to attend to in the settlement and in the affairs of its government which would not admit of his staying permanently among the Indians. He had stayed long enough, however, to do much good, the fruit of which was seen in after-years upon the Cumberland.

Col. Henderson, no doubt, had much influence with Robertson in inducing him to remove to Middle Tennessee. He was just such a man as the colonel wanted to head an important settlement, which he *was* desirous of making in the heart of the tract which he had recently obtained of the Indians. The treaty had been held at Watauga; Robertson was present, and took part in it; the great plans of Henderson, with reference to both Kentucky and Tennessee, were freely communicated to him; he led the settlers to the Cumberland; in the organization of the government over them, and in the land-office opened at Nashborough, he was associated with Henderson, till the latter, upon the proclamation against his treaty by both the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina, left the Cumberland, and removed to the tract granted him near the Ohio River, now Henderson Co., Ky. Henderson's name was the first on the compact or association in recognition of his position as principal proprietor of the lands. After his removal and the failure of the treaty, Robertson was left alone, as it were, to father the whole settlement, and that, too, amidst a most complicated and uncertain state of affairs. It was indeed as difficult and trying a situation as a man was ever placed in. Put almost in the attitude of land-stealers by the proclamations of Virginia and North Carolina, declaring the treaty illegal, although the purchase had been made in good faith and the consideration honestly paid; the Indians disaffected and hostile; abandoned by a large portion of the settlers, and left to defend themselves in a few forts as best they could,—the few brave stationers, who looked to Robertson as their leader, resolved not to abandon their homes let what might come. Their situation at this critical period is thus graphically described by a historian:

"The three first years of the stationers on the Cumberland were years of privation, losses, and gloom. Remote and separate improvements had to be abandoned. The people were driven in, and were under the necessity of congregating at the Bluff, or French Lick Station, and at Eaton's. Some continued at Freeland's. At Mansker's they lingered to the close of this year.



Photo. by Armstrong, Nashville.

Levi H. Overton

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"Some began to regret that they had not gone with their friends who had parted their company at the mouth of the Tennessee; others wished the boats had not been broken up to make but indifferent cabins among the cedars. Shall we flee the country?' was the question. Better,' said some, to leave while we may than remain and die of hunger, or be massacred by savages. 'No,' said a few resolute men, 'no! And there were some brave-hearted women who said No. This is the place for which we set out, and here we will remain.' So said Mrs. Cartwright, Mrs. Neely, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Donelson, Caffery, Purnell, Jennings, Blackemore, and the wives of the Bledsoes, who came by the long land-route,—women whose names deserve to be forever memorable. Nearly every one of these held the same religious sentiments, and often' comforted themselves and others by their 'trust in Providence.' "

Robertson was one of those who never thought of abandoning his post. In the winter of 1781, when their stock of ammunition was nearly exhausted, and the question was, in view of the danger to which all felt imminently exposed from lurking savages, "Who will go to the settlement and obtain a new supply for us?" Robertson, with one of his sons, some good woodsmen, and one of the Bledsoes, went upon the mission. Robertson returned, as he had at first determined, after visiting Harrods, Boone's, and Braint's Stations, in Kentucky. The Bledsoe party continued to Watauga, and came back with some accession of numbers, —wives and children.

In his policy with the Indians Gen. Robertson determined at first to use all conciliatory measures, so far as they would serve to promise success, in withdrawing the Indians from British alliance and gaining them over to the American cause. In this he was opposed by a strong desire on the part of some of the stationers to take summary vengeance for the outrages the Indians had committed. There had been forty unprovoked murders,—" brothers' blood crying from the ground." What could atone for these? Would it be politic, even if it were possible, to enter into covenants of peace, and these deaths unavenged? Robertson sought peace, and the fact that he did it shows that his mind rose above mere considerations of revenge to the great question of public welfare. In the spirit of the true statesman he inquired, What policy is for the best good of the people? To such a policy he was always ready to sacrifice every gratification of a mere personal nature which, in his judgment, stood in the way of the general welfare of the society which seemed the special object of his care and solicitude. Instances of this spirit are innumerable in his life. With regard to the Indians, he found that they could not be easily conciliated or won to the interests of the settlers, when Spanish, French, and English emissaries, and even those of the Northern tribes of their own race, were constantly exciting them to hostility. Some cavaliers asked, "What does the colonel think now of his pacific measures?" "Kill them, yes, kill them!" said the colonel, "making a difference: spare the innocent." "Yes," said George Freeland, "if there are any innocent ones hunting around here, notify them by powder and shot that they are too far from home, —so far that a good rifle-shot will help them to a *shortcut*."

When the peace policy had been sufficiently tried, and it was found necessary to resort to severer measures, no man fought the Indians with greater thoroughness and vigor than Gen. Robertson. Still, the wisdom of his pacific measures was apparent. He convinced the Indians that he was their friend no less than that of the white man, so long as they were disposed to keep peace with the settlements. It is well known that the Indians always had confidence in him and that whenever fighting was suspended no man could approach them so easily or exert such an influence in their diplomatic councils. He never had provoked their implacable vengeance by wantonly slaying any of their kindred. This policy repeatedly kept the 'savages at bay, and saved the lives and property of the settlers.

In his Indian wars and travels through the country his life was full of hair-breadth escapes. In January, 1781, he went to the stations in Kentucky to learn the news respecting the progress of the American cause, to concert measures with the stationers there for the defense of the settlements, and to see what aid Gen. Clarke could render in that direction. He did not fail to obtain some powder and lead, with which he returned to the Cumberland. His escape from the savages as he came through the open prairies or barrens of Kentucky, and through the cane-brakes of Tennessee, passing across the Indian trails, and by their half-extinguished camp-fires in several instances, was regarded by himself and others as remarkable. He crossed the river at the Bluff on the 15th of January. Leaving his pack-horse at that station, and learning that his wife and children were at Freeland's, he hastened to greet them and to rejoice with them that they and lie were yet alive. As he approached he was welcomed, not only by the family, but by every one, as he had been at the Bluff. While he asked and answered questions, he allowed his powder-horn to be handed around; as generous lovers of Maccaboy are pleased to see their snuff-boxes serve the company. He had a few bullets to spare in his shot-pouch, and the destitute helped themselves economically. The main stock of powder and lead was at the other station.

In 1781, Gen. Robertson made a treaty with the Chickasaws.

Troubles thickened in 1782. During this year a proposition was made to abandon the settlements and seek some more secure place. Robertson, as reported by Judge Haywood, "pertinaciously resisted the proposition." "It is impossible," said he, "to get to Kentucky; the Indians are in force upon all the roads and passages which lead thither. For the same reason it is impossible to remove to the settlements upon the Holston. No other means of escape remain but that of going down the river in boats, and making good our retreat to the Illinois, where we might find a few of our friends, or going down to the French and Spaniards on the lower Mississippi. To this plan insuperable obstacles are opposed. With such boats as we have a few may get away, risking the dangers of the navigation and of being shot by the savages on the bluffs and all along the shores. But how can we obtain wood with which to make the boats that are needed? It cannot be procured. The Indians are every day in the skirts of the woods all along the bluff; we look for them under every shrub, and privet, and cedar, and behind every tree; they are

ready to inflict death upon whoever shall attempt to fell a tree for a canoe or to saw it for lumber."

These difficulties were all stated by Col. Robertson, says Haywood, and there was no exaggeration; everybody knew the facts to be as he had stated. He did not speak with indifference or contempt of the sufferings they had already endured, or of the dangers which then surrounded them. He did not deny or doubt that the probabilities were that the Indians would attempt to drive them away or utterly destroy them. "There is danger attendant on the attempt to stay, as there is in the effort to go; and in the attempt to do either we may be destroyed. Every one must decide for himself; do as you please. You all know that my mind is made up. I have never thought of leaving. I am determined not to leave. There are others who have never entertained the idea of departing. We know each other. We hope there are others who, though they may have talked of going, may yet conclude to stay."

In this grave conference Robertson predicted the successful termination of the struggle for independence, and pictured to his almost disheartened associates the better day which would then dawn upon the settlement:

"We have reason to believe also that the Revolutionary war will not last much longer, and that it will terminate in favor of our liberty and independence. Then we may rely upon large accessions to our population. Officers and soldiers will come and select and settle their bounty-lands." In the course of his remarks he added "We have to fight it out here or fight our way out from here." Rains caught up the sententious remark, and he and others continued to repeat it, and they adopted the first part of it as their motto and resolution—"Fight it out here."

Robertson's connection with the government of the notables has been elsewhere enlarged upon. He was not only its principal founder, but was president of the committee or board of judges during its entire existence. He was one of the justices of the County Court upon the organization of Davidson County, in 1783. As these magistrates were appointed "during good behavior," it is presumable that he held the office as long as he lived.

In his correspondence and intercourse with the Spanish authorities, Gen. Robertson was ever a true friend to America and to the Western settlements. By his wise and conciliatory counsels he removed many difficulties out of the way of commerce on the Mississippi, and made it possible that settlers on the Cumberland and other Western waters could trade in safety to New Orleans and other points within the Spanish dominion. He well understood how important was the Mississippi River and its unobstructed navigation to the Western people. He predicted the day as near at hand when the settlers west of the mountains must have the use of that river in conveying their produce to market; he well knew the importance of quiet to the settlers, and that if they could remain undisturbed but a few years longer, they would be in sufficient strength to defy both the Indians and the Spaniards. And knowing the intimacy between these parties he could not doubt as to the best policy of the settlers. It was to attend to their own affairs, have no quarrels with their neighbors, encourage

immigration, and build up the settlements as securely and rapidly as possible. That his policy was sound and statesmanlike must be admitted. On the 20th of April, 1783, he received a letter from Don Estepan Mero, the Spanish Governor, thanking him for his friendly communication and for the assurances of friendship it contained, promising to write to McGillivray, the Creek chief, and to the Spanish commandant above the Walnut Hills to use their exertions with the Creeks and Cherokees to restrain them from any interference with the American settlements. This letter shows how earnestly he labored to keep the Indians from disturbing the settlements, and knowing the influence the Spaniards had over them, he sought to effect for them peace through that channel.

In 1785 he was delegated by the citizens to write a letter to Mr. Francis Cruzat, of St. Louis, concerning the "brigands" Colbert and his gang, who had been robbing barges passing up and down the Mississippi. To this letter he received a very friendly reply, dated Nov. 4, 1785.

Upon the organization of Davidson County, in 1783, Gen. Robertson was its first representative to the Assembly of North Carolina. He continued by successive elections to represent it till the cession of Tennessee to Congress, and its organization as the "Territory of the United States southwest of the river Ohio," on the 25th of May, 1790. He was then commissioned by Washington major-general of Mero District. His old friend, John Sevier, was commissioned major-general of Washington District, these being the two great divisions of the Territory. William Blount was appointed Territorial Governor; John McNairy and David Campbell, Judges; Daniel Smith, Territorial Secretary; and Andrew Jackson, District Attorney for Mero District. The first Territorial representative in Congress was James White. Andrew Jackson was then a young lawyer at the Davidson County bar.

The career of Gen. Robertson as a legislator in the North Carolina Assembly presents an interesting phase of his life. He was zealous in promoting the best interests of the settlements on the Cumberland, and, considering the disposition of North Carolina to leave these struggling settlements to take care of themselves, succeeded in getting a large number of beneficial acts passed, many of which laid the foundation of justice and education in Middle Tennessee. He procured an act securing free lands to those who had remained and defended them during the early Indian troubles, and to the heirs of those who had perished in the struggle. In the list of brave defenders of their country named in the act, Robertson places his name last. The list contains the names of seventy persons living entitled to free lands, and of sixty-four who had been killed by the Indians and left heirs.

He procured a land-office to be established at Nashville in 1784. The business of entering and surveying land at once presented a lively aspect. Could we present a picture of that time, we are sure it would be interesting. The frontier land-office, surrounded by eager land-hunters and immigrants, seeking to enter their claims; the surveyors running and blazing their lines through the woods and the cane-brake; the sound of the woodsman's axe in many parts of the forest, or

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the crashing and jarring sounds of the falling trees; the new rail-fences in many places inclosing stumpy and blackened patches of ground, where, perchance, remnants of charred logs lay scattered among the growing corn, or burning brush-heaps sent up their flame and crackling sound,—all gave evidence of how the wilderness was being redeemed from the dominion of savage nature to make homes for coming civilized men and women. Already the rude beginnings of those homes appeared in many log cabins in the openings of the forest and on the banks of the streams. At the little fortified huddle of buildings on the bluff known as Nashborough, the life was more busy and intense; the land-office had been opened in a building of cedar logs, and many were waiting their turn to enter their land. This was a brighter day for the toil-worn stationers, and no doubt all felt grateful to their benefactor, whose care and exertion had brought about such a state of things.

Gen. Robertson, in 1784, secured also an office for the inspection of tobacco for Davidson County. In this year he also obtained an act establishing the Davidson Academy, which grew eventually into the University of Nashville. In its progress, and in the cause of education, he continued to be interested as long as he lived. While at the Assembly he became acquainted with Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, whom he induced to come out and take charge of this first institution of learning in Middle Tennessee. The reader will find a full account of this institution under the head of the Nashville University.

In May, 1784, Gen. Robertson also procured the passage of an act establishing a Superior Court of Law and Equity for Davidson County. This is the court over which Andrew Jackson was appointed judge, at a salary of fifty pounds a year, North Carolina currency, to be paid, not out of the State treasury, but out of such means as Davidson County could raise.* He also procured an act for the raising and sustaining of a military force to escort immigrants to the settlements on the Cumberland and for the defense of the settlers. A body of three hundred men was authorized to be mustered into the service, which should be employed part of the time in cutting and clearing a road from the lower end of Clinch Mountain to Nashville. A liberal allowance was made to these soldiers and officers in lands west of the Cumberland Mountains, but North Carolina would pay nothing for their support, except some tax on wild lands.

It is a fact worth noticing that Gen. Robertson, in accordance with his own strict temperance principles and practice, procured an act against the establishment of distilleries in the country. He declared in the debate upon his bill in the Assembly that "the conversion of grain into spirituous liquors is an unwarranted perversion, unserviceable to white men and devilish to Indians." In the report of this measure we find the following language with reference to the settlement on the Cumberland: "Hitherto there has been no drunkenness here, and Col. Robertson hopes there never May be any waste of grain by distillation, or waste of estates or ruin of souls by the drinking of

liquor." The prohibition, however, was but limited. The evil which he sought to guard against; alas! Established itself, as in other communities, and wrought its sad and terrible consequences upon many, not omitting some of the bright and shining lights of society.

In the preparation for the organization of the State, Gen. Robertson, though deeply engaged in military affairs, was urged to attend the meeting of the Assembly, at Knoxville, for consultation. Governor Blount wrote him: "The public interests and your own and my interests require that you and I and other public men should meet and consult together Conte to Knoxville. I trust sir, this infant country, particularly the people of Mere District, of which you may be said to be the political father, will long retain a grateful sense of your services." These services had been, both civil and military, of a pre-eminent character, and having, by the Nickajack expedition, put an end to the Cherokee war, and resigned his commission on the 15th of August, 1795, he was again invited to the civil council to deliberate upon the important subject of organizing the State of Tennessee. Besides public business at this time of most absorbing moment crowding upon him, that of a private nature was most astonishing. A large amount of land-papers had been entrusted to him. He was called upon to have warrants located, lands surveyed, to give descriptions of lands, and answer thousands of questions proposed to him on subjects relating to the Indians and to settlements.

Upon his appointment as Indian agent, in 1796, he found much business requiring his attention. The Indians were very desirous to have permission to hunt on the waters of the Cumberland and to trade with the whites. Some of the Cherokees applied to him for his sanction, which he gave. In the fall of that year Chilcoe and Gentleman Tom had their camps on the southwest side of Stone's River, about one mile from the white settlers, with whom they were on very friendly terms. But about a mile above, on the north side of the creek, two Indians were shot by white men, in violation of the treaty and the permission granted by Gen. Robertson. This high-handed outrage Robertson was not slow to punish. He seized two white men, supposing them to have been the perpetrators, but after keeping them tied a day and a night released them, as he could find no proof of their guilt. Gen. Robertson and Judge McNairy offered a reward of seven hundred dollars to any one who would find out and take the guilty persons. Gen. Winchester also issued military orders for their arrest, but it does not appear that they were ever brought to justice.

In 1798 the United States appointed commissioners to hold a treaty with the Cherokee Indians. The treaty was consummated on the 20th of September of that year. The

State of Tennessee saw the importance of having her in wrets well represented at this treaty, and to this end Governor Sevier appointed James Robertson, James Stuart, and Lachlan McIntosh State agents. These men were chosen because they were the most competent men in the State upon the subject of Indian history and Indian treaties. It was felt that information would need to be imparted to the commissioners on the whole subject of the relation of the Cherokees to the soil of Tennessee, and the nature and

* Putnam, p. 235.

extent of former treaties made with them. This was done in what has since been known as the "Great Argument" presented to the commissioners by Robertson and his associates, a document to which we can only refer here. Copies of it are in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, and it is also published in full in Putnam, pp. 550-58.

This great argument led to the final extinguishment of the Indian claim to lands within the State. Return J. Meigs, who was appointed Indian agent in 1804, adopted the views set forth in the argument of Robertson, Stuart, and McIntosh, and entered into correspondence with Robertson. A strong combination was thus formed. A memorial embodying these views was sent to Congress, and the policy was then initiated of giving the Indians lands on the west side of the Mississippi in exchange for those they hunted upon on the east side. In March, 1805, Gen. Robertson was sent on a mission to the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. Clothed with a commission and instructions from the war department, this thoughtful public agent mounted his horse, accompanied by one servant and a packhorse, quit the comforts of home and the endearments of his family, and journeyed through the forests and canebrakes, seeking the accomplishment of an object upon which his mind had been set for the twenty-five previous years, viz.: to secure the relinquishment of the Chickasaw claim to Middle Tennessee. He carried with him but few presents. In May he met Mr. Silas Dinsmore, Indian agent, who had been directed by the government to associate with him in this interview for a treaty. They met the chiefs and head-men of the Chickasaws, and after a conference of several days, on the 23d of July, 1805, obtained of them a quit-claim and total relinquishment of their title to all lands from the Ohio and mouth of the Tennessee, up the main channel of that river to the mouth of Duck River; up Duck River on the left bank to the Columbian highway or road from Natchez to Nashville; thence along said road to the dividing-ridge between Duck and Buffalo; eastwardly along said ridge to the great ridge between the waters of the Tennessee and Buffalo, near the source of the Buffalo; thence in a direct line to the great Tennessee River, near the "Chickasaw Old Fields," or eastern part of the claim of the Chickasaws on that river; thence northwardly to and on the ridge dividing the waters of the Tennessee from those of the Cumberland, including the waters which run into Elk; thence along the great ridge to the beginning; reserving only one mile square on the Tennessee, at the mouth of Duck River, for Okoye, one of the chiefs. The consideration for this grant was twenty thousand dollars, mostly paid in goods.

Col. Meigs and Gen. Daniel Smith concluded a treaty with the Creeks for their lands in Tennessee the same year. While Robertson was perfecting his treaty with the Chickasaws, he knew that Meigs was employed for like results with the Cherokees. They had consulted and corresponded; they harmonized in opinions; they sought the same end by the same means and arguments; and they were alike successful. They removed the pretense of right of the Indians to the soil, and left them no excuse for disturbing the white settlements.

Gen. Robertson having accomplished his work among the Chickasaws, proceeded to the Choctaw Nation; and there he met with Silas Dinsmore, the United States agent. The result of their labors was the conclusion of a treaty with the Choctaws for a large cession of country on the Homochitto and other streams in the Mississippi Territory. This treaty was concluded on the 16th of November, 1805.

Gen. Robertson returned to Nashville early in August. He had traveled going and coming, probably eight hundred miles, besides exploring a considerable extent of country. During all of the year 1806 he had taken charge of two Chickasaw boys, whom he desired to have educated. He made application to the war department, and through the secretary and the President, in behalf of the lads. But the government, it appears, made no provision for them.

The services of Gen. Robertson, which had hitherto been important to the government, became so in an eminent degree upon the breaking out of the war with Great Britain. Some of the Indians who were friendly to the United States had met with others whose minds were unsettled. Good advice came from the friendly party. They said, "Gen. Robertson by visiting the agencies might exert a happy influence. It was a good time to fix the wavering." Robertson, therefore, met a number of the chiefs of the Cherokees and Chickasaws in council at hale, on the 15th of September. One of the chiefs said, "My heart is straight, and I wish our father, the President, to know it. Our young warriors want to fight. Give us guns, and plenty of powder and lead. We fight your enemies; we fight much; we fight strong." Gen. Robertson approved of the suggestion to enlist and equip several companies of Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, to be in the pay of the United States, well supplied with guns and epaulettes, who should act as rangers upon the borders to prevent intercourse between the northern and southern Indians. On the 20th of October he wrote out his views upon this subject.

During this year there was an earthquake which alarmed the Cherokees who had been removed beyond the Mississippi, and many of them came back. They came in haste as fugitives with terror depicted in their faces. They were not afraid of men; they had met no warrior, white or red; none of their friends had fallen in battle; they had not suffered by pestilence or famine; the game was much more abundant than they had ever seen it in their native country. "But," said they, "we deserted the bones of our chiefs, our warriors, our forefathers, and the Great Spirit is angry with us. The earth is ready to swallow us up; it trembles under our footsteps; it heaves and labors to vomit us forth. We cannot remain there. We return to sit down, cover our beads, and weep by the graves of our ancestors."

We quote the following letter from Gen. Robertson:

"CHICKASAW AGENCY, Aug. 10, 1812.

"CAPT. JOHN DAVIS ,—I arrived at this place 23d of last month. I was sick the day I left your house, and the next day; have been tolerably healthy since.

"I am well pleased with my berth, and have had the greatest council that ever was in this nation.

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"The Chickasaws profess to be as well pleased with me as I am with them. There cannot be a people more determined to observe peace with the United States than the Chickasaws. If the professions of the Creeks are sincere, there will be no danger with the southern Indians.

"This nation is determined to put their law in force in the strictest manner, should horse-thieves or murderers pass through this country. And the Choctaws have ordered all out of their nation.

"You will see in *The Clarion* the letter from the Creeks to those people, and the proceedings of our council,

"The death of the Choctaw, killed by the rangers, will cause much trouble, but will not be any great national crime. His brother has killed a Mr. Thomas Haley on the Mobile road (in retaliation).

"I have invited the two Indians who lost their companion and property to accompany me to Nashville the last of September.

" JAMES ROBERTSON ."

When Gen. Jackson at the head of his brave Tennesseans was gaining victories and wreathing laurels around his brow, Robertson was accomplishing the great work committed to his charge. He urged forward such organization of the friendly Indians as were authorized by the war department. They maintained a vigilant police and made frequent reports to the agency. In a letter from Gen. Robertson to Capt. John Davis, dated Chickasaw Agency, March 9, 1813, he writes, "The Chickasaws are in a high strain for the war. They have declared war against all passing Creeks who attempt to go through their nation."

The services of Gen. Robertson during his agency in the years of the war with England are to be reckoned among the most valuable ones rendered by him in a series of forty years. In not one of these years did he omit the performance of many acts of disinterested patriotism. His influence over the Chickasaws was indeed almost sovereign, and it was well for them and for the American settlements near their border.

The following extract from a letter written by Colbert, the Chickasaw chief, in reply to one of Gen. Robertson's, will show in what estimation he was held by the people of that nation:

" MY OLD FRIEND AND FATHER,—I am overjoyed with the word you send, that you are to be the guide of our nation, as you have been the life of this nation, and every chief of the Chickasaws, I make no doubt, will feel the same as I do. I hope everything will prove satisfactory in every council. When you go by my house I will take my horse and ride to the king's house and the agency with you."

Chin-nubbe was the king of the Chickasaw Nation. He is the same person who, with Colbert, Okoye, and others, wrote to Gen. Robertson in 1805, that "when they sold land it must be by the acre, in the mode adopted by the United States."

Early efforts were made to change the habits of the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Choctaws. Implements of husbandry had been furnished them, and an intercourse and friendship established which was deemed advantageous to the white as well as to the red people; but these efforts at

civilization, like nearly all other attempts of the kind among American Indians, proved unsuccessful. They were destined to pass away before the advance of civilization rather than to become assimilated therewith.

The material comforts at the agency appear not to have been of the best. Putnam says, "He wrote to his wife to send by Mr. Colaiee some feathers and bedclothes, and very fairly and kindly offered her, ' should she come that way, the very best chance for rest and sleep which the bed would afford, provided always that she should retain a part of the same.' And as a dutiful and devoted wife she accepted the offer or permission as though it had been a command. How strange that this aged couple, seventy-one and sixty-three years of age, respectively, should leave their hard-earned but now quiet home, their beautiful and comfortable residence near Nashville, to go again into the wilderness 'among savages and there patiently, yea, cheerfully, submit to all sorts of inconveniences and annoyances!'"

Before he departed the last time to the agency he said, "I know I am getting to be an old man; I cannot delude myself with the idea that I am young, or with the hope that in this life *my* days, and being, will turn backwards and carry me from age through reversed stages down to childhood again. I may not do all the good I design. My heart is warm and full, though my limbs are not so very supple. As some of you have said, I may not live to return and settle down again quietly at home. Older men than I have found the post of duty away from their pleasant firesides, and where duty calls there is home."

Gen. Robertson had been long subject to violent attacks of neuralgia. He had repeatedly said that his life would end in one of these attacks he knew he could not survive many more such as he had recently endured. But he was calm and resigned, and "might as well," he said, "die there (in the Indian nation) as anywhere, if the will of God was so." On Thursday, the 1st day of September, 1814, he breathed his last at the Chickasaw Agency. His wife was by his side. He died contented, resigned; he died at his post.

His remains were interred at the agency, where they rested till the year 1825, when they were removed to the cemetery at Nashville. A very large concourse of people assembled, and an eloquent eulogy was pronounced by Judge Haywood. A plain tomb covers the spot where rest the remains of this pioneer to the Cumberland, the founder of Nashville, and the "*Father of Tennessee*."

By his side rest the remains of his wife. Their tombs bear the following simple inscription:

GEN. JAMES ROBERTSON ,
THE FOUNDER OF NASHVILLE,

Was born in Virginia,
23th June, 1742.

Died

1st September, 1814."

CHARLOTTE R.,
WIFE OF JAMES ROBERTSON,

Was born in North Carolina,
2d January, 1751.

Died

11th June, 1843."

General and Mrs. Robertson had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. Two sons were killed by the Indians; one daughter died at two years of age.

His son, Felix Robertson, for many years an honored physician at Nashville, was born at the Bluff on the 11th of January, 1781, and was the first white child born in the settlement.

CHAPTER XXIV

COL. JOHN DONELSON

Importance of His Early Services in the Settlement—Nativity and Relations in Virginia—Removal to Kentucky—His Agency in locating Lands—Treaty with the Indians—Location of Lands at the Hermitage—Operations on the Tennessee—His Pacific and Patriotic Character—His Tragic Death.

THE arrival of Col. Donelson with the company which came to the Cumberland by water in 1780 has been referred to in our pioneer history, where his journal has been given of the most remarkable expedition in the history of Western settlements. After settling at Clover Bottom, on Stone's River, and planting a crop of corn, he was driven away by the extraordinary freshet of that summer, and found refuge with his family at Mansker's Station, whence in the autumn he removed to Davis' Station, near Harrodsburg, Ky. A number of the earliest stationers on the Cumberland removed at the same time. While residing there during the five succeeding years, Col. Donelson was much engaged in locating Virginia land-claims for himself and many Virginia acquaintances; and it is stated that he entered large tracts of the rich and beautiful lands in the vicinity of Lexington. He was a practical surveyor of well-established reputation before he removed to this part of the country. Such was the estimation in which his integrity and capacity were held in Virginia that he had been often called to the discharge of important trusts. He was at one time engaged in running the boundary-line between Virginia and North Carolina, and was present at the treaty of Long Island, on the Holston, in April, 1777. The information which he there obtained with regard to the lands in the Great Bend of the Tennessee operated strongly in connection with other inducements and influences to his expedition in the

"Adventure" at the time of the first settlement.

He was a native of Pittsylvania Co., Va., supposed to have been born in 1718. His father and grandfather had been engaged in shipping business from London, England. It is worthy of notice that several of the distinguished pioneers of Tennessee—Robertson, Sevier, Shelby; Bledsoe, Henderson, Cartwright, and Donelson—were born and educated in the same section of country, and were personally acquainted and devoted friends. Prior to the Declaration of Independence, Col. Donelson had served as a member in the House of Burgesses, and it is believed that he was once or twice a member of the Assembly of Virginia subsequent to the Declaration. Jefferson and Henry were his personal friends; he held commissions under each of them to execute important trusts, such as the survey of boundary lines, the negotiation of treaties with the Indians, and the establishment of the authority of the State over distant

territory. In 1772 he was appointed to survey the State line west, to designate certain limits for the Indians, and to secure a route for emigration to Kentucky. He was the principal person among the first voyagers down the Tennessee River, the manager of that wonderful achievement, and its journalist, his journal being elsewhere in this work published in full. He was of a devout turn of mind, and furnished repeated evidences of his recognition of a guiding Providence in all that concerned his life and in the affairs of the world.

In the spring of 1780, very soon after his arrival with the first settlers, Col. Donelson commenced his search through the forests and cane-brakes for land. He passed up the west branch of the Cumberland to the mouth of Stone's River, thence up that stream to the beautiful body of bottom-lands and rich uplands bordering upon it. In a number of open spots there was discovered a luxuriant growth of white clover, which place became known as the "Clover Bottom." Here he selected a beautiful eminence, which was about one hundred and fifty yards to the northwest of the bridge (built in later years) across Stone's River on the Lebanon Pike. He moved there with his family and servants and erected some shanties with open fronts, or "half-camps" as they were called. In one of these his daughter-in-law, the wife of Capt. John Donelson, Jr., gave birth, on the 22d of June, 1780, to a son, whom they named *Chesed*, the first white child born on the Cumberland or in Middle Tennessee. It is singular that this Hebrew name (which has the signification of "destroyer") should have been chosen to the exclusion of any name belonging to the family or relatives. The motives in the mind of the parents we cannot conjecture. The child, however, did not survive infancy. As has been remarked, "the great destroyer soon marked him as his victim."

"The settlement was called Stone's River, or Donelson's Station, as may be seen from the records of the provisional government of the 13th of May, 1780. It was entitled to one representative in the assembly of notables at the Bluff.

"The name of Donelson is the fifth on the roll of noble pioneers who adopted the anomalous government of May 1st, with the amendments and additions of May 13th. His name precedes that of Gasper Mansker, as Mansker's does that of John Caffrey, who 'came in the Adventure' with Col. Donelson. It is written Jno. Donelson, C.' Colonel Donelson always abbreviated his Christian name, whereas his son wrote his in full,—' John Donelson,'

The overflowing of the Clover Bottom by a flood in July, 1780, the supposed destruction of his growing corn, and the danger of attacks from Indians were the causes which induced him to remove his family to Mansker's Station and thence to Kentucky, as we have related. Yet he tarried at Mansker's Station till the fall of the year, when it was ascertained that his corn, instead of having been destroyed by the flood, had sprung up and eared most astonishingly, and, strange to say, neither Indians nor wild beasts had injured much of it. In the autumn it was gathered, an abundant harvest, and Col. Donelson generously divided it with the people at the Bluff, or Nashville, who had lost much of their crops by inundations and other causes. An historian remarks, "Indeed, it may be said of these pioneers,



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as of the early Christians, 'They had all things common.' A generous hospitality and cheerful liberality characterized them all. It is not fabulous nor an exaggeration to say that if there remained but *one dried buffalo-tongue*, or but *one knife*, they divided that tongue or broke that knife, making as equal a division as possible for each one's separate necessity."

Col. Donelson had delayed his departure to Kentucky on account of the prospect of obtaining this supply of corn. He now determined to carry into effect his previous purpose, and made immediate preparations for moving. Having packed his horse and given the best conveyances to the women and children, and the men being furnished with such utensils and weapons as were most needed and serviceable in their hands, the party set out for Davis' Station. They arrived there without interruption by the savages, or more toil and suffering than they had anticipated.

The family of Capt. Rains was already there, or had arrived near the same time, as also others of the early Cumberland settlers. Col. Henderson and, his brother, Capt. Hart, and a number of others, had gone in advance of Col. Donelson. The destitution of corn and deficiency of powder and lead operated strongly upon the minds of many persons who departed in the summer and fall of 1780 and winter of 1780-81. A few removed their families to more secure positions, and then returned to stand by their friends in the stations at Easton's, the Bluff, and Freeland's.

In 1783, Cols. Donelson and Martin received from the Governor of Virginia commissions to treat with the Southern Indians, the Cherokees and Chickasaws. They sent runners into the several nations, calling them to send their delegates to the French Lick or Nashborough to hold the council. While waiting the arrival of the chiefs and headmen of the Indians, Col. Donelson visited his first plantation and examined the choice body of lands at and around the Hermitage. Here he made entries or locations of some of the best lands of Tennessee, and commenced the erection of his block-house. The site of this new station was near a large spring a mile west of the Hermitage, being the site of the late residence of his grandson, William Donelson, Esq.

Objections were made by the settlers on the west side of the Cumberland to the treaty being held at Nashborough a vote was taken, and the people on the east side, at Easton's Station, being in favor of it, the treaty was accordingly held at Nashville, in June, 1783.

After the treaty Col. Donelson returned to Kentucky with the avowed intention of moving back to the Cumberland as soon as he had adjusted some matters of importance in Kentucky and Virginia. In 1785 he visited Virginia to communicate with his friends about the many land-claims entrusted to his management. In view of his return to the Cumberland he had procured the planting of another crop of corn on one of his tracts near Stone's River. In the latter part of the year 1785 he was engaged as a commissioner, appointed by the Assembly of Georgia, in company with Cols. Harrod, Downs, and Sevier, and Mr. Lindsay, to organize a new county, by the name of Houston, in the bend of the Tennessee opposite the Mussel Shoals and the Indian town of Nickajack opened a land-office there; Col. Donelson

was appointed surveyor, and the issuing of land-warrants was authorized. These commissioners, with eighty or ninety men, descended the river to the point where it was intersected by the State line. They appointed military officers and justices of the peace, and elected Valentine Sevier, brother of Col. John Sevier, to represent them in the General Assembly of Georgia. The warrants were signed by John Donelson and John Sevier, and were dated 21st December, 1785.* The commissioners and their party remained there but two or three weeks. The threats of violence and the preparation of the Indians to attack these land-hunters rendered it advisable for them to abandon the scheme for the time being, and return to the Nollachucky land Holston. Princely estates were, however, ultimately realized out of the operation plat and deed for ten thousand acres, located at the mouth of the Blue Water, opposite Mussel Shoals, "to John Sevier, one of the Commissioners of the Tennessee Land Company," may be seen in the State Historical Society's rooms. About the year 1827 the Congress of the United States granted to the heirs of these commissioners five thousand acres each, to be selected from any vacant lands of the government in Alabama or Mississippi, in lieu of their ten thousand, and in full satisfaction for their services as such commissioners, surveyors, and explorers. A time was limited within which these lands were to be located. All but the Donelson heirs made their selections within the specified time; so that the perils and labors of Col. Donelson remained without compensation, and his long-cherished plan and hope of acquisition there were frustrated.

Col. Donelson had owned extensive iron-works in Pittsylvania Co., Va., which he sold to Col. Calloway. These works had been established as a practical result of a determination on the part of the colonists before the Revolution to place American industries upon a footing more independent of the jealous and restrictive policy of Great Britain. An address on this subject had been signed by Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Lee, Randolph, Donelson, and others at the time when Donelson was associated with these great Virginians in the House of Burgesses. It has been remarked by a discriminating writer that "here was another of those links in the golden chain which bound him to the patriots of Virginia. Here was infused through the great depth of his soul sentiments which gave a right direction to all his subsequent life, and made him ever ready to pledge his word of truth, and honor that whatever 'Washington and his associates advocated and did was the wisest and best under the circumstances.' He never could doubt this. He was exceedingly anxious that other persons should entertain the like implicit confidence. And warily believe that the strong faith he had and the earnestness with which he delivered his sentiments for the Father of our Country, and the like precious faith cherished by Gens. Sevier, Robertson, Smith, and other leading spirits in Tennessee, had most happy and conservative influence over all the population of Tennessee, and that there were men of eminent talents actuated by the

* History of Middle Tennessee, p. 634

same spirit who stayed or hushed the storm of discontent in Kentucky."

Who knows to what extent this all-controlling spirit of reverence and fealty to the fathers of the Revolution thwarted the Spanish schemes for the dismemberment of the Western colonies from the republic?

It is stated in Filson's and in Butler's histories of Kentucky that "Col. Donelson, in behalf of Virginia, negotiated a treaty with the Five Nations for the country between the Kentucky and the Great Kanawha, the consideration of which was five hundred pounds sterling." As no mention of this is found among the colonial records, or in any book of Indian treaties, it was probably one of those personal or unauthorized transactions, like Henderson's treaty of 1775 and that at Nashville in 1783, which, though never recognized as valid by the government, were nevertheless entitled to some consideration on account of the peril and sacrifice of those who negotiated them and the interests of those who had settled upon the lands.

Col. Donelson's last letter, written during his trip to Virginia, is in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, and is as follows:

"CAMPBELL CO., VA., 4th September, 1785.

"DEAR. JOHNNY,—I have the happiness to inform you that I am in health at present, with the most sanguine hopes that by the first opportunity I shall be made happy by hearing of the health, happiness, etc., of yourself and our dearest connections.

"I lately saw Capt. Ewing, who told me that several warrants from the military department were sent out to your care to locate on the usual terms; I think he said to the amount of ten thousand acres.

"I wish amongst those warrants you could spare me one small warrant to secure the vacancy against my lands on the south side of the Cumberland.

"I have had some conversation with Stockley Donelson concerning our locations with Col. Blount. He says that he has reason to trust the warrants for those lands have issued, and that we need not fear the consequences thereof.

"However, I shall start to-morrow morning over to Carolina in order to be satisfied in that business. I purpose returning to Richmond from Carolina in order to see if it is in my power to get some goods for our family's use, and to return to you and my family as soon as possible.

"If you should find it convenient to remove to Cumberland before my return, if my family can remove at the same time, I shall have no objection.

"I shall have some debts to settle in Kentucky in my way out. I hope to be at home next month.

"I entreat you to take particular care so to provide that no waste may be made in my corn at Cumberland. A plentiful stock of provisions is the main chance. Give every assurance to your dear mamma that I shall use every endeavor for her happiness, and for every branch of the family.

"Your mamma's ease and happiness in every comfort of life, your and your brothers' and sisters' well-being and happiness, and more, if I could say more, is the constant petition and most ardent desire of your most affectionate father. "JOHN DONELSON."

During the interval between this letter and the events which are to follow, the families of Col. Donelson and his son had returned to the Cumberland, and were again identified with the stationers there. The Indian wars were not ended; perilous times continued, and they came once more to experience the perils and suffering of which the pioneers knew little abatement during the first decade of their settlement. This territory has been called significantly the "great slaughter-pen of the pioneers."

Col. Donelson had forwarded his last letter by private messenger, and was soon after on his way to Kentucky. "He pursued the usual route by the Gap, and on to Davis' Station. There he learned that his family had removed to Mansker's. Delaying only a few days to settle some business, he renewed his journey on horseback to rejoin his family. Two young men joined him and proposed to travel in company, having in view, as they said, a settlement at Nashville. These young men arrived safely, and gave the following statement:

"They had traveled together until in the heat of the day, when they stopped to take a drink from a spring. Col. Donelson rode on, saying he was anxious to reach home. He had not gone far, and but a few moments, when they heard several guns fired. Their impression was that his sons had met him and fired a *feu de joie*.

"After some further delay they resumed their journey, and finally overtook him, when they found him dangerously wounded and in great agony. He was, however, proceeding on his journey. He had been wounded by a ball, which passed across the abdomen in such a manner as to cause a ghastly wound. They continued in company. In their opinion he had been wounded by Indians, but they said not what' was Col. Donelson's opinion.

"They encamped on the bank of Barren River that night, and there Col. Donelson expired. In the morning they buried his body as best they could; then, taking his horse, saddle; and saddle-bags, they crossed the river; but in crossing, the saddle-bags were washed off the saddle and floated down the river and were lost.

"Such was their statement. He had many valuable papers belonging to himself and friends, and it was supposed he had some money.

"Suspicion rested strongly for seine time on these young men, but no proof of guilt being found, they were released and cleared of the charge. The sons of Col. Donelson, taking one of the young men with them, returned to Barren River in search of the body and the saddle-bags. The body was found in a position to verify their statement, and the saddle-bags were recovered, with some papers, but so damaged as to be of very small value."

Such is the mystery in which the end of Cal. Donelson is shrouded. He was eminently a man of peace, having no record in connection with any of the Indian wars of his time. He is known to have traveled over vast extents of wilderness country from the Tennessee to the James River, in times, too, of Indian hostility, without carrying so much as a weapon for personal defense. He was a man whose policy of colonization was perhaps on a more extended and comprehensive scale than that of any of his contemporaries.

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The importance he attached to the fortification and permanent occupancy of the Great Bend of the Tennessee River by the whites, as the best method of controlling the Indians and preserving the peace of the settlements, was fully recognized long after his death in the establishment of a fort there by the government. Had he lived to carry out his plans, he would undoubtedly have filled a very large and conspicuous place in the history of Middle Tennessee. His descendants and connections for nearly three-fourths of a century in the South and Southwest have been extensive and influential both in civil and military affairs. The sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of Col. Donelson have preserved the name with much credit in our local history. His sons-in-law were Col. Thomas Hutchings, Capt. John Caffery, Col. Robert Hays, and GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

COL Donelson had a family of thirteen children, whose numerous and influential descendants are scattered over the South and Southwest. Maj. Martin, whose mother was a Donelson, and who also married one of that family, has a family-tree embracing six generations from Col. John Donelson. The following has been furnished us by Maj. Martin, who vouches for its correctness:

Children of Col. John Donelson and his wife, Rachel Stockly:

1. Alexander (never married).
2. Mary , married Capt. John Caifry, and left a large family, of whom are Donelson and Jefferson Caifry, of Louisiana.
3. Catherine , married Col. Thomas Hutching, and left a large family.
4. Stockly, married Mrs. Elizabeth Martin. Left no issue.
5. Jane, married Col. Robert Hays, and left a large family, of whom are Stockly D. and Samuel J. Hays, Mrs. Gen. Butler, of Florida, Mrs. Dr. Butler and Mrs. Chester, of Jackson, Tenn.
6. John , married Mary Purnell, of Snow Hill, Md.
7. William , married Charity Dickerson, and had a large family, of whom are I. D. Donelson, of Mississippi, the late A. J. Donelson, of Louisiana, Mrs. Robert A. and Robert M. Barton, of Tennessee, and others.
8. Samuel , married Mary Smith, and had John , A. J. , and Gen. D. S. Donelson.
9. Severn , married Elizabeth Rucker, and had A. J. , Thomas , John, Samuel , and Alexander .
10. Rachel , married, first, Robards, and second, Gen. Andrew Jackson.
11. Leven Donelson (never married).

John Donelson, Jr., born April 7, 1755, and Mary Purnell, married Aug. 26, 1779, had children:

1. Chesed , born June 17, 1780, died in infancy.
2. Tabitha , born July 17, 1781, married George Smith.
3. Alexander , born 11 -, 1784, killed at Emuckfaw.
4. John , born April 23, 1787, married Eliza Butler.
5. Lemuel , born Sept. 6, 1789, married Elizabeth Whyte.
6. Rachel , born July 10, 1791, married William Eastin.
7. Mary , born June 13, 1793, married Gen. John Coffee.

9. William , born May 17, 1795, married Rachel Donelson.

9. Elizabeth , born Nov. 21, 1796, married John C. McLemore.

10. Catherine , born July 13, 1799, married J. G. Martin.

11. Chesed P. , born July 8, 1801, died in infancy.

12. Stockly , born. Aug. 31, 1805, married Phila. H. Lawrence.

13. Emily , born June 1, 1807, married Maj. A. J. Donelson.

CHAPTER XXV

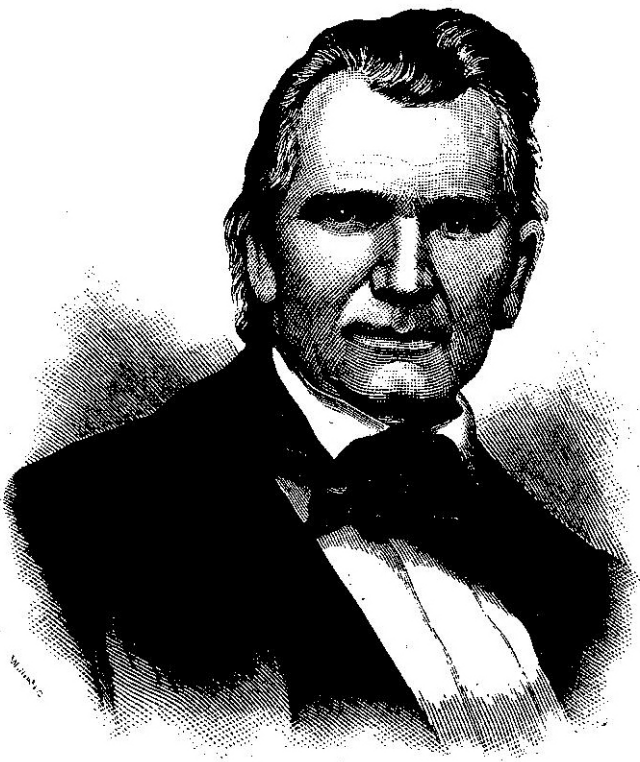
GEN. ANDREW JACKSON

His Scotch-Irish Ancestors—Birthplace—Experience in the Revolution—Study of Law—Arrival at Nashville as District Attorney — Appointment to the Bench of the Superior Court—Difficulty with Governor Sevier—Racy Correspondence—Duel with Dickinson—Admonitory Letters from Friends.

