

Later the investigation was carried beyond the boundaries of Tennessee, with the help of early published and unpublished documents, and letters to and personal interviews with numerous citizens of the section.

The results of this work are shown in Plate 14, in which has been employed the scheme of conventions adopted for the Archaeologic Cartography of North America, and in Plate 15.

LIST OF TRAILS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

Most of the names in the following list were bestowed by Mr. Myer, and his numbers have been retained as far as possible. For trails left unnamed the editor has selected those designations which appealed to him as most appropriate and the numbers have been filled in so as to make a consecutive series. Occasionally it has been found necessary to introduce alterations in the numbers, and in a very few cases in the names also, but the bulk of these changes are of a kind which it would have been incumbent on the author himself to adopt had he lived long enough to prepare his work for the press. The starred trails are those which Mr. Myer has treated in his text.

The principal authority for trails 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 87, and parts of 19 and 80 was Charles C. Royce's report on "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" and the accompanying maps (18th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 2, Washington, 1902); the principal authority for trails 60, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, and the South Carolina portion of 80 was the Mitchell Map of 1755; the principal authority for trails 62 and 70 was the Melish Map of 1814; the principal authority for trail 69 the De Crenay Map of 1733; and the principal authorities for trail 90 Phelan's History of Tennessee and Lusher's map reproduced by Malone in "The Chickasaw Nation" (Louisville, Ky., 1922). Lusher was also the chief source of information for the trail system of northern Mississippi.

- *1. Alanant-o-wamiowee (Buffalo Path).
2. The Big Bone Lick and Little Miami Trail.
- *3. The Licking Route.
- *4. The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail.
- *5. The Wilderness Road.
6. Old Road from Fort Washington to Tennessee.
7. Old Kentucky State Road.
8. Pioneer Road from Harrodsburg to the Falls of the Ohio.
9. Pioneer Road from Lexington to the Falls of the Ohio.
10. Trail between Duck River and Beech River, Tennessee.
- *11. The Bolivar and Memphis Trail.
- *12. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.
- *13. The Cisco and Savannah Trail.
14. The Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail.
- *15. The Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail.
- *16. The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail.

- *17. The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail.
- *18. The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail.
- *19. The Natchez Trace or the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace.
- *20. The Great South Trail.
- *21. The Clisca and St. Augustine Trail.
- *22. The Nickajack Trail.
- *23. The Black Fox Trail.
- *24. The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail.
- *25. The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail.
- *26. The Cumberland Trace.
- *27. The Chickamauga Path.
- 28. The East and West Trail.
- *29. The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail.
- *30. The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
- *31. The Great Indian Warpath.
- *32, 32A, 32B, 32C. The Warriors' Path in Kentucky.
- 33. The Catawba Trail.
- *34. The Old Waterloo Road.
- 35. The Unicoi Turnpike.
- *36. The Chesapeake Branch of the Great Indian Warpath.
- 37. The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia.
- 38. The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail.
- *39. Rutherford's War Trace.
- *40. The Nashville-Saline River Trail.
- *41. The Russellville-Shawneetown Trail.
- *42. The Palmyra-Princeton Trail.
- *43. The Russellville-Hopkinsville Trail.
- 44. The Clarksville-Hopkinsville Trail.
- *45. Boone's Trail from the Yadkin River to Boonesborough.
- 46. The Saura-Saponi Trail.
- 47. Trail from Bermuda Hundred to Amelia.
- 48. The trail between Pamunkey and New Rivers.
- 49. Pioneer Road from Petersburg to Tar River.
- 50. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Roanoke River.
- 51. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Albemarle Sound.
- 52. The New River and Southern Trail.
- 53. The Catawba and Northern Trail.
- *54. The Big Sandy Trail.
- *55, 55A. The Guyandot Trail.
- *56. The Coal River Trail.
- *57. The Paint Creek Trail.
- *58. The New River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
- *59, 59A, 59B. Trail along the North Fork of Tug River.
- 60. The Lower Creek Trading Path.
- 61. The Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, and Mobile Trail.
- 62. Route of Gen. Jackson's army when invading the Creek country.
- 63. Hightower Path.
- 64. The Old Road from the Tennessee River to Georgia.
- 65. The Chakchiuma Trails.
- *66. Gaines's Trace (according to Royce).
- 67. General Jackson's Old Military Road.
- 68. Route of General Jackson's expedition against the Indians in 1787.
- 69. Route from Tombigbee River to the mouth of the Arkansas.
- 70. Route followed by General Cox's Army (Melish map, 1814).
- 71. Long Island and Trenton (Lookout Mountain Town) Trail.