GEN. JACKSON'S life belongs to our national history, yet, in a restricted sense, it is a part, and a very important part, of the history of Davidson County. His home was here from early manhood; from this county emanated those military campaigns which were supported with such singular unanimity by his countrymen, his friends, and his neighbors, many of whom won with him imperishable glory on the battle-fields of the South and at New Orleans; here the light of his military genius first shone, which afterwards burst out and spread over the world; here was the centre of that marvelous personal devotion and enthusiasm for his character and services which became national, and which "exalted him into a career of civil administration the success and glory of which transcended even his brilliant military achievements; here, at Nashville and in Tennessee, he founded a new political dynasty, which rose rapidly into ascendancy, and for many years controlled the politics of the nation; here, after his great services had been rendered to his country, he retired to spend his declining years in the beautiful and quiet retreat of the Hermitage, where his venerated dust now reposes, with that of his beloved wife and adopted kindred, under the guardianship of the State, which is honored no less in keeping the sacred depository than in the name and reputation of a citizen so distinguished.

Andrew Jackson was of humble birth, but in his veins flowed the blood of a long line of ancestors noted for their independence, their personal energy and courage, their restlessness under political and ecclesiastical restraint, and their great sincerity and earnestness in their convictions. "The Scotch-Irish," says Parton, "are a tough, vehement, goodhearted race, who have preserved 'in good measure the

Scotch virtues of honesty, prudence, and perseverance, but exhibit the showing traits of the Irish, subdued and diminished, a plain, simple, and pure people, formed to grapple with practical affairs, in dealing with which they often display an impetuosity which is Irish, and a persistence which is Scotch. They have not the taste or gift for art, of which no Irishman of pure blood seems to be quite destitute. Their genius shines in other pursuits. They possess a sturdiness of understanding, and sometimes a certain quick



J.S. Cornell

and piercing which throws a Drummond glare upon a limited space, though it leaves the general scene in darkness.

"One trait in the character of these people demands the particular attention of the reader. It is their nature to *contend* for what they think is right with peculiar earnestness. Some of them, too, have a knack of extracting from every affair in which they may engage, and from every relation in life which they form, the largest amount of contention which it can be made to yield. Hot water would seem to be the natural element of some of them, for they are always in it. It appears to be more difficult for a North-of-Irelander than for other men to allow an honest difference of opinion in an opponent, so that he is apt to regard the terms *opponent* and *enemy* as synonymous. Hence in the political and sectarian contests of the present day he occasionally exhibits a narrowness, if not a ferocity of spirit, such as his forefathers manifested in the old wars of the clans and the borders, or in the later strifes between Catholic and Protestant. But these very people, apart from their strifes, are singularly tender in their feelings, liberal in their gifts, generous in their hospitality, and easy to be entreated. On great questions, too, which lift the mind above sectarian trivialities, they will, as a people, be invariably found on the anti-diabolic side; equally strenuous for liberty and for law against mobs and monarchs, lords and levelers,' as one of their stump orators expressed it. The name which Bulwer bestows upon one of his characters, *Stick-to-rights*, describes every genuine son of Ulster.

"It is to be observed also of these remarkable people that the two races whose good and less good qualities they share are blended in different proportions in every individual. Some are Scotch-Irish and others are Irish-Scotch. Some come to their Scotch traits only after sowing a plentiful crop of the most Irish wild-oats. Some are canny Scots in repose and wildly Irish in contention. Some, at times of keen excitement, exhibit in a surprising manner an Irish dash and daring, controlled by Scottish wariness. And some will imbibe an opinion or a prejudice with Irish readiness, and then cling to it with Scotch tenacity.

"It could not but be that a race so bold and enterprising should have contributed its proportion to the tide of emigration which has peopled America. Transferred to the wider sphere afforded on this continent, the North-of-Irelanders have, upon the whole, done great honor to their blood and instincts, their love of liberty and regard for the right. Such of them as have attained distinction here have done so not so much by originality of thought or project as by originality of career. There is an abounding *energy* in these men which enables them to do ordinary things in an extraordinary and memorable manner, exhibiting a rare union of enterprise, perseverance, and prudence. In most of them there is a touch of eccentricity.

"Among the men of North-of-Ireland stock whose names are familiar to the people of the United States, the following may serve to illustrate some of the foregoing remarks: John Stark, Robert Fulton, John C. Calhoun, Sam Houston, David Crockett, Hugh L. White, James K. Polk, Patrick Bronte, Horace Greeley, Robert Bonner, A. T. Stewart, Andrew Jackson."

The ancestors of Gen. Jackson resided at Carrickfergus (Crag of Fergus), on the northern coast of Ireland, nine miles from Belfast. His grandfather, Hugh Jackson, was a linen-draper, residing in Carrickfergus, and suffered in the siege of that town in 1660. He had four sons, all of whom were settled in the vicinity as farmers. The youngest of these was Andrew, the father of Gen. Jackson. Whether he was a member of the "Patriot Club" at Carrickfergus or not we do not know, but such an organization existed there as early as 1756, and shows the spirit of the people among whom he resided. In the plan of association" of this club, it was declared that they were" ready to defend the king and constitution, and to oppose all measures tending to infringe the sacred rights of the people." Andrew Jackson the elder married Elizabeth Hutchinson, a poor man's daughter; she was a sister of Mrs. George McCamie and of Mrs. James Crawford, with whom Mrs. Jackson lived with her children after the death of her husband in North Carolina. The Crawford's—James, Robert, and Joseph—came with them to America in 1765. The father of Gen. Jackson at that time had two sons,—Hugh and Robert. They landed at Charleston, whence Andrew Jackson, with his wife and sons, went immediately to a new place on Twelve-Mile Creek in Mecklenburg (since Union) Co., N. C., where he commenced clearing land and erected a log house. In less than two years he sickened and died, and his widow, with her two sons, went to live with her brother-in-law, George McCamie, not far distant. It was in this house that Andrew Jackson was born on the 15th of March, 1767. It is described as a small log house, less than a quarter of a mile from the South Carolina boundary. They did not remain long here, but went to live with the other brother-in-law, James Crawford, in the Lancaster District in South Carolina. This was probably what made Gen. Jackson suppose that he was born in South Carolina, as he evidently did when, in issuing his proclamation to the nullifiers, he addressed them as "Fellow-citizens of my *native* State!"

In Parton's "Life of Jackson" are some interesting reminiscences of his boyhood, which we are obliged to pass over with the briefest notice. He was a rollicking, fun-loving, brave, resolute, chivalrous, and somewhat belligerent boy, extremely fond of athletic sports, especially wrestling, although quite slender and possessed of more energy than physical strength. One of his schoolmates used to say, "I could throw him three times out of four, but he would never stay thrown. He was dead game even then, and never would give up."

He was sent first to an "old field-school," one of those institutions peculiar to the country, in which school was kept by an itinerant schoolmaster in a log house upon a worn-out plantation which had grown up with pine-trees. His mother cherished the hope that he might some day become a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, and so used her exertions to secure him the advantages of better schools.) The first school of this kind which he attended was an academy in the Waxhaw settlement, where his mother resided, of which one Dr. Humphreys was master. There is a strong tradition that he also subsequently attended a school in Charlotte, N. C., quite noted in that day as "Queen's

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College," and this appears to be confirmed by a remark of Gen. Jackson, made to the delegates from Charlotte at the time he was President at Washington. It has been claimed that Jackson also attended the famous school of Dr. Waddell, one of whose pupils was John C. Calhoun. "I was inclined to believe this," says Mr. Parton, "until I discovered that Dr. Waddell did not open his academy until after Jackson had left school forever." The same author says, "He learned to read, write, and cast accounts,—little more." If he began, as he may have done, to learn by heart, in the old-fashioned way, the Latin grammar, he never acquired enough of it to leave any traces of classical knowledge in his mind or his writings. In some of his later letters there may be found, it is true, an occasional Latin phrase of two or three words, but so quoted as to show ignorance rather than knowledge. He was never a well-informed man. He never was addicted to books. He never learned to write the English language correctly, though he often wrote it eloquently and convincingly. He never learned to spell correctly, though he was a better speller than Frederic H., Marlborough, Napoleon, or Washington. Few men of his day, and no women, were correct spellers. Indeed, we may say that all the most illustrious men have been bad spellers except those who could not spell at all. His mistakes, however, during the last forty years of his life did not average more than five to a page. His style, when he wrote at leisure and for purposes merely formal, was that of a person unaccustomed to composition. Awkward repetitions occur, and mistakes in grammar as well as in spelling. But when his feelings were excited he could pour a flood of vehement eloquence upon paper, and with such rapidity that his manuscript would be wet two or three pages behind. But even this required correction. Not one public paper of any description signed "Andrew Jackson" ever reached the public eye exactly as Jackson wrote it. Often he would write a letter or a dispatch, have it copied by a secretary, and then rewrite it himself. Some of his most famous passages—those which are supposed to be peculiarly Jacksonian—he never so much as suggested a word of, nor saw till they were written, nor required the alteration of a syllable before they were dispatched. It is, nevertheless, a fact that he *was more truly the author of his public writings than almost any other of our public men have been of the documents which bear their names*. His secretaries wrote with his fiery mind, though with their own practiced hands, and wrote with more nerve and warmth when writing for him than they ever could for themselves. The secret was that Jackson supplied the COURAGE, a prime ingredient of powerful composition. "I take the responsibility," he would say on all occasions when a subordinate faltered.

The schools, then, contributed little to the equipment of this eager boy for the battle of life. He derived much from the honest and pure people among whom he was brought up. Their instinct of honesty was strong in him always. He imbibed a reverence for the character of woman, and a love of purity, which, amid all his wild ways, kept him stainless. In this particular, we believe, he was without reproach from youth to old age. He deeply loved his mother, and held her memory sacred to the end of life.

He used often to speak of the courage she displayed when left without a protector in the wilderness, and would sometimes clinch a remark or an argument by saying, "*That I learned from my good old mother.*" He once said, in speaking of his mother, "One of the last injunctions given me by her was never to institute a suit for assault and battery or for defamation; never to wound the feelings of others, nor suffer my own to be outraged; these were her words to me; I remember them well, and have never failed to respect them; my settled course through life has been to bear them in mind, and never to insult or wantonly to assail the feelings of any one; and yet many conceive me to be a most ferocious animal, insensible to moral duty, and regardless of the laws both of God and man."

When the Revolution had reached that part of South Carolina where young Jackson resided, he was a youth of thirteen years of age. Robert was too young to be a soldier, but his oldest brother, Hugh, had two years before joined the army under Col. Davie, had fought at the battle of Stono, and died after the action from heat and fatigue. After the terrible havoc of the 29th of May, 1780, by Tarleton's dragoons in the Waxhaw settlement, Robert and Andrew assisted their mother in taking care of the wounded in the old wooden church of the neighborhood. Upon the great disaster of the war in the South, the defeat of Gen. Gates, Aug. 16, 1780, the boys and their mother abandoned their home for a safer retreat north of the scene of war.

A vivid picture is given by Parton, from the memory of Mrs. Susan Smart, of Charlotte, of the appearance of young Andrew as he made his way northward on that memorable occasion:

"Time,—late in the afternoon of a hot, dusty September day in 1780. Place,—the high-road, five miles below Charlotte, where Mrs. Smart then lived, a saucy girl of fourteen, at the house of her parents. The news of Gates' defeat had flown over the country, but every one was gasping for details, especially those who had fathers and brothers in the patriot army. The father and brother of Mrs. Smart were in that army, and the family, as yet, knowing nothing of their fate,—a condition of suspense to which the women of the Carolinas were well used during the Revolutionary war. It was the business of Susan, during those days, to take post at one of the windows, and there watch for travelers coming from the south, and, upon spying one, to fly out upon him and ask him for news from the army, and of the corps to which her father and brother were attached. Thus posted, she described, on the afternoon to which we have referred, riding rapidly on a grass pony' (one of the ponies of the South Carolina swamps, rough, Shetlandish, wild), a tall, slender, gangling fellow; legs long enough to meet under the pony almost; damaged wide brimmed hat flapping down over his face, which was yellow and worn; the figure covered with dust; tired-looking, as though the youth had ridden till he could scarcely sit on his pony,—the forlornest apparition that ever revealed itself to the eyes of Mrs. Susan Smart during the whole of her long life. She ran out to the road and hailed him. He reined in his pony, when the following brief conversation ensued between them:

"*She.*—Where are you from?

"He.—From below.

"She.—Where are you going?

"He.—Above.

"She.—Who are you for?

"He.—The Congress.

"She.—What are you doing below?

"He.—Oh, we are popping them still.

"She (to herself).—It is mighty poor popping such as you will do, anyhow. (Aloud) What's your name?

"He.—Andrew Jackson.

"She asked him respecting her father's regiment, and he gave her what information he possessed. He then galloped away towards Charlotte, and Susan returned to her house to tell her news and ridicule the figure he had cut, — the gangling fellow on the grass pony. Years after she used to laugh as she told the story; and later, when the most thrilling news of the time used to come to Charlotte associated with the name of Andrew Jackson, still she would bring out her little tale, until at last, she made it get votes for him for the Presidency."

At the time Jackson appeared on the "grass pony" he was going to Mrs. Wilson's, a relative, who lived a few miles above Charlotte. He stayed there and did chores for his board a few weeks, his mother and Robert being either there or at some other house in the neighborhood. In February, 1781, Mrs. Jackson and her sons and many of the neighbors returned to the ravaged homes at Waxhaw. The desultory war between Whigs and Tories was soon renewed in that section. Robert and Andrew were taken prisoners at the house of their cousin; Lieut. Thomas Crawford, who lay ill from a wound received the day before from a party of dragoons. Before the family had suspicion of danger, the house was surrounded and the doors secured. Regardless of the fact that the house was occupied by the defenseless wife and young children of a wounded soldier, the dragoons, brutalized by mean partisan warfare, began to destroy with wild riot and noise the contents of the house. Crockery, glass, and furniture were dashed to pieces, beds emptied, the clothing of the family torn to rags, even the clothes of the infant, which Mrs. Crawford carried in her arms, were not spared. While this destruction was going on, the officer in command of the party ordered Andrew to clean his high jack-boots, which were well splashed and crusted with mud. The reply which the boy made was worthy of a prince: "Sir, I am a prisoner of war, and claim to be treated as such."

The fate of the brothers was next to suffer as prisoners at Camden. The wounded Lieut. Crawford, the Jackson's, and some two hundred and fifty other prisoners, were confined in a contracted enclosure around the Camden jail no beds of any description, no medical attendance, nor means of dressing their wounds; their only food a scanty supply of bad bread. They were even robbed of part of their clothing. The three relatives were separated as soon as their relationship was discovered. Miserable among the miserable, gaunt, yellow, hungry, and sick, robbed of his jacket and socks, ignorant of his brother's fate, chafing with suppressed fury,—Andrew passed now some of the most wretched days of his life. Ere long the smallpox broke out among the prisoners, and raged unchecked by medicine.

Thus they remained, the sick, the dying, and the dead together. Andrew for some time escaped the contagion. While in this prison-camp he took his first lesson in reconnoitering an army on the field of battle. Gen. Greene, having arrived with a force superior to that of Lord Rawdon's, which occupied Camden, encamped on a slight eminence in front of the jail-yard, which was only hidden from full view of the prisoners by a high board-fence which surrounded the enclosure. All the prisoners were overjoyed with the prospect of being speedily released from their sufferings, as the news of Gen. Greene's arrival spread among them. Andrew looked for a crevice in the board-fence, through which he might feast his longing eyes on the camp of the soldiers, but he could find none. In the course of the night, however, he managed, with the aid of an old razor-blade, which had been generously bestowed upon the prisoners as a meat-knife, to hack out a knot from the fence. The morning light found him spying out the American position with eager eye. What he saw that morning through the knot-hole of his prison was his second lesson in the art of war. An impressive lesson it proved, and one he never forgot. There was the American encampment spread out in full view before him at the distance of a mile. Gen. Greene, being well assured of Rawdon's weakness, and anticipating nothing so little as an attack from a man whom he supposed to be trembling for his own safety, neglected precautions against surprise. At ten in the morning, when Rawdon led out his nine hundred men to the attack, Andrew, mad with vexation, saw Greene's men scattered over the hill, cleaning their arms, washing their clothes, and playing games, totally unprepared to resist. Rawdon, by taking a circuitous route, was enabled to break upon Greene's left with all the effect of a surprise. From his knot-hole the excited youth saw the sudden smoke of musketry, the rush of the Americans for their arms, the hasty falling-in, the opening of Greene's fire, the fine dash of American horse upon Rawdon's rear, the wild flight of horses running rider-less about the hill, the fire slackening, and, alas! receding, till Rawdon's army swept over the hill and vanished on the other side, Greene in full retreat before him. The prisoners were in despair. Andrew's spirits sank under this accumulation of miseries, and he began to sicken with the first symptoms of the smallpox. Robert was in a condition still worse. The wound in his head had never been dressed, and had not healed. He, too, reduced as he was, began to shiver and burn with the fever that announces the dread disease. Another week of prison-life would have probably consigned both boys to the grave.

But they had a friend outside,—their mother, who at this crisis of their fate strove with the might of love for their deliverance. Learning of their forlorn condition, this heroic woman went to Camden and succeeded, after a time, in effecting an exchange of prisoners between a Waxhaw captain and a British general. The Whig captain gave up thirteen soldiers, whom he had captured in the rear of the British army, and received in return the two sons of Mrs. Jackson and five of her neighbors." Through forty miles of lonely wilderness the little company made their way home, Robert Jackson being supported on a horse by one of the exchanged prisoners, and Andrew, bare-headed, barefooted,

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

acid without a jacket, the fever of the smallpox raging in his veins, dragged himself wearily along on foot. Part of their journey was through a cold, drizzling rain, which aggravated the disease. In two days after they reached home Robert was a corpse, and Andrew was raving in delirium. He remained an invalid for several months. Andrew was no sooner out of danger than his brave mother resolved to go to Charleston to minister to the sufferings of her sister's sons, who were prisoners on the loathsome prison-ships in that harbor. She made the journey, one hundred and sixty miles, probably on horseback, with two or three other women bound on a like mission, ministered to the prisoners, and was seized with the ship fever, of which she died shortly after at the house of a relative, William Barton, a few miles out of Charleston.

We have thus traced the thread of events to the most sad and lonely period in the life of our hero,—a period when all of the family but himself had fallen, and left him alone in the world, doubly bereaved in the loss of his mother and his brothers. "It was not in the nature of Jackson not to mourn deeply for such a mother, and as he lay recovering by slow degrees from his illness, he had leisure to dwell upon her virtues and his own unhappiness. It was always a grief to him that he did not know where her remains were laid. As late in life as during his Presidency he set on foot some inquiries respecting the place of her burial, with the design of having her sacred dust removed to the old church-yard at Waxhaw, where he wished to erect a monument to both his parents. It was too late. No exact information could be obtained, and the project was given up. No stone marks the burial-place either of his father, mother, or brothers."

We must sum up rapidly some of the events of his life. He read law in Salisbury, N. C., in the office of Judge Spruce McCay during the years 1785 and 1786. Forty-five years after this period, when some one from Salisbury reminded him of his residence in that town, he said, with a smile and a look of retrospection on his aged face, "Yes, I lived at old Salisbury. I was but a raw lad then, but I did my best."

The advent of Gen. Jackson to Tennessee occurred in the year 1788, immediately after the settlement of the difficulties between North Carolina and her western counties growing out of the formation of the independent "State of Franklin." John McNairy, a friend of Jackson's and former associate with him in the study of law, was appointed judge of the Superior Court for the western district. Jackson was invested with the office of prosecuting attorney for the same district. This office was not in request nor desirable in the then new state of the country, but Jackson accepted it because he had determined to seek his fortune in his profession in the new country, about which such glowing accounts were rife in the Carolinas. Thomas Searcy, another of Jackson's friends, was appointed clerk of the court. Three or four more of his young acquaintances, lawyers and others, resolved to go with him. The party rendezvoused at Morgantown in the spring or early summer of 1788, mounted and equipped for a ride over the mountains to Jonesboro', then the chief halting-place for companies bound to lands on the Cumberland River.

This cavalcade of judge, attorney, clerk, and lawyers wended their way in double file along the usual road, each

riding his own horse, a pack-horse or two carrying the effects of the learned judge. Every horseman had in his own saddlebags a small wallet in which he carried letters from citizens in the old State to settlers in Tennessee. Jonesboro' at this time was a place of fifty or sixty log houses, and a new court-house had been erected, but it was an edifice of un-hewn logs, sixteen feet square, and without windows or floor. The judge and his party waited several weeks at Jonesboro' for the assembling of a sufficient number of immigrants and for the arrival of a guard from Nashville to escort them. This was a military guard provided by the people of Davidson County to defend the immigrants against the Indians.

The *State Gazette* of North Carolina, of Nov. 28, 1788, announcing the departure of Judge McNairy's company for Nashville, has the following: "Notice is hereby given that the new road from Campbell's Station to Nashville was opened on the 25th of September, and the guard attended at that time to escort such persons as were ready to proceed to Nashville; that about sixty families went on, amongst whom were the widow and family of the late Gen. Davidson, and John McNairy, judge of the Superior Court; and that on the 1st day of October next the guard will attend at the same place for the same purpose."

The date above given fixes the time very nearly when Gen. Jackson arrived at Nashville. He remained here discharging the functions of his office as district attorney and practicing at the bar till the State was admitted into the Union, when he was elected its first representative in Congress, and served till March 3, 1797. In the next Congress he was United States senator, and served about one year, when he resigned his seat to accept the appointment tendered him by Governor Sevier in the following, letter:

"KNOXVILLE, 29th August, 1798.

"SIR, It has been communicated to me by several respectable characters that was you appointed one of the judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, they have reason to believe that you would accept such appointment. This information is truly satisfactory to the executive, and I have the pleasure of adding that your acceptance of the office, I have reason to believe, will give general satisfaction.

"I will do myself the honor of informing you that in case the office of judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity meets your approbation, you will please consider yourself as already appointed. I hope the pleasure of seeing you at the next term of the Superior Court to be holden at this place, where I intend myself the honor of presenting you with the commission. Your answer is requested.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

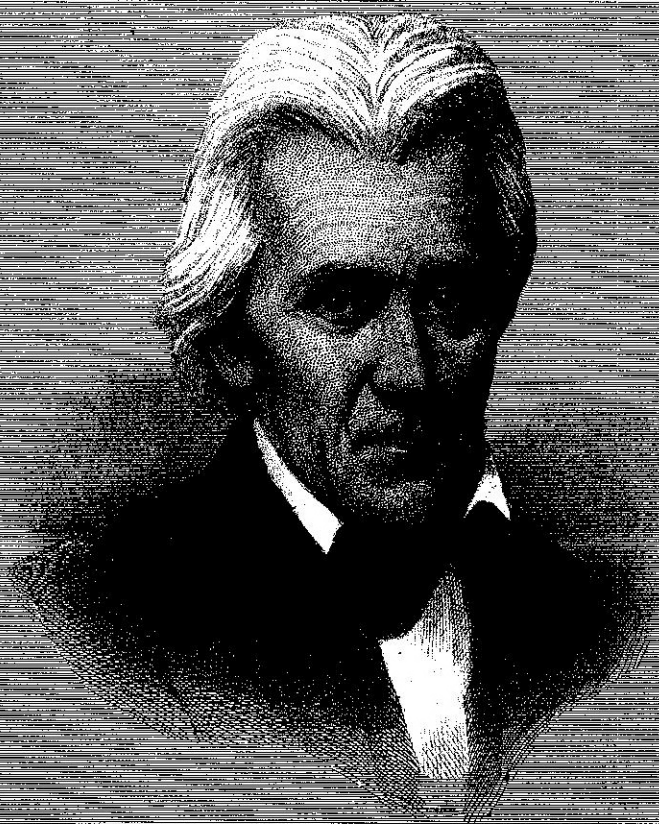
"With much respect and esteem,

"Your most oh' hum' SV'

"JOHN SEVIER.

"THE HON'BLE ANDREW JACKSON, ESQ."

Gen. Jackson accepted the appointment, which he held till subsequently elected to the same judicial office by the Legislature, and remained upon the bench till 1804. It was while he was judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity



Andrew Jackson

that the well-known quarrel occurred between him and Governor Sevier.

It may sound strange, in view of Gen. Jackson's many conflicts during the early part of his life, to say that he was not a quarrelsome man; but we verily believe, after a close and impartial study of his character, that such was not the fact. He was a man of the most marked and chivalrous sense of honor, especially in relation to the duty of defending those dependent upon him, or in any way related to him; and he frequently got into difficulties, not on his own account, but by espousing the cause of others when their characters were in any way assailed or traduced. In the case of the quarrel with Sevier, there can be little doubt that this lay at the bottom of it. It was charged that certain land-speculators in Tennessee were engaged in the forgery of North Carolina land-warrants. These fraudulent warrants were largely sold, and the consternation among the settlers was great when the report of the probable worthlessness of their titles was mooted. Governor Sevier, from some apparently suspicious circumstances, was implicated in the matter, while a near relative of Mrs. Jackson was indicted for his supposed complicity with it. Gen. Jackson denounced the fraud with unsparing severity, and used all his influence and authority to bring the offenders to justice. He fully believed Governor Sevier guilty, and attributed the involvement of his connection to his influence and example.

"About this time (1803) Sevier was again a candidate for Governor, having been out of the office one term, on account of ineligibility under the Constitution of Tennessee. Gen. Jackson bitterly opposed him. In the fall of that year he was holding court at Knoxville, the capital of the State. The Legislature was in session. On the first day of the term of court, Governor Sevier had an appointment to speak in the public square. Political excitement ran high, and the town was filled with people. While he was haranguing his audience and vehemently defending himself, the court adjourned, and Judge (General) Jackson, with others, passed out and joined the throng who were listening to the speech. As soon as the Governor observed him he began to denounce him in the strongest language, and applied to him the most opprobrious epithets. Jackson, as opportunity offered, retorted in kind, and the unseemly altercation was maintained for several minutes. At length the Governor made an offensive allusion to Mrs. Jackson.

"This aroused the general's uncontrollable wrath, and he made frantic efforts to reach the speaker, although armed with nothing but a cane, whilst his antagonist, in his excitement, was flourishing a sword, a weapon usually worn by gentlemen in those days. Pistols were drawn by the friends of the parties, and a bloody riot seemed for a while inevitable, and was only prevented by the active exertions of cooler-minded men. The Governor continued to hurl his anathemas towards the general as the latter was led from the scene, vociferated his readiness to meet him the field of honor,' and tauntingly defied him to invite him there. On the following day the general challenged him."

We give, from the original papers published recently in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, the correspondence entire:

I.

" KNOXVILLE, Oct. 2, 1803.

"SIR: The ungentlemanly expression and gasconading conduct of yours, relative to me yesterday, was in true character of yourself, and unmasked you to the world, and plainly shows that they were the ebullitions of a base mind, goaded with stubborn proofs of fraud, and flowing from a source devoid of any refined sentiment or delicate sensation.

"But, sir, the voice of the people has made you a Governor. This alone makes you worthy of any notice, or the notice of any Gentleman. For the Office I have respect, and as such I only deign to notice you and call upon you for that satisfaction and explanation that your ungentlemanly conduct and expressions require. For this purpose I request an *interview*, and my friend, who will hand you this, will point out the time and place, when & where I shall expect to *see* you with your friend and no other person. My friend and myself will be armed with Pistols,— you cannot mistake me or my meaning.

"I am, &c., &c., AND'W JACKSON.

"Gov. JOHN SEVIER."

II.

"SIR: Yours to-day by Andr. Whithe, Esqr., I have received, and am pleased with the contents, so far as respects a personal interview.

"Your ungentlemanly and Gasconading conduct of yesterday, and indeed at all other times, heretofore, have unmasked yourself to me and to the world. The voice of the Assembly has made you a Judge, and this alone has made you worthy of my notice or any other gentleman; to the office I have respect, and this alone makes you worthy of my notice.

"I shall wait on you with pleasure at any time and place not within the State of Tennessee, attended by my friend with pistols, presuming you know nothing about the use of any other arms. Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina are in our vicinity, and we can easily repair to either of those places, and conveniently retire into the unoffending Government. You cannot mistake me or my meaning.

"Yours, &c., &c., JOHN SEVIER.

"Hon. A. JACKSON."

III.

" Octr. 3d, 1803.

"MR. RAULINGS,

"SIR: Your note without date handed by Capt. Sparks, and which I suppose was wrote this morning, is now before me, and I am happy to find that the interview proposed by me in my note of yesterday, is pleasing to you, but I am sorry, sir, that the answer has been so long upon its passage, and that my friend Mr. A. White was obliged to call so often on yesterday. You say you will wait on me at any time and place not within the State of Tennessee.

"This, sir, I view as a mere subterfuge; your attack was in the town of Knoxville; in the town of Knoxville did you take the name of a Lady into your polluted lips; in the town of Knoxville did you challenge me to draw, when you were armed with a cutlass and I with a cain—and now sir in the



Geo. C. Bruck

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Neighborhood of Knoxville you shall atone for it or I will publish you as a coward and a poltroon.

"I now call upon you, that you will this day meet me in the manner prescribed by my note of yesterday. *If* it will obviate your squeamish fears, I will set out immediately to the nearest part of the Indian boundary line, on receiving an answer to this note. To travel to Georgia, Virginia or North Carolina, is a proposition made by you to evade the thing entirely. I am therefore compelled to be explicit; you must meet me between this and four o'clock, this afternoon, either in the neighborhood of Knoxville or on the nearest point of the Indian Boundary line, or I will publish you as a coward and poltroon. I shall expect an answer in the space of one hour, or I shall expect as you are so fearful of the consequences of a breach of the law that you may think it advisable to shield your body from paying the debts of honor under the law, as you have heretofore your property. I pledged my honor on yesterday, my friend did the same, that no advantage of the law shall or will be taken by me or my friends, let the consequences be as they may.

"I am, sir, &c., &c., ANDREW JACKSON.

"Gov. JOHN SEVIER."

IV.

"3d OCT, 1803.

"SIR.: Your letter of this day is before me and I am happy to find you so accommodating. My friend will agree upon the time and place of rendezvous.

"Yours, &c., &c., JOHN SEVIER.

"Hon. A. JACKSON."

V.

"KNOXVILLE, OW. 9th, 1803.

"SIR: After this note, I will bid you adieu, it being the last you will receive from me on the point of honor, the subject of my note to you dated the second inst. From the tenor of yours of the third inst. in answer to my note of the morning of the same day, I did believe, that all that remained to be done, was for our friends to immediately proceed, and the satisfaction required in my note of the second inst. was immediately to be given—as I had expressly named in my note of the third, that unless you did meet me between then & four o'clock of the evening of the same day, or set out immediately to the Indian boundary line a place I had named, to remove your squeamish fears, that I would advertise you as a coward and poltroon, but judge my astonishment, when it was stated to me by my friend (after application to Capt. Sparks, your friend, to fix the time, and to proceed to a place to be named, agreeable to your note) that in express contradiction thereto—he stated that you had instructed him not to name a day sooner than the 8th inst. I directed my friend to state to him expressly, if he did not, agreeable to your note, immediately proceed to name a time and place that after 4 o'clock I would advertise you as a coward and poltroon, and that censure might attach to him, as he was by your note authorized to act. He replied, he hoped I would not advertise you, but if I did he could not help it, that he was strictly perusing your instructions, of which I have no doubt, as I believe him to be a man of truth.

I then had a right to expose you. I thought I would that evening, post you as a coward; but to leave you no subterfuge I determined to wait until the 8th day of your choice. On the 7th inst. Capt. A. White waited on Capt. Sparks, your friend, to be informed of your determination, and did emphatically state to you through Capt. Sparks, that we had waited your own time and expected you had instructed him to state that on the morning of the 8th that you would be ready to meet me in the vicinity of Knoxville, or be ready to set out to the Indian boundary line, there to satisfy my demand.

"The answer was: No arrangement made; still not ready Capt. Sparks was again told to state to you, unless you did meet me on the 8th inst. you would be posted as a coward and poltroon. On the 8th an answer was returned to my friend, Capt. Andrew White, that you could not see me until the committee business was over.

"The delays I thought were intended as a mere subterfuge for your cowardice. You will recollect that you on the 1st inst. in the public streets of Knoxville appeared to pant for the combat. You Ransacked the Vocabulary of Vulgarity for insulting and blackguard expressions; you without provocation made the attack, and in an ungentlemanly manner took the sacred name of a Lady in your polluted lips, and dared me publicly to challenge you, and now, since you gave the insult, you have cowardly evaded an interview. On that day you appeared at Court. You ought, at least before you make a premeditated attack, to be ready to repair the injury of the call of the injured. I have waited your time. I have named the Indian boundary line, to prevent you from having any subterfuge, to which you agreed,—and all in vain. Cowardice is now your only chance of safety; to that you have resorted; and as you will not give that redress in the field that the injury you have done requires, and as your old age protects you from that chastisement you merit, the justice I owe myself and country urges me to unmask you to the world in your true colors.

"In the *Gazzett* of Monday next I have spoken for a place in that paper for the following Advertisement, and have named publicly that you are the greatest coward I ever had anything to do with. The Advertisement as follows:

"To all who shall see these presents, greeting: Know ye that I, Andrew Jackson, do Pronounce, Publish, and Declare to the world, that his Excellency John Sevier, Esq., Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Land and Naval forces of the State of Tennessee, is a base Coward and Poltroon. He mill basely insult, but has not courage to repair the wound.

ANDREW JACKSON.

"You may prevent the insertion of the above by meeting me in one or two hours after the receipt of this note; my friend who will hand you this, is authorized so to declare, on a written note being signed by you and delivered to him, stating time as above, and place, and on no other terms. I shall set out for home on the result about the middle of the day. I hope it will not be stated, that I ran away for fear of you, and your friends. Adieu.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"GOV. JOHN SEVIER."

[The following memorandum is indorsed on the back of the original draft of this letter in Gen. Jackson's hand. writing:]

"Capt. Sparks, on Friday evening, the 7th inst., thro' my friend Capt. White, requested to have an interview, to which I agreed. In the course of the conversation he named to me if an accommodation could take place? I answered that I expected it could not,—that Governor Sevier, as a man of courage, could not make such concessions as would be acceptable to me. Capt. Sparks then said the inquiry was unauthorized, but if it was to go any further he would wash his hands of it. I then told him to state to Governor Sevier his intentions, and also if Governor Sevier did not meet me on the 8th I would publish him as a coward and a poltroon. Answer on the 8th that he would not meet me until his business was over with the committee, as stated within. Capt. Sparks left Knoxville on the 8th of October, the day that had been named by him as the time for meeting."

"KNOXVILLE, Octr. 1803.

VI

"SIR.,—Yours of this day by Capt. A. White I have reced. As to answering your long detail of paper gasconading, I shall not give myself the trouble. You need not be uneasy about an interview, for you shall be favored with a hearty concurrence, but I shall not neglect the public business I am bound to attend to, nor my own private business now before the House, that you and several other poltroons are aiming at to my prejudice.

"An interview within the State you know I have denied. Any where outside, you have nothing further to do but name the place and I will the time. I have some regard for the laws of the State over which I have the honor to preside, although you, a Judge, appear to have none. It is to be hoped that if by any strange and unexpected event you should ever be metamorphosed into an upright and *virtuous Judge*, you will feel the propriety of being governed and Guided by the laws of the State you are sacredly bound to obey and regard. As to answering all your jargon of pretended bravery, I assure you it is perfectly beneath my character, having never heard of any *you* ever exhibited.

"Yours, &c., &c., JNO. SEVIER.

"Honl. JUDGE JACKSON."

VII.

"KNOXVILLE, Monday Morning.

"SIR,—Some part of the boundary lines between this State and the State of Virginia is within forty-five miles of this place.

"I have heard after all your gasconading conduct that you are preparing to leave town within a. day or two; you have not named a place out of the limits of this State where you and myself can have a personal interview, notwithstanding you have been informed that you might name the place and I would the time. Such conduct is characteristic with yourself. This is the last I shall write you on the subject.

"Yours, &c., &c., JOHN SEVIER.

"P. S.—My friend. Capt. Sparks being absent at this moment I have requested Mr. Mclin to hand you thisnote.

VIII

"KNOXVILLE, MONDAY, 12 O'CLOCK, Oar 10, 1803.

"Sir,—Your note by Mr. William Maclin is this moment handed me, and I hasten to reply, that you have been well informed what part of the Indian boundary line, I would go with you to relieve you from your fears. South west point was named and that I would accommodate your fears by going there. You have been informed, invited, and requested to meet me there, within the vicinity of this place or any place that could be named that would be convenient. You have refused and evaded a meeting through mere cowardice; you may yet retrieve your character, by seeing me in this neighborhood or at South west point. If in this neighborhood, this evening or early tomorrow morning. If at South west point, to-morrow evening, or on Wednesday next, any time before 12 o'clock of that day. If you incline to this meting, I will expect to be notified by you.

"I well know your friend Capt. Sparks is absent, he told me and my friend, Capt. A White, on Friday evening, that for *certain reasons* he washed his hands of it, and was requested if he did, to state to you, and to *state* further that agreeable to your appointment on the 8th we would expect to hear from you, or I would post you, as you have heretofore been advised.

"Capt. Sparks stated to my friend that he had stated to you all that he had promised, and gave for answer, as I advised you yesterday. You certainly are not so friendless, that you can get no friend. This will not do so well for a come off. The advertisement is in the press. I leave Knoxville tomorrow after Breakfast; will obey a call from you between this and that time, in the vicinity of this place and I assure you that I will be happy to see you in a situation, that I can obtain that redress that I have been trying to compel you to afford me for nine days past, and which you pledged your honor to my friend to give, and which you have forfeited.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"Govr. JNO. SEVIER."

[Memorandum by General Jackson, indorsed:]

" This letter was handed to Mr. William Maclin, to hand to the Governor, in the presence of Capt. A. White, which Mr. Maclin promised to deliver."

IX.

"KNOXVILLE, Oct. 10th, 1803, in the Evening.

"SIR,—I am again perplexed with your scurrilous and poltroon language. You now pretend you want an interview in this neighborhood this evening, or tomorrow morning, and all this great readiness, after you had been repeatedly informed that I would not attempt a thing of the kind within the state of Tennessee. I have constantly informed you I would cheerfully wait on you in any other quarter, and that you had nothing to do but name the place and you should be accommodated. I am now constrained to tell you that your conduct during the whole of your pretended bravery, shows

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

you to be a pitiful poltroon and coward, for your propositions are such as you and every other person of common understanding do well know is out of my power to accede to, especially you a *Judge!* Therefore the whole tenor of your pretended readiness is intended for making nothing more than a cowardly evasion. Now, Sir, if you wish the interview accept the proposal I made you and let us prepare for the campaign.

"I have a friend to attend me. I shall not receive another letter from you, as I deem you a coward.

"JOHN SEVIER.

"Hon. A. JACKSON."

X.

"KNOXVILLE, Mr. RAWLINGS, Octr. 11th, 1803, 7.30 Pat.

"SIR,—I am just informed by a confidential friend that you have been stating this evening that you have been always and are now ready to meet me at any point on the Virginia line. This, Sir, was not the language you made use of to my friend Capt. Andrew White, when he waited upon you last evening in consequence of your note that squinted at that object, and stated that you had a friend to attend you, and requested me to prepare for the campaign.

"It was then answered by you that you could not then go, and not before Saturday next, and this too after you had named Mr. Robertson's in the State of Virginia, to which my friend agreed and told you I was ready to set out. Under existing circumstances the above information of your readiness is the only reason operating with me again to trouble you with another note. And now, Sir, that the thing may be well understood, and a final end put to all such ideas, & that you may have it your power if so disposed to render me that satisfaction I have been so in vain trying to obtain I have to request that you will immediately with your friend set out with me and mine, to Mr. Robertson's near the Cumberland Gap in the State of Virginia, there to render me that satisfaction required of you by my note of the 2d inst. I have directed my friend Capt. A. White to require of you to state in writing underneath this signature, that you will meet me at the above place and that you will sign the same. From my information of your expression, I have no doubt (if real) but you will be ready to set out on the morning of the 12th inst., and we can reach the wished-for point the same evening.

"Recollect, sir, I have come to your terms as to the place, and the injured has the right to name the time. I therefore call upon you to meet me between this and Thursday evening next; the hour you may name yourself. If this is too short I will extend it to your own time.

"I have just to remark that it is high time the thing should be put an end to, and I do require of you to state a time on this piece of paper, that you will meet me for the purpose before mentioned. The Virginia line has lately been your stand; to prevent further evasion I have come to that proposition; I hope you will come to mine with respect to time or forever after hold your peace.

"It has been stated to me that you have avowed this evening that the place was your only objection to your meeting me. You named to my friend last evening that prosecutions were talked of. The surest method to avoid and prevent that is an early and secret interview.

"If you wish to keep a copy of this my friend will give you one and attest the same, with your answer in writing. Time is precious with me; nothing detains me from my family but waiting on you for an accommodation of this business, and I have instructed my friend to have such an answer as will be final. I am sir, &c., &c.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER."

[Memorandum by Gen. Jackson, endorsed:]

"Mr. White, my friend, reported as follows: I carried this letter this morning and presented it to him, and after looking at the back of it refused to open it, saying he would not read it. I insisted that he would; he said he would have nothing to do with the Judge or any of his Notes (or words to that effect). I then told him the Judge was about to start home, and as it had been stated to said yesterday evening by some of his friends, that you said you were always ready and was now ready to see him. I told him that the contents were, that he was about to take his leave of Knoxville and that he would now, or at your own time, see you at your favorite spot; he utterly refused,

&c., &c., &O, 1 17

With this the correspondence terminated.

Gen. Jackson published his "advertisement" as threatened. It was somewhat different from the one he advised the Governor of his intention to publish, but the purport is the same:"

FOR THE PUBLIC

"Those of the Honorable members of the Legislature and other citizens who were present on the first day of this instant in the Town of Knoxville will recollect the ungentlemanly and unprovoked attack made by his Excellency John Sevier, Governor of the State of Tennessee, on me—How he Panted for combat when armed with a cutlass and I with a cain—His Excellency in perfect Health, I just recovering from a severe illness They will also recollect his Gasconading Expressions and Ms repeated darings for me to invite him to the field of Honor.

"To all whom shall see these presents Greeting—Know ye that I, Andrew Jackson, do pronounce, Publish, and declare to the world, that his Excellency John Sevier, Esq., Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-chief of the Land and Naval forces of the State of Tennessee, is a base coward and poltroon he will basely insult but has not the courage to repair the Wound.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

When we reflect that these mutual charges of cowardice were exchanged between men of unquestionable courage—the Hero of King's Mountain and the Hero of New Orleans—the absurdity of yielding to ill-regulated passion is made ludicrously manifest. The "advertisement" is as

incredible as would have been the "posting" of Agamemnon by Achilles on the walls of Troy. Governor Sevier, by this hasty and intemperate speech, placed himself in a seriously false position, of which his insulted and fiery opponent took prompt advantage. He escaped the predicament rather awkwardly it must be admitted.

But to the sequel Gen. Jackson, almost despairing of "satisfaction" and extremely disgusted, started, with a single friend, for South West Point, entertaining a vague hope that his published denunciations of the Governor as a poltroon might force him to keep his appointment there. After waiting for two days beyond the time fixed, and the Governor not appearing, he decided to return to Knoxville and seek a street-fight, if no other means of redress were afforded him. What now happened I relate upon the authority of Maj. Henry Lee, a brother, I believe, of the late Gen. Robert E. Lee, for many years an inmate of the Hermitage, and who began a "Life of Jackson" while there, which remains incomplete. I quote from the MS.:

"The general and his friend (Dr. Vandyke) had not proceeded more than a mile on their way when they met the Governor, escorted by about twenty persons. Jackson had a note prepared reciting his grievances, and demanding redress, which he directed Dr. Vandyke to advance with and deliver. The Governor refused to receive it, and the doctor brought it back. Jackson rode with a brace of pistols and had a cane in his hand, and the Governor, who likewise had pistols, wore his sword. Being irritated at his contemptuous treatment, and resenting the injuries for which he was denied the promised satisfaction, he resolved at all hazards to have redress, and advancing to within about a hundred yards of the Governor, with a measured pace, like a knight in the lists he put spurs to his horse, and with cane in place of a lance rapidly charged upon him. The Governor, secure in the number of his attendants, did not expect so bold an onset, and dismounting in some confusion is reported to have trod upon his sword, and was left unprepared for resistance. His friends now interfered, and by them Jackson was induced to discontinue his attack. A cessation of hostilities being effected, the parties rode on some miles together, and the unpleasant affair terminated."

Immediately after these events a communication appeared in a Nashville paper over the signature "A Citizen of Knox County," in which Gen. Jackson's course in the affair was severely arraigned, whilst that of Governor Sevier was as strongly defended. The general suspected the author of the publication to be Mr. William Maclin, then Secretary of State, and the gentleman who was entrusted with the delivery of one of Governor Sevier's communications to him during their hostile correspondence in Knoxville. The suspicion being strongly upon his mind, he determined to see Maclin about it. With this view, and in company with Maj. Tatum, of the army, who was to witness whatever conversation might ensue, he hunted Maclin up. The following is the major's account of the meeting:

"On Friday last, as well as I can remember," states the major, "Andrew Jackson, Esq., requested me to walk with him and evidence a conversation he intended to have with William Maclin, Esq., Secretary of State, concerning a

publication that had made its appearance in the *Nashville Gazette*, under the signature of A Citizen of Knox County.' A conversation accordingly took place the same day in Mr. Thomas Talbot's back yard, which was carried on with some warmth on both sides. Mr. Maclin acknowledged the delivery of the piece to the printer by request of Governor Sevier, but denied any knowledge of the author. Judge Jackson insisted that as he had brought the piece to the printer he, Mr. Maclin, should be considered by him as the author, as, if he, Mr. Maclin, did not wish to be so considered, it was improper for him to bring the piece to the printer without being able to name who was the author. In exoneration of himself Mr. Maclin reiterated his assertion of having no knowledge of who the author was. Judge Jackson replied that he was a rascal, or a damned rascal, I do not remember which, to deliver such a paper and pretend not to know the author. Mr. Maclin replied that he was no more a rascal than the judge, upon which reply the judge struck Mr. Maclin with a cane which he had in his hand, who upon receiving the stroke wheeled around and went briskly seven or eight yards and made, search for a weapon to return the assault, as it appeared to me. Judge Jackson then drew a sword from his cane, which I then supposed, by the judge's not advancing immediately, was only intended as a defensive preparation against any weapon which Mr. Maclin should procure to return the assault with. Mr. Maclin, in his apparent search of a weapon, discovered and took up a brick-bat, which he threw at the judge with such violence as I believe any other person would have done in a similar case. The bat was fended off by the judge's left hand. Mr. Maclin then ran off, and the judge, taking his sword in his left hand and the scabbard part in his right, ran after him a few yards and then threw the scabbard with violence after Mr. Maclin, which, I believe, hit him. Mr. Maclin then caught up another brick-bat, but whether he threw it or not I cannot recollect.

"At this period Mr. Maclin was on one side of Judge Talbot's kitchen and the judge on the other. Some expressions of heat took place at this time which I cannot recollect, but I remember that Mr. Maclin charged the judge with drawing upon him as a naked man. This charge was as persistently denied by the judge as being with any view of attacking him unarmed. I believe Mr. Maclin thought his charge well grounded, but I, as a bystander, and fully convinced from the manner in which that circumstance took place, and the conduct of the judge after the sword was drawn, that it was merely in defense, and this opinion I am the more fully convinced of from two circumstances: first, the judge not pursuing Mr. Maclin with the drawn sword when he appeared to be, and I feel sure was, in dread of such a weapon the other is the judge's changing the sword and taking the sheath or scabbard part of the cane in his right hand before he even pursued Mr. Maclin.

"Given under my hand this 8th day of November, 1803.

"H. TATUM."

The spectacle of a judge of the "Superior Court of Law and Equity" crossing his sword with flying "Brick Batts," in a kitchen yard, about an anonymous newspaper article, must

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have been edifying indeed! But the judge as undauntedly faced far more dangerous missiles, in a less inglorious warfare, before a dozen years had elapsed.

Gen. Jackson was as tenacious of the last word as he was at the final blow. Through his friend, W. D. Anderson, Esq., he replied at length, in the same paper, to the communication made in Governor Sevier's behalf. There is little in it of interest beyond a summary of the facts (with sarcastic comments) which I have already related in detail.

The charge against Governor Sevier of complicity with the North Carolina land-frauds was disproved, or at least so explained that it did not prevent his re-election. He subsequently served as a Representative in Congress, and was a member of that body at the time of the battle of New Orleans. On the receipt of the news at Washington he wrote thus to one of his sons:

"The Orleans mail has arrived with the news of Jackson's success in repulsing the enemy, which has occasioned much rejoicing in this place; and we have received as many congratulations as though we had been in the action. Our army from Tennessee is more talked of than half the world besides."

A curious commentary upon Gen. Jackson's judicial career, and the character of the people with whom he was so prominently identified, is suggested by the fact that although it was known that while holding his court he had challenged the Governor of the State, and that a duel between them was imminent, he found time between the discharge of his official duties and the attention necessary to be given to an "affair of honor" to write the annexed, response to an address, numerous signed, from members of the Legislature, remonstrating against his declared intention to resign his seat upon the bench:

"KNOXVILLE, Oct. 7, 1803.

"GEN. GEORGE RUTLEDGE AND COL. JOHN TIPTON .

"GENTLEMEN,—The address presented to me of the 5th instant by you, for and on behalf of yourselves and others of your honorable body subscribers to the same, expressive of entire confidence (in me) and approbation of my official acts, is truly pleasing and grateful to me, and permit me through you to reply, that next to an approving conscience is the approbation of my coon try,—but particularly gratifying when that entire confidence and approbation is expressed by the representatives of a free people, chosen by the free suffrages of their fellow-citizens, and selected for their patriotism, wisdom, and virtues.

"True it was, that long since I had come to a determination to resign my seat in the judiciary and retire to domestic ease, there to regain my health and repair a broken constitution. This resolution I thought was unalterable, but being warned by you that from my continuance in office under existing circumstances public good might result, I abandon for the present ray resolution and obey the call of so respectable a part of my fellow-citizens, as the dictates of duty to a grateful country.

"Retirement to private life has been for some time to me a very desirable event, and the present period at which I intended to retire anxiously waited for. But you have said my further services as a judge would be useful. When my services are thus called for they belong to my country, and your voice is obeyed. I shall continue to hold the office for the space of two years longer, if health will permit me to perform the duties thereof, during which period of time I shall endeavor to merit a continuation of your approbation and confidence and that of our common country, the greatest and highest reward to a virtuous and grateful mind.

"Accept, gentlemen, yourselves, and present to the honorable body you represent, assurances of my high consideration and respect.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

He did not serve two years longer, as he proposed, his health continuing to fail and his position becoming daily more irksome and embarrassing. He resigned, in July, 1804, and never held civil employment again until his appointment as Governor of Florida in 1821.

Two and a half years after the occurrences I have narrated, Mr. Charles Dickinson fell at the hands of Gen. Jackson in a duel for the same offense that he so persistently sought a meeting with Governor Sevier, although its immediate occasion was differently assigned. Dickinson had spoken disrespectfully of Mrs. Jackson.

DUEL WITH DICKINSON.

The duel between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Charles Dickinson occurred in 1806. The newspapers of that date are full of the correspondence. Mr. Dickinson was a young lawyer residing in Nashville, respectably connected, but somewhat dissipated in his habits. He was a son-in-law of Capt. Joseph Erwin. The quarrel between them arose from some disparaging remarks made by Dickinson respecting Mrs. Jackson, which were repeated in a very insulting manner in the hearing of Mrs. Jackson herself at one of the races in Nashville. Of course the insult highly incensed Gen. Jackson, but he was nevertheless anxious to avoid a personal difficulty, and to this end called upon Capt. Erwin and desired him to remonstrate with his son-in-law, as he was confident Dickinson was urged on to this course by his enemies. It soon appeared that a man by the name of Thomas Swann, a young lawyer in Nashville, a Mary Lander by birth, as was also Dickinson, but lately from Virginia, was making himself officious in the affair. Dickinson and his father-in-law, Capt. Erwin, had matched "Plough-Boy" against Gen. Jackson's famous horse "Truxton" in a stake of two thousand dollars, with a forfeit of eight hundred dollars, and had lost the race. The stake and forfeit were to be paid in cash notes on the days of the race. The backers of "Plough-Boy" paid the forfeit, but it was reported that the notes in which the forfeit was paid were different from those specified in the articles of the race. Swann made himself busy in circulating the story, and in giving Gen. Jackson as his authority. Gen. Jackson, on hearing it, denounced Swann to Dickinson as a "d—d liar."

Swann demanded an apology. "The harshness of the expression," he wrote to the general, "has deeply wounded my feelings. It is language to which I am a stranger, which no man who is acquainted with my character would venture to apply to me, and which, should the information of Mr. Dickinson be correct, I shall be under the necessity of taking proper notice of."

General acknowledged the receipt of the letter; and answered as follows:

"Was it not," he replied, "for the attention due a stranger, taking into view its tenor and style, I should not notice it. Had the information you have received from Mr. Dickinson stated a direct application of harsh language to *you*; had not Mr. Dickinson been applied to by me to bring you forward when your name was mentioned, which he declined; had I not the next morning had a conversation with you on the same subject; and, lastly, did not your letter hold forth a threat of proper notice,—I should give your letter a direct answer. I never wantonly sport with the feelings of innocence, nor am I ever awed into measures. If incautiously I inflict a wound, I always hasten to remove it; if offense is taken where none is offered or intended, it gives me no pain. If a tale is listened to many days after the discourse should have taken place, I always leave the person to judge of the motives that induced the information, and leave them to draw their own conclusions and act accordingly. There are certain traits that always accompany the gentleman and man of truth. The moment he hears harsh expressions applied to a friend he will immediately communicate it that explanation may take place, *when the base poltroon and cowardly tale-bearer will always act in the background*. You can apply the latter to Mr. Dickinson. I write it for his eye and emphatically intend it for him. When the conversation dropped between Mr. Dickinson and myself I thought it was at an end. As he wishes to blow the coal, I am ready to light it to a blaze that it may be consumed at once and finally extinguished. Mr. Dickinson has given you the information, the subject of your letter. In return, and in justice to him, I request you to show him this. I set out this morning for Southwest Point. I will return at a short day, and at all times I hold myself answerable for any of my conduct; and should anything herein contained give Mr. Dickinson the spleen, I will furnish him with an anodyne as soon as I return."

This letter brought about an interview between the general and Swann. An angry conversation was had. Swann expressed his determination to have "satisfaction." The general answered that if he (Swann) challenged him he would cane him. Swann retorted that if he attempted to do that he would instantly kill him. The challenge was duly sent. It is a unique sample of dueling literature. "Think not," is the text of the cartel, "that I am to be intimidated by your threats. No power terrestrial shall prevent the settled purpose of my soul. The statement I have made in respect to the notes is substantially correct. The torrent of abusive language with which you have assailed me is such as every gentleman should blush to hear. Your menace I set at defiance; and I now demand of you that reparation which one gentleman is entitled to receive from another. My friend,

the bearer of this, is authorized to make complete arrangements in the field of honor."

Gen. Jackson kept his word and publicly caned Mr. Swann, nor did he suffer the instant death of which he was admonished for that performance.

The letter to Swann, so pointedly and severely alluding to Dickinson as instigating the former in his course, was duly shown to the latter, as Jackson had requested. He immediately wrote the general, reviewing the whole controversy, and acquitting himself of any blame or responsibility in the matter. His letter concluded as follows: "As to the word coward, I think it as applicable to yourself as any one I know, and I shall be very glad when an opportunity serves to know in what manner you give your anodynes, and I hope you will take payment in one of my most moderate cathartics."

The terms of the meeting between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Dickinson were: Distance, eight paces, or twenty-four feet; the parties to stand facing each other, with their pistols held perpendicularly downwards; when "ready," the single word "fire" to be given; they were then to fire as they pleased; but should either do so before the word, the seconds were pledged to shoot him down.

Jackson and his friend, Gen. Thomas Overton, had reflected very gravely over these conditions, and had decided to receive Dickinson's fire first. They relied, as Jackson's only chance for safety, upon the remarkable thinness of his person, which was unknown to his antagonist, and a loosely-fitting coat that tended still further to deceive the accuracy of Dickinson's aim, for the latter declared and, it is said, wagered that he would hit Jackson near a certain button, at a spot directly over his heart. Jackson heard and believed this.

The men were placed in position and the word given. Dickinson fired instantly, and precisely where he had every reason to suppose Jackson's heart to be, but missed. His bullet struck the breast-bone and broke two of the general's ribs, but failed to bring him down. "Erect and grim as fate he stood," says Parton, "his teeth clenched, raising his pistol. Overton glanced at Dickinson. Amazed at the unwonted failure of his aim, and apparently appalled at the awful figure and face before him, he had unconsciously recoiled a pace or two. Back to the mark, sir," he shrieked, with his hand upon his pistol. Dickinson recovered his composure, stepped forward to the peg, and stood with his eyes averted from his antagonist. Gen. Jackson took deliberate aim and pulled the trigger. The pistol neither snapped nor went off. He looked at the trigger, and discovered that it had stopped at half-cock. He drew it back to its place and took aim a second time. He fired. Dickinson's face blanched; he reeled; his friends rushed towards him, caught him in their arms, and gently seated him on the ground, leaning against a bush. His trousers reddened. They stripped off his clothes. The blood was gushing from his side in a torrent. And, alas! here is the ball, but above the opposite hip, just under the skin. It had passed through the body just below the ribs."

The general and his friends immediately left the field, and repaired to the house where he had spent the previous night. Here his wound was carefully dressed. Dickinson survived

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for twenty hours, and died in great agony. Jackson's injury was more serious than he had apprehended, and on his return home it confined him to the house for a fortnight. It falsely healed, and gave him trouble as long as he lived. The hemorrhages from the lungs, which several times during his life reduced him to death's door, were the effects of Dickinson's bullet. In the opinion of his physicians, it finally killed him, although he lived to an advanced age.

The father-in-law of Dickinson, Capt. Erwin, charged Gen. Jackson with unfairness in re-cocking his pistol after its failures to go off in the first attempt to fire. He claimed that there was a "snap," which should have been considered a "fire." The charge was repeated by Dickinson's friends, and much exasperated the general. The seconds of the parties, Gen. Overton and Dr. Catlett, united in a card certifying that "every circumstance in the affair was agreeable to the impressions" themselves and their principles "were under." General Jackson procured several additional certificates to the same effect. Mr. George Ridley, a highly respectable citizen of Tennessee, stated that a few days after the duel he met with Mr. Corben Lee, a friend of Dickinson, who was present on the ground and with him when he expired. In talking of the affair, Mr. Lee admitted that Gen. Jackson "behaved with a great deal of honor on the occasion, for which he should always respect him." Capt. Morrison, in 1824, certified that subsequent to the duel Dr. Catlett—Dickinson's second—descended the river with him; that during the passage down the river he frequently conversed with him upon the subject of the duel. "He gave me," he says, "a detailed account of the rise, progress, and fatal termination of the dispute, and uniformly declared to me that the fight was fairly and honorably conducted. On no occasion did he ever give a different version of the affair. I was also acquainted with Gen. Overton, the friend of Gen. Jackson on the occasion. Not long before his death I called to see him and found him ill in bed. In the course of conversation he mentioned the duel between Gen. Jackson and Dickinson and the various rumors that had been put in circulation. He spoke particularly in reference to a report that Gen. Jackson had *snapped* his pistol at Dickinson, and pronounced it with much vehemence, rising up in his bed when he spoke, a positive falsehood, and affirmed most solemnly that the affair was honorably conducted, no unfair advantage having been taken, or sought to be taken, by Gen. Jackson."

Mr. Edward Ward certified "to the world, and particularly to all whom it may concern," that he had for twenty years lived a near neighbor of Gen. Jackson and of Gen. Thomas Overton until the death of the latter; that they were in the habits of friendship and neighborly intercourse, and never were more so than about the time of the duel; that Gen. Overton had soon after its occurrence, while visiting his house, minutely described it to him. He represented Gen. Jackson as having acted with cool deliberation and with the utmost propriety. Not one word did he hear from him about the snapping of the general's pistol. He stated that Dickinson fired very quickly when the word was given, and that Gen. Jackson immediately after the fire crossed his breast with his

left arm and hand (being wounded through the lung), leveled his pistol, and fired.

A like statement was also made by Gen. Coffee and Maj. Purdy, which completed the general's exoneration from the imputation of unfairness.

Some admonitory letters were at this time written to Gen. Jackson by his friends. Col. W. P. Anderson, afterwards a member of his military staff, and whose resignation made room for the appointment of Col. Thomas H. Benton, wrote him under date of Nashville, June 13, 1806:

"GENERAL JACKSON: My dearest friend: Had you not better send out after Doctor Dickson to-morrow when you come here, to the end that he may be present at some of your intended interviews? Such men as he, Dan. McGavock Randall, Capt. Ward, Thos. Stewart, Capt. Colemain, and Robt. White ought also to be in hearing. For God's sake, my dear friend, use no hot or rash measures! I well know you can, when necessary, govern yourself into calmness and cool deliberation. Now is the time for you to do so. You see it is improper for you to challenge any of those people, or persecutors of yours. You *are tied down to defensive measures alone*. Some of them would not be too good to prosecute you at law. There is one of this lamentable group, T. S. [Swami evidently], that you ought not to notice more than the meanest reptile that crawls on the ground.

"It was indispensably necessary from your situation and difference with *this and that rascal* that you [should] fight. You have done so, and the champion and man of highest and best standing among them has fallen. Be it so. Your course is plain. Do get yr friends together & advise with them. This is right particularly as seeking a fight with anybody; but only to defend yr honor & feelings, and to vindicate principle."

Judge Overton wrote from Jonesboro', Sept. 12, 1806:

"DEAR GENERAL,—This day week a report arrived here that you and Swami had fought; that both fell, Swann shot through the heart, of which he died in six minutes, and you through the head, from which instant death ensued.

"Though I did not believe it, great uneasiness arose, knowing the rascals' conspiracy, of which Swann is a part. You have several warm friends here, and if you knew the uneasiness they suffered and their impressions, I am sure it would have some effect. Not only on this occasion, but before, the opinion of your sensible friends, of whom you have many, was unanimously *that nothing can justify your fighting Swann or any of the pioneers of this dirty band*.

"I do not know that there is much danger of any of these flies infesting you—through fear tho—yet their will is good, and this you may in a measure know, from the reports that are industriously circulated. I repeat it again, General, the respect you owe to the opinion of your friends, the duties you owe to your family, and to the world, forbid the idea of your putting yourself upon a footing with boys, especially when they are made the instruments (if others. To use an Irish bull, if it was me I should to eternity feel *mean* to be killed by one of these puppies. Your friends would have to lament your loss, though not able to justify the occasion of it.

"No man, not even your worst enemies, doubt your personal courage, and you would gain much more by not noticing anything that these people may say, than otherwise. Be assured that their slander can do you no harm among your friends.

"These observations, you know, come from a friend who has not only thought maturely upon the subject, but one who has consulted the feelings and opinions of many judicious men of honor. Should you be *assaulted* by any of the younger or inferior gang, repel it with a stick, &c. Those of stability and standing in society you will call upon, should proper occasion occur, in a proper manner. But never, *never*, my dear sir, hurt the feelings of your friends by putting yourself on a level with *boys, instruments—mere tools of others*, doing yourself no honor, perhaps losing your life with one of them; and their enmity is bitter enough to even *hire* it done, if they could get hands. Besides the mortification of your friends, you might in this way deprive yourself of that life which ought to be preserved for better purposes, among which is the chance (upon some proper occasion, which hereafter, by patience, may come) of chastising in a proper manner the prompters behind the curtain.

"Should any difficulty arise, may I ask you as a friend, before you do anything, to consult your friends? Patience, deliberation and courage, will surmount all difficulties.

"I am, yr. friend, JNO: OVERTON.

"GEN'L JACKSON."

The venerable Gen. Robertson also wrote Gen. Jackson a very sensible letter, which no doubt had a strong influence in checking the impetuosity of his temper and bringing him to more calm and sober reflection on the subject of dueling. Public opinion generally turned in his favor as the hidden facts of the affair came to light; and although the better portion of the community could not but condemn the morality of his conduct, yet all admired the unexampled nerve he had exhibited in the duel, and when this quality had opportunity for its legitimate and proper display in the defense of his country, as the leader of one of its armies, criticism ceased, and he became, and remained until death, the idol of his fellow-citizens.

It was a peculiarity of General Jackson that he rarely alluded to his personal difficulties when once settled. In all his intimacy with Amos Kendall he never but once referred to his duel with Dickinson, and that was after he had retired from the Presidency, when he mentioned in a letter that he would send him the correspondence relating to it, to aid in the preparation of his biography, upon which Kendall was engaged. He was equally reserved with the elder Blair, another of his closest friends. It became, through some circumstance, a topic of conversation between them on one occasion. Jackson dismissed it with the single remark that he would have killed Dickinson had he (Dickinson) shot him through the brain.

The editor of the "Jackson Papers," recently published in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, says,—

"I have felt some curiosity in inquiring into the history of this matter to learn the fate of Swann, whose luckless

intermeddling with Jackson's and Dickinson's affairs brought the duel about. In response to inquiries recently addressed to Col. Willoughby Williams, of Arkansas, I have been furnished with the following information. It is written from Nashville:

"Mr. Swann must have left Nashville about the year 1809, which was the year of my first visit to Nashville, as I knew but little of him after that time. Mr. Charles Dickinson came from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and I think Mr. Swann came from the same county. Mr. Isaac Erwin, the brother-in-law of Charles Dickinson, and myself, married daughters of Captain John Nichols, who was a friend of Dickinson in that unfortunate affair.

"I have often been at the grave of Mr. Dickinson, and was present fifty years ago when his son had it enclosed with a cedar fence. I was there on yesterday and found the tomb, which is made of stone used at that day for such purposes. The tomb is made of side and end stone about three feet high, and a large stone slab on the top. There is no inscription on it. It stands as square and perfect as when placed there. A grove of trees has grown up around it. No other grave is near. It is in an open lot near a large spring on the farm owned at that time by Captain Joseph Erwin, the father-in-law of Dickinson."

"Mr. Samuel D. Morgan, who encloses me this letter, adds: know nothing personally of the duel, as I was at the time a mere child. I was, when a school-boy, quite intimate in General Jackson's family, but in all the time I am sure I never heard him make the slightest allusion to this or any other of his quarrelsome affairs.' "

CHAPTER XXVI

PUBLIC LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JACKSON

How He was Nominated for the Presidency—Major Lewis' Narrative — The Great Race of 1824—Jackson's Defeat with a Large Plurality—His Election in 1828—Death of Mrs. Jackson—Characteristics of his Great Statesmanship—Second Election and Administration—Fac-Simile of His Writing—His Character and Abilities—His Last Hours—His Death—Monuments at the Hermitage.

THE manner in which Gen. Jackson was nominated for the Presidency is related by Maj. William B. Lewis, one of the chief actors in the events which he describes. The matter will be of especial interest to the people of this county, inasmuch as Maj. Lewis was a prominent and well-known citizen, a life-long friend of Gen. Jackson's, and his most confidential adviser in all his domestic and political affairs. Maj. Lewis was a gentleman of leisure, residing on a fine estate between Nashville and the Hermitage. His house was the place at which the particular friends of Gen. Jackson, and often the general himself; were accustomed to meet and hold those political councils out of which grew the series of events resulting in Jackson's election to the Senate in 1823, and to the

Presidency in 1828. The devotion of Maj. Lewis to Gen. Jackson appears to have been untainted by any motives of emolument or self-interest, he being a man of fortune and

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personally modest and uninspiring. The labor which he devoted through many years to the one object of securing Gen. Jackson's election was a labor of love, and was inspired by a strong desire to see his great friend honored by the highest place in the gift of a grateful nation, which he had so richly merited by his eminent and patriotic services to his country. When this object was accomplished, Maj. Lewis accompanied Gen. Jackson to Washington, and lived with him in his private apartments in the Presidential mansion. Maj. Lewis relates as follows the indubitable events as they occurred under his own eye, and many of them at his own suggestion:

MAJ. LEWIS' NARRATIVE.

"When Gen. Jackson was fighting the battles of his country and acquiring for himself and it imperishable glory, he never once thought, as I verily believe, of reaching the Presidency. He did not dream of such a thing. The idea never entered his imagination. All he aimed at or desired at the time was military renown acquired by patriotic services: This he prized far above all civil fame, and does now, if I know anything of the feelings of his heart. He was naturally and essentially a military man, full of ardor, of indomitable courage; possessing the rare quality of inspiring every man, about him with feelings as enthusiastic and dauntless as his own; quick to conceive and as prompt to execute; vigilant and of untiring industry; and, in addition to all these high and noble qualities, he was endowed with a sound judgment and discriminating mind. In fact, he had all the requisites of a great military commander, and, with the same theatre to act upon, he would not, in my opinion, have been inferior to any of the great of either ancient or modern times. This you may consider extravagant, but I assure you I do firmly and conscientiously believe that by nature he was not, as a military man, inferior to either Alexander, Julius Cesar, or Napoleon Bonaparte, and, had he occupied the place of either under like circumstances, would not have been less successful or distinguished.

"With these feelings and views, thirsting for military fame, and ambitious of being distinguished as a great commander, is it unreasonable to suppose that civil honors were but little coveted or cared for by him? No, my friend. He did not even dream of the high civic destiny that awaited him, and which was to be the crowning glory of his life and character. The first suggestion of that sort came from Kentucky, and was made in the summer of 1815 by an officer who was under his command and assisted in the defense of New Orleans. (Mr. Edward Livingston, too, about this time suggested the same thing.) The letter of this officer was addressed to a third person, a mutual friend, who enclosed it to Gen. Jackson, as was undoubtedly expected by the writer. In this letter it was proposed that he should be forthwith brought out as a candidate; but the general laughed at the idea, and returning the letter to his friend, begged that nothing further might either be said or done in relation to the matter. The proposition was too absurd, he said, to be entertained for a moment. In fact, nothing further was thought or said, as I believe, upon the subject of his being a candidate, until about the close of Mr. Monroe's first term. Thus began and thus ended the first movement in favor of

bringing out Gen. Jackson for the Presidency. Col. Burr, I am well assured, had no agency in this, for it occurred some three months before the date of his letter to Governor Alston; nor was it put in motion by any combination of militant Federalists and anti-Jeffersonians.

"As long as Gen. Jackson remained in the military service of the country, little was said about bringing him out for the Presidency. Having been appointed Governor of Florida by the President of the United States, he resigned his commission in the army about the 1st of June, 1821, and repaired forthwith to Pensacola, to receive the Territory from the Spanish authorities. After organizing a Territorial government and putting it in operation, he withdrew from all public employment and returned to Tennessee, where he expected to spend the rest of his life as a private citizen. Nor, indeed, was it believed by his friends that they would be blest with his society very long, as his health was at that time, and had been for six or seven years previous, very feeble, and his constitution apparently exhausted and broken down. No sooner, however, had he become a private citizen, and had set himself down once more upon his own beautiful estate, the Hermitage, than the eyes of his fellow-citizens were turned towards him, as having eminently entitled himself, by his brilliant and patriotic services, to the highest honors within the gift of a free and enlightened people.

"In Tennessee, and particularly at Nashville, his friends began now to speak of him as a candidate, and in good earnest to take the necessary steps to place his name prominently before the country. It is true that some four or five candidates were already in the field; but so confident were they of Gen. Jackson's strength and popularity with the people, on account of his great public services, that they had no fear for the result. They not only, therefore, began to speak out upon the subject, but to make their wishes and intentions known through the public journals. The first demonstration of this latter method of supporting him was made in January, 1822, in one of the Nashville papers. Soon afterwards the editor of the *Nashville Gazette*, Col. Wilson, took the field openly and boldly for the general as his candidate for the Presidency. The proposition was cordially responded to by the people of Tennessee, and was also well received in other States, particularly so in the Democratic and patriotic State of Pennsylvania. The inquiry now was, In what way shall his name be presented to the nation? The most imposing manner of bringing him forward and presenting him to the other States of the Union, it was finally agreed, would be by the Legislature of his own State. This would not only give weight to the nomination, it was believed, but would show to the whole country that we were in earnest. It was determined, therefore, that the necessary steps should be taken to bring him forward at the next session of the Legislature.

"In these preliminary movements, it appears to me, you will be scarcely able to perceive any agency either on the part of Col. Burr or the militant Federalists, of whom so much is said. Nor had the officers of the army, whom he also represents as taking an active and leading part, anything to do with them. The truth is, they were the voluntary and spontaneous acts of his Tennessee friends, without the

suggestions or promptings of any person or persons outside of the State.

"About this time, spring of 1822, I left home on a visit to North Carolina to see the family of my father-in-law, Governor Montfort Stokes, who was then a senator of Congress. The Governor had always belonged to the Democratic Party, and was one of its prominent and most influential leaders. His friendship and political support were, therefore, considered a matter of importance by those who were seeking favors at the hands of the people. What were his predilections at that time in relation to the Presidential aspirants I know not; but, as you may well suppose, I felt anxious to enlist him on the side of Gen. Jackson. He had not returned from Washington at the time I reached his residence, but arrived soon afterwards. During my continuance at his house I had frequent conversations with him upon political subjects, and found him a warm personal friend and admirer of Gen. Jackson; but he gave not the slightest intimation that he preferred him for the Presidency. This occasioned me some uneasiness, for I thought it a matter of very great importance, as it regarded the general's success in North Carolina, that he should have the support of the Governor. I determined, therefore, to have a full and frank conversation with him before I left upon the subject, and it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing so, and learning his opinion and views without reserve. He frankly remarked to me that so little had as yet been said about Gen. Jackson as a candidate, he had not supposed it was seriously intended to run him, and asked me if was really the intention of his friends.

"*Undoubtedly*," I replied, and added that the Legislature of Tennessee would certainly nominate him at the next session.

"What support do his friends expect him to get," he inquired, if nominated?"

"I answered, 'They expect him to be supported by the *whole* country.'

"Then," he facetiously replied, he will certainly be elected.'

"Assuming then a graver air and tone, he said to me that he had known Gen. Jackson from boyhood, he having read law with his brother when quite a youth, and that there was no living man he so much admired; but being already committed to the support of Mr. Calhoun, he could not advocate his election. This was very unwelcome news to me, but I cannot say that it was altogether unexpected, for I was led to anticipate something of the sort from his silence as regarded his preference in my previous conversation with him.

"I then remarked, But suppose Mr. Calhoun should not be a candidate, cannot you support the general as your next choice?"

"Yes," he promptly replied, with great pleasure, but added that, at the same time, he had **no** reason to believe that anything could or would occur to prevent his being a candidate.

"Under such circumstances this was all I had a right to expect or ask, and I parted with the Governor, when about to leave for Tennessee, fully satisfied that, in case Mr. Calhoun should not be a candidate, he would go for Gen. Jackson. In this I was not mistaken. The moment Mr. Calhoun was

withdrawn by his Pennsylvania friends the Governor rallied upon the general, and supported him with great energy and zeal. Having now the support of both Gen. Polk and Governor Stokes, the two leaders, I may say, of the Federal and Democratic parties in North Carolina, his friends became confident of being able to carry the State for him. They were not mistaken; its vote was given to him by a large majority.

"I returned to Nashville about the 1st of June, and found the friends of the general in high spirits and sanguine of success. Indeed, this feeling was not confined to Nashville; it pervaded the whole State. Under this state of things the Legislature met, and in a few days thereafter, the 20th of July, 1822, adopted a preamble and resolutions which placed the general before the country as a legitimate candidate for the Presidency. Being now formally nominated, his friends in every part of the Union entered into the contest with increased vigor and energy. But few of the Federalists, however, took part in it till after the publication in May, 1824, of the general's celebrated letters to Mr. Monroe. Indeed, but few of them, or any, knew of their existence until then, although they, it has been alleged, had won their hearts as early as 1815. I should, however, except Gen. William Polk, to whom I showed, the letter of the 12th of November, 1816, in the autumn of 1823, and perhaps John Quincy Adams also, to whom Mr. Monroe, I have no doubt, showed both letters, which accounts, to my mind at least, for his having sustained the general in his Seminole campaign with so much ability and zeal in his dispatch to our minister at Madrid.

"The general being now fairly out as a candidate, it was considered indispensable, in order to make his success the more certain, that the Congressional caucus should be broken down. This was an engine of great political power, and had been used by the politicians of the country for twenty years in manufacturing Presidents, and unless it could be destroyed it would be difficult to overcome its influence upon those who had long looked upon its nominees as the only legitimate party candidates. With a view to accomplish this object, Judges Overton and Haywood, both able and distinguished lawyers, opened a heavy and effective fire upon it in a series of well-written numbers which were published in the Nashville papers. These, with the attacks made upon it in other quarters, added to Gen. Jackson's great personal popularity, contributed greatly, doubtless, to the overthrow of that renowned personage King Caucus, as it was then derisively called. It is true he mounted his throne again in the winter of 1823-24, and nominated as Mr. Monroe's successor William H. Crawford; but His Majesty had become powerless, and his nominee, for the first time, was badly beaten. This was the last time he ascended the throne, having died soon after of the wounds he received in the campaign of 1824, and has never been heard of since. Not even his ghost made its appearance in the campaign of 1828. It strikes me that you will be equally at a loss to perceive in all this any agency either of Col. Burr, his militant Federalists, or anti-Jeffersonians.

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"As Tennessee was almost unanimous for Gen. Jackson, it might have been supposed that his friends would have had little or no trouble in that State after his nomination. Such, however, was not the fact. Col. John Williams had been a senator from our State in Congress for eight yea's, and as his term of service would expire on the 3d of March, 1823, the Legislature, which met in October of that year, had to elect a new senator. Col. Williams was a candidate for re-election, but being a personal and political enemy of Gen. Jackson, it was determined, if possible, to defeat him unless he would pledge himself to the support of the general for the Presidency. This he refused to do, having already engaged to support Mr. Crawford. The general's friends had no alternative left them but to beat him, and this was no *easy* task. East Tennessee claimed the senator, and the colonel was a great favorite with the people of that end of the State. Besides, with the view of strengthening himself in other sections, soon after the elections in August were over, he mounted his horse and rode through the whole State, calling on the members-elect to the Legislature, and obtaining promises from most of them to vote for him. They should not have thus committed themselves, but having done so the greater part of them were disposed to redeem their pledge, though admitting they had done wrong. The most devoted and zealous of the general's friends were determined, however, to leave no stone unturned to defeat his election. Several persons were spoken of as opposing candidates, but none of them could obtain, it was ascertained, the requisite number of votes. The general's old friend, Johnny Rhea, could come the nearest, but he lacked three votes. This was a very unpleasant state of things. To elect a bitter personal enemy of Gen. Jackson, and who was known to be in favor of Mr. Crawford for the Presidency, would have a most injurious effect, it was believed, upon his prospects. Notwithstanding he had been nominated by the Legislature some fifteen months before, it was apprehended, if an enemy of his should be sent to the Senate, it would be difficult to make the other States believe that Tennessee was in earnest in her support of him. It would certainly have the appearance of great inconsistency, and well calculated to nullify the effect of his nomination.

"This could not be permitted, and it was resolved at all hazards to defeat the election of Col. Williams. It became necessary now to play a bold and decisive game. As nobody else could be found to beat the colonel, it was proposed to beat him with the *general himself*. This having been made known produced great uneasiness and alarm among the more timid members, from an apprehension that even he could not be elected, but Mr. Eaton and myself, who were on the ground, took upon ourselves the responsibility of the step, and insisted on his being nominated to the Legislature as a candidate for the Senate. We came to the conclusion that if the general must be politically sacrificed it mattered little in what way it was done, whether in being defeated himself in the election of a United States senator, or by the election of his bitter enemy. But I had no fear of his being defeated. I did not believe it possible that a majority of the members would be willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of voting against him. He was accordingly

nominated to the Legislature by Maj. Maney, a highly respectable member from Williamson County, and he was elected, as I had anticipated, by quite a large majority. Had he been beaten it might possibly have destroyed, or at least injured, his prospects for the Presidency, but it was believed that his defeat would not be more blasting in its effects than the election of Col. Williams under all the circumstances of the case.

"These are the reasons which induced the friends of Gen. Jackson to send him to the United States Senate in the winter of 1823-24, which was thought by many of his friends at the time to have been rash and impolitic. The general himself was far from desiring it, but there was no help for it, and he submitted with a good grace. He was a soldier, and knew how to obey as well as to command."

And so Gen. Jackson was at once a senator and a candidate for the Presidency. Only twenty-five members of the Legislature ventured to vote against him for the senatorship; and such was the power of his name in Tennessee that of the twenty-five but three were re-elected to the next Legislature. It is worthy of note that while Gen. Jackson was in the Senate this time he voted for the abolition of imprisonment for debt.

In the Presidential campaign of 1824 there were four candidates in the field, viz.: Gen. Jackson, William H. Crawford, of South Carolina, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts. Gen. Jackson was the *gaining* candidate, and no doubt would have secured a clear majority had the canvass been prolonged a few weeks. He had the largest popular vote, the greatest number of electoral votes, and the vote of the greatest number of States. But there was no choice of President by the people. The election was carried into the House of Representatives, and through the influence of Mr. Clay was given to John Quincy Adams, Mr. Clay being made Secretary of State.

This result, however, did not dampen the ardor of the friends of Gen. Jackson; on the contrary, they saw in the splendid race which he had made the precursor of certain victory the next term. He resigned his place in the Senate and was welcomed home in the summer of 1825. In October of the same year the Legislature re-nominated him, with only three dissenting voices. Louisiana, by her Legislature, invited him to New Orleans to attend the anniversary of his great victory of the 8th of January. His reception was the grandest ovation ever witnessed in the history of our country, and roused the enthusiasm of the entire Southwest, while it awakened a new discussion of his merits and claims throughout all the other portions of the Union. The multitudes who were hurrahing for Jackson increased every day, but the tongue of slander was not silent. The partisans of Adams, and the opposition press generally, began to pour out vials of calumny, but his friends took good care that the false and base aspersions of his enemies should be promptly and fully answered. It was at this time that the celebrated committee of citizens of Davidson County, stigmatized by their opponents as the "Whitewashing Committee," was formed for the purpose of vindicating the character of Gen. Jackson, which was to be done by the publication of truth in the place of falsehood and slander. The committee was

organized at the house of Maj. William B. Lewis, and consisted of John Overton, Robert C. Foster, George W. Campbell, William L. Brown, John Catron, Robert Whyte, Thomas Claiborne, Joseph Phillips, Daniel Graham, William B. Lewis, Jesse Wharton, Edward Ward, Alfred Balch, Felix Robertson, John Shelby, Josiah Nichol, William White, and John McNairy, —a cohort of the most intellectual and reputable men in Tennessee, pledged to fight falsehood and calumny by the publication of truth and facts, and by these weapons alone to conquer. The committee successfully and triumphantly vindicated their candidate. At the election in 1828 he received one hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes to Mr. Adams' eighty-three.

In the midst of this triumph, and while the people of Nashville were preparing for a grand celebration of the election of their favorite candidate, a shadow fell upon the Hermitage which was never lifted during Gen. Jackson's life.

DEATH OF MRS. JACKSON.

The circumstances of this sad event are related by Parton, who learned the story from "Old Hannah," the faithful servant of Mrs. Jackson, in whose arms she breathed her last:

"Wednesday morning, December 17th, all was going on as usual at the Hermitage. The general was in the fields at some distance from the house, and Mrs. Jackson, apparently in tolerable health, was occupied in her household duties. Old Hannah asked her to come into the kitchen to give her opinion upon some article of food that was in course of preparation. She performed the duty required of her and returned to her usual sitting-room, followed by Hannah. Suddenly she uttered a horrible shriek, placed her hands upon her heart, sank into a chair struggling for breath, and fell forward into Hannah's arms. There were only servants in the house, many of whom ran frantically in, uttering the loud lamentations with which Africans are wont to give vent to their feelings. The stricken lady was placed upon her bed, and while messengers hurried away for assistance Hannah employed the only remedy she knew to relieve the anguish of her mistress. I rubbed her side,' said the plain-spoken Hannah, till it was black and blue.'

"No relief. She writhed in agony. She fought for breath. The general came in alarmed beyond description. The doctor arrived. Mrs. A. J. Donelson hurried in from her house near by. The Hermitage was soon filled with relatives, friends, and servants. With short intervals of partial relief, Mrs. Jackson continued to suffer all that a woman could suffer for the space of sixty hours, during which her husband never left her bedside for ten minutes. On Friday evening she was much better; was almost free from pain, and breathed with far less difficulty. The first use, and, indeed, the only use, she made of her recovered. speech was to protest to the general that she was quite well, and to implore him to go to another room and sleep, and by no means to allow her indisposition to prevent his attending the banquet on the 23d. She told him that the day of the banquet would be a

very fatiguing one, and he must not permit his strength to be reduced by want of sleep.

"Still, the general would not leave her; he distrusted this sudden relief. He feared it was the relief of torpor or exhaustion, and the more as the remedies prescribed by Dr. Hogg, the attending physician, had not produced their desired effect. Saturday and Sunday passed, and still she lay free from serious pain, but weak and listless; the general still her watchful, constant, almost sleepless attendant.

"On Monday evening, the evening before the 23d, her disease appeared to take a decided turn for the better, and she then so earnestly entreated the general to prepare for the fatigues of the morrow by having a night of undisturbed sleep that he consented, at last, to go into an adjoining room and lie down upon a sofa. The doctor was still in the house. Hannah and George were to sit up with their mistress.

"At nine o'clock the general bade her good-night, went into the next room, and took off his coat, preparatory to lying down. He had been gone about five minutes. Mrs. Jackson was then for the first time removed from her bed, that it might be rearranged for the night. While sitting in a chair, supported in the arms of Hannah, she uttered a long, loud, inarticulate cry, which was immediately followed by a rattling noise in the throat. Her head fell forward upon Hannah's shoulder. She never spoke nor breathed again.

"There was a wild rush into the room of husband, doctor, relatives, friends, servants.. The general assisted to lay her upon the bed. Bleed her,' he cried. No blood flowed from her arm. Try the temple, doctor.' Two drops stained her cap, but no more flowed.

"It was long before he could believe her dead. He looked eagerly into her face, as if still expecting to see signs of returning life. Her hands and feet grew cold. There could be no doubt then, and they prepared a table for laying her out. With a choking voice the general

Spread four blankets upon it. If she comes to, she will lie so hard upon the table.'

"He sat all night long in the room by her side, with his face in his hands, grieving,' said Hannah, and occasionally looking into the face and feeling the heart and pulse of the form so dear to him. Maj. Lewis, who had been immediately sent for, arrived just before daylight, and found him still there, nearly speechless and wholly inconsolable. He sat in the room nearly all the next day, the picture of despair. It was only with great difficulty that he was persuaded to take a little coffee.

"And this was the way," concluded Hannah, "that old mistus died; and we always say that when we lost her, we lost a mistus and a mother, too; and more a mother than a mistus. And we say the same of old master; for he was more a father to us than a master, and manys the time we've wished him back again, to help us out of our troubles."

The news of the sad event reached Nashville on the morning of the 23d, while the committee were busily engaged in preparations for the general's reception. The day, appointed for the banquet was turned into a day of mourning. All business was suspended by proclamation of the mayor, and the church-bells were tolled from one to two o'clock, the hour of her funeral. It was in the midst of such

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grief that the President-elect prepared for his inauguration, and hastened away to Washington to enter upon an administration beset with peculiar difficulties. We shall not attempt to follow him through his career of four years in the Presidential chair. It is enough to say that his administration was entirely successful; that he restored the government to the principles of Jefferson; that he stayed the corrupt and unconstitutional expenditure of the public money, designed for internal improvements; that he waged war upon that gigantic and overshadowing monopoly, the Bank of the United States; that on the tariff question he stood, between the two dangerous extremes of free trade and prohibition, and counseled moderation and compromise; that, in less than two years from the beginning of his administration, the trade to the West Indies, which had been lost by former mismanagement, was again opened to the United States on terms of reciprocity; that, within the same period, treaties of the utmost importance and difficulty were negotiated with Denmark, Turkey, and France; and that the disputed boundary on the Eastern frontier was adjusted on terms of advantage to the United States. All this prestige had the administration gained, and hence it was easy in 1832 to secure the popular acceptance of his nomination for a second term. The result, however, astonished everybody. Not the most enthusiastic Jackson man anticipated a victory quite so overwhelming. Two hundred and eighty-eight was The whole number of electoral votes cast. Gen. Jackson received *two hundred and nineteen--seventy-four* more than a majority. Mr. Clay, his antagonist, received only *forty-nine* votes.

The second administration was characterized by the same energy and success which had marked the first. Some of the President's great measures, which had been inaugurated during the first four years, were carried out and consummated. The war on the United States Bank ended in the destruction of that infamous institution; nullification was put down; the nation was restored to honor and credit abroad; harmony and peace prevailed with all foreign nations, and universal plenty and prosperity reigned at home.

Gen. Jackson was, beyond all question, the most self-reliant chief magistrate this nation ever had. He marked out his own policy, and often acted contrary to the advice of his nearest friends and that of his Cabinet, in the face of the most formidable difficulties. "I take the responsibility," was his short method of settling such differences. And usually his own judgment proved the better guide than that of his advisers.

Attempts have been made to belittle the education of Gen. Jackson, and some have gone so far as to pronounce him "ignorant and unlettered." The imputation is absurd and entirely unfounded. Learned he was not, in the sense of being erudite, but his mind was a fountain of fresh, original ideas and thoughts, which found clear, forcible, and vigorous expression in language fitting and appropriate to his subjects. He could not only write well and fluently, but rapidly. Few men have had command of a vocabulary more pungent and forcible, and few have possessed in a higher degree the faculty of making themselves clearly understood.

As an example of forcible and pungent rejoinder, we give a brief extract from Jackson's reply to an address of John Quincy Adams, delivered to the youth of Boston on the 7th of October, 1844:

"Who but a traitor to his country can appeal as Mr. Adams does to the youth of Boston in the close of his address? Your trial is approaching. The spirit of freedom and the spirit of slavery are drawing together for the deadly conflict of arms. The annexation of Texas to this Union is the blast of the trumpet for a foreign, civil, servile, and Indian war, of which the government of the United States, fallen into faithless hands, has already twice given the signal,—first, by a shameless treaty rejected by a virtuous Senate; and, again, by the glove of defiance hurled by the apostle of nullification at the avowed policy of the British empire peacefully to promote the extinction of slavery throughout the world. Young men of Boston, burnish your armor, prepare for the conflict; and I say to you, in the language of Galgacus to the ancient Britons, think of your forefathers, think of your posterity.'

"What is this but delusion, or, what is worse, a direct appeal to mans to oppose the decision of the American people should it be favorable to the annexation of Texas to the United States?

"I may be blamed for spelling Mr. Erving's name wrong, but I trust I shall never deserve the shame of mistaking the path of duty where my country's rights are involved. I believed, from the disclosures made to me of the transactions of 1819, that Mr. Adams surrendered the interests of the United States when he took the Sabine River as the boundary between us and Spain, when he might have gone to the Colorado, if not to the Rio del Norte. Such was the natural inference from the facts stated by Mr. Erving; and there is nothing in the account now given of the negotiation to alter this impression. The address, on the contrary, does not at all relieve Mr. Adams. It proves that he was then, as now, an alien to the true interests of his country; but he had not then, as now, the pretext of co-operation with Great Britain in her peaceful endeavors to extinguish slavery throughout the world.