73. The Old Creek Path.
74. The Old Path from Fort Charlotte to the Cherokee Country.
- *75. The Sequatchie Trail.
76. The Old Cherokee Trading Path.
77. The Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775.
78. The Old South Carolina State Road to the North.
79. The trail from Fort Moore (Augusta) to Charleston.
- *80. The Occaneechi Path.
81. The trail from Charleston to Fort Charlotte.
82. The trail from Augusta to Savannah.
83. The trail from Charleston to Savannah.
84. The trail from Savannah to Jacksonville.
85. The trail from St. Augustine and Jacksonville to Apalachee Bay.
86. The trail from Tugaloo to Apalachee Bay.
87. The Old Indian Path between Coosa and Tugaloo.
88. The Wilmington, High Point, and Northern Trail.
89. The Occanee Path.
- *90. The Cherokee Trace.
- *91. The trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks.
92. The trail from Natchez to New Orleans.
93. The trail from Bay St. Louis to the Choctaw.
94. The trail from Augusta to the Cherokee via Fort Charlotte.
95. Trail between Pearl River and Lake Pontchartrain.
96. Trail between Natchez and Lake Pontchartrain.
97. Trail between the Tunica and Lake Pontchartrain.
98. Trail East from Baton Rouge.
- *99. The trail from Mobile to Natchez.
- *100. The Natchez and Texas Trail.
101. Trail between Natchez and the Atchafalaya.
102. The Tallapoosa Trail.
103. Trail between Columbia and Liberty, Mississippi.
104. The Chickasaw-Tunica Old Fields Trail.
- *105. The Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail.
- *106. Trail from the Upper Creeks to Pensacola.
- *107. Trail from St. Augustine to the mouth of Flint River.
108. Trail from Palatka to Jacksonville.
109. Trail from Picolata to Jacksonville.
110. Trail from Augusta to St. Augustine.
- *111. Old Trading Path from the Savannah to Pensacola.
112. The Alabama-Chickasaw Trail.
113. The Okfuskee Trail.
114. The Middle Creek Trading Path.
115. The trail from Selma to Mobile.
116. Trail from Winyah Bay to the Cheraws.
117. Trail from Charleston to Winyah Bay.
118. Trail from Mobile to the Lower Creeks.
- *119. The Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail.
120. The Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens, and Mobile Bay Trail.
121. The Choctaw and Mobile Bay Middle Route.
122. Trail from Alachua to Tampa Bay.
123. The Southern St. Augustine-Apalachee Trail.
124. The Alabama, Choctaw, and Natchez Trail.
125. The Alabama and Mobile Trail.

The Great Indian Warpath ran from the Creek country in Alabama and Georgia, through the East Tennessee Cherokee settlements, to Long Island in the Holston River, dividing near what is now Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tenn. Here the fork which we have called the Chesapeake branch (Trail No. 30) led off to the northeast through Virginia, into Pennsylvania and beyond. The other, which we have called the Ohio branch, led up the Holston Valley to the north fork of the Holston by what is now Saltville, Va., to the New River, and thence down the New and Kanawha Rivers to the Indian settlements in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

This trail is often mentioned by early white visitors to the Cherokee country. It is shown on the "Map of Cumberland and Franklin" in Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee," opposite page 376, and on Royce's "Map of the former territorial limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians," etc.¹⁹ It was one of the great trading and war paths between the northern and southern tribes, was intimately connected with the prehistoric migrations of the aborigines, and in later times saw the passage of those men and armies which made history for the Indians and for the whites.²⁰

The course of the Great Indian Warpath in Tennessee.—This warpath of necessity had many branches, as it passed through a maze of local trails among the numerous Cherokee towns in Tennessee, and this accounts for many apparent discrepancies in the narratives of early visitors as to its location, the visitor often giving his local branch as the main route. The route through Tennessee laid down in Royce's map is reasonably correct but does not show all of the local branches.²¹ It continued on from the junction of Moccasin Creek