"Is there an American patriot that can read the above extract, and other similar ones that may be taken from the address of this monarchist in disguise, without a feeling of horror? Grant that the thousands who think with me that the addition of Texas to our Union would be a national benefit are in error. Are we to be deterred from the expression of our opinions by threats of armed opposition? And is it in this manner that the peaceful policy of Great Britain is to be carried into execution, should the American people decide that we are in error? Or does Mr. Adams mean to insinuate that the will of Great Britain should be the law for American statesmen, and will be enforced at the point of the bayonet by those who descend from the patriots of our Revolution?

"Instead of going to British history for sentiments worthy of the republican youth of our country on an occasion so vitally affecting our national safety and honor, I would recommend those in Gen. Washington's Farewell Address, and particularly his warning to us to avoid entangling

alliances with foreign nations and whatever is calculated to create sectional geographical parties at home."

Gen. Jackson had his full share of commendable virtues and as many faults as other people. He was ardently admired by his friends and grossly abused and misrepresented by his enemies. One of his most characteristic letters extant is a long and confidential communication to his friend, J. George Harris, which has never been published. It is written in a free, off-hand style, without an alteration, omission, or erasure from beginning to end, remarkable for its general accuracy of diction and punctuation. It is of one hundred lines, closely written on three pages of a large sheet of old-fashioned letter-paper, the fourth page left blank for the address and seal, as it was before the days of envelopes and mucilage. It is dated at the Hermitage, Dec. 14, 1842, when he was seventy-five years of age, in the zenith of his political influence, and when his opinions upon all public questions were by all parties, and especially by his friends, sought with avidity.

Mr. Harris was then, and had been for three or four years, the editor of the Nashville *Union*, which was regarded throughout the country as correctly representing the opinions and principles of Gen. Jackson, which were often misrepresented by the opposition press. Through an almost daily correspondence with Mr. Harris these misrepresentations were corrected in the *Union*.

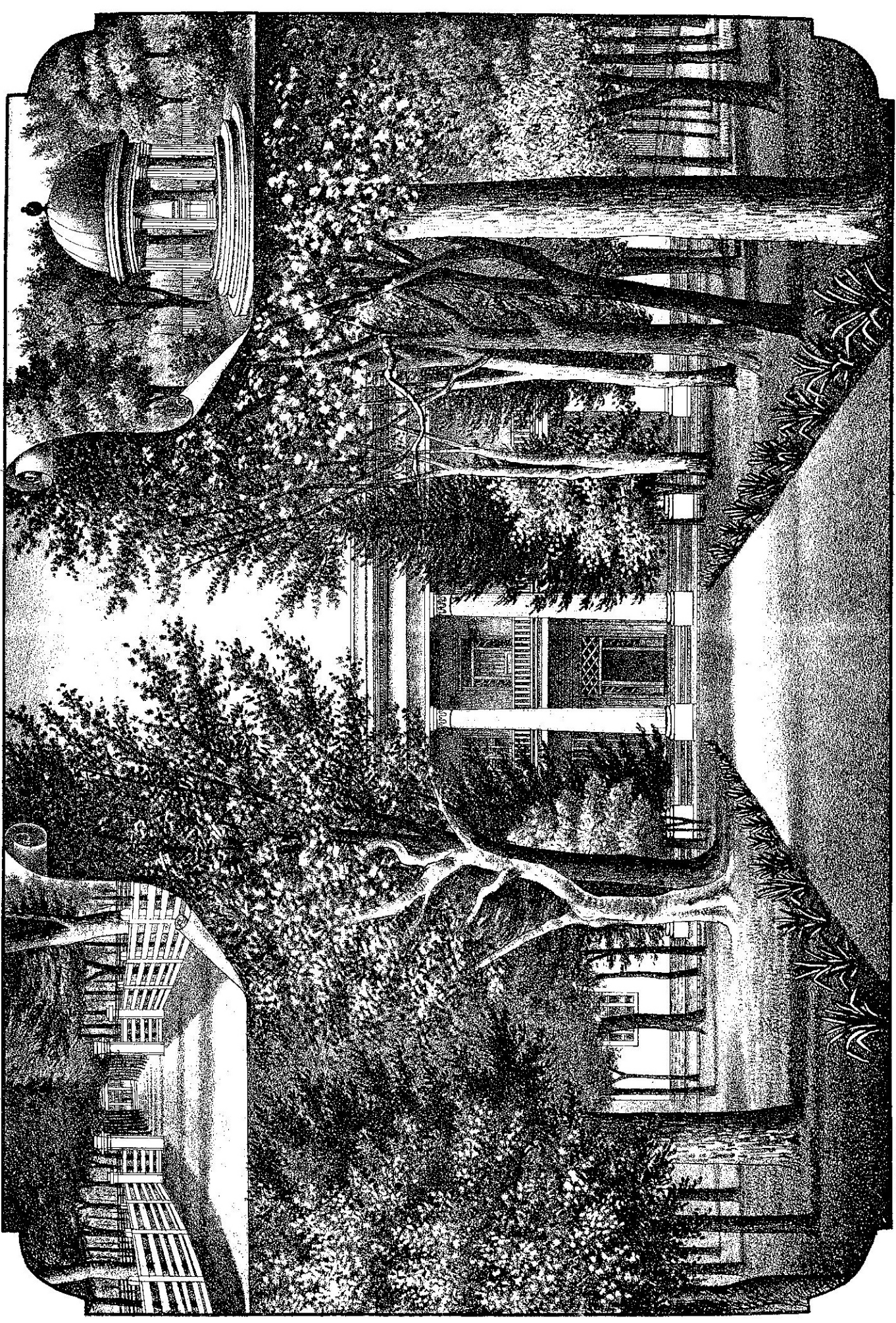
In this case, soon after Vice-President Tyler succeeded to

the Presidency, on the death of Gen. Harrison, and

when Mr. Calhoun had been appointed Secretary of State, the rumor prevailed in all the administration papers that Gen. Jackson was not only in accord with Mr. Calhoun on the annexation of Texas, but that a final reconciliation of all their old disagreements had taken place, so that the former would no longer antagonize the aspirations of the latter for the next Democratic nomination for the Presidency. In the letter referred to, now before us, the old chief rises in his stirrups and says, "What I make concessions to Mr. Calhoun? I never did, and I assure you I never will. There is not one word of truth in the statement. I have not seen him since I left the executive chair."

And then he proceeds to show that this attempt to draw him out and commit him in favor of Mr. Calhoun before the people is precisely the same as that made eight years before to place him before the country as in favor of Judge White for the Presidency, before the Democratic National Convention had made its nomination. In both cases he acted according to his fixed determination not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the conventions, but to abide by their decisions and cordially support their nominees. And he instructs his friend, Mr. Harris, to explain his position in the columns of the *Union*. The last half-page of the letter, personal and not private in its character, is given below, as showing the accuracy of his style and orthography, which has sometimes been so shamefully misrepresented:

Make the contradiction on
such ways as you may deem
best from my authority.
We have been for some time
anticipating the pleasure of seeing
you, your lady & mother at the
Hermitage. I am sure I shall be
sent our kind salutations. I am
aware of the labours with which
lately you have been surround-
ed, and how well you have acted
your part. May success triumph
over all your enemies and you
be ever your friend sincerely
J. Geo. Harris - Andrew Jackson
P.S. I am sorely obliged to write.



HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

In his letter to Hon. Aaron V. Brown, dated at the Hermitage, Feb. 12, 1813, Gen. Jackson laid the foundation of the great issue upon which Mr. Polk was elected to the Presidency in 1844,—the annexation of Texas. We regard this letter as an example of comprehensive and statesmanlike reasoning not unworthy of his great compeers, Webster and Clay. It is too long to be quoted entire, but we give the following paragraphs:

"If, in a military point of view alone, the question be examined, it will be found to be most important to the United States to be in possession of that Territory.

"Great Britain has already made treaties with Texas, and we know that far-seeing nation never omits a circumstance in her extensive intercourse with the world which can be turned to account in increasing her military resources. May she not enter into an alliance with Texas? and reserving, as she doubtless will, the Northwestern boundary question as the cause of war with us whenever she chooses to declare it, let us suppose that, as an ally with Texas, we are to fight her. Preparatory to such a movement, she sends her twenty thousand or thirty thousand men to Texas, organizes them on the Sabine, where her supplies and arms can be concentrated before we have even notice of her intentions, Makes a lodgment on the Mississippi, excites the negroes to insurrection, the lower country falls, and with it New Orleans, and a servile war rages throughout the whole South and West. In the meanwhile, she is also moving an army along the Western frontier from Canada, which, in co-operation with the army from Texas, spreads ruin and havoc from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

"Who can estimate the national loss we may sustain before such a movement could be repelled with such forces as we could organize on short notice?

"Remember that Texas borders upon us, on our west, to 42° of north latitude, and is our southern boundary to the Pacific. Remember, also, that if annexed to the United States our western, boundary would be the Rio Grande, which is of itself a fortification, on account of its extensive, barren, and uninhabitable plains. With such a barrier on our west we are invincible. The whole European world could not in combination against us make an impression on our Union. Our population on the Pacific would rapidly increase, and soon be strong enough for the protection of our Western whalers, and, in the worst event, could always be sustained by timely aids from the intermediate country."

In an oration delivered recently at the Nashville Centennial, Mr. Albert T. McNeal, of Bolivar, Tenn., brought out some excellent points respecting the character and personal qualities of Gen. Jackson. He said, "No grosser slander could be perpetrated of him than the assertion of some of his biographers that he was ignorant and illiterate, for he was always learned enough to control those around him, whether it were the dozens of a neighborhood or the millions of a nation, and his educational facilities and learning were always equal to the occasion, whether he was merely pleading the cause of a client in an obscure court-house or presenting the case of the American people in a message from the Presidential chair.. the Indian tribes of the South and Southwest, and a leader was wanted, Andrew Jackson was the man among the men of that section deemed equal to the occasion, and a glorious history tells us how fully he fulfilled its demands and answered the purposes of his appointment as general of the army, first against the Indians and later against the British in the campaign of 1814-15, at New Orleans.

"The history of Andrew Jackson contains no failures. He never failed. He always did what he was expected to do, and more. He never feared to undertake, and what he undertook he accomplished.

"After his crowning triumph at New Orleans, 'which has made the 8th of January a day never to be forgotten by the American people, he next appears in the' public service in the war against the Seminoles, and afterwards as Governor of the Territory of Florida, where, as was usual and peculiar in his whole career, he accomplished all that he was sent to do, doing nothing by halves; and wherever subjecting himself to criticism, the basis of complaint was never his hesitation to meet any emergency, or failure to accomplish his work, but rather that he was too willing to assume responsibility and accomplish work his superiors hesitated to formally assign him.

"In 1823 the Legislature 'of Tennessee presented his name as a candidate for the Presidency, and elected him again to the United States Senate.

"Receiving, in the election of 1824, more of the electoral vote and more of the popular vote than any other candidate, and clearly the choice of the people, he was defeated by the politicians. His active political life really began after this defeat in the House of Representatives, and he never allowed the politicians to defeat him again.

"Overwhelmingly elected President in 1828, and again in 1832, his career 'in civil life, in the highest position, accords perfectly with his career as a soldier, exhibiting greatness in all its roundness and power. *Human* greatness certainly it was, but greatness nevertheless, and, judged by all human standards, of the first and rarest order, readily known and recognized from its very scarcity. Many men are called great; few are really so in the sense that Andrew Jackson was. American history can point out no man with more of the elements and evidences of greatness than he....

"As a boy, resolute, brave, and self-reliant; as a young lawyer, seeking his fortune on the' Western border, determined, energetic, and aggressive. (Whether studious' or not is not material now, when we find he did his duty and kept always in the front.)

"As a soldier, always victorious, with a completeness unparalleled, *at* least on this continent. As a business man, thoroughly successful. As a statesman and politician, equally so, whether acting with or against the tide of popular opinion. As a man and citizen, among those who knew him most intimately, as much *their* acknowledged leader as of the populace who looked on him as a hero from afar"

He knew himself and his own capabilities, and knew thoroughly well the men with whom he had to deal, and understood perfectly the genius and character of the American people. And they understood him and knew him for their leader and representative.

"MRS. MARIA ADAMS,

"He controlled himself when he wished to do so, whatever has been said to the contrary, for no man could have such enduring and permanent control over others who ,was not able to control himself. A man who knows himself and others can always control himself and others, and thus his knowledge becomes

power. He possessed that rare and heroic courage, conjoined with strong and determined will, which is rarely to be met with and hard to define, and, when joined with that knowledge which is power, makes any man great.

"It was such a courage as never shrank, from danger, but rather went to meet it; never feared responsibility, but invited and assumed it; never sought to share the burden of it. with others, but was ever ready and willing to bear it alone, as a leader should,—wearing no mask, but facing consequences with steady nerve and unquailing eye, frankly and boldly in the broad light of day.

"No man had bitterer enemies than he, but his worst enemy never accused him of dishonesty or insincerity. Always sincere and honest himself; and intensely loyal to his friends, hypocrisy or disloyalty to friendship was to him an unpardonable sin.

"While always tender and true (even to the verge of sentiment for a man intensely practical as he was) to those who loved him, he yet was the sternest knight to a mortal foe that ever laid lance in rest.

"The faults were due much to his time and surroundings; his virtues cannot be too highly estimated now, for, such as they were, they are now the greatest need of American public men,—individual energy, inflexible decision, straightforward sincerity, unflinching courage, stainless truth.

"Uniting steadiness of purpose and firmness of nerve with a personal and moral courage almost unparalleled in the pages of history, he always dared do that he thought was right to do. There were no cowardly hesitations to annoy him, and no fear of consequences appalled him. While a man of the people, understanding them, and understood by them, yet lie never feared to face the people, or to oppose public sentiment when he believed it wrong.

" Whether we look on him as the young prisoner of thirteen years who would receive a sabre cut before he would black the boots of an enemy; or in early manhood on the Tennessee border, amid the dangers and difficulties of our early history; or as a military chieftain, in a day without railroad or telegraph, when responsible position required firm, decided, and independent action; or as President, in his war with the United States Bank or his veto of the Maysville find the same traits of character, ever fixed and prominent as the nature of the man; the heart ever daring, the will never bending, and the iron hand and nerve that never faltered. Possessing remarkable knowledge of men and the clearest insight into all phases of human character, he knew on what friends he could rely, and attached them to him with hooks of steel, returning their attachment with an unwavering loyalty and strength."

Gen. Jackson was not unmindful of the religious duties which he owed to his Creator. From his childhood he had revered Christianity, and often dwelt with grateful emotions on the: tender and prayerful. solicitude of his

pious mother, during his boyhood, for his spiritual welfare. These feelings ripened later in life into a positive religious interest., which manifested itself in reverence for the Sabbath and regular attendance upon church services. He had caused a little chapel to be erected near the Hermitage, which Was his favorite resort on Sunday as long as his health would permit. Here he was often seen,—not in pride and pomp, like titled dignitaries of the Old World, but as 'a plain unassuming citizen, bowing with his neighborhood circle in deep humility before the little altar which he had reared, and sincerely partaking of the sacred emblems of faith. He fostered that little church with a father's care and protection, and one of his last wishes was that it might ever be sustained as a place of worship.

In his last will and testament he said, "I bequeath my body to the dust whence it came, and my soul to God who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. My desire is that *may* body be buried by the side of my dear departed wife, *in* the garden of the Hermitage, in the vault there prepared."

His tomb at the Hermitage bears the simple inscription:

"GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,

Born March 15, 1767,

Died June 8, 1845."

The remains of Mrs. Jackson lie in the corner of the Hermitage garden, next those of her husband, in a tomb prepared by him. It resembles in appearance an open summer-house,---a small white dome supported by pillars of white marble. The tablet that covers the remains of Mrs. Jackson bears the following inscription:

"Here lies the remains of Mrs. Rachel Jackson, wife of President Jackson, who died the 22d of December., 1828, aged 61. Her face was fair, her person pleasing, her temper amiable, her heart *kind*; she delighted in relieving the wants of her fellow-creatures, and cultivated that divine pleasure by the most liberal and unpretending methods; to the poor she was a benefactor; to the rich an example; to the wretched a comforter; to the prosperous an ornament; her pity went hand in hand with her benevolence, and she thanked her Creator for being permitted to do good. A being so gentle and so virtuous slander might wound, but could not dishonor. Even death, when he tore her from the arms of her husband, could but transport her to the bosom of her God."

The other monuments in the latter cluster of graves are inscribed as follows:

"ANDREW JACKSON, Adopted son of Gen. Andrew Jackson. Died at the Hermitage, April 17, 1865, in the 57th year of his age."

"SAMUEL JACKSON, Son of Andrew and Sarah Jackson. Born at the Hermitage June 7, 1837. Died September 29, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Chickamauga."

" THOMAS, Infant son of Andrew and Sarah Jackson."

" ROBERT ARMSTRONG JACKSON, Who died Nov. 11, 1843, aged 4 months, 23 days.

"R. E. W. EARL," Friend and Companion of Gen. Andrew Jackson, who died at the Hermitage, 16th of Sept., 1837

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MRS. MARIA ADAMS.

"Born in Philadelphia July 23, 1805. Died June 28, 1877."

The last mentioned was a sister of Mrs. Andrew Jackson, widow of the adopted son of Gen. Jackson, who is still living at an advanced age at the Hermitage.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JAMES K. POLK

His Ancestors—Early Life—Marriage—Politics—Entrance into Public Life—Review of His Career as Member of Congress—Speaker of the House—Governor of Tennessee—President of the United States—"Polk Place" in Nashville—Reminiscences of Mrs. Polk.

JAMES KNOX POLK, eleventh President of the United States, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His progenitors, Col. Thomas and Ezekiel Polk, the latter of whom was his grandfather, were among the early settlers of Mecklenburg Co., N. C., in 1735, and took a prominent part in the "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775. Ezekiel Polk's son, Samuel, who married Jane Knox, and was a farmer of Mecklenburg County, was the father of the subject of this memoir. The latter was the eldest son of a family of six sons and four daughters, and was born in Mecklenburg Co., N. C., on the 2d of November, 1795.

In 1806, Samuel Polk, with his wife and children, and soon after followed by most of the members of the Polk family, emigrated to the wilderness of Tennessee, and settled in what is now Maury County. Here in the hard toil of a *new* farm James K. Polk spent the early years of his childhood and his youth. His father, adding the pursuit of a surveyor to that of a farmer, gradually increased in wealth until he became one of the leading men of that portion of Middle Tennessee. His mother was a superior woman of strong practical sense and earnest piety. She brought up her children to habits of method, punctuality, and industry, and inspired them with lofty principles of morality. The foundation of Mr. Polk's education was laid at home and in the common schools, where he was a diligent student, evincing great desire and aptitude for learning. Entering the Murfreesboro' Academy in 1813, he pursued his preparatory studies with an ardor rarely surpassed, and in less than two and a half years, in the autumn of 1815, entered the sophomore class in the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. The traditions of his college days represent him as one of the most punctual and exemplary of scholars, never allowing himself to be absent from a recitation or a religious service. He graduated in 1818 with the highest honors, being deemed the best scholar of his class, both in mathematics and the classics. He was then twenty-three years of age, with greatly impaired health, from the assiduity of his mental application. After a suitable season of rest and recuperation, he entered the office of Hon. Felix Grundy, at Nashville, as a student-at-law. Here the intimate acquaintance grew up between him and Gen. Jackson which ripened into the life-long friendship known to have existed between these two truly great men. The politics in which he

had been educated, his father being an earnest Jeffersonian, had prepared him to sympathize heartily with the views and principles of which Gen. Jackson became the great leading exponent; and to these he adhered steadily through life.

As soon as he had finished his legal studies and been admitted to the bar, he returned to Columbia, the shire-town of Maury County, and opened an office. His success was rapid. Very seldom has any young man commenced the practice of the law more thoroughly prepared to meet all its responsibilities. With rich stores of information, all his faculties well disciplined, system and order well developed, and with habits of close and accurate reasoning, he rapidly gained business and won fame. His skill as a speaker was such that, after he entered politics, he was called the Napoleon of the stump. He was a man of unblemished morals, genial and courteous in his bearing, of dignified and genteel deportment, and with that sympathy of nature in the joys and griefs of others which gave him hosts of substantial and abiding friends.

In 1823, Mr. Polk was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee, and gave his voice strongly in that body for the election of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency of the United States. In his measures of policy he was a "strict constructionist," advocating the rights of the States against all the centralizing tendencies of the general government.

In January, 1824, Mr. Polk married Miss Sarah Childress, of Rutherford Co., Term., a lady of beauty and of culture. Had some one then whispered to him that he was destined to become President of the United States, and that he should select for his companion one who would adorn that distinguished position, he could not have made a more fitting choice. The following anecdote is related of Mrs. Polk when, in 1848, she was lady of the White House. It should be remembered that Mr. Polk was a Democrat, and Mr. Clay a Whig, and that they had been rival candidates for the Presidency. There was a brilliant dinner-party. at the President's. Henry Clay, as one of the most distinguished guests, was honored with a seat near Mrs. Polk, who as usual, by her courteous and affable manner, won the admiration of all her guests.

During the entertainment Mr. Clay turned to her and said, in those winning tones so peculiar to him, "Madam, I must say that in my travels, wherever I have been, in all companies and among all parties, I have heard but one opinion of you. All agree in commending in the highest terms your excellent administration of the affairs of the White House. But," continued he, looking towards her husband, "as for that young gentleman there, I cannot say as much. There is some little difference of opinion in regard to the policy of *his* course."

"Indeed!" said Mrs. Polk, "I am glad to hear that *my* administration is popular; and in return for your compliment, I will say that if the country should elect a Whig next fall, I know of no one whose elevation would please me more than that of Henry Clay. And I will assure you of one thing,—if you do have occasion to occupy the White House on the 4th of March next, it shall be surrendered to you in perfect order from garret to cellar."

"Thank you, thank you!" exclaimed Mr. Clay. "I am certain that—" No more could be heard, such a burst of laughter followed Mrs. Polk's happy repartee.

In the fall of 1825, Mr. Polk was elected a member of Congress. The satisfaction which he gave his constituents may be inferred from the fact that for fourteen successive years, until 1839, he was continued in that office. He then voluntarily withdrew only that he might accept the gubernatorial chair of his own State. In Congress he was a laborious member and a frequent and popular speaker. Being in Congress when John Quincy Adams was President, he warmly united himself with the opponents of the administration, and was soon regarded as the leader of the Jackson party in the House. The four years of Mr. Adams' administration passed away, and Gen. Jackson took the Presidential chair. Mr. Polk had now become a man of great influence in Congress, and was chairman of the most important committee, that of Ways and Means. Eloquently he sustained Gen. Jackson in all his measures, feeling for him the pride of a true Tennessean. The eight years of Gen. Jackson's administration ended, giving place to his successor, Mr. Van Buren; still Mr. Polk remained in the House, the advocate of that type of Democracy which those distinguished men upheld.

During five sessions of Congress Mr. Polk was Speaker of the House. Strong passions were roused and stormy scenes were witnessed, but Mr. Polk performed his arduous duties to very general satisfaction, and a unanimous vote of thanks to him was passed by the House as he withdrew on the 4th of March, 1839.

In his closing address he said, "When I look back to the period when I took my seat in this House, and then look around me for those who at that time were my associates here, I find but few, very few, remaining. But five members who were here with me fourteen years ago continue to be members of this body. My service here has been constant and laborious. I can perhaps say what few others, if any, can,—that I have not failed to attend the daily sittings of this House a single day since I have been a member of it, save on a single occasion, when prevented for a short time by indisposition. In my intercourse with the members of this body, when I occupied a place upon the floor, though occasionally engaged in debates upon interesting public questions and of an exciting character, it is a source of unmingled gratification to me to recur to the fact that on no occasion was there the slightest personal or unpleasant collision with any of the members."

Who does not envy such a record? Returning home, Mr. Polk, after a very active campaign, was elected Governor of the State by a large majority, and took the oath of office at Nashville, Oct. 14, 1839. In 1841 his term of office expired, and he was again the candidate of the Democratic Party. But, in the mean time, a wonderful political revolution had swept over the whole country. Martin Van Buren had lost his re-election, and Gen. Harrison had been called triumphantly to the Presidential chair. In Tennessee the Whig ticket had been carried by over twelve thousand majority. Under these circumstances the success of Mr. Polk was hopeless. Still, he canvassed the State with his Whig

competitor, Mr. Jones, who obtained the election by a majority of three thousand. In

1843 the same gentlemen were competitors for the governorship, and again Mr. Polk was defeated.

In 1844 the question of the annexation of Texas became national. Gen. Jackson had laid out the ground and shaped the policy of the Democratic party in favor of the great measure. It was very popular in the South and Southwest, and with the Democrats generally at the North, and had able advocates among leading journalists throughout the country. On this issue Mr. Polk was placed in nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic National Convention. He was elected by a majority in the popular vote of about forty thousand, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. The verdict of the country in favor of annexation exerted its influence upon Congress, so that the last act of the administration of President Tyler was to affix his signature to a joint resolution of Congress, passed on the 3d of March, approving the annexation of Texas to the American Union. As Mexico still claimed Texas as one of her provinces, the Mexican minister at Washington, Mr. Almonte, immediately demanded his passport, and left the country, declaring the act of annexation to be an act of hostility to Mexico.

This great measure, ably advocated by Mr. Polk in his first Presidential message, and adopted by Congress, though it cost the country a war with Mexico, added to the national domain not only Texas, but New Mexico and Upper and Lower California,—exclusive of Texas, eight hundred thousand square miles, an extent of territory equal to nine States of the size of New York.

In justice to the memory of Mr. Polk it should be said that he regarded the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico as entirely justifiable under the circumstances, as affording protection to an independent people from a foreign usurpation which they were unwilling to submit to. His views upon this subject will be found set forth at large in his second annual message, in December, 1846.

On the 3d of March, 1849, Mr. Polk retired from office, having closed his term of service as President of the United States. The next day, was Sunday. On the 5th Gen. Taylor was inaugurated as his successor. Mr. Polk rode to the Capitol in the same carriage with Gen. Taylor; and the same evening, with Mrs. Polk, he commenced his return to Tennessee: He was honored with splendid ovations on his way, at Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, and at Nashville, where he had previously purchased the beautiful residence in the heart of the city, known as Polk Place.

He was then but fifty-four years of age. He had ever been strictly temperate in his habits, and his health was good. With an ample fortune, a choice library, a cultivated mind, and domestic ties of the dearest nature, it seemed as, if long years of tranquility and happiness were before him. But the cholera—that fearful scourge—was then sweeping up the valley of the Mississippi. President Polk steamed up the river from New Orleans. On board the boat he perceived the premonitory symptoms of the dread disease. When he reached his home his system was much debilitated. A personal friend gives the following account of his last hours:

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"Having reached Nashville, he gave himself up to the improvement of his grounds, and was seen every day about his dwelling aiding and directing the workmen he had employed, now overlooking a carpenter, now giving instruction to a gardener, often attended by Mrs. Polk, whose exquisite taste constituted the element of every improvement. It is not a fortnight since I saw him on the lawn, directing some men who were removing decayed cedars. I was struck with his erect and healthful bearing and the active energy of his manner, which gave promise of a long life. He seemed in full health. The next day being rainy, he remained within, and began to arrange his large library. The labor of reaching books from the floor and placing them on the shelves brought on fatigue and slight fever, which the next day assumed the character of disease in the form of chronic diarrhea.

"For the first three days his friends felt no alarm; but the disease baffling the skill of his physicians, Dr. Hay, his brother-in-law and family physician for twenty years, was sent for from Columbia. But the skill and experience of this gentleman, aided by the highest medical talent, proved of no avail. Mr. Polk continued gradually to sink from day to day. The disease was checked upon him four days before his death; but his constitution was so weakened that there did not remain recuperative energy enough in the system for healthy reaction. He sank away so slowly and insensibly that the heavy death-respirations commenced eight hours before he died. He died without a struggle, simply ceasing to breathe, as when deep and quiet sleep falls upon a weary man. About half an hour preceding his death, his venerable mother entered the room and offered up a beautiful prayer to the King of kings and Lord of lords, committing the soul of her son to the holy keeping."

His death occurred on the 15th of June, 1849, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His funeral was attended the following day with every demonstration of respect. His remains rest in a tomb in the grounds of the home mansion, at the corner of Vine and Union Streets, in the city of Nashville, where his venerable widow still resides at the age of seventy-seven years. It will be fitting to give a few reminiscences here of one so honored and esteemed, in connection with this brief sketch of her distinguished husband.

Mrs. Polk is the daughter of Capt. Joel Childress, of Rutherford County. At the age of nineteen she was married to Mr. Polk, then a young member of the Tennessee Legislature. When he went to Congress, in 1825, she accompanied him, and was his constant companion during the eighteen years of their residence in the city of Washington, with the exception of one winter. She was regarded as one of the most regal and accomplished ladies that ever graced the White House,—stately, beautiful, gifted in social intercourse, and apt and brilliant at repartee. She also possessed a mind of no ordinary endowments, both natural and acquired. Educated at a Moravian school and reared in the Presbyterian Church, her discipline had been too severe for anything like trifling or frivolous display. She dressed plainly, save at her receptions, when her beauty was almost regal. But richly or plainly attired, she was always

modest and commanding. Surrounded generally by home and foreign celebrities in their costly costumes, their wives gorgeous in silks and satins and blazing with jewels, and by officers of the army and navy, she stood during their many levees by the side of her husband, in his iron-gray hair, welcoming with a charming grace and cordiality the gay and brilliant visitors. An English lady, Mrs. Maury, in her book entitled "An English Woman in America," speaks in the most flattering terms of Mrs. Polk's faultless manners, her natural ease, her literary taste, and her brilliant repartee. Mrs. Polk was imbued with strict though not narrow principles. She held aloof from cards and dancing, and never allowed these prejudices to be overruled during her many years' sojourn at Washington. That city was her social school. She mingled with the gay life at the nation's capital, and saw and heard and treasured what was transpiring around her.

Scenes of gayety, however, were ended with Mr. Polk's death. His widow, though yet in the prime of her life, betook herself to her peaceful Nashville home, hallowed by sweet memories, where she was surrounded by all she held most dear on earth. Within view of her library-windows is a plain monument that marks the resting-place of one who served his country well. "James K. Polk" is the simple inscription. The ex-President's study remains another sacred memento. There still is the chair he occupied, the desk he wrote at over thirty years ago. Nor has the public exhausted its sympathy and affection for the lonely inmate of this mansion. For many years the Legislature of Tennessee was in the habit of calling upon Mrs. Polk in a body on the first of every year, the highest compliment ever paid by State authorities to a lady. Various military companies have at odd times paid her marked respect, and during the Centennial at Philadelphia she was one of the distinguished few favored with a special official invitation to attend the Exhibition, and a palace-car was placed at her disposal by the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, an honor, on account of her advanced years, the lady was obliged to decline.

At the Nashville Centennial, in 1880, every possible demonstration of respect was shown her. All the military companies, the Mexican veterans, and many distinguished individuals called upon her at Polk Place. It has been a custom for many years for all civic, ecclesiastical, and judicial bodies, such as synod; conferences, and members of the Supreme Court, to visit Mrs. Polk at her residence, and the members of the American Scientific Association, which convened here in 1878, adjourned for the purpose of paying her a formal visit in a body.

Mrs. Polk never had any children. She adopted one of her nieces, Sarah Polk Jetton, several years ago, who subsequently was united in marriage to Mr. George W. Hall, of Nashville. They have a daughter, Sadie, who will probably fall heir to most of Mrs. Polk's estate. These four constitute the family at Polk Place.

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some excitement among the friends of Gen. Houston, as they expected a difficulty to occur between M'Gregor and Smith, because of the refusal to accept the challenge if borne by Smith, he being well known as a desperate man.

"It was anticipated that the challenge would be delivered at the Nashville Inn, where Gen. Houston was stopping that afternoon, and all were on the lookout for the movements of Smith. He was soon seen, about where now stands the Hicks china-store, walking in the direction of the Nashville Inn, and the friends of both parties hurried to the inn, where the meeting was to take place. Maj. Philip Campbell, a gallant soldier in the Creek war, and a warm personal friend of Gen. Houston, with ten or fifteen other Houston men, made their appearance at the inn, prepared to take part, as it was expected there would be a fight when M'Gregor refused to accept a challenge borne by Smith. The challenge was presented by Smith to M'Gregor in front of the door of the Nashville Inn with these words: I have a communication from Col. Irwin to Gen Houston, which I now hand you, sir,' extending his hand with the challenge. M'Gregor replied, 'I can receive no communication through your hands from Col. Irwin,' and the paper dropped on the pavement before them. Col. Smith then returned to his quarters, walking down the public square, the same route by which he approached the place of meeting.

"The crowd rushed into the ball of the inn where Gen. Houston was standing, greatly relieved that there was no fight between M'Gregor and Smith. Gen. William White, a brave and chivalric gentleman, remarked that he did not think the proper courtesy had been extended to Col. Smith.' Houston heard the remark, and said to him, if you, sir, have any grievances, I will give you any satisfaction you may demand.' Gen. White replied, I have nothing to do with your difficulty, but I presume to know what is due from one gentleman to another.' This ended their conversation. The next day it was rumored on the streets that Gen. Houston had backed down' Gen. White. When it reached the ear of the gallant White, through some evil-minded person, he resented the imputation by sending a challenge to Gen. Houston, who readily accepted. Robert C. Foster, a prominent citizen of Davidson County and preserver of the peace, came to town and heard the rumor. He expected the fight, and immediately had a warrant issued for the arrest of both parties, which was placed in the hands of Joseph W. Horton, the sheriff of this county at that time.

"Mr. Horton requested me to accompany him next morning to the residence of Gen. White to make the arrest. White was then living four or five miles north of the Cumberland River. Declining the request of Mr. Horton, I immediately went to Houston's room and found that he had heard, late in the afternoon, of the warrant for the arrest of both himself and Gen. White. That evening he left the city and passed by the Hermitage on his way to the home. of Jimmy Dry Sanders, in Sumner County. The next day he sent a messenger to learn what had been done with White, and to notify him that he would be in Kentucky on a certain day to offer him any redress he might desire. White met him according to appointment, and they fought a duel at sunrise. White was thought to be mortally wounded, but recovered.

On the evening of the fight a large crowd was assembled at the inn to hear the news of the duel, among them Gen. Jackson. While waiting in great expectation a personal friend of Gen. Houston, and a noted character, John G. Anderson, who had gone up to witness the fight, was seen coming in full speed over the bridge, and soon announced that Houston was safe and White mortally wounded.

"After Houston's term in Congress expired he was elected Governor of Tennessee, successor to Gen. William Carroll. During his Governorship he married Miss Allen, who was a member of a large and influential family in Sumner and Smith Counties. Gen. Carroll, after being out of office two years, was again eligible, and declared himself again a candidate in opposition to Houston. The first meeting of Houston and Carroll in the canvass occurred at Cockrell's Spring, in the month of April, at a battalion muster. I was at that time sheriff of the county and colonel of the militia, and, at the request of Houston, drilled the regiment on that day. He desired me to fully acquaint myself with the popular sentiment, and communicate it to him after the speaking, which I did, affording him much gratification. He left the muster-ground Saturday afternoon for the city, and I accompanied him as far as the residence of Mr. John Boyd, in sight of the city, and then returned to my own home, leaving him in high spirits. I went into the city Monday morning early, and while registering my name at the Nashville Inn, the late Daniel F. Carter, who was at the time clerk of the hotel, said to me, Have you heard the news?' I replied, No. What news?' He replied, Gen. Houston and wife have separated, and she has returned to her father's home.' I was greatly shocked, having never suspected any cause for separation. Asking where Gen. Houston could be found, Mr. Carter replied that he was in his room, but could not be seen. I went immediately to his room and found him in company with Dr. Shelby. He was deeply mortified and refused to explain the matter. I left him with Dr. Shelby a few minutes, and went to the court-house on business. When I returned I said to him, you must explain this sad occurrence to us, else you will sacrifice your friends and yourself.' He replied, I can make no explanation. I exonerate this lady fully, and do not justify myself. I am A ruined man; will exile myself, and now ask you to take my resignation to the Secretary of State. 'I replied, you must not think of it,' when he again said, It is my fixed determination, and my enemies, when I am gone, will be too magnanimous to censure my friends.' Seeing his determination, I took his resignation to the Secretary of State, who received it. The following morning he went in disguise to the steamboat, accompanied by Dr. Shelby and myself: He wrote me afterwards that he was not recognized until he reached Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, where he met a friend, of whom he exacted a promise not to make him known. He went up the river to Fort Smith, thence to the Cherokee Nation to his old friend Jolly, a noted Indian whom he knew when sub-agent. He remained in the nation some time, and on one occasion passed through Nashville with a delegation of Indians, on their way to Washington, in the full garb of a Cherokee. From the nation he went to Texas and settled at St. Augustine, commencing there the practice of law with John Dunn, of this county, son



Samuel L. Garrison

CHAPTER XXVIII

GEN. SAM HOUSTON

His Birthplace and Early Life—Sketch by Col. Willoughby Williams — Houston as a Clerk and Indian Agent—His Career in Congress and as Governor—Marriage and Separation from his Wife—Life among the Indians—His Military Career in Texas—He becomes President of the Republic and United States Senator after its Admission as a State into the Union—His Second Marriage and Family—His Death.

THE following interesting sketch of one of the most remarkable men of our day is copied from the *Washington Sunday Gazette*. It was written by Col. Willoughby Williams, late of Nashville, an intimate personal friend, who was better acquainted with the illustrious hero than perhaps any other living man. As Col. Williams begins his sketch with his first recollections of Gen. Houston in 1811, we will precede his narrative with a few facts relating to his early life and parentage.

Gen. Houston was born in Rockbridge Co., Va., on the 2d of March, 1793. He was descended from a Scotch-Irish family, who emigrated from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia, towards the close of the last century. His father served in the Revolutionary war, where he was brigade inspector, and upon his death, in 1807, his widow removed with her family to Blount Co., Tenn. Sam was then a lad of fourteen years of age, and about this time was adopted into the Cherokee Nation and became clerk to a trader.

Col. Williams' sketch proceeds as follows: "My earliest recollections of Gen. Houston date back to 1811, at Kingston, Roane Co., Tenn. He was a clerk at the time in the store of Mr. Sheffy. My mother, in her widowhood, was living about three miles from Kingston. I was thirteen years of age, and Mr. Houston was five years my senior. The line of the Cherokee country was about three miles south of Kingston, the Holston River being the boundary. The Indian trade being much valued, his services were highly appreciated from the fact that he spoke with fluency the Cherokee language. He was especially kind to me, and much of my time was spent in his company. He remained in the capacity of clerk until after the declaration of the war of 1812. At that time the United States were recruiting troops at Kingston for the war. Lieut. William Arnold, of the Thirty-ninth Regiment of Regulars, was sent to Kingston on recruiting service. The whole population had caught the war fever, and intense interest prevailed.

The manner of enlisting at that day was to parade the streets with drum and fife, with a sergeant in command. Silver dollars were placed on the head of the drum, and, as a token of enlistment, the volunteer stepped up and took a dollar, which was his bounty he was then forthwith marched to the barracks and uniformed. The late Robert H. M'Ewen, of Nashville, cousin to Gen. Houston, and myself were standing together on the street, and saw Houston take *his* dollar from the drum and enlist as a private in the year 1813. He was taken immediately to the barracks, dressed as a soldier, and appointed the same day as a sergeant. Soon after this Lieut. Arnold received thirty-nine soldiers, and was ordered to send them forth to join the troops marching to the troops marching to the Creek war, under the command of

Gen. John Williams, of Knoxville, who commanded this regiment of regulars in person at the battle of the Horseshoe, and afterwards became a distinguished senator in Congress from Tennessee. Soon after Houston left Kingston, his friends applied to President Madison for his promotion, who commissioned him an ensign. The commission was promptly sent, and reached him before the battle of the Horseshoe.

At that battle he mounted the Indian defenses with colors in hand, and was wounded by a barbed arrow in the thigh. A soldier, whom he ordered to extract it by main force, made several ineffectual efforts, and only succeeded under a threat by Houston to kill him unless he pulled it out. He was carried back, suffering intensely from the wound, which had been much lacerated. His indomitable will led him immediately back into the fight, when he was soon wounded by two balls in his right shoulder. His intrepid spirit displayed on this occasion won for him the lasting regard of Gen. Jackson. Disabled from further service, he was sent back to Kingston with the sick and wounded. Robert H. M'Ewen and myself met him some distance from Kingston, on a litter supported by two horses. He was greatly emaciated, suffering at the same time from his wounds and the measles. We took him to the house of his relative, Squire John M'Ewen, brother of R. H. M'Ewen, where he remained for some time, and from thence he went to the house of his mother, in Blount County. After this battle he received the appointment of lieutenant for his gallantry. After the restoration of peace he was appointed sub-agent of the Cherokee Nation under Return J. Meigs, who was agent, the agency being on the bank of the Hiawassee, near where the railroad between Knoxville and Chattanooga crosses, the spot where the remains of Governor M'Minn and Return J. Meigs lie buried, both having been agents of the Indian nation.

"While in the capacity of sub-agent, a controversy arose between himself and Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, which caused his removal about the year 1818. Soon after this he came to Nashville and commenced the study of law with Hon. James Trimble, father of John Trimble, of this city, and obtained license to practice after six or eight months' study.* At the first meeting of the Legislature he was elected attorney-general of this district over some distinguished lawyers as competitors, and in 1821 he was elected major-general of the militia of this division of the State, and in 1823 was elected to Congress and re-elected in 1825.

"While a member of Congress he preferred some charges against the postmaster here, who it was understood, would hold him personally responsible on his return home. The matter was public, and great excitement existed among the friends of both parties, and rumors were afloat that a duel would follow. Col. John Smith, a noted duelist living in Missouri, arrived in the city, and it was understood he would be the bearer of the challenge to Houston. It was believed that Col. M'Gregor, who was the second of Gen. Houston who refused to accept the challenge through the hands of Col. Smith for reasons which he explained. This caused

* The record of the County Court shows that he was admitted in 1819.

of Michael C. Dunn, and there remained until the breaking out of the Texas revolution. He soon raised an army, and was made commander-in-chief of the Texas army, and at the battle of San Jacinto captured Santa Anna, President of Mexico, which closed the war. He sent Santa Anna and Gen. Ambrose as his prisoners through Nashville, on their way to Washington, under the charge of Col. George W. Hooky, formerly of Nashville. Gen. Houston was then made president of the Republic of Texas, and, after its annexation, was senator in Congress from that State, then was made Governor, and at the commencement of the war was opposed to secession and rebellion, was deposed by the Legislature, and soon after died. Some years previous to his death he professed the Christian religion and became a consistent member of the Baptist Church."

To this interesting sketch we add a few notes. The wound which Gen. Houston received at the battle of the Horseshoe was a very dangerous one, and nearly cost him his life. In April, 1816, he sailed for New York, where he remained several weeks, and, with health somewhat improved, returned to Tennessee by the way of Washington. He was stationed in Nashville, Jan. 1, 1817. In November of the same year he was appointed sub-agent for the Indians, and being called to Washington on business connected with the agency, he resigned his position as lieutenant in the regular army March 1, 1818, returned to Tennessee, and settled in Nashville.

We find in a notice we have seen of Gen. Houston the following personal description: "Gen. Houston stood six feet six inches in his socks, was of fine contour, a remarkably stout, well-proportioned man, and of commanding and gallant bearing; had a large, long head and face, and his fine features were lit up by large, eagle-looking eyes; possessed a wonderful recollection of persons and names, a fine address and courtly manners, and a magnetism approaching to that of Gen. Jackson. He enjoyed unbounded popularity among men, and was a great favorite with the ladies."

During the trip alluded to through Nashville to Washington with some of the Cherokee chiefs, in 1832, he was upon a mission which he had undertaken to the government in behalf of the Cherokees, to relieve them from the wrong and injustice of the traders and agents, and he succeeded in having five of them put out of office.*

In a letter to his father-in-law, written shortly after his separation from his wife Eliza, Gen. Houston explained the cause of that event: "She was cold to me, and I thought did not love me; she owns that such was one cause of my unhappiness. You can think how unhappy I was, united to a woman who did not love me." In the same letter he fully vindicates her character for virtue: "If mortal man had dared to charge my wife, or say aught against her virtue, I would have slain him." He afterwards married an estimable woman in Texas, whom he left a widow at his death with seven children, none of whom had attained their majority. He died at Huntsville, Texas, in June, 1863, aged seventy-three years.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-47.

Causes of the War—How it was Begun—Part taken in it by Soldiers of Tennessee and Davidson County—Campaigns and Battles—Companies in the Third Tennessee—First Tennessee—Colonel, afterwards Governor William B. Campbell—His Gallant Military Conduet and Important Civil Services.

THE causes which led to the Mexican war were largely due to the spirit of adventure and military prowess of citizens of Tennessee, displayed in accomplishing the independence of Texas in 1836. Many of these adventurers were from Davidson County, the most prominent of whom, and one to whom has been accorded the largest share in that result, being Gen. Samuel Houston, who had won great distinction in the Creek war, and besides representing Tennessee in Congress had been her chief magistrate in 1827. He early espoused the cause of the Texan revolution, and his military talents soon placed him at the head of the army. His connection with this movement soon brought to his standard a large number of his old comrades and friends in Tennessee, by whose aid he won the important battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, in which the Mexican army was destroyed and the Mexican President, Santa Anna, was taken prisoner.

On the admission of Texas into the American Union in 1845, Gen. Zachary Taylor was ordered to Corpus Christi, at the mouth of the Neuces, to protect the frontier from a threatened Mexican invasion. As Mexico still claimed the right, of sovereignty over Texas, and particularly that part included between the Rio Grande and the Neuces, as belonging to the State of Tamaulipas, Gen. Taylor remained at that point until the 8th of March, 1846, awaiting the result of negotiations between the two governments, which proving unsatisfactory, he made a general forward movement on that date and occupied Point Isabel, near the mouth of the Rio Grande. He soon after advanced to a point opposite Matamoras, where he erected a work afterwards called Fort Brown. On his arrival here Gen. Ampudia, commanding the Mexican forces, addressed him a letter, in which he required him to withdraw beyond the Neuces or take the consequences, to which, of course, he paid no attention. Some effort having been made against his line of communications by the Mexican cavalry, he returned with his main force to Point Isabel, leaving a garrison in the fort. After his departure a heavy bombardment was opened on the fort, during which the commander, Maj. Brown, was killed. On the 7th of May, Gen. Taylor started on his return with two thousand three hundred regulars and Texas Rangers for the relief of the garrison, and on the 8th encountered Gen. Ampudia with a considerable force drawn up on the plateau of Palo Alto to dispute his advance. An engagement ensued mostly with artillery, ending in the retreat of the Mexicans with the loss of six hundred men killed, wounded, and missing. The American loss was six killed and forty-four wounded. On the 9th a still larger force, now amounting to six thousand men, was found posted in a ravine at Resaca de la Palma, and was overthrown with a loss of one thousand men, the American loss being one hundred and ten. Thus began the Mexican war.

* American Cyclopaedia.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Hostilities having been anticipated, many companies had already been organized in Tennessee, and when Governor Aaron V. Brown issued his call for two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, amounting in all to twenty-eight hundred volunteers, such was the military spirit of the volunteer State that over thirty thousand of her citizens applied to be received into the service. Two companies from Davidson were accepted on account of their previous organization and excellence in drill. These were the Nashville Blues, commanded by Capt. B. F. Cheatham, and the Harrison Guards, commanded by Capt. Robert C. Foster (3d). These companies entered the First Tennessee Regiment, which rendezvoused at the Nashville race-course, and organized on the 3d day of June, 1846, by the election of Capt. William B. Campbell, of Smith County, colonel; Capt. Samuel K. Anderson, of Sumner, lieutenant-colonel; Richard Alexander, of Smith, first major; and Robert Farquharson, of Lincoln, second major. First Lieut. Adolphus Human, of the Harrison Guards, was appointed adjutant; Dr. McPhail surgeon; and W. D. Dorris assistant surgeon. Before leaving for the stirring theatre of war an interesting and memorable ceremony was performed in the beautiful grounds of the Nashville Female Academy, consisting of the presentation of a beautiful banner by the young ladies of the graduating class to the regiment, bearing this inscription, "Weeping in solitude for the fallen brave is better than the presence of men too timid to strike for their country." The regiment was composed of twelve companies, and had an aggregate of one thousand and forty men. Its embarkation in steamers for New Orleans on the 4th and 5th of June was witnessed by a vast throng of friends and kindred, who came from every part of Middle Tennessee and lined the banks of the Cumberland for miles. Embarking at New Orleans in three sailing-vessels, on the 17th of June, the regiment reached Brazos or Santiago July the 7th, and on arriving on the Rio Grande was put in the brigade of Gen. Quitman. Disease and death from climatic causes soon made such havoc in its ranks that when the requisition came on the 29th of August at Camargo for five hundred men for the march on Monterey; the necessary complement was difficult to fill. A number of the sick were here discharged and sent back to their homes. A reorganization was now made reducing the number of companies to ten, and the regiment with the First Mississippi Rifles, Col. Jefferson Davis, formed into a brigade under Gen. Quitman. The march for Monterey was taken up on the 7th of September, and the brigade arrived in sight of its walls on the 19th, encamping in the beautiful grove of St. Domingo, five miles from the city, where the entire American army, six thousand strong, was collected. On the next day (Sunday) great activity prevailed, betokening that the American general was not wanting in those necessary qualities of the commander,—enterprise and decision; litters were prepared for the wounded, suggestive of blood-spilling, and reconnaissance made by the general officers and the engineers. A battery of ten-inch mortars and twenty-four-pounders was established within one half-mile of the enemy's works. On the 21st the battery opened fire on the walls of the city, and the various regiments moved up to their chosen positions. The morning was beautiful, and the

lofty peaks of the Sierra Madre were outlined against the bluest of skies.

At the base of the mountain occupying a plateau lay the city, divided by the San Juan. On the east stood the citadel of Taneria and the Block Fort, and on the west the stronghold known as the Bishop's Palace. The plan of operations was to attack the Bishop's Palace, the securing of which would command the city, while the left wing was to make a diversion and strike as opportunity was given. One company of the First Tennessee was left to guard the camp, while the rest, three hundred and fifty strong, marched down the road and filed to the left with its left in front, following the shallow ravines to reach its position. On coming opposite Fort Taneria sharp volleys of musketry and the deep roar of artillery told that the work had begun sooner than was expected. The Seventh Regulars had dashed forward, and being badly cut up, had the discretion to retire a short distance and make a detour under shelter further to the left. At the first sound of conflict in their vicinity the men of the First Tennessee became crazed with an ungovernable ardor to go forward and mingle in the fray, as is very commonly the case with high-strung fellows on entering their first battle. It took but a few minutes for them to arrive on the scene. Their baptism was bloody. In the mad excitement of the moment they rushed tumultuously forward without halting to form line of battle, presenting a living lance-head against the grim wall whence flashed a score of cannon and thousands of small-arms. As the column still left in front poured over a ridge and started down the slope, a round shot striking in the soft stone a short distance off rose and, raking the rear of Company K's line, tore and gashed a fearful gap in Company I, cutting off legs, arms, and heads to the number of a round dozen. That was like the pictures of war they had seen in books (and rarely seen outside of books), a mere incident common to every battle, and the brave fellows pressed on and soon came under the range of the musketry from the walls and tops of houses. At eighty yards some one had the discretion to give the order to fire, and the Mexican heads, which until then had showed thickly along the walls, disappeared under cover, and from that time on escopets only were visible firing wildly and at random. This alone saved the column from utter annihilation. The men now halted and opened a rapid fire, and as that from the walls began to slacken, an impetuous rush was made, the parapets were gained, and the beautiful gift of the Tennessee girls was the first to float on the battlements of Monterey. Out of the three hundred and fifty who had accomplished the perilous feat of placing it there, one hundred and five had fallen. The city capitulated on the 25th, the Mexican army being allowed to march off with a single light battery. An armistice of four months followed, and on the 14th of December the regiment set out for Tampico, four hundred miles to the southward, to join in Gen. Scott's movement against Vera Cruz. On March 1st, eight companies embarked at Tampico; on the 5th arrived at Anton Lizardo. The landing was effected at the harbor of Sacrificio, four miles below Vera Cruz, in surf-boats on the 9th, and preparations were made at once for the erection of batteries. A detail from the Harrison Guards was put under charge of

Capt. Robert E. Lee, of the engineers, and was conducted by him to a point within half a mile of the walls of the city, where unobserved the site of the celebrated marine battery was laid out. The batteries opened on the 22d and fired until the 27th; on the 29th the city surrendered, with its strong castle of San Juan de Ulloa, to an army of ten thousand Americans. During the investment the First and Second Tennessee had a spirited little affair at the Madeline Bridge on the 26th, which though strongly barricaded was carried by a dash with the loss of only two or three killed. April the 9th Scott's army took up the line of march *via* the National Road for the city of Mexico, and Plan Rio, in the vicinity of Cerro Gordo, was reached on the 12th. On the 18th the assault was made on each wing, the Tennesseans being on the left. The strong city fell at a blow. Fortune favored the First Tennessee, but its fellow, the Second, suffered terribly while entangled in the thorny chaparral in front of a strong fortress. On the 20th the victorious army started for Jalapa. Here Gen. Scott issued an order for the return and discharge of the regiment, its term of enlistment being nearly out, and its numbers fearfully reduced by disease and battle. It soon after was embarked at Vera Cruz with an aggregate of three hundred and one, and on reaching New Orleans was honorably discharged.

COMPANIES IN THE THIRD TENNESSEE.

Gen. Scott having lost heavily by battle and disease in reaching the city of Mexico, the government called upon the Governor of Tennessee for two more regiments. Upon the requisition being made known, Capt. B. F. Cheatham, late commander of the Nashville Blues in the First Tennessee, set to work with characteristic energy, and in a short time had raised a regiment, to the command of which he was unanimously elected. Two of the companies were from Davidson, respectively under the command of Capt. W. R. Bradfute and Daniel S. Trigg. The regiment was mustered into the service October the 8th, 1847. On its arrival at Vera Cruz it was formed into a brigade, with the Third Indiana, Col. Joseph H. Lane, and the Fourth Tennessee, Col. Waterhouse. Col. Cheatham being the senior officer was assigned to the command, and ordered to convey a heavy train of wagons and pack mules to the city of Mexico. This he successfully accomplished by the 8th of December, without the aid of infantry or cavalry. The Third Tennessee did not become engaged in action with the enemy, but it won the reputation of being the best drilled and disciplined volunteer regiment in the service.

The display of energy and military aptitude by Col. Cheatham in the Mexican war were but the foretokenings of the splendid reputation he was to win a few years later on a broader field, and in a mightier contest, as a major-general in the service of the Confederate States.

The First Tennessee Regiment was composed in part of soldiers from Davidson County, and was commanded by Col. William Bowen Campbell, afterwards Governor. He was a native of Tennessee, a home-bred, a self-made, genuine Tennessee American, of the type of Washington. He deserves a high place in the gallery of the "worthies" of

Tennessee. It is not an easy matter to draw and sketch his life, or to appreciate him. He was a solid and not a surface man. It requires more time and thought, reflection and patience to appreciate such a man than is ordinarily given to the subject.

He filled and performed the duties of a lawyer, attorney-general, judge, congressman, soldier, Governor of his State, and citizen and man. While living and acting he was respected and esteemed by every man; and by all who knew him and were brought near to hint his character was felt. Respect and esteem followed; it was not and could not be withheld. He was a well-developed man, physically, morally, and mentally, and a noble specimen of manhood. In stature he was six feet high, finely formed, deep chested, broad shouldered, with a well-formed head, well set on his shoulders, his hair of light brown, eyes of a light blue, benevolent and expressive. Standing on his feet, upright and erect, yet easy and free; a man in whom one might and would confide, and feel he would certainly do to trust in peace and war. He was warm, genial, and eminently social. His voice smooth, of moderate tone, rather low than loud, a soft, persuasive, friendly voice; yet there were in his firm face, eye, air, and bearing and form great strength and power, capable of passion, energy, and wrath; one whom it were dangerous to arouse; one who could and would and did command when the occasion required it; one who could face the cannon's mouth with perfect presence of mind and self-control.

He needed no paper or parchment to attest his stock or his ancestry; he was of the real royal blood of the Anglo-American *best*—of the true lineage of the Anglo-Saxon. Of Virginia descent, of that hardy, brave, enterprising people that had crossed the mountains and settled in Southwestern Virginia, then a wilderness, and made their homes in Washington County, adjoining East Tennessee. Of a family connection which was distinguished for its courage and manhood in the war of independence, and had given 'three soldiers and heroes to the battle of King's Mountain, and subsequently a chief magistrate—Governor David Campbell—to Virginia. He was born Feb. 1, 1807, within twelve miles of the present site of Nashville. He inherited from his Campbell ancestry a sensitive temperament, and from the Bowens a large magnanimity both of soul and mind. He was related, through his paternal grandmother, to Gen. William Campbell, one of the heroes of King's Mountain. His grandfather, David Campbell, from whom Campbell's Station, in East Tennessee, took its name, took part in that engagement as a soldier in. Col. William Campbell's regiment. Through his mother he was related to Lieut. Reece Bowen, of the same regiment, who in that engagement, while in a hazardous position, fell, pierced in the breast by a rifle-ball, and almost instantly expired. From these three different ancestral lines there met in his veins the blood of those hardy patriots who turned the tide of American defeat, and gave to independence the morning of its day long delayed.

His father, David Campbell, a plain farmer, brought up his family to industry, economy, and good morals. His mother, Catherine Bowen Campbell, was a remarkable woman of the



Engraved by Samuel Sartain. Phila

W B Campbell

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old school, industrious, pious, and patriotic. Reared in the midst of Revolutionary traditions and the alarms of Indian warfare, patriotism was with her a passion. With few books at her command, she in girlhood stored her memory with a few of the best. To her latest years down to fourscore the mention of any deed of heroism brought from her well-stored memory apt poetical responses garnered from Scott, Burns, Campbell, and Moore. A love of truth and of country she transmitted in intense form to her son.

He himself told this anecdote of his mother "in the day that tried men's souls" to a few friends, tears trickling down his manly cheeks. He had been all of his life a "national man," and had been baptized on the field of battle under the old flag; was a soldier and a good and true one, and a man of weight and influence throughout the whole State. He was tendered the command of the Tennessee forces in aid of the Rebellion. It was urged upon him. He declined. His declination was published and well known. Being told of this she said, "I was proud of you at Monterey; I was proud of you when the people elected you Governor, but I am now prouder of you than ever since you refused to fight against the flag of your country."

Having been brought up on the farm, one of a large family, and having his own living to earn and character to form, Campbell adopted the calling of the law, and arose to eminence and distinction in the region of country in which he lived. He began the practice of law at Carthage, Tenn., and was married to Miss Fanny I. Owen, daughter of Dr. John Owen, in 1835. His ability as a lawyer was the ability of common sense, knowledge of life and men and affairs, private and public. It was substantial justice: "What was right between man and man."

His first appearance in public life was in the capacity of attorney-general in the year 1833. In 1835 he was elected to the Legislature. In 1836 he resigned, and as captain led a company in the Florida war, where he distinguished himself for his kindness and gallantry. In 1837, 1839, and 1841 he was elected to Congress, the last time without opposition. During these years in Congress he served on the important Committees on Claims, Territories, and Military Affairs. His speeches in Congress show a thorough acquaintance with the subject to which he addressed himself; and his views were expressed with great clearness and energy. With fine natural talents sedulously cultivated, his modesty prevented their frequent and general display which his friends desired.

At the close of his term in Congress, in 1843, he retired from politics. In 1846 he was elected colonel of the First Tennessee Regiment of Volunteers in the war with Mexico. in this position he acquired great reputation, thrilling the nation with his chivalrous and gallant bearing in battle.

He fought at Vera' Cruz, Madeline Bridge, Cerro Gordo, and Monterey, where his command to charge took the form of "Boys, follow me!" giving to Tennessee heroism one of its historic phrases. Of this charge at Monterey, where he and his regiment took first honors, he himself wrote: "My regiment went early into action on the morning of September 21st, and was ordered to sustain some regulars who were said to be attacking a fort at one end of the city. When I arrived within point-blank musket-shot of the fort no

regulars were visible. They had filed to the left and taken shelter behind some houses, and had gotten into the outskirts of the town, so that my command was left exposed to the most severe discharge of artillery and musketry that was ever poured upon a line, of volunteers. They bore the fire with wonderful courage, and were brought to the charge in a few minutes, and rushed upon the fort and took it at the point of the bayonet. It was most gallantly done. The Mississippi regiment sustained mine most gallantly in the charge." This charge is regarded as the most remarkable feat performed by volunteers in that war.

His gallant conduct at the head of his regiment won for that unsurpassed body of troops the sobriquet of "Tie Bloody First." On his return from Mexico he became one of the Circuit Court judges of the State, and held a place upon the bench for several years, was respected and esteemed as a firm, impartial, just judge, and administered and enforced the laws to the full satisfaction of the bar and the public.

In 1851 he was by acclamation nominated as the Whig candidate for Governor, the position being urged upon him on the ground that he was the only man in his party who could make a successful canvass. Upon his nomination, Hon. Meredith P. Gentry, who had served with him in the Legislature and many years in Congress, said, "Although Tennessee is rich in noble sons, yet, in my opinion, she has not within her broad limits a nobler son than William B. Campbell. In integrity and honor, in fidelity and truth, in courage and patriotism, in all that constitutes a high, noble, and manly character he has no superior." In his acceptance of the nomination he gave the key to his political faith, saying, "I accept, with a pledge to my friends of a heart devoted to the union of these United States, and to the honor and prosperity of my native State." He was elected over Governor Trousdale, the most popular and influential man of his party at the time.

He is known in the history of the State as a soldier; as an officer of perfect courage, discipline, and skill, both loved and feared by his men. After Jackson, lie was Tennessee's best soldier. As brave as Jackson himself, he was always self-controlled and insensible of danger.

In political life lie was distinguished as a plain, sensible, "honest public man," of great moderation and sincerity, a conservative. He was not a Democrat, but a conservative, a Whig in the best sense of that historical name. He was not an orator or a politician in its usual or bad sense. He was plain, sensible; sincere in all his public speeches before the people, but cautious and prudent lie was not an office-seeker. He had a high self-respect and great pride of character; set a high value upon the good-will and respect of his fellow-men was ambitious, and desired the approbation of the public; was civil, courteous, and gracious in his intercourse with his fellow-citizens, and had something of the patrician in his character. His distinguishing trait of mind was understanding. He saw things as they really are; knew men and life as it is; knew the good and bad qualities of man as he is. His judgment was sound and safe. His moral sense was another distinguishing trait of character. In fact, he understood and had made Washington his model, his ideal of the great and good and wise man, and was greatly

influenced by his example in his own life; and he was, therefore, in good faith a Union, a national man; an old-line Whig, incapable of change; himself personally courageous, but politically of a party in its belief wholly defensive. He lived and died a Whig. The Whig creed and its defensive spirit lie would have perpetuated just as it was, without change, "for the Constitution and the Union just as it was."

In 1861 he opposed secession. His devotion to the Union and his far-seeing statesmanship are shown in a letter written by him March 16, 1861, in which he said, "But this Southern Confederacy can never become a first-rate power. It will never rise above the dignity of a third-rate power, and with no protection or guarantee from the great Northern government, and with no sympathy from the great powers of the earth, she, the South, must ever be a prey to other nations, and ever regarded with contempt by them.... But so sure as a big war occurs between the North and the South (and that it will occur so soon as all hope of reunion shall cease to exist no one seriously doubts) then will peace be made at the expense of negro slavery... The South has been duped and deceived by their leaders, and they may reap the whirlwind before an adjustment. The whole move was wrong, and the South ought at once to retrace their steps. It will be ruinous to the South if they do not. I have done all I could to preserve the peace, to prevent war, and I shall continue my humble efforts to prevent a conflict... But I have no hope that peace can be maintained very long. Many questions will soon arise that will bring about a conflict. I shall deeply regret to see such a result, but when it comes I shall be actuated by the same feelings which actuate you of the South, and shall stand by Tennessee and the Union."

He thought that the result was settled in Tennessee by the election of February, 1861, but it was preordained otherwise. Suddenly the flames of war burst out in the Cotton States, and in a few weeks swept Tennessee as a prairie on fire. The general apathy under the influence of its executive gave the last blow to Unionism in Tennessee. Union men and leaders were silenced. Terror ruled the hour. Governor Campbell was self-possessed, retained his presence of mind, and was immovable in his fidelity and allegiance to the national government. He, in the midst of this scene, found himself standing solitary and almost alone. What remedy was there for it just then? None. What could any mortal man have done but possess himself in patience and await a day when honor and duty should return, and bring back "peace come to stay?" Speaking of what was transpiring, Campbell said it must run out and exhaust itself; opposition just then at Nashville was useless; it was broken out and must run its course. He was silent and prudent, and immovably firm and self-possessed. The Union leaders stood appalled at the scenes transpiring, and yielded; the people acquiesced at what seemed their fate; his physical and moral courage stood him instead. A man and soldier, a Union man, a Whig, his influence and weight were of moment to the Confederate authorities all powerful and controlling. He was tendered the command of all the forces raised and to be raised in Tennessee in aid of their cause. He declined firmly in terms of prudence, but immovably firm; not from any motive or motives, under heaven, but from the principle of fidelity

bound to duty, to his country, and the people among whom he lived, and whom he loved in his heart of hearts. In that day his eye and voice, which never falsify, indicated the state of his head and heart; his eye was bright, his voice firm, his air, countenance, bearing, manner were those of one who knew that he was doing well in the line of duty. He returned to his home and remained in his family while the storm raged tempestuously around his dwelling and throughout the State. When, in February, 1862, the National army occupied Nashville and a military government was established, and a military governor was in possession of the capitol, Governor Campbell came to the seat of government at Nashville and gave his moral support to the United States government; a commission of brigadier-general in United States army was sent to him, and he took the oath of office under it, but shortly afterwards, for reasons deemed sufficient by him, he resigned, never having entered upon active service. He took an active part in the reorganization of the State government in 1865, and in the same year was again elected to the Congress of the United States. Under this election he performed his last public service, his death occurring suddenly at his residence Aug. 19, 1867.

It will thus be seen that he filled many high places of honor and responsibility. That he always discharged his duties with fidelity and ability is shown by the fact that he was never defeated when a candidate and the oft-repeated and long-continued manifestations of public confidence and trust reposed in him. He was an honest, sincere patriot, and will be ever held in esteem as a "worthy" of Tennessee.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

Events and Causes which led to its Inception—Loyalty to the Union in Tennessee—That feeling suddenly changed by the Policy of the Government in Reinforcing Fort Sumter—Vote of Secession—Military Fame of Tennessee—Organization of Companies in Davidson County—State Military Establishment.

THE success of the Republican party in electing Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in November, 1860, was regarded by some of the slave-holding States as such a menace to their constitutional rights that by the 1st of February following seven of them had seceded from the Union. The possibility of a division of the Union had engaged the minds of the people of the United States for many years, beginning with the first introduction of the question of African slavery as an element in American politics. Never was a political question more thoroughly discussed in all of its bearings, and when a party, then regarded as hostile to the institution of slavery and bent on its final overthrow, succeeded in securing the chief magistracy and one branch of Congress, the people of the Cotton States deemed that argument was

occupation, saved Louisiana from the horrors of a foreign invasion, peopled Arkansas, and helped to wrench Texas from the grasp of Mexico,—an event which, a few years later, led through the Mexican war to the acquisition of the vast region stretching from Colorado to the Pacific Ocean. Truly, Tennessee had advanced the standard of national greatness as few other States could claim. So, when she buckled on her armor again, it was evident that she would exert a mighty influence over the course and duration of the conflict, and so it proved in the end. Her sons, in taking sides for or against the Union as convictions of duty taught, upheld her honor and fame in a contest which tried their valor and fortitude to the last limit of human endurance.

The military ardor of the people of Davidson County surpassed all previous exhibitions. Many of those who a day before had been strong for the Union were the first to raise the standard of resistance, and in a few weeks nearly forty companies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery were organized and ready to take the field for the South, in obedience to a call from Governor Isham G. Harris. The Legislature quickly convened and passed an act providing for a State military establishment. Under this act among the appointments from Davidson County were Samuel R. Anderson, who had been lieutenant-colonel of the First Tennessee in the Mexican war, as major-general, and Felix K. Zollicoffer, who had been a captain in the Florida war, B. F. Cheatham, who had commanded first the Nashville Blues and afterwards the Third Tennessee, and R. C. Foster (3d), who commanded the Harrison Guards in the Mexican war, as brigadier-generals. Ex-Governor Neil S. Brown and Gen. W. O. Harding were on the military and financial board. Dr. Paul F. Eve was made surgeon-general.

The theatre of the services of the Davidson County volunteers reached, in the course of the war, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. Our space will not allow more than a brief summary of the services of the various companies. An extended detail would embrace the history of the war in the West, which would be incompatible with the scope and design of this work. Justice would require an extensive volume for the proper treatment of the subject. Again, where so many acted well their parts it has been deemed improper to single out individuals for notice, except where such notice was obviously just.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE COMPANIES IN THE FIRST TENNESSEE AND OTHER REGIMENTS AND BATTERIES

Companies C and G, Second Tennessee Regiment—Companies in the Eleventh Tennessee—Company G, Eighteenth Tennessee—Companies in the Twentieth Tennessee—Company G, Fiftieth Tennessee—In the Fifth Tennessee—In the First Tennessee Cavalry—In the Second Tennessee Cavalry—McCano's Cavalry—First Battalion Heavy Artillery—Porter's Battery—Company A, First Artillery—Baxter's Battery—Baker's Battery—Maney's Battery.

IN the organization of this regiment, on May the 3d, 1861, two of the field-officers were from Davidson, Col. George Maney and Lieut. Col. T. F. Sevier, and five companies, namely: Co. A, Rock City Guards, Capt. Joseph Vaulx, Jr.; Co. B, Rock City Guards, Capt. James B. Craighead; Co. C, Rock City Guards, Capt. Robert C. Foster (4th); the Tennessee Riflemen (German), Capt. George Harsh; and the Chattanooga Railroad Boys, Capt. J. S. Butler. At the reorganization at Corinth, in 1862, three other companies from Davidson were added to the regiment, being consolidated into one company under Capt. J. M. Fulcher and constituting Co. L. These were the companies of Cpts. J. M. Hawkins, Robert Cattles, and James Felts, up to that time known as Hawkins' battalion. Soon after its organization the First Tennessee repaired to Camp Cheatham, in Robertson County, where it became the recipient of a beautiful set of colors, presented by the graduating class of the Nashville Female Academy, through Miss Campbell, daughter of ex-Governor Campbell, whose regiment had received a similar honor from this institution in the Mexican war. Some reverses having occurred to the Confederate arms in West Virginia, this regiment was sent thither and participated in the campaign of Gen. R. E. Lee as part of the brigade of Gen. Samuel R. Anderson, of Nashville. In January, 1862, it took part in Stonewall Jackson's expedition to Bath and Romney, seeing plenty of hard service, but not getting into any engagement of moment. In the spring it returned to the West, the left wing only reaching Corinth in time to take part in the battle of Shiloh, the right wing, in which were the Davidson companies, being held at Decatur to guard the bridge at that place. Thereafter it remained a constituent part of the Army of Tennessee. As a part of Maney's brigade, it was in Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and suffered a loss of nearly fifty per cent at Perryville, where it drove the enemy from a very strong position, forcing him to abandon a number of guns. At Murfreesboro' it was heavily engaged against the enemy's centre, losing again severely. At Chickamauga, as part of Cheatham's division, it was compelled to bear the brunt of the Saturday's engagement, while Bragg's forces were being concentrated. It was not engaged on Sunday until late in the afternoon, when it joined in the general charge on the right, which ended the battle. On the disastrous field of Missionary Ridge it repelled an assault of the enemy and distinguished itself by a countercharge, in which it took more prisoners than it had men. On the Dalton campaign it did its full share of arduous service, performing its crowning feat of valor at Kenesaw Mountain, June 27th. On this occasion it occupied the point, thenceforward famous as the

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exhausted and that the time for action had arrived. The wisdom of this policy will not be discussed here, but its relation to events which shortly followed as affecting the remaining slave-holding States will be briefly considered. The waves of secession which swept seven States out of the Union broke against a solid barrier of adjoining States and were arrested. In fact, such was the feeling in one of them, Tennessee, that the question of calling a convention to consider the state of the country was defeated in February by a vote of over sixty thousand. The sentiment of her people, as expressed in this vote, was to take no step which would jeopardize a peaceful solution of the great questions at issue. She entered heartily into the scheme of a peace congress, through which it was hoped some constitutional guarantees could be adopted which would be the basis of reconciliation between the sections, and, lead to the return of the seceded States to the Union. This congress met, but failed of its purpose. During its session Mr. Chase, a member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet and spokesman for his party, declared that the recent victory of the Republican party was not due to a mere accidental circumstance of the divisions of its opponents; that it would win victory after victory on its platform of hostility to the extension of African slavery; that the fugitive slave act was a dead letter, and that the personal liberty acts passed by the various Northern Legislatures which nullified this law of Congress would never be repealed; that the expression of the moral sense of a people on this question was a higher law than congressional enactments. In spite of the failure of this scheme, the people of Tennessee still did not despair of averting the calamities of fratricidal war, but through their General Assembly announced a firm determination to await some overt act of oppression on her sister Southern States or upon herself before she would yield the Union; at the same time asking the administration to refrain from any coercive measures which would provoke a conflict of arms. On this platform stood the powerful States of North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, whose united voices plead for peace. The immediate question upon which the issue of peace or war turned was the reinforcement and retention of Fort Sumter by the general government. This powerful battery stood within the harbor of Charleston, and could by its guns reach any part of the city. It was still being held for the government by Maj. Anderson; but its evacuation had been demanded by the State of South Carolina, through the exercise of the right of eminent domain, which she claimed vested the title in herself after her separation from the Union. Gen. Scott, the commander-in-chief of the United States army, advised the administration, in view of the attitude of the Border slave-holding States, to evacuate the fort and trust to diplomacy for its recovery. Senator Stephen A. Douglass and many other leading politicians at the North, urged the same view, and begged the administration to forego the collection of custom dues, a paltry sum in comparison with the cost of a great conflict.

It was known to the country at this time that an attempt to provision and reinforce the place would provoke resistance, force the remaining Southern States to throw off their

neutrality, and inaugurate a civil war. Under assurances of the administration that Sumter would be evacuated, the country breathed freer, and the advocates of secession in the Border States were awed into silence or put to a sharper defense of their policy. The feeling in these States was that the question would be submitted to a trial of diplomacy and not of arms; that the administration was ready to sacrifice any mere party feeling for the sake of a peaceful solution of the question. Such was the attitude of these States when it was suddenly announced that a large fleet had left New York with two hundred and eighty-five guns and two thousand four hundred soldiers to forcibly enter Charleston harbor and reinforce Fort Sumter. On this information being communicated to the Confederate authorities, Gen. Beauregard was ordered to reduce the fort before the arrival of the fleet, which that officer, after a bombardment of thirty-two hours, was enabled to accomplish on the 13th of April. The news of this event shook the country like an earthquake. To the Border States it was a knell of despair for the Union. They felt that their loyal efforts for its maintenance against the strongest arguments of their brethren of the seceded States had been treated with contempt, insult, and perfidy, and that the blow had been struck before they could interpose their hands to arrest it. Under these circumstances their indignation knew no bounds, and when the administration called upon them the day after the fall of Fort Sumter to furnish soldiers for war against a people to whom they were bound by every tie of kindred, interest, and association, they flew to arms to resist what they regarded as a preconcerted attempt at the subjugation of the entire South. All of the Governors of the remaining slaveholding States, except Maryland, refused to issue the call for troops, alleging that the general government had no constitutional authority to coerce a State after the withdrawal of its delegated powers from the Union, as the Union was then understood. In the twinkling of an eye the feelings of the people of Tennessee towards the government had undergone an almost total change. The sixty thousand majority for the "Union" in the short space of less than three months had changed into a sixty thousand majority for ⁰ separation." Such, in brief, is the history of the movement which eventuated in the separation of Tennessee from the Union, the facts of which are verified by reference to the current files of the press of that day, and from the lips of living actors whose loyalty remained unshaken up to the very hour of conflict.

At this time the military fame of Tennessee was second to that of no State in the Union. She had won this fame, not from any adventitious circumstance or cast of fortune on some narrow field of conflict. On many hard-fought fields and in many conflicts she had won an enduring reputation for impetuous valor and chivalric devotion to the call of public duty. For nearly a century her sons had led the van of civilization in the Southwest, and they could justly claim an empire vast in extent and importance as mainly due to the exercise of their enterprise and valor. They had turned the tide of the Revolution at King's Mountain, wrested their own domain from the wilderness and the savage, thrown open the great States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida to peaceful

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Dead Angle, with one hundred and eighty guns, fully one-half of the regiment being out of the trenches on the skirmish-line or back of the works engaged in various duties at the moment of attack. On account of the faulty location of the works, the enemy were enabled to mass a division of his troops in close order within sixty yards of the line occupied by the First Tennessee without being observed, and when this heavy force suddenly advanced the occasion furnished one of the most critical periods in the history of the Army of Tennessee. The attack covered about two hundred yards in extent, taking in part of Maney's and Vaughan's brigades. Seven lines of battle were defeated in succession in front of the First Tennessee with appalling slaughter, their foremost dead resting against the works. Only the most determined pluck on the part of every individual saved the point from capture and the army from a probable disaster.

In the action of July 22d, on the right of Atlanta, the First Tennessee struck the enemy's works squarely, and although suffering heavily it succeeded in carrying them and capturing a number of prisoners, thus achieving a result with one line which their opponents, under more favorable conditions, were unable to accomplish at Kenesaw with seven lines. In the subsequent siege of Atlanta it did its full share of arduous service, ending in the ill-advised attack on Sherman's fortified lines at Jonesboro'. On Hood's advance into Tennessee it participated in the capture of Dalton and the affair at Spring Hill, on the eve of the battle of Franklin. In this battle it was unable to overcome the main line of the enemy's works, but it maintained its advanced position all through the terrible ordeal to which it was subjected until far in the night, when the retirement of the enemy put an end to the bloody butchery. In the first day's battle at Nashville Dec. 15, 1864, it held its works until withdrawn, late in the afternoon, to take up a new line, Cheatham's corps being transferred from the right to the left wing of the army. In the course of the second day's battle the unquenchable spirit of this regiment was finely illustrated in its recapture and maintenance of a line that had been lost on the extreme Confederate left by the giving way of a brigade. On the retreat from Tennessee it formed part of that immortal rear-guard which, by its valor at Anthony's Hill and Sugar Creek, saved the Army of Tennessee from total destruction. Some of its members reached North Carolina in time to share in the battle of Bentonville and see the sunlight of victory gild for the last time their tattered and war-worn banners.

COMPANIES C AND G, SECOND TENNESSEE REGIMENT.

In the Second Tennessee were two companies from Davidson, C and G, commanded respectively by Captains H. I. Cheney and John Earthman. The first was from Edgefield and the other from White's Creek. The regiment was organized May 6th, and was known as Bates' Second Tennessee. It started at once for Virginia, and was mustered into the Confederate service at Lynchburg. Soon after it reached the Potomac at Aquia Creek, and assisted in the defense of the batteries at that point, being thus the first Tennessee troops to engage in active hostilities. In June it participated in the Cane River expedition, planned to capture

the Potomac flotilla, and assisted in the taking of three schooners. In passing from Union Mills on the right to the left of Beauregard's lines at Manassas, it sustained a heavy fire from the Federal batteries beyond Bull Run, but further than this was not seriously engaged. It assisted in erecting the batteries at Evansport, which blockaded the Potomac until the retreat on Richmond. Having re-enlisted in February, the men were on furlough during Johnson's retreat from Tennessee, but the battle of Shiloh being imminent; they volunteered to the number of three hundred for the occasion, and suffered terribly in the engagement of the 6th of April. On the 7th they rendered important services and participated actively in the repulse of the enemy in the afternoon at Shiloh Church, being the last regiment to leave that part of the field. Their losses in this battle amounted to thirty-nine per cent.

In the invasion of Kentucky the regiment was in the brigade of Gen. Patrick Cleburne, and marched from Knoxville with Gen. E. Kirby Smith's column, turning Cumberland Gap, and being actively engaged at Richmond on the 30th of August, where, in the three combats, it was almost annihilated, Capt. Newson, of Company O, being among the first victims. From this point it marched via Lexington to the vicinity of Covington, on the Ohio, and returning, was actively engaged in the battle of Perryville, October the 8th, where it had fifty wounded and none killed. In the battle of Murfreesboro', December 31st, it was actively engaged from sunrise until the middle of the afternoon, participating in six combats, the last of which was near the Nashville turnpike. Its losses in killed and wounded were severe. At Chickamauga the Second Tennessee was conspicuous for good conduct, capturing guns and prisoners in Kirby's famous night charge. It was twice heavily engaged on the following day, its brigade (Polk's) being the first to carry the enemy's works, when it again captured guns and a number of prisoners. Its losses in this battle amounted to quite fifty per cent. In the battle of Missionary Ridge it was not seriously engaged, but at Taylor's Ridge the following day it made a brilliant flank movement on the enemy's left at a critical moment and turned the tide of victory. In the Dalton campaign, besides almost daily skirmishes, it was engaged at Resaca, Calhoun, Kingston (where it brought up the rear, being engaged for several hours with the advance of Sherman's army), Pumpkinvine Creek, Golgotha, and Kenesaw. After crossing the Chattahoochee the regiment was transferred to Smith's (Taylor's) brigade, Bates' division. On the 19th of July, at Peachtree Creek, the right wing of the regiment,, including nearly all of Company O, was captured. It was engaged in the battle of the 22d of July and at Utoy Creek, August the 6th. At Jonesboro' it made a desperate assault on Sherman's works, but was repulsed with heavy loss. The Tennessee campaign followed, in which it fully shared, being engaged at Dalton, Decatur, Ala., Franklin, Overall's Creek, Murfreesboro', and in the last day's engagement at Nashville, where it was nearly annihilated by the fire of the enemy's batteries and the assault which followed. The remnants still clung to the fortunes of the Confederacy and followed its flag on a long weary march to the Atlantic sea board, where,

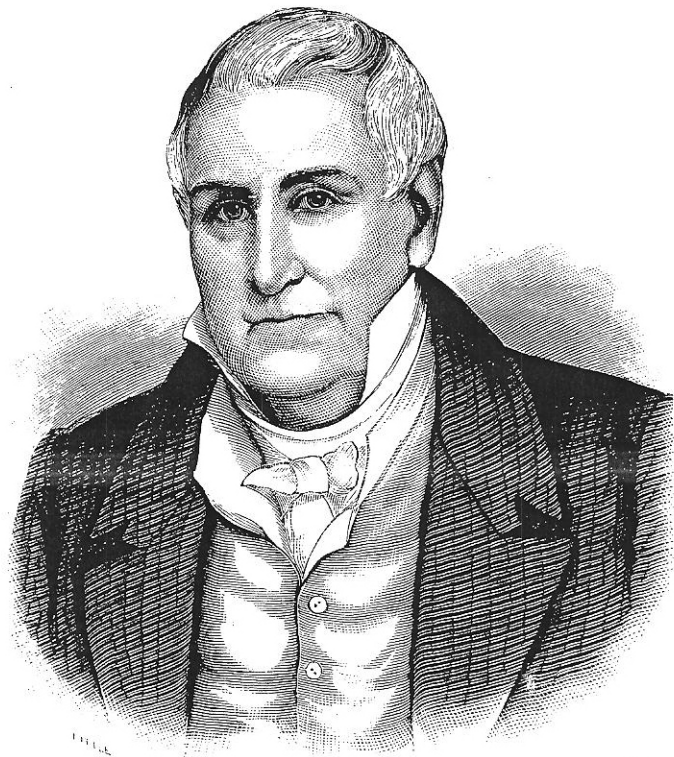


Photo. by Armstrong, Nashville.

A. M. Garock

on the 19th of March, 1865, at Bentonville, N. C., it again confronted its old adversary and entered into its last battle, numbering seventeen muskets. Here joining its line with that of its shattered fellow-regiments of the Army of Tennessee, it precipitated itself on the enemy's works, carrying two lines in rapid succession, and driving him in confusion for fully a mile. In the last charge Capt. W. H. Wilkerson, of Company G, fell a victim to his impetuous valor, being probably the last sacrifice that Davidson County made to the terrible four years' war.

ACKLIN RIFLES, COMPANY "A," FOURTH (THIRTY-FOURTH) TENNESSEE.

This company was organized at Nashville, May the 7th, 1861, and joined the Fourth Tennessee, Col. W. M. Churchwell, at Nashville. It participated in the battles of Tazewell, Cumberland Gap, and Big Spring, as a part of Rains' brigade. Being transferred to Maney's brigade shortly before the battle of Murfreesboro', it remained with that organization until the end of the war, being engaged at Murfreesboro', Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge. At the latter battle, Samuel Nicholson, of this company, had the colors of the regiment; the staff being shot in two three times in quick succession, Nicholson still held his flag aloft, though he had been shot through the body and advanced until he fell. As part of Maney's brigade it participated in the battles of Resaca and Kenesaw Mountain, rendering its full share in the repulses of the assault on the Dead Angle, June 27th. It was in various engagements around Atlanta, including Jonesboro', being successful in capturing a line of works on the 22d of July. In the Tennessee campaign it was at the capture of Dalton, and was heavily engaged at Franklin. At Nashville it fought on the right on the first day and on the left on the second day, where it was subjected to a heavy fire of the enemy's batteries. It formed part of the rear-guard on the retreat, allusion to which has already been made. It ended a career of most honorable services without a tarnish in the surrender at Greensboro'.

COMPANIES IN THE TENTH TENNESSEE.

Davidson County was more numerously represented in the Tenth Tennessee than any of its organizations, its compliment in this regiment being eight full companies. It was familiarly known as the "Irish Regiment" on account of its heavy per cent. of men of this nationality, and it may be proper to add that it gloriously sustained the reputation Of the Emerald Isle for steady and shining courage. At its organization two of its field-officers were from Davidson,—Col. Adolph Heiman and Lieut. Col. Randal W. McGavock. Soon after entering into service it was sent to erect defenses on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, and the works at Fort Henry and Heiman, on the latter river, were principally the results of its labors. In the attack on Fort Henry by Commodore Foote's fleet all their previous labor was rendered nugatory by a series of disasters to the guns in the fort, which resulted in its surrender. The regiment escaped to Fort Donelson, where ten days later it was included in the surrender of the place, after having rendered the most signal services. On its return from prison it was reorganized at

Clinton, Miss., in the autumn of 1862, retaining the same field-officers.

Soon after, Col. Heiman died, and Lieut. Col. McGavock was elected to the vacancy. The regiment, after a tour to Coldwater, went to Vicksburg, and thence to Port Hudson. As part of Gregg's brigade it bore a conspicuous and bloody part in the battle of Raymond, Miss., on the 12th of May, 1863, where less than three thousand Confederates held their ground for ten hours against five times their number.* After participating in the movements of Gen. Johnson for the relief of Vicksburg, it joined Bragg's army in September, in time to be actively engaged in the two days' battle of Chickamauga, where its brigade, conjunction with Fulton's (Bushrod Johnson's), was the first to break the massive lines of the enemy on the left on Sunday morning. Its losses were again heavy. Being soon after transferred to Bates' brigade, afterwards Tyler's and then Smith's, it played a conspicuous part in the battle of Missionary Ridge, where this brigade received the credit from Gen. Bragg of saving the Army of Tennessee by its dauntless bearing in covering the retreat across the Chickamauga. In the Dalton campaign it was engaged at Rocky Face, Resaca, Dallas, Kenesaw, the opening battles around Atlanta, at Utoy Creek, and Jonesboro'. Its after-history may be traced in the account already given of the companies in the Second Tennessee.

COMPANIES IN THE ELEVENTH TENNESSEE (COL. J. E. RAINS).

Davidson furnished three companies to the Eleventh Tennessee, namely, the Hermitage Guards, Capt. J. E. Rains, the Beauregard Light Infantry, Capt. S. C. Godshall, and the Cheatham Rifles, Capt. J. R. McCown. This regiment, though early in the service and in the discharge of active and important duties in East Tennessee, first came under fire at the battle of Tazewell, Aug. 6, 1862; soon after it was engaged in prosecuting the siege of Cumberland Gap, on the evacuation of which it advanced as far as Frankfort, Ky., and from this point covered, via Harrodsburg, Bragg's retreat from that State, during which it had several affairs with the enemy. At Murfreesboro' it fought in McCown's division, where it was continuously engaged until late in the afternoon, and acquitted itself with great credit, having captured a battery at the first onslaught. In its last combat, near the Murfreesboro' pike, Gen. James E. Rains was instantly killed, falling in the midst of the regiment he had so long commanded. After this battle the Eleventh Tennessee became a part of Gen. Preston Smith's brigade, with which it remained for the rest of the war. At the battle of Chickamauga it took an active part in the night attack on the 19th of September, by which important positions were won, and on the 20th joined in the charge late in the afternoon which swept Thomas' corps from the field. At Missionary Ridge it was not heavily engaged. In the Dalton campaign its brigade held Resaca against a heavy force until the main army came upon the ground. At Kenesaw Mountain it held the right limb of the "Dead Angle" against the assault on the 27th of June, repulsing seven lines. The

* Col. McGavock fell in the thickest of the fight, while banding his regiment with superb skill.

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fighting here was almost hand to hand, and the slaughter of the assailants was sickening to contemplate at the end of the assault. In the battle of the 22d of July it drove the enemy out of his works, but was unable to hold them on account of the severe enfilade to which it was exposed. In the rest of this campaign, ending at Jonesboro', it was actively and continuously engaged. In the battle of Franklin it held the ditch of the main line of the enemy's works until he retreated, being unable on account of its losses to possess them entirely. In the first day's battle at Nashville it held its ground against all attacks, and on the second was not called upon to resist any direct attack, but was under a heavy fire of artillery and small-arms for the greater part of the day. It failed to reach North Carolina in time to take part in the battle of Bentonville, and ended its career of service to the Confederacy in the surrender at Greensboro'.

COMPANY G, EIGHTEENTH TENNESSEE (COL. J. B. PALMER).

This was the company of Capt. A. J. McWhirter, being principally made up in Edgefield. The regiment first saw service in the trying scenes of Fort Donelson, in which it fully participated and suffered. On its return from prison it became part of Palmer's brigade, and shared in the desperate charge and repulse of Breckenridge's division, on the 2d of January, 1863, at Murfreesboro'. As part of Brown's brigade it fought in the centre at Chickamauga, losing heavily. It came out of the fiery furnace of Missionary Ridge without tarnish. In the Dalton campaign it was engaged at Rocky Face, Resaca, New Hope Church, Dallas (where it suffered heavily), Kenesaw, in the opening battles around Atlanta, in the sortie of the 28th of July, and at Jonesboro'. In Hood's Tennessee campaign it bore its part in the ill-starred assault at Franklin, and was shortly after engaged in the second battle of Murfreesboro'. It formed part of the rear-guard in the retreat from Tennessee, and, following the fortunes of the Confederacy to North Carolina, covered itself with immortal glory at Bentonville, where, in connection with other regiments of Palmer's brigade, it broke through line after line of Sherman's army, capturing hundreds of prisoners and wagons, and returning in safety after a five days' absence in his rear.

COMPANIES IN THE TWENTIETH TENNESSEE (COL. JOEL A. BATTLE).

In this regiment were three full companies from Davidson, viz, Capts. J. L. Rice's, IV. L. Foster's, and T. F. Dodson's, and a very respectable portion of Capt. Joel A. Battle's company from Williamson. This regiment early saw service in the brigade of Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer in Southeastern Kentucky, firing its first gun at Barbourville. Soon after it was in the affair at Wild Cat. On the 19th of January, 1862, in connection with the Fifteenth Mississippi, it bore the brunt of the battle at Fishing Creek, and acquitted itself with distinguished honor, but suffered a heavy loss. At Shiloh it was constantly engaged for two days, and again suffered heavily. It took part in the defense of Vicksburg against the first bombardment, in June, 1862, going thence on the expedition to Baton Rouge, La., where on the 5th of August

the forces under Breckenridge won a brilliant but partial success. At the battle of Murfreesboro' it did not become actually engaged until the 2d of January, when its impetuous valor carried it deeply into the opposing ranks, out of which it came at a fearful sacrifice. On June 24, 1863, it contended with great odds at Hoover's Gap, now forming part of Bates' brigade. At Chickamauga it was heavily engaged, particularly on the last day, where the enemy's centre was broken. At Missionary Ridge its brigade repulsed line after line, and only yielded its ground to a flank attack, and then riot in dismay, for it rallied at the foot of the ridge and presented an unbroken front to the enemy until Bragg's army was safe beyond the Chickamauga. In the Dalton campaign it was engaged at Rocky Face, Resaca, Dallas, Kenesaw, the opening battles at Atlanta, at Utoy Creek, where it repulsed on the 6th of August a determined attack on its line and captured three stands of colors, and at Jonesboro', where it made a desperate effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day in a bold attack upon a very strong position. In the Tennessee campaign it was engaged at Buzzard Roost, Ga., Decatur, Franklin, Overall's Creek, Murfreesboro', and Nashville, at which latter place it occupied the angle in Hood's line, of which mention has been made in another connection. It fought its last battle at Bentonville, N. C., when the setting sun of the Army of Tennessee came forth from the cloud and blazed in its most effulgent glory as it sank out of sight forever.

One of the most pleasing episodes in the history of the Twentieth Tennessee, and which should have been mentioned in its proper place, was its presentation with a flag made of the wedding dress of Mrs. Gen. Breckenridge, at Tullahoma, in the spring of 1863. She desired it to be given to the bravest regiment in her husband's division, and this one was selected as the proper recipient of the distinguished honor.

COMPANY G, FIFTIETH TENNESSEE.

This company was partly raised in Davidson, twenty-five of its members, including its captain, Wills Gould, and its third lieutenant, Samuel Mays, Jr., being from this county. This regiment performed garrison duty at Fort Donelson during the operations against that place, and was included in the surrender. On its exchange it reorganized at Clinton, Miss., and became a part of Gregg's brigade. It was present at Sherman's attack on Chickasaw Bayou, and after passing through the bombardment of Port, Hudson it rendered a valorous part on the hard-fought field of Raymond. As has been mentioned in connection with the history of the Tenth Tennessee, Gregg's brigade was actively engaged at Chickamauga on both days, and as part of Bushrod Johnson's division rendered most signal service in breaking Rosecrans' right wing at an early hour on the 20th. After this battle it became a part of Maney's brigade, and was badly cut up in a daring charge on Sherman's lines at Missionary Ridge. Its subsequent history is that of Nancy's brigade, an account of which has already been given in a notice of the First Tennessee.

IN THE FIFTY-FIFTH TENNESSEE.

In the Fifty-fifth Tennessee this county had one company, that of Capt. Wyley M. Reed. It had its baptism of fire in the terrible two days' contest at Shiloh, April 6th and 7th. Shortly afterwards the regiment was consolidated with the Forty-fourth Tennessee, and became a part of the brigade of Gen. Bushrod Johnson. It was heavily engaged at Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862, and at Murfreesboro', on the 31st of December following, it bore a conspicuous part in the action of Cleburne's division, having the honor, besides capturing guns, of penetrating deeper into the position of the enemy on the Murfreesboro' and Nashville pike than any body of troops engaged. At Hoover's Gap it contended all day against the heavy odds of Rosecrans' advance, and on Bragg's retreat from Tennessee had a sharp affair at Elk River. At Chickamauga, Johnson's brigade led the advance in crossing the river on the 18th of September, and on the 19th rendered important service in resisting a heavy attack, and, by an impetuous advance, in gaining over a mile of ground. On the 20th, in connection with Bragg's brigade, it was the first to make a decided impression on Rosecrans' heavy lines, capturing a battalion of artillery in an eager emulation with Longstreet's veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia. This brigade went with this officer on the campaign into East Tennessee, being engaged at Knoxville, Bean's Station, and other points during the succeeding winter. In the spring of 1864 it reached Petersburg, Va., in time to render most vital service at Walthall Junction, Drury's Bluff, and Swift Creek. In Grant's advance upon Petersburg it made such obstinate resistance that Lee's army was enabled to reach that city in time to save it from immediate capture, but at the cost of over fifty per cent. of its number. It was in the immediate vicinity of the mine explosion at Petersburg, Va., and by its steady courage at a critical moment contributed greatly to the safety of the lines at that point. On the 29th of September, 1864, by the exhibition of most shining valor at Fort Gilmer, on the James River, it undoubtedly saved Richmond from capture. When Lee's lines were broken at Petersburg, it held its portion of the line to the last moment, repelling every assault made upon the fort and recapturing works lost by others. It laid down its arms at Appomattox, thus completing a long career of brilliant service on a widely-extended field.

COMPANIES IN THE FIRST TENNESSEE CAVALRY (COL. JAMES WHEELER).

In this regiment were two companies from Davidson,—the Barron Guards (Company C), Capt. E. E. Buchanan, and Company, Capt. Ensly. They first came under fire as part of Gordon's battalion at Eastport, on the Tennessee River, in March, 1862, in an engagement with gunboats, where by their firm resistance they prevented a landing, though exposed for hours to the fire of heavy guns. They rendered a similar service a little later at Yellow Creek, and during the battle of Shiloh formed a corps of observation beyond Lick Creek. They were next engaged at Farmington. Soon after Gordon's and Bile's battalions were united, forming the First Tennessee Cavalry, of which Biffie became colonel, who was shortly succeeded by Col. James Wheeler. In August this regiment made a raid into West Tennessee in the

brigade of Gen. Frank Armstrong, and was engaged at Medon Station, Bolivar, and Britton's Lane, at which latter place the two Davidson County companies charged and captured two pieces of artillery. It was heavily engaged at Iuka, and brought on the attack at Corinth, Oct. 3, 1862. In the retreat from this place it performed important service as rear-guard, and fought at Coffeeville, Miss. It participated in Van Dorn's expedition in Gen. Grant's rear, and was engaged at Holly Springs and Davis' Mills in December, 1862. It was engaged in the brilliant affairs of Thompson's Station and Brentwood, and was in action at Douglass' Church and Rover.

In the great battle of Chickamauga and the subsequent pursuit it took an active part and rendered important service. Shortly after it was engaged in several affairs in Sweetwater Valley and at Strawberry Plains. During Wheeler's raid into Tennessee it bore a leading part., being engaged at McMinnville, Farmington, and other places. It also shared in the hard winter campaign of Gen. Wheeler in East Tennessee. In the Dalton campaign it was continuously engaged. Company C, Capt. Thomas B. Wilson, being detached as escort to Maj. Gen. Stevenson, acted from that time on with his division. It was in Hood's campaign into Tennessee, and was engaged at Nashville and in covering the retreat. The other company took an active part in the pursuit and dispersion of McCook's Cavalry at Newnan, Ga. The regiment composed a part of Gen. Wheeler's force on Ida raid into Northern Georgia and Tennessee, having numerous conflicts, and also took part in Forrest's raid shortly after, which resulted in the capture of Athens and Sulphur Trestle. On Sherman's march to Savannah it had frequent affairs with infantry and cavalry, the most notable of which were at Buckhead, 'Waynesboro', and Savannah. In the campaign through the Carolinas it found constant employment retarding Sherman's advance. At Fayetteville, N. C., it distinguished itself in a bloody affair with a largely superior force of infantry. It fought also at Averysboro', Bentonville, and at Patterson's Mill, near Chapel Hill, where it fired its last shot, April 15, 1865.

COMPANIES IN THE SECOND TENNESSEE CAVALRY (COL. BARTEAU).

Davidson furnished three companies to this regiment, namely, Capts. F. N. McNairy's, E. D. Payne's, and W. L. Harris'. They first entered the organization known as the First Tennessee Cavalry Battalion, of which Capt. F. N. McNairy was elected lieutenant-colonel, First Lieut. W. Hooper Harris succeeding to the command of his company. For the first year of the war this battalion operated with the forces under Gen. Zollicoffer, on the Upper Cumberland, taking part in the Wild Cat and other affairs in Kentucky. On the retreat from Tennessee in 1862 it operated along the Tennessee, previous to the battle of Shiloh, watching the movements of Grant's forces, and having several collisions with his advance, particularly at Pittsburg Landing. On the retreat from Corinth it had a brisk action with a Federal raiding column at Booneville, Miss. Soon after it was consolidated with Barnett's Tennessee Cavalry Battalion, forming the Second Tennessee (Col. Barteau).

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The new regiment had its first engagement at Courtland, Ala., July 25, 1862, where it made heavy captures in prisoners. In August it was engaged at Medon's Station, Bolivar, and Britton's Lane, Tenn., at the latter place losing severely. In September it was in the attack on Iuka, and shortly after in that on Corinth. At Palo Alto a detachment had a smart action with a Kansas regiment, which it defeated. At Birmingham, Miss., April 25, 1863, it defeated superior numbers and broke up an important expedition of the enemy. At Day's Springs, in July, it routed Col. Spencer's Alabama (Union) command, and captured its artillery. In the winter of 1864 it became a part of Forrest's command, with which it remained for the rest of the war, achieving the reputation of being one of the steadiest and most dashing of his regiments. It was engaged at Okalona, Pontotoc, and the various affairs of the West Tennessee expedition ending at Paducah, Ky. At Fort Pillow, April 12th, it led the assault, and was among the first to enter the works. At Brice's Cross-Roads it broke the enemy's lines at the first charge, and was never checked during the battle. It fought desperately at Harrisburg, and lost severely. At the Tallahatchie River it had another obstinate conflict on August the 12th, and on the 21st it was part of the Column that dashed into Memphis. On Forrest's raid into Middle Tennessee it was warmly engaged at Athens, Sulphur Trestle, and Pulaski. It participated in the capture of the gunboats at Paris Landing, and in the destruction of the transports and stores at Johnsonville. In Hood's operations in Tennessee it was fully engaged, being in action at Murfreesboro', Anthony's Bill, and Sugar Creek, besides a number of smaller affairs. During Wilson's raid in 1865 it fought at Sipsey Swamp, Scottsville, and other points, and surrendered at Gainesville, May 10th.

COMPANIES IN McCANN'S CAVALRY BATTALION.

This was a partisan corps under the command of Maj. J. R. McCann, and was organized to operate within the enemy's lines for the purpose of procuring information of his movements, interrupting his communications, and creating divisions of his force. The companies from Davidson were Capt. William J. Bass', Hays Blackman's, Carter's, and Shaw's. The company of Capt. Thomas Perkins, from Williamson, had many men from this county. Some of these companies were in Morgan's brilliant raid into Kentucky in the summer of 1862. The battalion led the advance in Wheeler's operations in the rear of Rosecrans in 1862, and in the expedition to the Lower Cumberland in the winter of 1863, where it captured several transports. Shortly afterwards it captured three trains of cars and burnt several bridges in the vicinity of Laverne. It was engaged in the actions at Snow Hill and McMinnville. On Bragg's retreat from Tennessee it took part in Morgan's daring expedition into Indiana and Ohio. On Gen. Morgan's escape from prison it joined him in his last raid into Kentucky, and after his death became part of Duke's brigade, and was in frequent actions in East Tennessee and Western Virginia. The theatre of its operations being in rear of the enemy's lines, its career was full of danger and stirring excitements. One of its most excellent officers, Capt. William J. Bass, lost his life while

on a daring scout in the immediate vicinity of Nashville. In such expeditions it was often enabled to render valuable services by furnishing timely information of the enemy's movements.

FIRST BATTALION TENNESSEE HEAVY ARTILLERY.

Davidson furnished two companies to this splendid corps, namely, the Nelson Artillery, Capt. Anglade, so named in honor of Anson Nelson, Esq., the present treasurer of the city of Nashville, and a company under Capt. Stankinwitz, a gallant old Polish officer, who had served in several revolutions in Europe. This battalion was commanded successively by Lieut. Col. (afterwards Maj. Gen.) J. P. McCown, Lieut. Col. (afterwards Lieut. Gen.) A. P. Stewart, and Lieut. Col. Andrew Jackson, the latter of Davidson County. The Nelson Artillery had its first engagement at Columbus, Ky., where it was attacked on several occasions by gunboats. On the evacuation of this place it again came under fire at Island No. 10, where after a protracted defense it was entrapped and forced to surrender. In the mean time Stankinwitz's company had been taken at Fort Donelson, where it fought Commodore Foote's ironclads with light guns, but did good service. On release from prison both companies were assigned to the defense of Port Hudson, where they rendered brilliant service both on the water and land side during the long siege of that place, lasting from May 27 to July 9, 1863. On the night of the 14th of March these two companies acquitted themselves with great credit in resisting the passage of Farragut's fleet, during which the sloop-of-war "Mississippi" was fired and blown up; only two of his vessels succeeded in passing, the rest being driven back more or less damaged. During the siege these two companies suffered severely in killed and wounded, being under a constant fire of artillery and musketry. Their guns were frequently dismounted, and at length broken to pieces by the ponderous shot of the naval guns, which were taken ashore and placed in battery at short range. On July 9th the garrison surrendered, having held out five days later than that at Vicksburg. On release from parole the two companies were consolidated under Capt. J. A. Fisher, who had commanded the Nelson Artillery almost from the beginning of active service, and were placed on duty at Fort Morgan, when they were again fated to undergo the same ordeal of siege and capture which had marked their previous experience. But here, as on other occasions, they bore themselves with such valor and fortitude as to win unstinted praise from those who were witnesses of their conduct. In the great naval fight on Aug. 5, 1864, in Mobile Bay, their guns were served with spirit and precision, but to no avail towards preventing the passage of Admiral Farragut's fleet. The garrison under Gen. Page surrendered on the 23d of August, and the two companies, including Col. Jackson, were again prisoners of war. However, some fragments were left which were gathered by Lieut. Dan Phillips, of the Nelson Artillery on his return from prison in the spring, but not in time to render any further service before the final surrender.

PORTER'S BATTERY

This company was organized and placed in charge of Capt. Thomas K. Porter, one of the most skillful and efficient officers in the service. He was a lieutenant in the United States navy, but had resigned his place when Tennessee, his native State, seceded from the Union. Under his excellent management the battery soon became proficient in drill and discipline, forming, in fact, a training-school for officers of the very best kind. It fired its first shot on the ill-fated field of Donelson, where it was tried severely, suffered heavily, and acquitted itself with distinguished honor; Capt. Porter was terribly wounded, and for a long time disabled from service. On release from prison a part of the company was collected by Lieut. John W. Morton and stationed at Vicksburg for some time. It was thence transferred to the command of Gen. Forrest, and formed the nucleus of the company that afterwards became widely known as Morton's Battery. It was in Forrest's expedition to West Tennessee in the latter part of 1862, and on its return was engaged at Dover. Soon after it was in the decisive battle of Thompson's Station, and a little later a rifle section under Lieut. Tully Brown had a most spirited duel with heavy odds at Town Creek, Ala., while another section, under Lieut. A. M. Gould, went on the Straight raid and was hotly engaged at Day's Gap, on said mountain. After engaging in several affairs in the neighborhood of Franklin and on the retreat from Tennessee the battery took part in the battle of Chickamauga, where it was enabled to replace its eight guns with better pieces. Late in this year Morton's Battery went to North Mississippi with Forrest, and entered upon the most brilliant part of its career. Thenceforward it became a body upon which Forrest relied with the greatest confidence, and it participated in most of the scenes of his eventful campaigns.

Passing over its numerous actions in West Tennessee, we will pause to note that at Trice's Cross-Roads, in Mississippi, June 10, 1864, where it opened on the enemy at the distance of sixty yards, and by its impetuous charge and advance with the lines it contributed materially to the issue of the battle. At the battle of Harrisburg, the 13th of July following, this battery fought with great desperation and suffered severely in men and horses. A section was in the memorable raid on Memphis in August. On the 23d of September, Morton's Battery played a brilliant part in the taking of Athens, Ala., as also on the 25th, at Sulphur Trestle, where its fire was terribly destructive. On return from this expedition it rendered conspicuous service in the capture of gunboats at Paris Landing, on the Tennessee, and in the destruction of the vast stores at Johnsonville. It soon after joined in Hood's movement into Tennessee, and by its fire reduced several blockhouses and redoubts on the railroad in the vicinity of Nashville. In the attack on Murfreesboro' its guns fought their way into the very heart of the town. On the retreat from Tennessee it rendered most signal service at Anthony's Hill and at Sugar Creek. After engaging in several affairs in opposing Wilson's raid in the spring of 1865, it was included in the surrender of Gen. Richard Taylor's forces at Gainesville, Ala., May 10th.

COMPANY A, FIRST TENNESSEE ARTILLERY RUTLEDGE'S BATTERY

This company was organized by Capt. Arthur M. Rutledge, a graduate of West Point, and mustered into service on the 13th of May, 1861. It remained in the vicinity of Nashville until the 20th of July, when it was ordered to Manassas, Va., to take part in the impending battle at that place; but the result had been determined by the time it reached Knoxville, where it remained until August 17th, when it was ordered to the neighborhood of Cumberland Gap. Here a detail of twenty men from the battery was sent out under Lieut. Falconnel, and succeeded in breaking up a Federal recruiting-party, capturing Capt. Kelsoe and three of his men. Early in September, a force of the enemy several thousand strong having advanced from Crab Orchard, Ky., Gen. Zollicoffer's brigade, to which the battery was attached, advanced to Cumberland Ford, twelve miles beyond the Gap, and threw up works. The enemy having retired, Zollicoffer's force advanced to Rock Castle or Wild Cat, where the enemy was found strongly posted, and a brisk engagement ensued on October 21st. The place being difficult of access, the guns were dismounted and carried by hand up the mountain to a point whence the enemy's battery was soon silenced. The assault failed, but the enemy retreated during the night. Shortly after, the battery was increased to eight guns by the addition of two rifle pieces in December it was in action at Waitsboro, on the Cumberland River, dispersing a camp of the enemy on the opposite bank. On the retreat from Fishing Creek six of the guns were left on account of want of transportation across the river. The remaining section covered the crossing of the army to the south side. At Shiloh the battery was engaged on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April. In the attack on the 6th, Rutledge's Battery rendered most signal service at a critical moment by going into a breach near Shiloh Church and turning the tide of battle on that part of the field by its obstinate bravery and splendid firing. But this result was achieved at a heavy cost, ninety of the men being killed and wounded, and nearly all of the guns disabled by the enemy's shot. At the expiration of their term of enlistment most of the men re-entered the service in McClung's Battery, while the rest bore themselves with credit and good report in various organizations.

BAXTER'S BATTERY

This battery was formed by a division of Monsarrat's Battery, which had been organized at Nashville early after the breaking out of hostilities. It was in the campaign on the upper Cumberland, under Zollicoffer, but was not engaged in action until August, 1862, firing its first shot at Battle Creek. Soon after, it performed a brilliant feat at Stevenson. Capt. Ed. Baxter having resigned, Lieut. Samuel Freeman succeeded to the command. Freeman's Battery was severely engaged on Ensly's farm, November 5th, in a demonstration made by Gen. Forrest on Nashville. In Forrest's expedition to West Tennessee, in the latter part of the year 1862, it was in action at Lexington, Trenton, Rutherford Station, and Parker's Cross-Roads, where it fought with great daring and vigor. It was with Wheeler in his Cumberland River raid, and took part in the capture of the gunboat "Slidell," and in

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the attack on Dover. It was next engaged at Thompson's Station, and shortly after at Brentwood. On April 10, 1863, the battery was suddenly captured by the Fourth United States Regular Cavalry at Douglass' Church, in the neighborhood of Franklin, and Capt. Freeman and Lieuts. Nathaniel Baxter and Huggins taken prisoners. During the retirement of the enemy from the field Capt. Freeman was killed, with a view to prevent his recapture, it is supposed. Lieut. Douglas then commanded the battery until the return of Lieut. Huggins from prison, when the latter was promoted to the captaincy. A section of the battery was engaged at Day's Gap during the Straight raid. On June 6th it was in action at Triune. It fired the opening shots at Chickamauga and was stoutly engaged for three days, losing nearly all of its horses on the 19th, in an obstinate defense of its ground against a heavy attack of infantry. In October the battery was engaged at Charleston and Philadelphia, East Tenn., and in several affairs in Sweetwater Valley. In Longstreet's advance on Knoxville it was in action at Campbell's Station and at the siege of the former place; also at Tazewell, Panther Springs, and Mossy Creek. Joined the Army of Tennessee in March, and was engaged at Dalton, Resaca, Cartersville, Kenesaw Mountain, Chattahoochee River, Peach-Tree Creek, Decatur, and in the battle of the 22d of July. A section of the battery, under Lieut. Nathaniel Baxter, was in the pursuit and capture of Stoneman, near Macon. In Wheeler's raid into Tennessee, in 1864, the battery became divided at Clinch River, and the section under Lieut. Baxter followed Gen. Williams and rendered most important service in the battle of Saltville, Va., October 2d. The other section, under Capt. Huggins, was engaged at Smyrna, Franklin, and Culhoka, and, on its return, near Rome, Ga. In op, posing Sherman's march to the sea it was in action near Macon and at Clinton, and took an active part in the defense of Savannah, where its trained gunners rendered very valuable services. In the campaign through South Carolina it was several times engaged. It surrendered its guns at Hillsboro', N. C., after a long career of brilliant and useful service.

BAKER'S BATTERY

This company resulted from the division of Monsarratt's Battery, previously mentioned. It was successively known as Baker's, Brown's, and Surgstak's Battery. It first went into regular action at Iuka, Sept. 19 and 20, 1862. it was soon after engaged at Corinth, and on the retreat from this place the guns were so disabled at Davis' Bridge, on the Big Hatchee, that they were left on the field. The battery rendered good service at Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 28 and 29, 1862. Shortly after it sunk the first tug-boat and barges which attempted to run past Vicksburg. It fought also the "Queen of the West" and the "Indianola," at Warrenton, and was engaged in the attack on the gunboats in Deer Creek. It played its part in the defense of Vicksburg during the great siege. It reappeared in action at Lookout Mountain, and was actively engaged at Missionary Ridge, as also in the retreat on Dalton. It was now blended with Barrett's Missouri Battery, and did its full share of arduous service in the

Dalton campaign and in Gen. Hood's operations in Tennessee.

MANEY'S BATTERY

On the organization of this company Capt. Frank Maney was appointed to command. It formed part of the force defending Fort Donelson, and was among the first to be engaged. It occupied a salient in Col. Heiman's line, which received a heavy assault on the 14th of February, and contributed very materially to the repulse, but at a heavy loss. It was actively engaged on the 15th, and on the report of the contemplated surrender most of the men escaped. Capt. Maney was taken prisoner, but shortly afterwards, having made his escape; he organized his company, with several others, into a battalion of sharpshooters, which was attached to Maney's Brigade. This battalion was engaged at Perryville, Murfreesboro', and Chickamauga, after which it was consolidated with the Fourth (Thirty-fourth) Tennessee, which in turn was consolidated with the First Tennessee. Its subsequent history is blended with that of these two regiments, which has already been given.

CHAPTER XXXII

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN DAVIDSON IN 1861-65

Nashville the Base and Depot of Supplies Fall of Fort Henry Johnston's Headquarters at Edgefield—Surrender of Fort Donelson —Effect of the News upon the City—Withdrawal of the Confederate Troops—Arrival of the Federal Army under Gen. Buell—Nashville in Possession of the Federals—Attempt of Gen. Breckinridge to Retake it—Great Decisive Battle with Gen. Hood's Army—Plan of the Battle-ground.

FROM the beginning to the end of the civil war Davidson County was the site of military camps. At an early date Nashville, by its geographical position, became the base and depot of supply for an extensive region comprised between the upper and lower Cumberland. On the 14th of September, 1861, Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston arrived at Nashville to take command of the Western Department. The neutrality of Kentucky having been set at naught a few days before by a simultaneous invasion by forces from each army, he promptly determined to take possession of Bowling Green, which movement was accomplished on the 18th, by Gen. S. B. Buckner, with four thousand men. This force was increased in the course of the year by the addition of about twenty thousand more troops, but was so disposed that it created the belief with the Federal commanders that it amounted to at least thrice that number. This opinion was also shared by the general public at the South, and induced a sense of security that was to be rudely broken early in the coming year. On the 19th of January, 1862, Gen. F. K. Zollicoffer, with two brigades of infantry, was defeated at Mill Springs, or Fishing Creek, Ky., and the upper Cumberland was in a great measure abandoned. On the 6th of February, Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, fell before an attack of gunboats under Commodore Foote, and on the 13th Fort Donelson was practically invested by a large land and naval force under Gen. U. S. Grant and Commodore Foote. On the same day Gen. Johnston having previously dispatched eight thousand troops under Gens. Floyd and Buckner to the assistance of Gen. Pillow at Fort Donelson,

he retired with the remainder of his army, fourteen thousand strong, from Bowling Green, which was entered immediately by Gen. Buell. Having made his headquarters at Edgefield, opposite Nashville, Gen. Johnston awaited the result of operations at Donelson, which he knew would decide his present tenure on Nashville and Middle Tennessee. At midnight on the 15th he received a dispatch from Gen. Pillow announcing a "complete and glorious victory" won that day. The people had already been somewhat reassured by the announcement of the repulse of the Federal fleet on the 13th, and these tidings filled them with the greatest exultation. Before daylight he received another dispatch that Gens. Pillow and Floyd had left on steamboats for Nashville, and that Donelson would capitulate that morning. The result when communicated to the public produced a revulsion a hundredfold more violent than that of the previous reaction. As the tidings flew from street to street the wildest rumors followed in the wake, and a panic ensued which will long be a memorable event in the annals of Davidson County. In the terror and consternation of the hour the most extravagant and illogical reports found ready credence. It was announced by panic-stricken individuals that the Federal gunboats would reach the city before morning and lay it in ruins, and many citizens left on foot, to escape the doom which seemed already foretold. It was also expected that Buell would arrive in a short time and open his batteries on the place from across the river. Many persons, however, in the ebullition of their feelings, strongly urged that the city should be burned by the authorities, and the smoking ruins left as the only trophies of the invaders.

Gen. Johnston early advised the Governor to remove the archives of the State, as it might be necessary to evacuate the city, under which suggestion the Legislature met that day and adjourned to convene in Memphis. The movement of troops to the south side of the river tended largely to exaggerate in the public mind, untutored to such scenes, a sense of the threatened danger, but Gen. Johnston informed Mayor Cheatham that he would make no stand which would involve the destruction of the city, and under these assurances, coupled with the fact that as the day wore off no enemy had appeared, fears of immediate danger were in a great measure dissipated. During the night the First Missouri Infantry was detailed by Gen. Johnston to patrol the city and prevent any violent disturbances.

A large amount of public stores was removed in the succeeding days, but vast quantities, amounting to millions of dollars in value, were distributed to the inhabitants or destroyed, Gen. Johnston having retired with the main force southward to Murfreesboro'. The splendid railroad and suspension bridges across the Cumberland were destroyed on Tuesday night, the first by fire and the latter by cutting the wires, their destruction having been adjudged necessary from a military point of view. Notwithstanding the terrible apprehensions of a speedy hostile approach, it was a week after the surrender of Fort Donelson before the advance of Buell's army reached the river opposite Nashville, and the 25th before the gunboats and transports arrived. Gen. Buell, on establishing his headquarters in Edgefield on Monday

evening, notified Mayor Cheatham that he would be pleased to receive him at eleven o'clock A.M., on Tuesday. At the appointed hour he received the mayor and a committee of citizens; designated by the City Council, consisting of Messrs. James Woods, R. C. Foster, Russell Houston, William B. Lewis, John M. Lea, John S. Brien, James Whitworth, N. Hobson, John Hugh Smith, and John M. Bass. The meeting was satisfactory, and on his return the mayor issued a proclamation, assuring the inhabitants that they would be protected in person and property. Early on the morning of that day the Sixth Ohio had debarked from one of the transports and proceeded to the capitol, where the flag of the Guthrie Grays was hoisted, and Gen. Nelson took formal possession in the name of the United States. On the 5th of March Gen. Buell issued a proclamation confirming to all peaceable inhabitants their full rights of person and property, and forbidding any molestation therewith by his soldiers.

From this time until the end of the war Nashville remained in Federal possession and became one of the most important bases of military operations in the West, on which account it was well fortified and strongly garrisoned. On the return of Buell's army to Kentucky to meet Gen. Bragg's invasion, in the latter part of the summer of 1862, this and Dover were the only posts retained in the limits of Middle Tennessee. During the absence of the main body of the Federal army in Kentucky, several affairs occurred in the limits of Davidson County that are worthy of notice. The first of these was the engagement at Laverne, October 7th. Gen. S. R. Anderson being at that point with some Tennessee militia and newly-raised cavalry, and the Thirty-second Regiment of Alabama infantry, Gen. Negley, in command of the post at Nashville, dispatched a force of three thousand infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under Gen. Palmer, by a night march to attack them. The movement was so well conducted that Gen. Palmer was enabled to attack the Confederate camp from front and rear without warning. The militia and cavalry fled without resistance, but the regular infantry made a firm stand, in consequence of which they were surrounded, and over two hundred were killed, wounded, and captured.

Gen. Breckenridge having assumed command at Murfreesboro' shortly after this affair, he determined, in conjunction with the forces under Gen. Forrest and Col. John Morgan, to make a serious attempt for the recovery of Nashville. Thereupon, on the 5th of November, he advanced rapidly on the city, with three thousand infantry and three thousand five hundred cavalry, and had driven in the outposts, when he countermanded the movement, under express instructions, from Gen. Bragg, as he stated. The infantry, under Gen. Hansen, was withdrawn to Laverne, but the cavalry, under Gen. Forrest on the south side of the river and Col. Morgan on the north, hovered around and became engaged in several spirited combats. In one of these, near Col. John Overton's, on the Franklin Pike, Freeman's battery of flying artillery, from Nashville, acquitted itself with great credit in a duel with a Federal battery. Soon after, Gen. Rosecrans, who had replaced Gen. Buell in command, arrived with the main body of his army, and no farther attempt was made to recover Nashville until the advent of



Abner L. Gillen

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Gen. Hood, two years later. However, during the whole time of Federal occupation, Davidson County was the theatre of numerous cavalry conflicts under Gens. Wheeler, Forrest, and Morgan, the most notable of which was Gen. Wheeler's attack on Gen. Rosecrans rear at Lavergne, Dec. 30, 1862, where the Federal loss was over one thousand killed, wounded, and missing, and eight hundred wagons.

About the 1st of December, 1864, the forlorn hope of a cause then fast tottering to its fall approached Nashville, and in sight of the city, dimly seen through the smoke of innumerable camp-fires, boldly flung down the gauntlet and dared its adversary to a conflict for the possession of Tennessee. The gage of battle was not at once accepted, but two weeks later the ordeal came. The Army of Tennessee, coming from a five months' grapple with Sherman in Georgia by a long, tortuous, and painful march over the mountains of Alabama, had won this point through the bloody gates of Franklin, where its flower was cut down in its eager ardor to overreach and bring to bay a retreating but desperate foe. As it now faced the long angular lines of defense that lay between it and the coveted prize, it was but the remains of a once mighty host. Of its individual members there was scarce one who did not bear upon his body the scars of battle. In numbers it fell short of twenty thousand effectives, while its equipment of clothing was totally inadequate to the needs of a winter campaign; many of the men were without shoes, and had their feet covered with rags or pieces of green hides obtained from the butcher's pen as a protection against the frozen and stony roads. Under such circumstances, to the casual observer it seemed but the mockery of an army, and its attitude that of the sheerest bravado. But four years of varying and shifting fortune had schooled it to a degree of endurance and hardihood that made it yet a formidable power on a field where the odds were not too greatly against it or circumstances would have inspired a reasonable hope of a victory. That it was so regarded by Gen. Thomas is a matter of history. He patiently waited, in spite of clamor, until he could gather all the forces in reach, and then he struck.

The force under Gen. John B. Hood thus audaciously taking up line before Nashville, and laying siege to a place defended by thrice its numbers, consisted of three army corps, Cheatham's, Lee's, and Stewart's, formed from right to left in the order named. Cheatham's right rested on the hills a short distance south of where the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad crosses Brown's Creek, at a distance of less than three miles from the public square. A division of Forrest's cavalry operated on that flank. Hood's line swept thence in a curve, his left resting on the Hillsboro' Pike. On taking up this line Hood dispatched Buford's cavalry division and Morton's battery, under Forrest, to break up the blockhouses along the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. Blockhouse No. 1, after being battered by Morton's guns, surrendered on the 3d of December, ten of the garrison being killed, twenty wounded, and eighty made prisoners. On the 4th, Blockhouses No. 2 and No. 3 were taken; and on the 5th, No. 4 and a redoubt containing two guns near Lavergne, making a total of prisoners of near three hundred and fifty.

The Federal forces defending Nashville were the corps of Woods, Schofield, A. J. Smith, and Wilson (the latter cavalry), the whole numbering about fifty-five thousand men, under the command of Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas. On the 15th the Federal commander for the first time evinced his purpose to take the offensive. On this day he moved out his whole force and attacked each of Hood's flanks. The attack on the right flank, held by Cheatham's corps, was repulsed with much Slaughter; that on the left succeeded in turning Stewart's line and forcing him back about nightfall with the loss of thirty pieces of artillery. After night a new position was selected, to which the whole line was withdrawn, Cheatham's corps being transferred from the right to the left wing. The right of Hood's army now rested on Overton's Hill, beyond the Franklin Pike, whence his line extended without much deflection to the Granny White Pike. From this point it diverged to the front through a field gradually rising to the apex of a high hill, about five hundred yards distant, where it made a sharp turn around its brow, conforming to its course, and bore back to the river along the crest of the ridge overlooking the Hillsboro' Pike, terminating in another curve, which brought it to rest again on the Granny White Pike at the gap, about three-fourths of a mile from its first intersection with that road, and nearly in rear of Gen. Hood's headquarters. Maj. Gen. Bale's division formed the right of Cheatham's corps, and occupied the high hill above mentioned, now known as Shy's Hill, in honor of Col. Shy of the Twentieth Tennessee, who fell upon its summit. His division took up position after dark, replacing Ector's brigade, which had already begun a line of works. It was soon ascertained that there was a grave error in locating the works, which had been placed back from five to ten yards from the crest of the hill, thus allowing no range of fire against an assaulting column. The hill was declivitous on the side next the enemy, thus allowing troops to be massed for an attack without encountering a fire from any quarter. Gen. Bale says in his official report that he remonstrated against this location of the works without being able to have it remedied. These facts are more minutely stated from the fact that Gen. Hood in his recently published narration of this battle imputes this placing of the line to the fault of the officer in command and not to the engineer, meaning thereby that the former did not follow the stakes set up by the latter for his guidance. He is further led to underrate the exposed nature of this angle, judging from a map of the field in his book, which has been drawn without reference to accuracy, as the maps of Gen. Thomas and one recently made by Capt. S. W. Steele, C. S. Engineers, will show at a glance.

When daylight came it was further discovered that the position by its projection to the front could be enfiladed by artillery and at several points taken in reverse, but the hot fire, opened on the place at an early hour by the enemy's skirmishers from the adjacent hills, prevented any efficient work being done towards obviating its glaring defects. For this reason no trees could be felled to form abattis. It was a hundredfold worse position than that at Cassville, Ga., which Gen. Hood declared to Gen. Johnston he could not hold a half-hour against an attack. It was ten o'clock A.M.

before the Federal batteries were ready to open, but from that hour until half-past three P.M. they rained a storm of shot and shell on the hill, razing the works at several points to a level with the ground. In the mean time the enemy had advanced a heavy force against the Confederate right, which was repulsed with heavy slaughter by Holtzclaw's Alabama, Gibson's Louisiana, and Stovall's Georgia brigades of Clayton's division, and Peltus' brigade of Stevenson's division. At one P.M. a successful assault was made against the extreme left of the line, where it rested on the Granny White Pike. This part of the line was occupied by Govan's Arkansas brigade of Cleburne's division, which had been greatly reduced by losses, particularly at Franklin, and on this occasion was deployed as skirmishers, the only formation covering the Confederate left for over a half-mile. The ground, however, was quickly recovered by a charge of the First Tennessee under Col. Field, and held until the retreat occurred.

At half-past three P.M., a number of lines having massed under the hill in front of Bale's position, the artillery ceased firing, and the column began its assault. The point of the angle selected for the attack was held by Gen. T. B. Smith's brigade, being composed of the remnants of the Second, Tenth, Fifteenth, Twentieth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, and Thirty-seventh Georgia regiments, and the Fourth Georgia battalion of sharpshooters. As the front line of assault came in view at the distance of a few paces, Smith's brigade rose and poured into it a deadly volley, cutting down all who were in sight. The rest of the assailants quickly fell back under the shelter of the hill, and the batteries poured an angry fire on the crest until the column was again formed for the assault, by which time Smith's men had reloaded and were ready for the charge. The second attack was repulsed with even greater slaughter than the first, and the batteries again poured an iron hail into the works of the defenders. The assailants again advanced in the most determined manner, and at this trial, though greatly staggered, pressed up to and over the works. Gen. Bale, who had established his headquarters a few paces in rear of the angle, had gone along the line a few minutes before the charge and explained to the men that he had given them the post of danger and of honor, and that he wished them to hold it to the last extremity; so when they found that they had no time to load after delivering their fire, they clubbed their empty muskets and fought until overwhelmed by the mere weight of numbers, their line having been reduced to one rank by repeated extensions to the left and losses from the artillery fire. Of those in the breach few escaped. At this point fell one of the bravest officers in the army, Lieut. Thomas Shaw, of Co. C, Second Tennessee. He only yielded when pinned to the earth with a bayonet through his body, from the effects of which he died in a hospital in Nashville, whither he was borne instead of to his father's house on account of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance. At this success the entire Confederate line abandoned its works and made a precipitate retreat over the high hills to the rear, abandoning all of the artillery which was in battery. The loss inflicted on the assaulting column by the three volleys fired must have been very heavy, as Col. McMillan, whose

brigade led the charge, used this fact as a justification for striking Gen. Smith, after he was disarmed, over the head with his saber until he felled him to the ground:

While the capture of this angle was a most gallant achievement on the part of the Federals and decisive of the battle, the strength of the place has been greatly overrated by their historians, who have represented it as a formidable and elaborate work, bristling with cannon and defended by heavy lines. This is a mistake. The defenses consisted of only a shallow ditch, and there were no guns which could be brought to bear upon the assaulting column; the only guns, consisting of two pieces, were under the hill to the right. They were, however, not taken by a direct attack, and were fired into the backs of the Federals long after they had passed on in pursuit of the retreating infantry. They were commanded by a heroic youth, Lieut. Alston, of Georgia, who carried his men out through a gap in the enemy's lines and rejoined his command at Franklin the next day.

There was an engagement with the rear-guard under Gen. Clayton, a few miles from the battle-field, and this, with a cavalry affair the same evening, in which Gen. Rucker was wounded and captured, completes the list of engagements fought on the soil of Davidson County.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MILITARY ROSTERS.

War of 1812-14—Mexican War, 1846—Civil War, 1861-65.

WAR OF 1812-14.

Roll of Capt. Robert Evans' company of mounted gunmen in Col. Robert H. Dyer's regiment, Coffee's brigade, from Sept. 28, 1814, to March 28, 1815:

Robert Evans, capt.	Thompson, Sherrod.
W. H. Bedford, 1st lieut.	Hutton, Charles.
John Evans, 2d lieut.	Fowler, Willie
Joel Taylor, 3d lieut.	Shores, John
Mason Richardson, cornet.	Tillett, William
Alexander Brown, 1st sergt.	Crenshaw, Cornelius
Booker Richardson, 2d sergt.	Bateman, Hosea
Benniah Bateman, 3d sergt.	Smith, Edward
William Floyd, 4th sergt.	Regian, Joel
William Stephenson, 5th sergt.	Hamilton, David P.
John Reaves, 1st corp.	Biddix, Robert
James Brannon, 2d corp.	Holliday, Thomas
William Moring, 3d corp.	Long, Isaac
Jesse Garland, 4th corp.	Hull, Willis
William Ellis, 5th corp.	Lee, Herbert
Thomas McCollum, saddler.	Richardson, Henry
John H. Davies, farrier.	Demoss, William
Francis Slawater, blacksmith	Edwards, John
Peter Weaver, trumpeter	Craig, Alexander
Hodges, Robert	Mays, William W.
Johns, Joel	Gracy, John
Wrenn, David, died	Thornton, Thomas J.
Nov. 12, 1814	Thornton, John W.
Parr, Joshua	Cherry, Caleb
Gray, Deliverance	Cartwright, Vinson, died 28th
Tunnage, Thomas.	December, 1814



DR. EVERAND MEADE PATTERSON.

Dr. Everand Meade Patterson was born in Franklin Co., Va., April 19, 1800; when a boy he went with his parents to Paris, Ky., where he received a collegiate education at Transylvania University. He graduated at the medical college at Lexington in 1826, and soon after came to Davidson Co., Tenn., and commenced the practice of medicine, which he continued for twenty-five years, accumulating a handsome property.

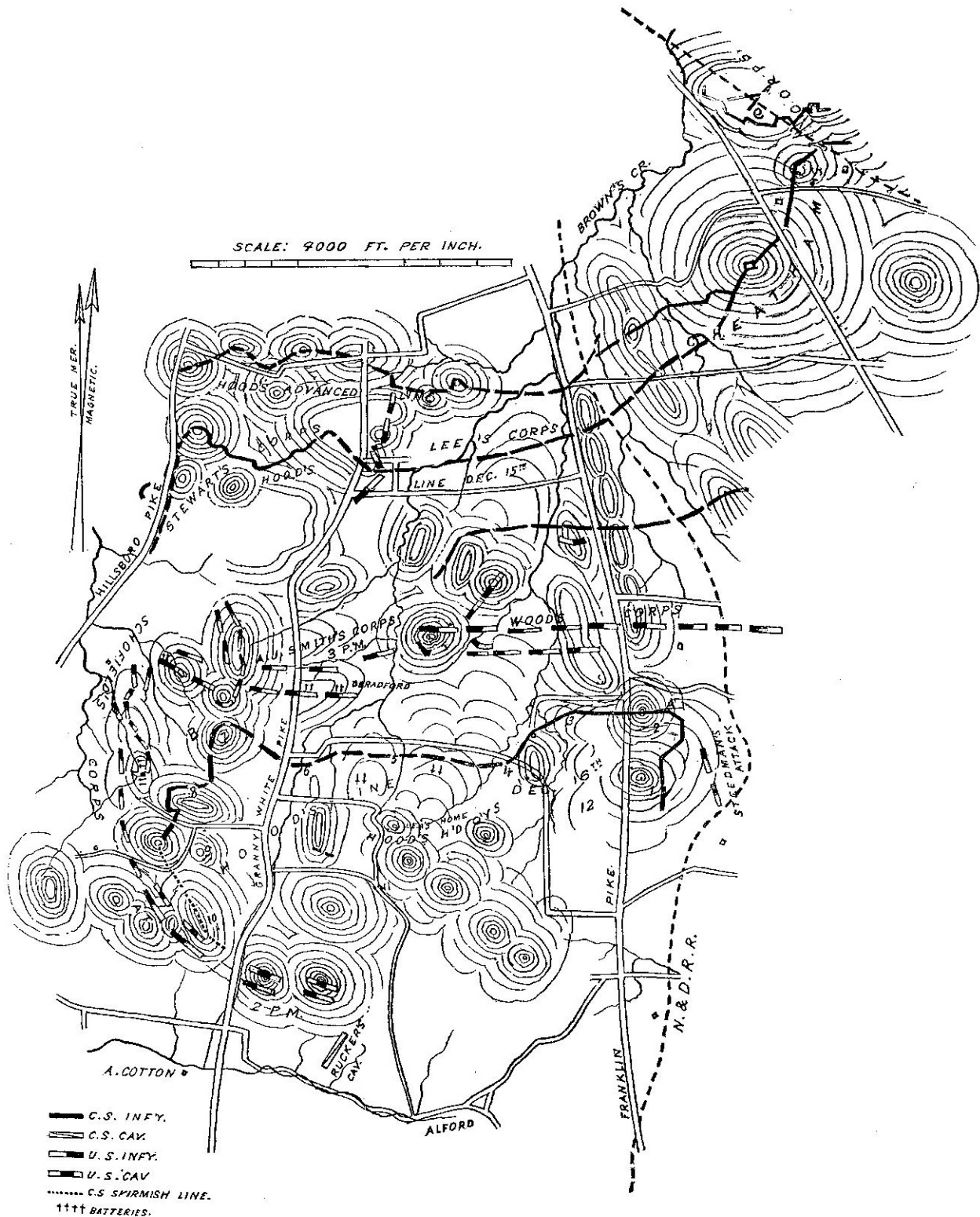
In 1850 he went to California, where he remained two years, when he returned, and from that time lived a retired life on a fine farm in the Eighth District until the war broke out. Dr. Patterson was a man of nerve and quick perception. What he did he did with all his might. When the war came he raised a company of cavalry and went with them into the Confederate army.

Dr. Patterson was twice married,—first to Margaret Fate, daughter of Joel Miller, of Jessamine

Co., Ky., March 4, 1824. She lived but a short time, and the doctor married for his second wife Elizabeth Watson White, daughter of Thomas White, of Williamson Co., Tenn., Nov. 7, 1826. She was born in Halifax Co., Va. By his second marriage he had eight children, all of whom are dead except Jonas T. Patterson, who married a Miss McIver, and Annie E., who married Maj. Robert H. Hill and lives on the old homestead.

Dr. Patterson was a man of great energy, never considering any obstacle too great to overcome. He was a warm, true, and devoted friend.

In politics he was a lifelong Democrat and a personal friend of Gen. Andrew Jackson. He hated to see the union of the States broken up, but, like many others, he united his fortunes with his beloved State, and right faithfully did he serve her until he fell at the battle of Murfreesboro', Tenn., Jan. 3, 1863, at sixty-three years of age.



MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD IN FRONT OF NASHVILLE, TENN.,

December 15 and 16, 1864.

(Compiled from General Thomas' Map and recent reconnoissance, by S. W. Steele, Captain Engineers, C. S. A.)

EXPLANATIONS.

Confederate States Army, commanded by General J. B. Hood: Lee's Corps, 4762; Stewart's Corps, 5221; Cheatham's Corps, 3467; Artillery, 1347; Cavalry, 1700. Total of all arms, 16,697.

United States forces, 33,000 strong, commanded by Major-General George H. Thomas.

A-OVERTON'S HILL.

LEE'S CORPS.

- 1-Brantley's Mississippi Brigade.
- 2-Clayton's Division.
- 3-Stevenson's Division.
- 4-Ed. Johnson's Division.

STEWART'S CORPS.

- 5-Loring's Division

B-SHY'S HILL.

CHEATHAM'S CORPS.

- 6-Bate's Division.
- 7-Lowry's (Cheatham's) Division.
- 8-Magiveny's Hill.
- 9-Govan's Brigade.
- 10-Cheatham's Gap.
- 11-Cleburne's Division (Brig.-Gen. Jas. Smith).

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Kenney, Samuel, died 2d
February, 1815.
Moore, William.
Hodge, John W.
Johns, Stephens, killed on
23d December, 1814.
Page, Robert.
Page, Giles.
Rape, Jacob.
Work, Samuel.
Charter, William.
Dill, Frederick.
Boon, Bryant.
Exom, John.
Levi, Thomas.
Deusby, Daniel.
Roberts, David.
Jones, Lemuel.
Jones, Isaac.
Edney, Edmond.
Davis, Joshua.

Johnson, Chatham
Balance, Abraham
Kelly, Charles
Mothershead, Simon
Stennett, Benjamin
Rape, Peter
Pack, Benjamin
Sanders, George
Reaves, Jonathan
Thompson, William
Arnold, Hezekiah
Huggins, Reuben
Wrey, Isaac
Gallaway, William
Brady, James
Smith, Achilles
Heflin, James
Smith, William, killed on
23d December, 1814
Parsons, Benjamin P.

MEXICAN WAR.

ROLL OF THE HARRISON GUA RDS, FIRST TENNESSEE INFANTRY (COL. W. B. CAMPBELL), 1846.

Robert C. Foster (3d), capt.
Adolphus Heiman, 1st lieu.
and adjutant.
George E. Maney, 2d lieu.
Charles Davis, orderly sergt.
J. W. McMurtry, 2d sergt.
J. Williams, 3d sergt.
James McDaniel, 4th sergt.
William McCurdy, 1st corp.
Fred. A. Gould, 2d corp.
S. C. Godshall, 3d corp.
R. W. Green, 4th corp.
Austin, John.
Anderson, Wagner J.
Brown, L. T.
Brown, Eli.
Bowen, W. F.
Bland, Joseph A.
Butterworth, R.
Birch, Charles D.
Binkley, A. T.
Byrnes, M. W.
Cartwright, W. G.
Champ, J. C.
Clark, Charles.
Cherry, J.
Cofferman, A.
Clinch, William.
Clinard, Alexander
Collins, C. S.
Collins, Thomas.
Dean, F. A. L.
Engles, Peter.
Everett, J. J.
Edmondson, C. J.
Freeman, A. A.
Flenigan, R.
Graves, Henry
Hawkins, E. S.
Hewton, C. Hare
Hallerman, J. G.
Hallerman, S. C.
Hays, Davis
Hall, J. G.
Harris, Moses B.
Hamilton, L. F.
Holland, W. H.

Johnson, George J.
Johnson, James H.
Johnson, D. A.
Kirk, J. H.
King, James.
Lellyett, John.
Lamb, A. L.
Lucas, C. H.
Lucas, S. B.
Lowery, William.
Morehead, R. R.
Macey, S. N.
Matlock, G. S.
Mordy, William
McCann, J. R.
May, H.
Nichol, Josiah.
Noel, B. N.
Nicholson, W. W.
Norvall, A.
Nortrand, A.
Owen, Joseph.
Owen, James W.
Owen, H. M.
Patterson, J. J.
Pirtle, Harvey.
Pirtle, J. M.
Pirtle, Obadiah
Plummer, H. B.
Rains, J. O.
Richardson, J. G.
Reed, G. W.
Smith, H.
Seantland, J. M.
Simmons, T. P. D.
Saunders, J. H.
Stewart, G. F.
Sheldon, W. G.
Turner, J. B.
Tyer, J.
Williams, W. H. D.
Williams, Henry
White, B. F.
Willis R. D.
Washington, T. G.
Zachary, G. G.

THE NASHVILLE BLUES, FIRST TENNESSEE REGIMENT INFANTRY (COL. W. B. CAMPBELL), 1846.

B. F. Cheatham, captain.
W. R. Bradfute, 1st lieu.
_____ Eastman, 2d lieu.
John L. Munroe, 1st sergt.
W. Dale, 2d sergt.
W. M. White, 3d sergt.
S. M. Putnam, 4th sergt.
W. T. Willum, 1st corp.
W. H. Harberton, 2d corp.
G. Henk, 3d corp.
James W. Hoffman, 4th corp.
Adams, J. F.
Arberry, A. M.
Barley, J. R.
Bransford, J. H.
Brown, W. E.
Barry, James.
Bell, R.
Bandy, Asa.
Blunkall, P. H.
Bullock, J.
Brashear, A.
Climmer, John.
Cloud, James
Cabler, W. D.
Corbett, C.
Collier, W. B.
Curley, D.
Curtis, J. J.
Clark, F. B.
Cowden, James.
Ellis, S. M.
Elliston, W. A.
Frazier, G. W.
Friendsley, Thomas.
Forrest, William.
Fitzgerald, W. H.
Gore, M. A.
Gore, G. W.
Garrett, O.
Glenn, J. M.
Graves, G. W.
Hanks, A. J.
Hoffman, E. H.
Hoffman, W. L.
Haynes, J. L.

Harrison, J.
Jackson, W. J.
Jones, W. B.
King, J. M.
Levy, Alexander.
Martin, G. W.
Martin, J. D.
McCrory, W.
McHennen, W. K.
Murray, W. J.
Newborn, J. W.
Newsom, W. B.
Parish, Thomas J.
Paul, J. A.
Power, James J.
Pentecost, S.
Pollock, D.
Payne, R. S.
Robertson, J. F.
Read, James B.
Reed, W. G.
Robertson, J. B.
Saunders, John.
Seng, Felix.
Sherrill, J. B.
Sherrill, A. W.
Sherron, M.
Spain, John.
Saddler, D. S.
Shelton, W.
Tucker, A.
Tucker, W.
Thomas, E.
Tanksloy, G. A.
Turner, E. P.
Talley, A. C.
Warren, Joseph.
Wilson, William.
Walker, J. H.
Watkins, James.
Wood, J. D.
Wheeler, G. W.
Willis, M. A.
Wilson, G. W.
Young, Jacob.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN OF COMPANY D, THIRD REGIMENT TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS, 1846.

Daniel Trigg, capt.
George W. Wilson, 1st lieu.
Frank N. McNairy, 2d lieu.
Lipscomb N. Walker, 2d lieu.
Josiah H. Pitts, 1st sergt.
John B. Hughes, 2d sergt.
James R. McCombs, 3d sergt.
William P. Woodall, 4th sergt.
Alexander H. Irwin, 1st corp.
Marcus A. Willis, 2d corp.
Andrew F. Martin, 3d corp.
Mooney Roper, 4th corp.
Armstrong, James.
Ashton, John.
Barthright, Robert B.
Bolton, George.
Bolton, Benjamin.
Bennett, Jacob.
Burkitt, William.
Bell, Hiram H.
Birchett, Samuel P.
Brown, Whitfield.
Cartwright, Robert A. M.

Childress, George W.
Cunningham, Francis.
Dew, Thomas B.
Dillerd, Edmund R.
Estes, Stephen M.
Edmondson, Pierce A.
Ellis, Albert.
Easley, Robert.
Foster, James D.
Fordney, Jacob.
Garrett, William.
Goodrich, Hiram.
Goodall, Hardin.
Holmes, George T.
Haywood, Thomas J.
Haywood, Robert W.
Hudson, Samuel N.
Hobson, William.
Harper, William.
Jones, Charles.
Jones, Jesse.
Jones, John.
Johnson, Charles.

Johnson, Michael.
Kelley, Harman.
Litton, Richard J.
Merritt, Marcus M.
McCool, Nicholas.
McGraw, James.
Martin, John D.
Nixon, Washington W.
Patton, Matthew A. F.
Powell, John.
Pogue, Hiram.
Plummer, Rufus M.
Parham, William T.
Ring, George P.
Raiford, William.
Smith, Joseph V.
Smith, Major L.
Simmons, Foster.
Slinkerd,
Shirley, William G.
Terrill, James.
Taylor, John A.
Wilkinson, Franklin 3.

Wilson, Stephen.
White, George.
Wilson, James.
Yearwood Robert A.
Walker, Gummerman H.
Clark, James M.
Cox, George W.
Kirk, George M.
Scott, James M.
Higgerson, Samuel O.
Lockhart, Joseph D.
Holliman, Samuel I.
Whippeto,.
Strickland, Jesse.
Laughlin, Samuel H.
King, James M.
Headenglor, Worden P. C.
Parrish, William H.
Ragsdale, William N.
Trentham, William A.
Drumright, Green.
Powell,
Webb, Jordan.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN OF COMPANY 11, THIRD REGIMENT TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS, 1846.

William R. Bradfute, capt.
Burwell E. Sneed, 1st lieu.
Jacob Young, 2d lieu.
Robert L. Weakley, 2d lieu.
James H. Page, 1st sergt.
Dewitt C. Mussleman, 2d sergt.
David Griffis, 3d sergt.
John Mosley, 4th sergt.
Isaac N. Bateman, let corp.
William Horn, 2d corp.
William H. Riddle, 3d corp.
Andrews, James.
Best, Phillip.
Bonville, Alfred.
Bonville, John.
Booker, George.
Chesser, Andrew.
Clark, James L.
Cook, George W.
Coakley, Louis C.
Curry, James H.
Curry, Thomas J.
Delaney, James.
Edwards, John A. G.
Fentriss, James.
Ferrill, Brayzil.
Fortier, Benjamin.
Fouler, William C.
Glasgow, William.
Wimp, Wiley I.
Gossett, Munroe.
Graham, Samuel.
Hamer, Johnson.
Hale, Jefferson.
Hatherway, Charles.
Huggins, James H.
Johnson, Daniel A.
Jones, William B.
Lannon, A. R.
Lattemore, William H.
Lovell, William.
McCab, Doctor L.
Mallery, Thomas.
Mallery, William P.
Malone, Solomon.
Morris, John.
Norman, William.

Nuthill,
Owen, William D.
Peay,
Peeler, Franklin I.
Reed, William G.
Reeder, John M.
Robe, William.
Rowe, James W.
Roder, Gasper.
Satterfield, Levi.
Scott, Samuel C.
Shafer, Peter B.
Sneed, James N.
Spain, William H.
Spillers, John.
Tate, William B.
Wilks, Alexander.
Wood, Duncan C.
Young, Mark.
Bastian,
Foster, Richard H.
McKolver,
Morris, Edward.
Anderson, James F.
Page, John R. S.
Gibson, John B.
Fielding, Thomas W.
Canada, Thomas.
Sykes, John.
Ronan, Robert.
Glendenning, Robert.
Green, William Hord.
Frank, Charles.
Wiley, Willis.
Kock, Madison W.
Offers, Gerhard.
Boden, John.
Scott, Frederick.
Kirkpatrick, Robert.
Birdsall, Louis H.
Laws, Christopher.
Chote, Joseph C.
Morrison, John.
Brown, William R.
Hathaway, James.
Moore, Thomas P.

CIVIL WAR, 1861-65.

COMPANY A (ROCK CITY GUARDS), FIRST TENNESSEE REGIMENT (COL. GEORGE MANEY), 1861.

T. F. Sevier, rapt.; elected lieu. col. 1st Tenn. Regt., 1861.
Joseph Vaulx, Jr., 1st lieu.; elected capt. 1861; A. I. G., 1862.
Thomas H. Malone, 2d lieu.; A. A. G., 1862.
W. D. Kelly (2d), bvt. capt., 1862; major, 1864.
J. C. Malone, 1st sergt.; col. cavalry, 1862.
George A. Diggons, 2d sergt.; rapt. 10th Tenn. Regt., 1861.
Thomas B. Lanier, 3d sergt.; 1st lieu., 1861; killed at Perryville.
J. W. McWhirter, 4th sergt.
A. H. Bradford, 5th sergt.
W. B. Maney, corp.; surgeon C. S. A., 1862.
Samuel McCall, corp.
James W. Nichol, corp.
W. W. Prichard, corp.
Harvey Adkins.
J. D. Anthony.
Richard Ashley.
H. N. Barnard, killed at
Chicksmanage.
J. H. Bankston.
J. E. Barry.
M. N. Brown.
Aris Brown.
J. W. Barnes.
A. B. Brown.
R. S. Bugg.
J. W. Branch.
William Baxter.
Michael Burke.
William M. Bryan.
T. S. Briggs.
A. Caldwell.
D. G. Carter.
J. Clarke.
J. P. Crutcher.
J. W. Coleman.
J. H. Carson.
G. Claiborne.
Jerry L. Cooke, killed
at Kenesaw Mountain
B. F. Carter.
D. L. Demoss.
L. Dunn.
M. L. Dunn.
Lee Douglass, killed
at Chickamauga
George W. Davidson.
W. R. Elliston.
W. H. Everett.
H. C. Field, killed
at Kenesaw Mountain
E. W. Ferris, killed
at Kenesaw Mountain
J. W. Sanders
J. W. Freeman.
A. W. Fulgham.
George Greigg.
J. P. Gardner.
T. T. Cartwright.
R. W. Gillespie
R. E. Grizzard.
F. M. Gary.
C. E. Hardy, lieu. col.
Churchill's Regt., July 3, 1861
R. Darrington.
A. G. Morrow.
T. O. Harris, Jr.
J. T. Henderson.
W. C. Hutton.
R. I. House.
Van B. Holman.
S. R. Jones.
L. F. Joslin.
W. H. Knight, killed
at Murfreesboro
F. B. Kendrick, mortally
wounded at Perryville
T. C. Lucas.
J. L. Langley.
H. H. Lee.
J. C. March.
William C. Martin.
J. A. Murkin.
B. J. McCarthy.
L. H. McLemore, mortally
wounded at Kenesaw Mountain
J. McManus.
W. M. Newsom, killed
at Murfreesboro
Jo. H. Nichol, killed at Atlanta.
J. T. Patterson.
Marsh P. Pinkard.
W. H. H. Roys.
W. B. Ross.
J. K. Sloan.
O. W. Sloan.
Jabez Salmond.
Jo. H. Sewell.
J. B. Smith.
J. L. Smith.
Minor Smith.
J. Spence, killed at Perryville.
D. W. Sumner
R. E. Sumner
J. W. Sanders
J. W. Thomas.
Dennis Tracey.
Victor Vallette.
G. E. Vallette.
W. F. Williams.
J. W. Walsh.
W. P. Wadlington, killed
at Chickamauga
R. A. Withers.
J. H. Whiteman.
J. E. Whitfield.
E. T. Wiggins.
J. R. Buist, surg. 1st Tenn.
Regt.
A. W. Harris.

COMPANY C (ROCK CITY GUARDS), FIRST REGIMENT TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS, CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY, 1861 to 1865.

Capt. Robert O. Foster (4th), pro, to surgeon C. S. A., May, 1862. 1st Lieut.
R. B. Snowden, pro. to lieu. col. in 1863.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

2d Lieut. Thomas B. Eastland, died March, 1862.
 3d Lieut. J. F. Wheless, elected capt. April 29, 1862; trans. to navy, 1864.
 1st Sergt. J. Webb Smith, pro. to lieut. on Gen. Cheatham's staff, 1862.
 2d Sergt. Frank Lord, disch. at Camp Cheatham, 1861.
 3d Sergt. John Pearl, elected 2d lieut., 1862; disch. same year.
 4th Sergt. William H. Foster, trans. to Q.M. Dept., 1862. 5th Sergt. James Allen, trans. to Topographical Dept., 1862.
 1st Corp. A. H. Brown, elected lieut. 1862; pro. to capt., 1864.
 2d Corp. Steve McClure, killed at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862. 3d Corp. J. B. Johnson, pro. to Lieut. Col.; died July, 1864.
 4th Corp. Wm. P. Prichard, present at surrender.
 Allen, George, killed at Dead Angie, June 27, 1864. Atkinson, Tillman, trans. to Q.M. Dept., 1861. Benton, -, disch. 1861.
 Bland, William, disch. 1862.
 Brown, Nat., pro. to 1st sergt.; killed at Franklin, Tenn., November, 1864.
 Barrow, George, killed with Gen. Morgan's command, 1864.
 Bertola, Peter, disch. 1862.
 Bennett, -, disch. 1861.
 Burke, Robert, killed at battle of Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
 Carney, Jo, pro. to lieut.; killed at Atlanta, July 22, 1864.
 Carrigan, James, killed at Dead Angle, June 27, 1864.
 Cheatham, Robert A., trans. to Q.M. Dept., May, 1864.
 Coldwell, E. A., wounded June 27, 1864.
 Campbell, Joseph, pro. to lieut.; killed, September, 1863, at Chickamauga.
 Cooper, Wise A., trans. to cavalry, August, 1862.
 Ellis, W. A., wounded at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
 Eakin, George, trans. to Q.M. Dept., May, 1862.
 Ewing, C. M., pro. to lieut.; present at surrender.
 Foster, Thomas H., sergt-maj., trans. to Q.M. Dept., May, 1862.
 Foote, Rome, disch. 1862.
 Franklin, Berry, trans. to 4th Confederate, 1861.
 Foster, Toney, disch. 1862.
 Foster, Wilbur F., pro. to maj. Topographical Eng., December, 1861.
 Frierson, Robert P., pro. to lieut., June, 1862; present at surrender.
 Fizer, Robert, disch. September, 1861..
 Freeman, Robert, disch. July, 1862.
 Finn, Henry B., captured; died in prison at Nashville, December, 1863.
 Gordon, Robert, trans. to cavalry, February, 1864. Gale, Joseph, disch. 1861.
 Griffin, -, disch. 1862.
 Greer, Jack, disch. 1862.
 Gault, John, trans. to artillery, 1862.
 Gunn, James, trans. to Topographical Corps, 1862.
 Halley, John G., wounded at Nashville, December, 1864; captured.
 Hailey, Al., killed at Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
 Heffernan, W. T., detached with N. and C. Railroad CO, 1863. Hightower, R. R., wounded July 22, 1864.
 Hampton, George, pro. to lieut.; killed at Perryville, 1862.
 Henry, Robert, killed at Perryville, 1862.
 Hays, Denis, disch. July, 1862.
 Hough, Jo., trans. to Q.M. Dept., May, 1862.
 Johns, W. N., present at surrender.
 Jones, Henry C., present at surrender.
 Jennings, James, pro. to sergt-maj.; wounded at Nashville, 1864.
 Kirkman, James P., trans. to 10th Tennessee, 1861.
 Kennedy, O. G., trans. to Q.M. Dept., 1861. Lamb, L., disch. December, 1861.
 Laurent, E. C., trans. to scouts, December, 1864.
 Louiseau, T. J., trans. to cavalry, July, 1863.
 Leonard, Ed., killed at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
 Morrow, William, disch. May, 1862.
 Mays, H. C., wounded at Franklin, November, 1864.
 Mallory, Jo., present at surrender.
 McNairy, J. C., captured December, 1864. Morgan, F. L., disch. January, 1862.
 Morgan, B. W., killed accidentally, March, 1863.
 Mace, George, trans. to regimental band, July, 1861.
 Merritt, A. G., trans. to 21st Tennessee; pro. to lieut., 1862; present at surrender.
 Percy, Thomas G., killed near Atlanta, July 28, 1864.
 Percy, Jo. MT., present at surrender.
 Phillips, Robert, disch. January, 1862.
 Phillips, Jo., trans. to artillery, November, 1861.
 Roberts, D. 3., pro. to surgeon, May, 1862.

Rozell, S. B., trans. to cavalry, March, 1863.
 Rozell, R. B., present at surrender.
 Robinson, Samuel, wounded July 22, 1864; present at surrender.
 Ramage, H. C., killed June 23, 1864.
 Reamer, F. J., trans. to cavalry, February, 1863.
 Reed, Alexander, died at Nashville, December, 1861.
 Redd, W. P., unknown; supposed to have been captured, August, 1864.
 Seay, Samuel, wounded November, 1863.
 Steele, Thomas S., wounded July 22, 1864; present at surrender.
 Swann, Robert, wounded at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862; disabled.
 Sloan, J. T., prisoner of war, December, 1864.
 Stonelake, G. W., prisoner of war, June 23, 1864.
 Shane, John, trans. to 4th Confederate, April, 1862.
 Shane, Jo., disch. January; 1864.
 Shockley, -, disch. March, 1862.
 Sledge, Robert, unknown; probably captured, August, 1862.
 Southgate, W. R., died of wounds, 1864.
 Spain, A. B., disch. 1862.
 Smith, Ed., disch. 1862.
 Stockell, Charles, trans. 1861.
 Stoddard, H., disch. 1862.
 Sharp, G. W., unknown.
 Swabb, Jo., died 1862.
 Sanford, -, unknown.
 Vannoy, Mace, trans. 1863.
 Wilts, W., trans. 1863.
 Williams, Jack, trans. 1861.
 Zimmerman, Fred., prisoner, August, 1864. Van, Eastland, trans. 1861.
 Morton, John W., trans. to artillery, 1861.
 Stone, trans. 1861.

COMPANY C, CUMBERLAND RIFLES, SECOND TENNESSEE (COL. W. B. BATE).

Hampton J. Cheney, capt.; pro. to major on staff, 1862.	Mulloy, Daniel, died at Murfreesboro
George T. Nelson, 1st lieut.	Matthews, Henry C.
James J. Newsom, 2d lieut.; pro. to 1st lieut. and capt.	McKennie, Beverly R.
In 1862, and killed at Richmond	Myers, John.
Ky	McFerrin, John P.
Watson Weakley, 3d lieut.	McFerrin, T. Sumner.
Wyley J. Scruggs, 1st sergt.	McFerrin, James W.
Thomas P. Weakley, 2d sergt; pro. to major on staff	Mences, Henry B.
W. C. Coltart, 2d sergt.	Morrow, John.
Aratia Hudson, 4th sergt.	Moore, Hugh.
Allen, Matt. W., private.	Matthews, R.
Allen, Andrew J., private, color	Matthias, George, killed at Chickamauga.
Adeance, Thomas.	Matthias, Joseph.
Burton, Alfred M.	McKennie, V.
Burton, Samuel.	Nicholls, Milton A.
Bowling, Warner.	Nicholls, William C.
Butler, Isaac	Patton, David.
Campbell, Thomas T.	Payne, Reuben R.
Camp, George A.	Perdue, Wm. H., died of wounds at Chickamauga.
Carlisle, Samuel	Perdue, Albert E.
Cameron, James D.	Petway, Hinchey.
Campbell, James.	Pike, James A.
Craddock, James, died in service.	Reese, William P.
Craig, W. S.	Ridge, Hiram.
Clark, George.	Robb, Philip.
Cuzzart, Jesse.	
Cowarden, Henry.	Roscoe, Luther.
Cunningham, Tim L.	Robertson, Thomas, killed 22d July, 1864, at Atlanta.
Dorth, William D., died in service	Sloan, James C.
Davis, Charles.	Shaw, Thomas C., 2d lieut.
Davis, Jesse, died in service.	In 1862; killed with bayonet.
Ferries, John C., color-bearer; capt. of cavalry in 184	At battle of Nashville, 1364.
Farmer, Eugene	Shultz, Louis.
Gee, Quint R.	Spidell, Benjamin F.
Gee, Leonidas.	Sproul, Henry S.
Grizzard, Ambrose J.	Snow, James C.
Grizzard, Major T.	Smith, Eugene R.
Hale, James M.,	Stratton, William D.
	Tavernon, Peter, killed at Chickamauga.

died of wounds.
Hillman, Isaac M.
Hunter, James C., died
in service.
Hutchinson, William.
Hamblin, John A.
Hamblin, Jo. C.
Hamblin, J. Polk. bearer,

and ensign.
Jones, John M.
Jordan, George A.
Kirkpatrick, George.
Kirkwood, William.
Kurtz, James H.
Kuntz, Leo.
Lanier, Henry.
Litton, George S., 2d lieut.
In 1862, 1st lieut. in 1863.
Lassiter, Fred.
Lowery, William.
Mulloy, Thomas J.
Zimmerman, Richard.

CAPT. FULCHER'S COMPANY NESSEE VOLUNTEERS, (L), FIRST REGIMENT TEN-COL. GEORGE MANEY.

Capt. Joseph W. Fulcher.
1st Lieut. George C. Richards,
resigned Sept. 10, 1863.
2d Lieut. James Phillips.
3d Lieut. P. H. Blunkall, killed
at Dalton, Ga., May 6, 1864.
1st Sergt. R. A. Ballowe, killed at
Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
Sergt. G. A. Reddick.
3d Sergt. W. H. Allen, pro. to 1st
sergeant Sept. 10, 1863.
4th Sergt. G. C. McKinney, pro. to
1st lieutenant Sept. 10, 1863.
5th Sergt. W. W. Baughn, died at
Chattanooga, Sept., 1862.
1st Corp. T. C. Cobb, pro. to 3d
lieutenant, Sept. 10, 1863.
2d Corp. J. C. Smith.
3d Corp. J. S. Beadle.
4th Corp. J. F. Miller.
Binkley, A. T., killed at
Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863.
Boyd, Samuel.
Carter, G. G.
Carroll, Peter.
Cobb, M. D., died in service,
February, 1862.
Coleman, D. C.
Coleman, John.
Colly, Rance.
Coltharp, John.
Cothran, John
Cutter, Oliver.
Day, Elisha.
Dennis, C.
Demonbreun, J. B., killed at
Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863.
Duckworth, W. H.
Durham, James, killed at
battle of Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
Dowd, John.
Erwin, Tom
Erwin, William E., killed at battle of
Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
Felts, W. C., killed at battle of
Franklin, Nov. 30, 1864
Fly, J. W.
Forbes, J. J.

Temple, Frank.
Temple, Charles.
Talley, Hutcher, died in service.
Townsend, Thomas E.
Terrell, Jerry, died of
wounds at Shiloh
Williams, John R.
Williams, Cyrus E., died in
service.
Weakley, Olin.
White, Wm. R., died of wounds.
White, George.
Wright, James.
Webb, Thomas B.
Wagoner, Wiley B.
Winham, Edward L.
Winham, Elisha.
Warmock, Thomas J.
Williams, Joseph.
Yeatman, Eugene, rapt.
in 1862.
Yeart, Peter T.
Zonane, William,

Hooper, J. N.
Howard, John.
Laurent, E. L.
Luster, W. J.
Magaw, S. H., killed at Kenesaw,
June 27, 1864.
Martin, James.
Martin, William.
Martin, J. J., killed at Atlanta,
July 22, 1864.
Minor, T. J.
Mullen, John, killed near
Missionary Ridge, Nov. 26, 1863.
McGaughan, Pat.
McGinnis, Miles.
McCool, David, killed at battle of
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
McCay, Mat., killed at battle of
Franklin, Nov. 30, 1864.
Newbern, Jo.
Newell, John M.
Osborn, J. C.
Owen, A. R.
Rawls, Monroe, killed at
Atlanta, July 22, 1864.
Rawls, Wesley.
Redick, J. M.
Roy, John, killed at battle of
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
Reagan, W. H.
Ross, James.
Ross, William.
Smith, Alex.
Smith, Samuel, died Feb., 1863.
Smith, D. G.
Savely, H. T.
Spain, William, killed at battle of
Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
Stevenson, C. C.
Sullivan, Owen.
Scruggs, Ed.
Scott, R. C.
Sturdivant, J. N.
Tucker, Alfred.
Vines, Mack.
Waller, B. L.
Waller, M. G.
Watkins, William.

French, G. B.
Garret, B. F.
Gee, James W.
Gillem, C. S.
Gollaher, Ed.
Gosset, James.
Gosset, Robert.
Harrison, Thomas.
Holloway, Jack.
Hobbs, Hiram.

Watson, I. N.
Watson, John.
Watson, A. M.
Wright, J. J., died in service.
Williams, Henry.
Wilson, Jo.
Williford, W. F.
Whittemore, A. V.
Yeargin, W. A.
Yeargin, J. A.

COMPANY B (ROCK CITY COL. GUARDS), FIRST TENNESSEE, MANEY

Capt. James B. Craighead, res. in
November, 1861.
1st Lieut. John Patterson, killed
at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862;
pro. to Lieut. Col. in 1862.
2d Lieut. Jo. H. Vanleer.
3d Lieut. William J. Pryor.
1st Sergt. John W. Carter, killed
at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
2d Sergt. Joe B. O'Bryan, pro.
to A. Q. M., 1862.
3d Sergt. M. B. Pileher, pro. to
A. Q. M., 1862.
4th Sergt. D. J. Dismukes.
5th Sergt. B. P. Steele, pro. to
capt. at Corinth; disabled
at Perryville, Ky., 1862.
1st Corp. E. R. Spurrier, pro. to
2d Corp. Samuel M. Allen, killed
near Memphis, 1864.
3d Corp. N. F. Webb.
4th Corp. James R. Buckner.
Alexander Allison, Jr., pro. to
ordnance officer Maney's
brigade.
John J. Atkeisson.
Samuel E. Buckner, killed at
Shiloh, 1862.
Jo. W. Brown.
Ford Berry, died at Knoxville,
March, 1862.
W. W. Bayless, pro. to 1st lieut.
cavalry.
J. C. Barrow.
J. A. Bruce, killed in railroad
accident in Virginia, 1863.
Montgomery Baxter.
Charles H. Buster, killed at
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
Baker Boyd, pro. to lieut. in
Kentucky regiment; killed at
Port Hudson, 1863.
John D. Blakley, pro. to 2d lieut.;
killed at Perryville, Ky.,
Oct. 8, 1862.
Samuel C. Carrier.
Theodore Cooley, app. lieut. in
Alabama regiment, 1863.
Charles B. Cooley, disahled at
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
David V. Culley, missing at
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
Charles L. Davis, pro. to 3d lieut.;
killed at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
Jo. W. Davis.
George Driver, died of wounds
received at Perryville,
Oct. 8, 1862.
William O. Driver, disabled at
Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
James H. Dismukes, died in service
J. M. Halfacre, killed near
Pulaski, 1864.
Garret Hardeastle.
James M. Hera.
And. J. Hooper, pro. to
capt. cavalry.
Robert S. Hamilton, killed at
Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
Robert W. Hendricks.
Henry Hoge.
George W. Harrison.
Robert C. Handley.
Alexander H. Irvine, killed at
Perryville, Ky., 00.8, 1862
Ed. H. James, killed in Western
Tennessee in 1865.
A. R. Jones, pro. to
assistant surgeon.
Henry C. Jackson.
Samuel B. Kirkpatrick.
J. D. Kirkpatrick, pro. to
capt. cavalry.
Richard C. Keeble.
James A. Kiddel.
George Keelings, died at Grand
Junction in May, 1862.
Joshua K. Luck, killed near
Waverly, Tenn., in 1864.
A. H. Lee.
A. H. Lawrence.
George W. Lanier.
T. H. Marley, pro. to 1st lieut., Co.
B
P. H. Manlove, pro. to 2d lieut Co B.
W. K. Mayo, pro. to capt. 64th
Tenn. Regt.
A B Moore, killed at Perryville Ky.,
Oct. 8, 1862.
Joseph McNish, killed at Perryville,
Ky., Oct. 8, 1362.
W. K. McCall.
W. H. McFerran.
Joseph M. Mayson, pro. to lieut.
artillery.
I. H. Myers, killed at Perryville, Ky.,
Oct. 8, 1362.
J. Edgar Nichol.
James Patterson.
Frank Porterfield.
J. W. Pyle.
Walter S. Ryan.
W. P. Rutland.
Samuel S. Roberts.
S. B. Shearon, disabled at Perryville,
Oct. 8, 1862.
Morgan Smith, killed at Perryville,
Oct. 8, 1862.
J R P Smith, killed at Perryville Oct.
8, 1862.
William S. Sawrie, brev. capt.
Arkansas regiment.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

November, 1861.
David Dance.
E. Ellis, killed with Morgan's
command in Kentucky, 1864.
Robert M. Erwin.
Frank P. Elliott.
Jesse Ely.
W. A. English, killed near
Adairsville, Ga., May, 1864.
J. M. Eastman.
Felix D. Fuller.
S. A. Frazer, killed at Perryville,
Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
Thomas Gibson, pro. to adjt.
10th Regt. Tenn.
A. R. Greig, pro. to 1st lieut.
for gallantry.
G. W. Goodrich.
A. J. Goodbar, killed at
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
George W. Gleaves.
Felix J. Hicks, killed at
Tupelo, Miss., 1864.

Samuel B. Stockard.
Thomas C Shapard indied Georgia in
in 1864,
M. B. Toney.
John O. Treanor.
J. Miller Turner.
Charles A. Thompson.
L. D. Terry.
Frank C. Usher.
John F. Vaught, killed in Tennessee
James M. Whitesides.
D. F. Wright, pro. to surg. C. S. A.
G. E. Wharton, killed at Perryville,
Oct. 8, 1862.
S. S. Wharton.
J. Rice Wilson.
J. D. Winston, pro. to lieut. artillery.
John M. Wherry, killed at
Perryville, Oct. 8, 1862.
A. D. Wallace.
James H. Wilkes, pro.
A Q M
H T Yeatman.

CAPT. SAMUEL C. GODSHALL'S COMPANY (G), ELEVENTH TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER REGIMENT, JAMES E. RAINS COLONEL COMMANDING.

Samuel C. Godshall, capt.
Samuel D. Nichol, 1st lieut.
Matthew Devaney, *- 2d lieut.
John E. Chandler, 3d lieut.
James O. Stevens, let sergt.;
rapt. in 1803.
Horatio Witty, 2d sergt.
Richard S. Smith, 3d sergt.
Moses P. Corder, 4th sergt.;
3d lieut., 1862.
Darius N. Rawly, 1st corp.
Michael J. Lawlor, 2d corp.
Henry H. Goodwin, 3d corp.
Yeatman Anderson, 4th corp.
Anderson, John W.
Baker, James.
Brown, William F.
Bryant, James F.
Browning, William J.
Brooks, Milton O.
Boughies, Victor.
Black, William A.
*Conley, Austin.
Clahissey, John.
Corlis, Patrick.
Crooker, Jacob.
Conlin, Edward.
Cavanaugh, James.
Dunn, Edward.
Daugherty, George R.
Dickens, Isaac W.
Dickens, Thomas.
Dalton, W. W.
Duke, John C.
*Fitzmorris, Patrick.
Flynn, John.
*Ford, Matthew W.
Ford, B. F. L.
Fletcher, W. J.
Gough, Patrick.
Guthrie, Rogers.
Green, Michael.
Green, Robert, W.
Guy, John F.

*Helpin, Lawrence.
*Harrigan, Timothy.
Irwin, Thomas, 2d lieut.
in 1862.
*Johnson, James.
Joyce, Richard.
Kelley, Jeremiah.
Lundy, Thomas.
Lark, William.
Lyons, Jeremiah.
*Mahoney, John.
*Mahoney, James.
*Miller, Wilson D.
*Maury, John.
Mitchell, John W.
Martin, John W.
*Merritt, James.
*Moynahan, Patrick.
Moriarty, Patrick.
McNutt, Alex. D.
McCarty, William.
McNamara, Patrick.
McBride, James.
McMahan, Bryan.
McAnally, Michael.
Nelson, Moses, 1st
lieut. 1862.
*Orus, John.
O'Neill, Michael.
Perry, Thomas.
Pitts, Lewis.
Parrish, Robert A.
Puckett, Andrew A.
*Rich, Peter.
Rhodes, Robert.
Shortie, Thomas.
Smith, Elias A.
Stevens, William.
Savage, James.
Sheridan, John.
Sullivan, Timothy.
*Sevier, James.
*Tracy, Thomas.
Treanor, James.

*Glenn, John.
Glenn, Patrick.
Howe, Peter.
Hansbury, John.
*Hurley, Jeremiah.
Hall, Joseph J.
Harlow, John.
Harrison, Eugene.

Williams, E. L.
*Wood, James.
Wetmore, W. C. S.
Wetmore, Oldham.
Walsh, Patrick.
Whalen, John.
Wilson, Aubrey.
Ward, John A.
Killed in battle.

COMPANY G, FIFTEENTH TENNESSEE.

Wills, Gould, capt[†].
Samuel Mays, Jr., 3d heat;
pro. to captaincy in 1862.
A. J. Shelton, 1st sergt.;
died of wounds at Jonesboro';
pro. to 3d lieut., 1863.
H. L. W. Joslin, corp.; killed
at Marietta, Ga.; pro. to 2d heat.
in 1362.
J. B. Cox, corp.; pro. to 3d lieut.
in 1862.
William Davis.
Green Duke, died.
John Gallagher.
G. J. K. Halstead.

H.H. Horn.
Thomas Hutton.
L. F. Joslin, pro. to 1st lieut., 1862.
C. B. Lovell.
Allen Nays, died.
Dock Mays, died at Dalton.
Martin Pegram.
John Price.
H. K. O'Brien.
William Sherron.
James Smith.
L. A. Taylor, died. George Taylor,
died.
W. W. Thompson.
W. Hanna.

COMPANY G (CAPT. A. J. McWHIRTER'S) OF EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS, ARMY OF CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

Mustered into service May 31, 1861, Col. J. E. Palmer commanding.

A. J. McWhirter, capt.; declined to run at reorganization of company at
Jackson, Miss., Sept. 26, 1862; afterwards appointed to office in
Commissary Department.
J. Shelby Williams, 1st Heat.; pro. to. asst. adjt. gen. on Gen. S. R.
Anderson's staff, in Virginia, December, 1861.
W. G. Davis, 2d lieut.; declined to run for office at reorganization, Sept. 26,
1862.
Richard R. Hyde, 3d lieut.; declined to run at reorganization; since dead.
John M. Douglass, orderly; appointed to adjt. of regiment, Sept. 26, 1862;
killed at battle of Powder Spring Road, near Marietta, Ga.
Joseph H. Matthews, 2d sergt.; elected to 1st lieut, at reorganization; pro. to
capt., Jan. 2, 1863, at battle of Murfreesboro'.
Theo. P. Hamlin, 3d sergt.; elected to 2d lieut. at reorganization; pro. to 1st
lieut., Jan. 2, 1863; afterwards served as asst. ordnance sergt. of
regiment; since dead.
Richard B. Stubbs, 4th sergt.
Orman Duke, 5th sergt.
A. H. Warren, 1st corp.; pro. to wagonmaster, 1862.
John L. Young, 2d corp.
Jack Dick, 3d corp.
William H. Bradford, 4th corp.; captured July 30, 1864, in front of Atlanta.
Abshin, Calvin
Allen, Benjamin F.
Anderson, Richard.
Abernathy, Henry.
Abernathy, Felix. A.
Bainbridge, William, pro. to hospital steward, Oct. 19, 1861.
Bell, Robert.
Bell, Joshua.
Barnes, George, disch. Oct. 14, 1862.
Bloodworth, Bedford, disch. Oct. 14, 1862.
Bird, W. F.
Barham, Robert H., detailed to Capt. Porter's artillery company, Dec. 5,
1861. Killed in personal encounter with Gen. Forrest, at Columbia, Tenn.
Brown, George A., appointed 3d sergt.; afterwards trans. to Sappers and
Miners.
Briggs, William F.
Briggs, George, wounded at battle of Powder Spring Road, near Marietta,
Ga., from which he died in hospital.

* Killed in Battle

[†] Killed in personal encounter with Gen. Forrest, at Columbia, Tenn.

Burge, Thomas F.
 Cato, William R., pro. to brevet 2d lieut., March 10, 1863; wounded and captured, July 30, 1864; afterwards died in hospital at Chattanooga from wounds.
 Cooper, George W., pro. to 2d sergt., Sept. 26, 1862.
 Carney, Joseph E.
 Carney, John, pro. to 5th sergt.
 Croeker, Sandford, elected sergt., Sept. 26, 1862.
 Curtis, William F. M.
 Crellum, Jesse.
 Clatterbough, William E.
 Carter, Bayne.
 Carter, William C.
 Cullum, Elisha.
 Dick, John, elected to capt. of company, Sept. 28, 1862; killed at Murfreesboro', Jan. 2, 1863.
 Deel, James R., died at home, Nov. 16, 1861.
 Dozier, Jesse, disch. Nov. 8, 1862.
 Edmunds, Wm. A., captured on Missionary Ridge and died in prison.
 Ealey, Thomas.
 Foster, Charles, pro. to sergt. of Sappers and Miners Corp..
 Goodwin, William D.
 Goodwin, James A.
 Goff, James M., disch. Oct. 14, 1862; over age.
 Gladden, Dempsey, killed at Murfreesboro', Jan. 2, 1862.
 Garner, William F.
 Garland, Jack.
 Holt, C. M.
 Holt, William H.
 Higginbotham, Benjamin.
 Hughes, John.
 Hayne, Thomas, trans. to Capt. Porter's artillery company.
 Hanner, John A., died in hospital, May 6, 1863.
 Hale, Jefferson, disch. Sept. 12, 1861.
 Hale, James.
 Hester, Lycurgus, killed at Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
 Hester, Baylu, escaped from prison, and reported for duty at reorganization.
 Hawkins, Philleman, disch. Oct. 14, 1862.
 Hawkins, Isham, disch. Oct. 14, 1862; over age.
 Hewlet, William F., disch. Nov. 19, 1861.
 James, Henry F., disch. December, 1861; afterwards died.
 Jones, John M., pro. to corp., Sept. 26, 1862; afterwards to sergt.
 Jones, John.
 Kennedy, Henry S.
 Maser, William, died Dec. 30, 1861, in service.
 Moriarty, John.
 Marshall, William II.
 Marshall, Henry H., pro. to chief musician, May, 1863.
 Marshall, James K., disch. Jan. 1, 1862, in consequence of spinal affection.
 Moss, John, disch. Sept. 10, 1863.
 McCarron, William.
 McPherson, James.
 McKelly, William, died in prison.
 Miles, William.
 Moke, Jacob, disch. Nov. 8, 1862.
 McNeil, James.
 McNeil, Hardee, Sr., diva. Oct. 26, 1862.
 McNeil, Hardee, Jr., killed in battle. at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
 McCarroll, Alexander.
 Morgan, A. B.
 Meadows, Robert.
 Meadows, Richard.
 Meadows, Temple.
 O'Shea, John, disch. Oct. 14, 1862; old age.
 Patterson, Moses, trans. to cavalry, and killed its a skirmish on Stone River in 1863.
 Palmer, William, died Dec. 3, 1861, in service.
 Pomeroy, William.
 Raulston, John R., disch. Oct. 12, 1861.
 Ralph, Andrew.
 Robertson, Green B., trans. to Capt. J. Mimm's cavalry company Nov. 18, 1861.
 Shuster, William H.
 Saddler, John, disch. Oct. 14, 1862; over age.

Simpkins, Albert C.
 Smith, William J.
 Stovall, Terry.
 Sickfred, William F., wounded by cannon-shot in leg at Fort Donelson, from which he died at home.
 Smith, John W.
 Stubbs, D. Webb, elected to brevet 2d lieut., Sept. 26, 1862; pro. to 2d lieut., Jan. 2, 1863.
 Simpkins, W. Frank.
 Taylor, Lewis G.
 Tarver, Byrd, disch. 1864.
 Walker, John W., pro. to orderly, Sept. 26, 1862; died in hospital at Newnan, Ga., March 3, 1864.
 Wetmore, Julian, disch. July, 1861.
 Warmouth, William
 Webber, John H., disch. Nov. 19, 1861.
 Young, John.
 Young, Henry H.
 Graves, John B.
 Kelly, John.
 Lewis, John.
 Young, James L.
 Cullum, Elisha G.
 Pomeroy, Alexander.

COMPANY A, TWENTIETH TENNESSEE REGIMENT.

W. L. Foster, capt.	Hobbs, Henry, killed at Shiloh.
Bailie Peyton, 1st lieut.; killed at Fishing Creek, 1862.	Hull, Robert.
Albert E. Roberts, 2d lieut.; capt. In 1862	Hamilton, Henry.
W. E. Demoss, 3d lieut.	Jacobs, William J.
Orville Ewing, 1st sergt.	Kahn, Julius, killed at Chickamauga.
Alloway, Ol.	Kennedy, William J.
Allen, John B.	Kuhn, L.
Alford, Cornelius M.	Lowry, A. W.
Ames, Robert.	Lewis, Abe.
Barry, Ran.	Moss, Charles.
Baker, W. T.	Morris, A. J.
Baker, F. M., killed at Rodgersville, Tenn.	Mangrom, John.
Brady, James.	McQuary, O. Washington.
Bradford, John.	McAllister, William.
Bradford, Edward.	McNicholas, James.
Burch, Henry.	Newsom, John.
Cato, Levi E., killed at Murfreesboro'.	Newsom, James D.
Cato, John.	Nicholson, Nelson J.
Cathay, Samuel.	Owens, Barrel T.
Cathay, John, killed.	Patterson, James E.
Canadey, James M.	Pentecost, W. H.
Chilcote, Thomas B.	Porch, William T.
Cheek, Hardy.	Porch, John H.
Craighead, W. B.	Robertson, Henry, killed at Egypt Station, Miss.
Claudy, Thomas A.	Robinson, William J.
Dawson, John R.	Richardson, Turner G.
Davidson, Thomas J.	Russell, John H.
Dix, Robert.	Rutland, James A.
Ewin, W. G.	Shute, William W.
Elliott, Levy T.	Shute, Abe.
Evans, W. W.	Sneed, Thomas H.
Frazier, John H.	Spencer, J. W.
Frazier, Thomas.	Stephens, William C.
Frazier, William B.	Stevens, William Henry.
Frazier, Joel B.	Stevenson, John B.
Grier, J. S.	Swift, Edward, killed at Kenosaw Mountain.
Grier, John.	Stewart, F. M.
Graves, Henry	Schlesinger, Henry.
Harrison, B. P.	Turner, A. G.
Hanly, Timothy.	Waldron, Patrick, missing in front at Chickamauga.
Ham, A.	Williams, William A.
Hite, James H.	Wiles, W. A.
Hill, W. M.	Work, J. W.
Higgins, Valentine.	Wolf, H. F.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Hogan, J. W.

Wynn, A. Jackson.

COMPANY C, TWENTIETH TENNESSEE REGIMENT.

1st Lieut. M. N. Cox, died in prison.
 2d. Lieut. J. C. Thompson,
 afterwards pro. and made adjt. gen.
 of Stuart's division.
 3d Lieut. A. D. McNairy,
 commander of McNairy's scouts.
 1st Sergt. E. E. Gray, disabled by
 wounds at Fishing Creek.
 2d Sergt. A. E. McLaughlin.
 3d Sergt. J. W. Thomas, pro. To
 adjt. of regiment.
 4th Sergt. J. R. Ellis.
 1st Corp. J. W. Shumate,
 afterwards 3d lieut.
 2d Corp. A. V. Brown.
 3d Corp. J. T. Bland.
 4th Corp. E. B. Johnson.
 R. V. Allison, killed at Jonesboro'.
 John Andrews.
 J. E. Austin.
 J. W. Baker.
 Thomas J. Bigley.
 J. S. Baxter.
 J. W. Barnes.
 G. W. Barnes, killed at
 Murfreesboro.
 J. H. Burnett.
 T. S. Brown,
 T. F. Brown.
 Samuel Blair.
 Samuel Bugg.
 Abe Bostick, trans. and killed in
 Virginia.
 Litton Bostick, afterwards made
 staff-officer and killed at Atlanta,
 July 22, 1864.
 Samuel Card, killed at
 Murfreesboro'.
 J. D. Caldwell.
 J. D. Callender, killed at Hoover's
 Gap.
 James L. Cooper, afterwards pro. to
 aid by Gen. Tyler.
 Tom Collins.
 J. B. Collins.
 W. Dennison.
 J. V. Dennison.
 T. J. Dailey.
 W. L. Dun.
 G. W. Davis.
 M. S. Elkin.
 H. Ewing, pro. to staff duty and
 killed at Murfreesboro'.
 J. C. Filtz.
 John Filtz.

ACKLIN RIFLES, COMPANY TENNESSEE A, FOURTH (THIRTY-FOURTH). VOLUNTEERS.

Leslie T. Hardy, capt.
 Edward L. Marcell, 1st lieut.
 James W. Terry, 2d lieut.
 Charles S. Petro, 3d lieut.
 A. N. M. Hopkins, 1st sergt.
 Henry J. Wilkins, 2d sergt.
 William L. Jones, 3d sergt.
 Horace M. Houston, 4th sergt.
 John Ryan, 5th sergt.
 Thomas Benjamin, 1st corp.
 Michael W. Fitzpatrick, 2d corp.
 Thomas B. Fitzwilliams, 3d corp.

J. Woods Greenfield, pro. to 2d
 lieut. at reorganization.
 Alfred Gregory, pro. to 3d lieut. at
 reorganization.
 A. C. Goss.
 T. J. Goss.
 C. Johnson.
 J. B. James.
 H. R. Jones.
 W. H. Jones.
 R. B. Knight.
 T. B. Hollister, killed at
 Chickamauga.
 Joe Hunt.
 W. R. Harris.
 G. W. Hood, killed at Shiloh.
 L. Horton, killed at Atlanta, 22d
 July, 1864.
 H. Clay Lucas, pro. to capt. at
 reorganization.
 J. W. Mitchell, killed at Mission
 Ridge.
 William McLaughlin, killed at
 Shiloh.
 W. F. Mize.
 W. S. Matlock.
 P. N. Matlock.
 A. D. Montgomery.
 John McInturff.
 F. S. Menier.
 J. B. Puckett.
 S. D. Peal.
 W. H. Park.
 J. W. Rawley, made 1st lieut. at
 reorganization.
 W. H. Roberts.
 George Roberts.
 Hardin Russell.
 H. Stephens.
 J. B. Stephens.
 S. M. Stone.
 M. T. Smith.
 John Savage, killed at Resaca.
 E. B. Shields, killed at Fishing
 Creek.
 W. D. Simpson.
 J. C. Shumate.
 T. W. Shumate, afterwards made 3d
 lieut.
 E. A. Sanders.
 E. E. Watson.
 George Watson, killed at
 Murfreesboro'.
 R. Watson.

Hilliard, H.
 Holfaddock, H.
 Howell, James P.
 Hopkins, J. L.
 Houston, J. M.
 Hill, W.
 Ireland, Henry C.
 Irwin, James.
 Jones, William.
 Jones, W. L.
 Johnson, John.
 Kleiser, J. K.

M. N. Barnes, 4th corp.
 Ardinger, H. L.
 Anderson, Parker.
 Arnold, John.
 Bankston, M. C.
 Barker, Melvin.
 Bird, W. A.
 Bradley, Thomas.
 Bright, Green B.
 Bradley, Pat.
 Bradley, Thomas.
 Butler, J. W.
 Bolton, William.
 Burt, W. T.
 Brantley, J. H.
 Bedoling, Thomas.
 Bolton, J. T.
 Corbett, P. H.
 Corbett, John T.
 Connally, Martin.
 Chadwell, James.
 Crudon, Daniel M.
 Crudon, C. M.
 Cook, James.
 Dennis, Thomas J.
 Donahue, Martin.
 Duff, Rufus K.
 Dunn, John T.
 Donahue, Patrick.
 Edrington, E. M.
 Farley, James.
 Freeman, D.
 Gee, William K.
 Gorman, Thomas.
 Goodwin, J. A.
 Gothard, Henry.
 Gunn, Lyman O.
 Harrington, Philip.
 Higginbotham, William.

Kieser, Alexander.
 Lovell, William T.
 Marshall, Frederick.
 Mowry, Marshall.
 Markin, H. A.
 Murphy, Timothy.
 Mager, James A.
 Marcell, Edward.
 Mayse, Williams.
 Musgrove, Henry.
 Musgrove, Joseph.
 Munhart, Eugene.
 Mitchell, James.
 McNamara, Edward N.
 McCandless, T. H. B.
 McCandless, W. L.
 Nestor, Patrick.
 Nicholson, Samuel.
 Pentecost, Abram.
 Phillips, Charles P.
 Ridge, Patrick.
 Ridge, Coleman.
 Ridge, John.
 Rice, Charles.
 Rosenburger, Henry.
 Sanford, Charles.
 Stearman, Frank.
 Southgate, M.
 Saddler, K.
 Sullivan, P.
 Stout, A. J.
 Shay, Henry.
 Smith, John.
 Stevenson, J.
 Thompson, Hampton.
 Turner, James C.
 Webber, Frederick.
 Wade, Patrick.
 Watkins, Spencer.
 West, Claiborne.

HERMITAGE GUARDS.

James E. Rains, capt.; elected col.
 of Eleventh Tennessee and
 appointed brig. gen.; killed at
 Murfreesboro', Dec. 31, 1862.
 John E. Binns, 1st lieut.; capt. in
 1861; maj. 1864.
 B. W. McCann, 2d lieut.
 Howell Webb, 3d lieut; adjt. in
 1861; maj. in 1861.
 Anderson, Christopher.
 Barry, William.
 Beech, Thomas, 3d lieut.; killed
 at Franklin.
 Burns, William.
 Bowers, W. B.
 Bumpass, Abraham, killed at Lost
 Mountain, Ga.
 Bryant, Thomas.
 Bryant, Ephraim.
 Burnett, Thomas.
 Branch, -.
 Cohen, Pat.
 Crawford, Charles.
 Corbett, Joseph.
 Crawford, John.
 Clarke, James.
 Conley, John.
 Dillon, Pat.
 Davidson, S. A.
 Eagin, James.
 Eagin, Mike.
 Elliott, James.

Kirby, Richard.
 Keys, James.
 Kyle, William.
 Larkin, William.
 McDaniel, Alexander, in 1861
 Miller, H. C.
 McElroy, John.
 Manley, Pat.
 Manley, Frank.
 Manley, James.
 Miller, A.
 Menefee, James, killed
 at Franklin.
 Moore, James.
 McConnell, Joseph.
 Mason, Francis.
 McCloud, N. A.
 McLaughlin, Alexander.
 McLendon, J. C.
 Miller, Ed.
 Norman, Henry.
 Price, T. G.
 Pearl, Ed.
 Reddick, J. B.
 Robinson, Jack, killed at
 Jonesboro'.
 Reynolds, John.
 Robinson, Henry, killed at Egypt,
 Miss. 1st lieut.
 Smith, Thomas, killed in
 Kentucky.
 Smith, Augustus.

Fields, James.	Stewart, Michael, died of wounds.
Fields, Samuel.	Stewart, Robert.
Fitzpatrick, .	Sutton, Joseph, killed at
Fitzgerald, James.	Murfreesboro'.
Freeman, Samuel.	Shea, John. at Frank- Stout,
Ferris, Martin.	Stout, Anderson.
Gilman, Thomas.	Shavers, William.
Gilman, Joseph.	Sword, James.
Harrison, B. P.	Sword, William.
Tube. Heverin,	Shaffer, Joseph L.
Heverin, Hugh, 2d lieu. in 1862; 1st lieu. in 1864.	Sykes, Robert.
Hundley, Lafayette, 3d lieu. in 1862	Sloan, James L.
Hennessey, Michael.	Scrivener, John.
Hudson, David. Hough, John.	Scrivener, Alexander.
Haslam, William, elected to	Weaver, James.
lieutenancy in Felts' company.	Welsh, Michael.
Hutchinson, William.	Wells, Lawrence.
Johnson, James.	Willard, William, killed at
Johnson, Peter.	Jonesboro'.
	Weaver, Charles.
	Ward, Hugh.

**COMPANY B (SHELBY DRAGOONS), FIRST
BATTALION TENNESSEE CAVALRY (LIEUT. COL. F.
N. McNAIRY), 1861.**

W. L. Horn, rapt.	Kelly, Pat.
Louis M. Gorby, 1st lieu.	Little, David.
W. W. Calvert, 2d lieu.	Morton, S. W.
W. H. Craft, 3d lieu..	Mchrenstien, Moses.
P. Cruger, 1st sergt.	Mann, O. W.
Nick Oswell, 2d sergt.	Miller, Aug.
J. C. Pickett, 3d sergt.	Mahoney, John.
J. Frankland, 1st corp.	Meyer, John.
E. H. Horn, 2d corp.	Mahan, Mike.
H. C. Singleton, 3d corp., q.m. sergt.	McKnight, W. G.
Richard Polk, 4th corp.	McNicholson, R.
James Tate, ensign.	Nellan, M.
E. C. Johnson, bugler.	Newborn, Thomas.
Frank Atilla, instructor in sabre drill.	O'Brien, John.
Armstrong, Eli.	O'Donnell, John.
Bowman, James.	Overstreet, J. L.
Bowles, W. E.	O'Hara, Roderick.
Bowles, Thomas.	Overbee, Coleman.
Brookes, E.	Patton, F.
Breedlove, Starr.	Powers, Pat.
Cantrell, William H.	Runnells, R.
Carpenter, William.	Rhodes, D. C.
Cash, Jeff.	Rhodes, William.
Cooke, J. E.	Rhodes, M.
Figg, R. M.	Singleton, A. J.
Ford, T.	Spillers, Lafayette.
Franklin, James.	Stull, J.
Graves, John.	Sutton, J. J.
Green, J.	Squares, Charles.
Hager, B. G., hospital steward.	Stevenson, James F.
Hook, Isaac N.	Semis, Charles.
Horn, F. W., q.m.	Sullivan, Pat.
Hundley, R. P.	Tarpley, Robert.
Hays, Mike P.	Thompson, S.
Henry, J. P.	Webb, James P.
Jackson, J. P.	Wilson, Wallace.
Johnson, Lafayette.	Woodruff, John.
Johnson, W. D.	Wyatt, Thomas.
Kenner, John.	Wright, H.
Kittle, Richard	Whitley, Horatio.
	Yates, Thomas.
	Zachary, Wash.

CAPTAIN F. N. McNAIRY'S CAVALRY COMPANY.

F. N. McNairy, capt.; Lieut. Col. in 1861; killed in 1863	Hope, R. K.
W. Hooper Harris, 1st lieu.; in capt. in 1861.	Haile, George E.
	Hancock, G. D.
	Hollowell, B. F.

C. Walter Brown, 2d lieu.	Jackson, Andrew.
E. D. Hicks, 3d lieu.;. 1st lieu. and adjt. 1861.	Joplin, Thomas.
G. H. Morton, 1st sergt.; capt. and lieu.-col., 1862.	Kimbrow, Thomas.
William Roberts, 2d sergt.	Martin, C. C., killed.
William O. Maxey, 3d sergt.	Marshall, E. S.
William Britton, 4th sergt.	Morris, R. E. K., killed.
J. R. Drone, 1st corp.	Matthews, S. G.
A. A. Miliron, 2d corp.; killed.	Marchbanks, Charles.
J. M. Shute, 3d corp.	Nolan, M. D. A.
W. J. Craighead, 4th corp.; killed.	Nateher, W. K., died.
John Bender, bugler.	Puckett, James.
Andrew Winfrey, bugler.	Paul, James A.
Henry Edmondson, farrier.	Payne, A. B.
T. Ferguson, smith.	Quinn; W. J.
Atkinson, T. C., lieu. in 1862.	Ridley, J. L.
Abbey, R. H.	Ridley, G. C.
Anderson, J. S.	Sykes, Jesse W.
Aiken, George, died.	Steele, J. W.
Adams, R. H.	Smith, Nat.
Bolton, Alexander.	Smith, J. M.
Bush, G. W.	Smith, P., lieu. in 1862.
Brien, W. A.	Smithwick,
Buchanan, J. R.	Shields, John.
Bennington, Thomas.	Saffaraus, T. W.
Crawford, Scott.	Smith, E. M.
Curran, Pat.	Shilcut, T. H.
Clark, Charles.	Tate, Zack.
Curran, J. M.	Tucker, --.
Campbell, Jo.	Thomas, George.
Dashiell, G. W.	Treanor, J. D.
Dodd, B. P.	Vaughn, J. H.
Edmondson, W. A., missing.	Vaughn, J. T.
Hamill, L.	Williams, N. B.
Hamill, A. C.	Porch, W. H.
	Hendricks, A. P.

**BARROW GUARDS, GORDON'S BATTALION,
AFTERWARDS COMPANY C, COL. JAMES T.
WHEELER'S FIRST REGIMENT TENNESSEE
CAVALRY.**

Capt. E. E. Buchanan.	J. A. J. Greer.
1st Lieut. S. Y. Caldwell.	A. K. Greer.
2d Lieut. W. S. Hawkins.	William Greer.
3d Lieut. John Greer.	E. J. Greer.
1st Sergt. Thomas B. Wilson;	J. D. Greer.
elected 2d lieu. in 1863,	William Henry.
and capt. in 1864	James Hendricks.
2d Sergt. J. Polk Dabbs. 3d Sergt.	H. M. Hollister.
Al. Page	N. B. Howlett.
4th Sergt. W. S. Elite.	Jos. Hudgins.
1st Corp. Marcius Aldrich;	Thomas W. Jones elected 3d
elected 1st lieu. in 1864.	sergt. in 1862.
2d Corp. John S. Blain	James W. Jones.
3d Corp. G. S. Stanfield; elected	C. S. Harris.
3d lieu. in 1862.	E. C. Hays, elected 3d lieu. in
4th Corp. Jas. R. Greer.	1863
Chaplain J. H. Hessey	Henry Heiss, elected
Thomas J. Aldrich.	2c1 lieu. in 1864, and adjt.
Frank Anderson.	John W. Hill.
James F. Binns.	John O. Herbert.
James O. Slain.	T. L. Rernell.
Peter M. Blain.	George A. Kinney.
James J. Blair.	M. A. Lovell.
John W. Blair.	William C. May.
John Bridges.	John Massey, Sr.
William Butler.	John Massey, Jr.
A. H. Brent.	Pleas. McLendon.
W. S. Brigs.	William McDeaman.
Bryan Robert	Robert Moss.
Brown J. B.	William C. Myers.
Carter, Thomas A.	James S. Milligan.
H. M. Carter.	O. F. Owen.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

John O. Carmack.
Robert N. Carmack.
James B. Cobler.
E. F. Capps.
Thomas Chambers,
died in 1863.
Robert Carroll, died in 1862
N. D. Carson.
T. W. Davis.
William Dibb.
R. T. Dickinson.
John I. Eason.
William E. Estes.
John A. Fitzhugh, elected 4th
sergt. in 1863.
William T. Goodwin,
Reuben Goodrich.
A. P. Graves.

Peter D. Owen.
Jesse Rieves.
Logan Rozzell.
William Sadler.
William M. Stanfield.
John Smith.
William B. Stewart.
E. J. Still.
William Sturdivant.
Thomas L. Taylor.
A. W. Vaughan.
J. B. Wade.
John Waller.
J. W. Walton.
J. L. Williams.
O. F. Williams.
T. B. Williams.
Thomas Wyles.

CAPTAIN PAYNE'S COMPANY, FIRST BATTALION TENNESSEE CAVALRY (LIEUT. COL. F. N. McNAIRY), 1861.

Edwin D. Payne, capt.
R. G. Petway, 1st lieu.
J. B. Ryan, 2d lieu.
J. W. Birdwell, 3d lieu.
W. R. Dawson, 1st sergt.
W. H. Smith, 2d sergt.
J. M. Bevil, 3d sergt.
J. A. Hickman, 4th sergt.
J. L. Knotte, 5th sergt.
E. R. Walker, 1st corp.
S. H. Petty, 2d corp.
W. J. Sales, 3d corp.
J. H. Buckner, 4th corp.
C. Johnson, farrier.
S. Moratta, bugler.
G. W. Cozatt, bugler.
Anderson, Alex.
Armstrong, H. C.
Adams, G. W.
Alexander, J. D.
Blackwell, J. W.
Bledso, C. P.
Bradley, H. C.
Bradley, William.
Blair, S. S.
Brien, W. A.
Caldwell, J. R.
Carlisle, W. G.
Comperry, R. J.
Corler, William.
Cavender, J. C.
Cayce, F. T. sergt. J. R.
Pratte, Thomas.
Duncan, J. H.
Forehand, Thomas.
Fox, Thomas.
Glaco, C. L.
Good, G. H.

Houston, J. D.
Hunter, William.
Haynes, J. C.
Head, Robert
Hutchinson, W. B.
Hester, J. W.
Hill, J. B.
Horbring, J.
Hays, E. C.
Heiss, Henry.
Handy, G. M.
Handy, D. S.
Hickle, G. R. H.
Jones, Joseph.
Jones, J. M.
Knott, R. S.
Kirkpatrick, J. W.
Marks, W. P.
Mayfield, W.
McCartney, L. W.
Nelson, N. R.
Polk, J. A.
Pendergrast, James.
Petty, J. M.
Rhodes, J. B.
Ring, A. N.
Richardson, J. R.
Robertson, J. A.
Smith, W. B.
Steele, E. F.
Skeggs, C. H.
Underwood, F. J.
Williams, A. J.
Whitney, D. J.
White, Edward.
Washburn, J. M.
Woods, N.
West, E. M.

THE NELSON ARTILLERY.

J. G. Anglade, capt.
J. J. McDaniel, 1st lieu.
James A. Fisher, let lieu.; capt. in
1862
B. F. Nichol, 2d lieu.
Thomas L. Bransford, 2d lieu.;
lot lieu. in 1862.
James Lahey, ord. sergt.
A. G. Goodlett, 1st sergt.
B. F. Woodward, 2d sergt.
Thomas B. Cooke, 3d sergt.; 2d

Hinnon, James.
Hussey, L.
Johnston, William.
Leonard, John (1st).
Leonard, John (2d).
Lally, Thomas.
Lyons, Mike.
James, James.
James, John.
James, William.
McDonald, Edward.

lieut. in 1862; killed at Port
Hudson, 1863.
John W. Lindsay, 4th sergt.
D. D. Phillips, 5th sergt.; 2d lieu.
in 1862.
Andrews, P. T., 4th sergt.
Ackler, James.
Brennon, John.
Bains, Thomas.
Burns, Janice.
Barrett, John.
Barker, William.
Clancy, Thomas S.
Claney, Pat.
Claney, Martin.
Cavender, J. H.
Cavender, S. W.
Cavender, Jo. W.
Cavender, Si.
Cavender, William.
Cox, John.
Creech, Williams.
Conally, Thomas.
Conally, John.
Connors, Mike.
Dorin, Daniel.
Dougherty, William.
Donoho, Pat.
Donally, Mark.
Davis, William, 2d corp.
Flarity, John.
Fahey, Pat.
Finnigan, Barney.
Fleming, Mike.
Faulkner, Thomas.
Fagan, John.
Fletcher, A. H.
Fisher, Constant.
Gannon, Austin
Gannon, Thomas.
Gillam, Pat.
Gillard, Alexander.
Gillard, William
Higgins, Pat.
Hide, John.
Hughes, A. J.
Mission, Mike.
Hatley, W. J.

McCue, Mike.
McGee, Hugh.
McCaslin, B. F.
McKelly, William
Mulverhill, Mike.
Murphy, Mike.
Murphy, Pat.
Malloy, John.
March, M. D.
Noon, Pat.
Noon, John.
Newell, Pat.
Neeley, W. J.
Phelps, A. J.
Riley, Thomas (1st).
Riley, Thomas (2d).
Rose, C. G.
Sharon, E. S.
Sullivan, Philip.
Sullivan, Tim.
Sweeney, Pat.
Taylor, John F.
Taylor, W. M.
Taylor, John A.
Taylor, W. G.
Thompson, William, 5th corp.
Tarpley, Ed.
Varalle, John.
Williams, William.
Whorley, Con.
Sanders, Jesse, 1st corp.
Tarpley, R. B., 5th sergt.
Nunn, Hiram, 3d corp.
Bell, George.
Burchem, E. F.
Burchem, J. D.
Covenonder, K.
Cooper, William.
Chuniley, D. Dewire,
Greer, William.
Hull, John.
Hall, John.
James, William.
Joslin, W. B.
Lewis, Randle.
Morrissey, Thomas,
Moss, Amos.
Nails, Thomas.

CAPT. ENSLEY'S COMPANY OF CAVALRY, COMPANY (CAPT. LEONARD HOOPER'S COMPANY).

Edward L. Ensley, capt.; died in 1862. Hamblin, Benjamin F.
Hiram F. Banks, 1st lieu.
Blackman H. Rains, 2d lieu.
George C. Wilson, 2d lieu.
John S. Shacklett, 1st sergt.
William B. Rains, 2d sergt.
James Alexander, 3d sergt.
Charles E. Yeatman, 4th sergt.
William J. Potter, 1st corp.
John B. Whitsett, 2d corp.
Sherman W. Hope, 3d corp.
Andrew J. Baker, 4th corp.
Benjamin F. Cook, 1st bugler.
Jacob Milliron, 2d bugler.
John E. Baker, farrier.
Alexander, William P.
Allen, James O.
Allen, James.
Allen, William N.
Albra, H.
Anderson, Joseph B.
Brown, William.
Clويد, Lemuel B.
Hite, L.
Hays, James V.
Hall, Green H.
Hooper, Leonard K., capt. in 1862.
Hall, Ralph R.
Haley, John C.
Jordan, Richard W.
Jordan, Newton.
Latimore, John H.
Montgomery, William.
Marshall, -.
Owen, Andrew J.
Owen, Dudley.
Owen, William.
Omeat, John.
Ogilvie, Benton H.
Pollock, John E.
Rains, Rufus P., died in 1863.
Robb, Samuel C.
Roller, George.
Shacklett, Ridgeway D.
Scott, Shelton F., killed at Pumpkin

Caragan, Hiram H.
Cantrell, James S.
Dawson, Marquis.
Daniels, William.
Estes, Robert P.
Fudge, Jacob.
Gates, J.
Grizzard, William H.
Gee, Marcellus M.
Haley, Richard T.

Vine Creek, Ga., 1864,
Stokes, William J.
Searcy, William W.
Thompson, Charles W.
Vaughn, James D.
William D.
Watkins, Thomas D.
Williams, Osbern.
Whitsett, Samuel P.
Young, John.

CAPT. FELT'S COMPANY OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

James W. Felts, capt.
John Haslam, 1st lieut.
William H. Haslam, 2d lieut.
James Campbell, 24 lieut.
H. B. Martin, 1st sergt.
John Leach, 2d sergt.
James Haslam, 3d sergt.
E. Hawkins, 4th sergt.
A. Hoyt, 5th sergt.
John Copass, 1st corp.
James Walker, 2d corp.
Isaac Andrews, 3d corp.
John King, 4th corp.
Bruce, M. L.
Bennett, Arch.
Boyt, M.
Bradley, John.
Biggs, John.
Binkley, A. T.
Cully, Rance.
Chatham, James.
Copass, N. R.
Copass, William.
Cobern, William.
Copeland, Andy.
Cobb, T. C.
Clinard, S.
Carter, G. G.
Clinard, W. H.
Cobb, M. D.
Clinard, W. N.
Carter, E. B.
Campbell, Thomas.
Call, H.
Darks, Jo.
Demonbreun, J. B.
Dickson, J. W.
Forbes, J. J.
Felts, C. R.
Felts, J. M.
Felts, W. C.
Felts, J. W.
Fisk, D. L.
Graham, J. R.
Gollagha, Edwin.
Gossett, James.
Gossett, Robert.
Haslam, Polk.
Hawkins, Thomas.
Hulett, W. T.
Hulett, Louis

Hudgens, A. L.
Hudgens, J. T.
Hooper, J. N.
Hudgens, T. B.
Hudgens, J. Z.
Hyde, J. W.
Hinckle, W. B.
Harris, A. J.
Ingram, M. V.
Kimpkien, William.
Knight, W. C.
Login, T. B.
Maguire, Sam.
McCoy, Mat.
Mosby, J. N.
McCool, Davis.
Martin, P. P.
Murphy, B. T.
Martin, G. G.
Martin, J. E.
Perry, Louis.
Patton, Jack.
Porter, S. T.
Parker, J. W.
Parker, D. K.
Perry, West.
Petty, S. H.
Petty, S. E.
Raymer, W. R.
Rawls, J. S.
Rawls, J. M.
Ross, George.
Redick, L. B.
Redick, James.
Smith, Elisha.
Smith, Elijah.
Scott, H. L.
Simmons, Jesse.
Simpkins, Jo.
Vine, B. M.
Westmoreland, R.
Wilson, R.
Wilson, J. W., Sr.
Wilson, J. W., Jr.
Wilson, George.
Wilson, Jo.
Wilson, W. R.
Wootton, J. B. W.
Wattson, J. B.
Williams, H.
Welles, James.

CAPT. HAWKINS' COMPANY OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

James M. Hawkins, capt. A. S.
Camp, 1st lieut.
George C. Richards, 2d lieut.
J. W. Fulcher, 3d lieut.
W. H. Allen, 1st sergt.
P. H. Blenkall, 2d sergt.

Horn, M.
Hobbs, J. M.
Jackson, John.
Jackson, H.
Jones, W. L.
Johnson, C.

W. H. Perry, 3d sergt.
Auth. Allen, 4th sergt.
John M. Cross, 5th sergt.
John Stewart, 1st corp.
W. B. Walwork, 2d corp.
Eph Conley, 3d corp.
W. W. Baughn, 4th corp.
Andrews, E. G.
Burke, Tom.
Burke, Peter.
Byers, S. C.
Brown, S. C.
Barges, J. N.
Ballowe, R. A.
Brown, W. R.
Bailey, F. G.
Conley, Ed.
Conley, J. A.
Conley, Joseph.
Carroll, Peter.
Conger, C. H.
Coleman, John.
Coleman, D. C.
Cassidy, T. D.
Carney, William.
Corbitt, S. R.
Calthrop, John.
Clinton, R. H.
Carrington, Thomas.
Durham, John.
Durham, James.
Donnivan, John.
Dice, G.
Davis, J. B.
Davis, J. W.
Duckworth, William
Erwin, Tom
Erwin, W. E.
Forrest, James T.
Finnegan, John
Fly, John W.
French, G. B.
Garrett, M. A.
Garrett, B. F.
Gibson, H. A.
Granlowe, D.
Guillam, C. S.
Gilreath, T. C.
Harrison, G.
Hart, J. L.
Halligan, James

Johnson, R. H.
Kaleer, D.
Kelley, B.
Long, F.
Lipscomb, M.
Lovell, R. H.
Lewis, F. M.
Moran, M.
Mulverhill, John.
Moore, Sam.
Moore, George.
Martin, James.
Martin, William.
McGaughan, Pat.
McGinnis, M.
McKinney, G.
Maddox, W. D.
Myers, J. F.
Myers, H. J.
Mulloy, A.
Newell, J. M.
Owens, A.
Phelps, A. C.
Raney, John W.
Register, John.
Register, A. J.
Riley, Phil.
Reddick, G. A.
Ryan, Pat.
Rawles, W. G.
Ruth, R.
Rice, J. H.
Robinson, S.
Sullivan, O.
Sloan, William.
Sharp, D. F.
Stephenson, F. T.
Stephenson, C. C.
Simpson, G.
Stevens, A. G.
Sturdivant, J. N.
Serds, H. A., disch.
Sawn, Win., 1st sergt
Sykes, Joseph P., cadet, trans.
Tucker, T. G.
Tucker, J. F.
Tarkinton, W. J.
Taylor, John.
Tabs; S. T., musician, trans.
Weaver, J. H.
Wright, J. J.

CAPT. CATTLES' COMPANY OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

R. F. Cattles, capt.
C. W. Peden, 1st lieut.
N. J. Dodson, 2d lieut.
William Saffin, 2d lieut.
W. A. Yeargin, 1st sergt.
J. A. Yeargin, 2d sergt.
J. S. Beadles, 3d sergt.
M. G. Waller, 4th sergt.
J. P. Wadkins, 5th sergt.
J. J. Phillips, 1st corp.
J. F. Miller, 2d corp.
T. J. Waggoner, 3d corp.
G. W. Lendon, 4th corp.
Adams, J. C.
Bethel, W. R.
Bernal, J. V.
Barclay, Thomas.
Boyd, Samuel.
Brown, A. G.
Bruce, G. W.

Laurent, E. L.
Livingston, S.
Luster, W. J.
Magarr, S. H.
McClarín, J. C.
McPherson, T. J.
McGinness, G. W.
Minor, T. J.
Newbern, James
O'Neel, John M.
Osborn, J. C.
Pitts, William
Reagins, W. H
Roy, John
Ross, G. B
Ross, William
Rosenthal, W.
Schneider, P.
Spain, William
Scott, R. C.

HISTORY OF DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Cutter, Oliver.
Davis, C. P.
Davis, James.
Dalton, G. W.
Dennis, C.
Daniels, D. K.
Dowd, John.
Eubanks, W.
Ettelson, M.
Ewing, R. P.
Fowler, Thomas.
Guthrie, J. N.
Grubbs, J. W.
Guy, L. Y.
Gower, L. D.
Gattin, J. G.
Gee, James W.
Grigg, Thomas.
Harrison, Thomas.
Hodge, R. F.
Ledbetter, L.
Ledbetter, A.

Scott, W. H.
Scott, J. J.
Scott, R. M.
Scruggs, Ed.
Sanders, W. T.
Smith, J. H. H.
Smith, Alex.
Smith, D. G.
Samuels, John
Saverly, H. T.
Thomas, W. W.
Tindal, J. R.
Tanksley, J. A.
Tucker, Alfred
Williford, W. F.
Waller, B. L.
Walker, Andrew
Wadkins, W. F.
Watson, A. M.
Watson, John
Watson, W. F.
Whittamore, A. V.

Brown, J. W.
Conally, Anthony.
Clisham, Martin
Cook, Mike.
Condrey, Pat
Crane, Pat.
Conally, Ed.
Carroll, Ben.
Carr, John.
Cady, John.
Dodson, J. J.
Dowd, Ed.
Doharty, James
Flahey, Mike
Flaherty, Pat.
Penal, Mike.
Fisher, John
Flanigan, Charles
Galling, B. F.
Grady, Ed.
Hart, John.
Hollinsworth, J.
Holden, W. E.
Hall, James
Harrison, William

Whittenden, James.
Walters, Roger.
Welsh, Thomas.
Welsh, Mike, killed at Fort
Donelson.
Judge, Thomas.
Haverday, Jos.
Palmer, Frank.
Zboinskie, Louis.
Smithson, Sidney.
Haynes, Thomas.
Sutton, Stanford.
Cohinn, Pat.
Smith, Thomas.
Hawkins, J.
Lewis, Caldwell.
Nunley, Jerry.
Nunley, Arch.
Burras, S. F.
Underwood, Reid.
Watson, Madison.
Watson, Isaac.
Wigginton, Samuel.
Newton, Henry.
O'Neil, Dennis.

PORTER'S BATTERY.

Thomas K. Porter, capt., chief art.
Stewart's div., and executive
officer to the C. S. Steamer
Florida; wounded severely
through thigh.
L. Hutchinson, 1st lieu.;
wounded through neck.
J. W. Morton, 1st lieu.; capt.
Morton's. Battery in 1863, and
chief art. Forrest's cav. corps.
W. R. Culbertson, 2d lieu.
J. L. Burt, 2d lieu.
Frank McGuire, ord. sergt.
George W. Holmes, q.m. sergt. T.
S. Sale, sergt.; wn'd slightly. Jos.
W. Yeatman, sergt.
W. H. Wilkinson, sergt.
H. C. Ross, sergt.; made ord.
officer Hardie's art., 1864. H. W.
W. H. Hunter, sergt.
B. Bannister, sergt.
A. D. Stewart, corp.
William Green, corp.
Peter Lynch, corp.
Pat. Murray, Corp.; wounded
slightly in neck.
Pat. Flaherty, corp.
Z. Connally, corp.
George G. Henon, Corp.
Pat. Hoben, corp.
W. E. Holden, corp.
A. B. Fall, corp.; killed at Fort
Donelson.
Barney Barnes, farrier.
John S. Parker, wheelwright. P.
N. Richardson, saddler.
W. D. Madden, blacksmith.
Max. Gunning, wheelwright.
Adams, John.
Anderson, William.
Burk, Martin.
Burk, Thomas.
Bird, John T.
Berryman, James.
Berryman, Thomas.
Bagwell, Stephen.
Brown, Thomas T.
Bryance, James.
Bryance, James H.
Buchanan, L.

Haney, Martin
Henessee, Pat.
Holden, Israel.
Higgins, Ed.
Jobe, William C.
Johnson, H. F.
Kennedy, Saunders
Kyne, Pat (No. 1), killed at
Fort Donelson.
Kyne, Pat (No. 2)
King, Ed.
Lynch, Peter
Laughlin, J. C.
May, John
Masters, Charles
Monan, Pat
Mathews, W. H.
McGrath, Thomas
McKeen, Andrew
Morrison, Coleman
McCue, Daniel
McCue, Pat.
McDermot, Mike
McDermot, Pat.
Monahan, Pat.
Malorey, Mike
Milan, Mike
Moharty, Ed.
McDonough, Thomas.
Nolen, Thomas.
Nie, Pat.
Norton, Martin.
Nipper, Ambrose.
O'Mally, Pat.
Ohano, William.
Pharrey, Pat.
Prater, Columbus.
Plue, Nolen.
Roach, P.
Ridge, Michael.
Smotherman, James.
Solomon, George B.
Shoat, Sheldon.
Smith, Kinchem.
Turnbro, Ambrose.
Thompson, J. L.
Welsh, Pat.
Welsh, G. W.
West, R. D.
Williams, James.

DETAILS TO PORTER'S BATTERY FROM BROWN'S AND PALMER'S BRIGADES.

Cowan, J. V.
Holt, H. Thomas
Puckett, A. C.
Gunn, William
Brown, D. C.
Morgan, -
Beall, J. M.
Pilkerton, H. L.
Milliken, J. M.
Pope, A. J.
Strickland, B. J.
Rainey, F. J.
Ray, F. M.
Holt, James
Edington, H. L. W.
Cane, William
Hubbard, R. M.
Tailor, W. T.

Pinkerton, L. B.
Garland, S. J.
Childs, G. W.
Hickman, J. D.
Hubble, T. C.
Bass, J. M.
Barham, R. A.
Kiger, W. C.
Allen, J. W.
Allen, Samuel
Hutchcraft, Copland. A.
Giving, Max.
Patton, W.
Wilson, -
Bradbury, -
Merryman, J.
Hampton, Jasper
Wooton, A. W.

OFFICERS OF MORTON'S BATTERY.

John W. Morton, capt. T. Sanders Sale, 1st lieu.
G. Tully Brown, 2d lieu. Joseph M. Mason, 2d lieu.

BAXTER'S BATTERY (FLYING ARTILLERY).

Edmund Baxter, capt. Samuel Freeman, 1st lieu.
Brown J. Trimble, 2d lieu. G. W. Evans, surgeon.

Reorganization at Corinth, May, 1862.

Edmund D. Baxter, capt.
Samuel Freeman, 1st lieu.
Amariah L. Huggins, 2d lieu.
Edwin H. Douglas, 3d lieu.
W. P. Ferris, 1st sergt.
Nathaniel Baxter, Jr., 2d sergt.
Robert A. Allison, gun sergt.
William S. Newsom, gun sergt.
James Porter, gun sergt.
James Schuster, gun sergt.; died
of wounds, 1864.
L. F. Charlton, q.m. sergt.
J. T. Huggins, com. sergt.
J. Bailey Higgins, bugler; died
of wounds, 1864.
Baker, John.

Corinth, May, 1862.
Brown, G. W.
Clordy, Ed.
Dixon, John
Dowd, Peter.
Douglas, Byrd, Jr.
Douglas, Hugh Bright
Estes, John.
Farron, John
Gray, John
Hanofin, Maurice
Marshall, Elihu
Sanders, Abner
Sanders, Parham
Shelton, Henry
Sullivan, John

Bell, John.
Binkley, J. Wesley.
Buchanan, Alexander.
Burnett, John.

Wade, John
Watson, William P.
Wist, James
Wright, H. C.
Wright, Reese.

COMPANY A, FIRST TENNESSEE ARTILLERY

A. M. Rutledge, capt., promoted maj. of infantry Polk's staff, died 1875
E. F. Falconnet, 1st lieut., raised battalion cavalry, maj. commanding.
Mark S. Cockrill, 2d lieut., appointed 2d lieut. artillery C. S. A., ordnance duty.
Joseph E. Harris, 3d lieut., left service capt. of artillery, died in Europe.
J. C. Wheeler, 4th lieut., capt. o infantry, Florida brigade.
George E. Purvis, sergt.-major, pro. 5th lieut. of battery.
Evander McIver, q.m. sergt., rapt. infantry on ord. duty.
S. L. Finley, corn. sergt., killed at Nashville, Dec. 31, 1861.
Frank Johnson, sergt., major infantry, Miss. Vols.
George W. Trabue, sergt., appointed supt. of telegraphy, Army of Tenn.
J. B. Lang, sergt., appointed sergt. of ordnance.
C. C. Bellsnyder, sergt., 1st lieut. of cavalry, died in service.
James Hadley, sergt., transferred to cavalry, A. T. hospital.
J. P. Humphreys, guidon, joined cavalry, A. T., 1st lieut.
Ferdinand Hadley, corp., 1st lieut. artillery, with cavalry.
Henry Duffin, corp., killed in West Tenn.
Alfred Hagly, corp., died in prison.
James Nelson, corp., killed at Port Hudson.
Richard Murray, corp., killed at Port Hudson.
A. P. Moore, corp., killed at Bentonville, N. C.
Joseph H. Hough, corp., q.-m. sergt., Atlanta, Ga.
Bradford Nichol, corp., major of artillery, C. S. A.
Harry D. Martin, corp., Lieut.- Gen. Polk's escort.
W. H. McLemore, corp., 1st lieut. McClung's Battery.
killed
Sylvanus Avery, corp., died in

Ewing, William L., appointed corp., capt. of cavalry.
French, M.
Fulghum, John.
Fulghum, J. A., killed at Vicksburg, Miss.
Forehand, John.
Gross, Adam H.
Goodwin, John.
Griffin, John.
Gray, L. M.
Grills, Robert.
Galam, Corum.
Haley, Patrick, killed at Mobile.
Haley, John, killed in battle.
Haley, Michael.
Hall, J. M.
Elliott, William.
Hall, L. D.
Hennessy, Michael, killed in battle.
Hennessy, John.
Hennessy, Patrick.
Hill, J. H.
Huston, Meniffee.
Hubbard, Robert, app. Corp.; joined cavalry.
Hadley, John S., app. corp.; joined cavalry.
Hooper, J. Rusty.
Hooper, J. Medicos.
Hooper, George W., died in

Humphleet, Thomas
Humphleet, J. Harvey
Humphleet, H. Howell
Humphleet, J. Henry
Humphleet, Madison.
Jones, T. Zeke, killed in battle.
Joyce, Michael.
Jean, J. L.
Jordon, J. M., promoted corp.
Jones, J. Newton.
Keafe, J. T.
Kelly, John.
Keating, Patrick.
Kerby, Thomas.
Leonard, T.
Looney, M.
Lyon, David.
Lovell, D. R., killed in service.
Mack, Patsey.
Martin, Patrick.
Murray, John, promoted corp.;
in battle.

service.
J. H. Lunsden, corp., killed in battle.
A. S. Smith, bugler.
Dick Dalton, artificer, died in army.
Florence Dugan, artificer.
John A. McMaster, artificer, killed in battle.
J. D. Kerrigan, artificer.
James Webb, artificer.
J. O'Rea, artificer.
J. F. M. Turner, 1st bugler, killed in battle.
Alexander, John F., sergt.
McClung's Battery
Austin, John S.
Allen, James R., killed in battle.
Allen, John N.
Allen, George.
Breen, Daniel.
Broderick, Timothy.
Bogle, Thomas.
Brushingham, M.
Burke, J. M.
Bragg, B.
Ballowe, Thomas W., corp., transferred to cavalry as sergt. of artillery.
Bunn, William.
Becker, Dr. O., surg., died in service.
Biggers, J. R.
Biggers, D. A.
Bowers, Joseph, wounded at Franklin; died of wound.
Cullom, Dr. J. H., sergt. in McClung's Battery.
Conway, Larry, killed at Mobile.
Crossgrove, T.
Conway, T. John.
Clark, J.
Coyne, B.
Cannon, M. J.
Cowan, W.
Curley, J. W.
Carter, Samuel.
Chapman, D. B.
Claunch, W.
Currin, James.
Clouston, Dick, appointed Corp. and capt. in cavalry.
Carter, J. D., discharged.
Cook, James L.
Darby, Christopher.
Derry, M.
Downey, Patrick.
Delanty, 3. M.
Dobbs, William.
Devore, J. W., died in prison.
Davidson, J. D.
Davis, John.
Dozier, Albert.
Elliott, John M.

Monteville, Joseph.
Moran, John.
Moran, Patrick, killed in battle.
Marberry, Joseph H.
Moss, E. M.
Maney, Hardy.
McAdams, James.
McAdams, James D.
McQuary, G. Washington, sergt.
McCaffrey, Hugh.
McCormick, John.
McCormick, Daniel.
McHale, P.
McNamara, F.
McGuire, Matthew.
McGuire, Edward.
Netherland, Hugh.
Nedham, Daniel.
Nagle, Patrick.
Naughton, M.
O'Niel, William
Padden, M.
Phenis, M. J.
Peebles, Uriah, 1st lieut. cavalry.
Perry, James J., wounded at Shiloh; disabled for life.
Perry, John W.
Renfro, John, appointed artificer; transferred to cavalry.
Riley, Frank.
Rook, Thomas C.
Reynolds, Robert.
Satterfield, Hosea.
Sheehey, John.
Sullivan, F.
Sullivan, Henry.
Sasser, Steven.
Sasser, Thomas, died of wounds at Shiloh.
Sheers, T. M.
Sheridan, Henry.
Swann, S. C.
Smith, C. B.
Smith, W. C.
Smith, William J.
Bugg, J. J.
Curran, B. F.
Sutliff, J.
Tierney, J.
Triber, E. P., missing at Cumberland Ford.
Tierney, Thomas.
Royster, Ned. D.
Vick, Milton.
Winn, Jack.
Wells, James W.
White, J. C.
Wilson, A.
Work, W. L., wounded at Shiloh.
Work, Robert, wounded at Shiloh; died in prison.
Yeaden, John