¹⁹ In the Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

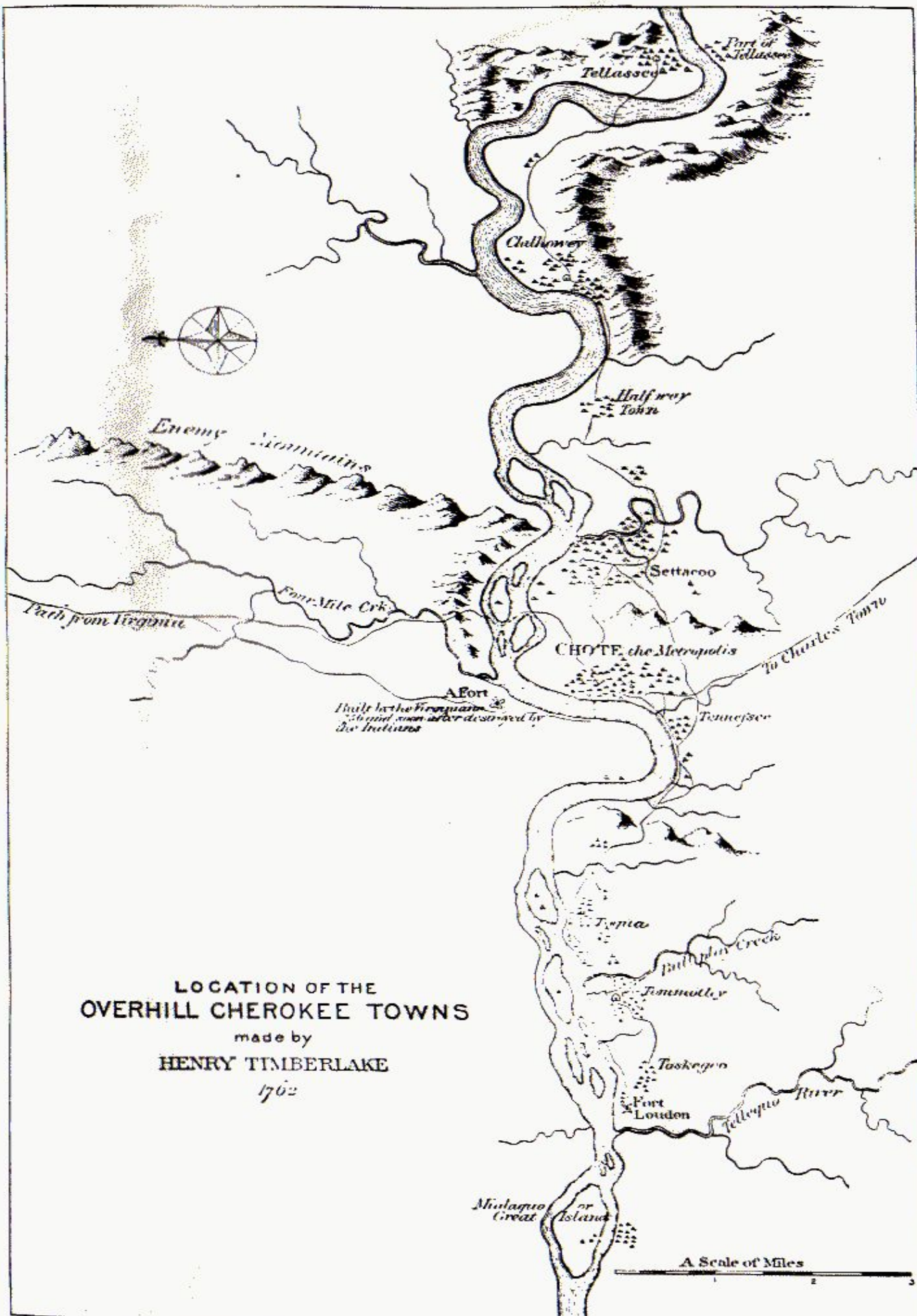
²⁰ See Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 63-65. For an account of the wars between the Iroquois and Cherokee, see Meany, in *Nineteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, pt. 1, pp. 351-352.

²¹ "When the pioneers of Tennessee settled in the south-western part of Virginia, and the coterminous portions of North Carolina, the country had ceased to be, perhaps had never been, the settled residence of any of the more modern aboriginal tribes. At this time it was the common hunting grounds of the Shawnees, Cherokees and other southern Indians. But east and north of the Tennessee river, there was not a single Indian hut. Still, along the valleys of what is now East Tennessee and Southwestern Virginia, lay the great route and thoroughfare between the northern and southern Indians, in their intercourse with distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their embassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion. Besides its central position and its direct bearing, the great Appalachian chain could no where else be so easily ascended and crossed. Abundance of game, water and fuel, a healthful and moderate climate, an unoccupied territory, no impracticable swamps, or deep and wide streams to retard their journeyings, were all considerations which led to the selection of this path. One branch of it was nearly the same as the present stage route passing the Big Lick, in Bottetourt county, Virginia; crossing New River at old Fort Chisnel, near Inglis' Ferry, Holston at the Seven Mile Ford, thence to the left of the present stage road and near to the river, to the North Fork, crossing as at present; thence to Big Creek and crossing the Holston at Dodson's Ford, to the Grassy Springs, near the residence of the late Micajah Lea; thence down the waters of Nollichucky to Long Creek, ascending that stream to its source, and descending Dumpling Creek to a point a few miles from its mouth, where the path deflected to the left and crossed French Broad near Buckingham's Island. Near this, the path divided. One branch of it [Trail No. 38] went up the west fork of Little Pigeon, and

with the north fork of the Holston just above the Tennessee line, passed the junction of the north and south forks of the Holston at Long Island, and went down the west side of the Holston, crossing Big Creek at its mouth and the Holston to its east side at Dodson's Creek. Thence it continued up along the east side of Dodson's Creek and across Big Gap Creek, which it followed for a short distance and, going on toward the southwest, just touching Nolchuky River, it passed up the west side of Long Creek, went down Dumpling Creek, and crossed French Broad just below the mouth of Dumpling.

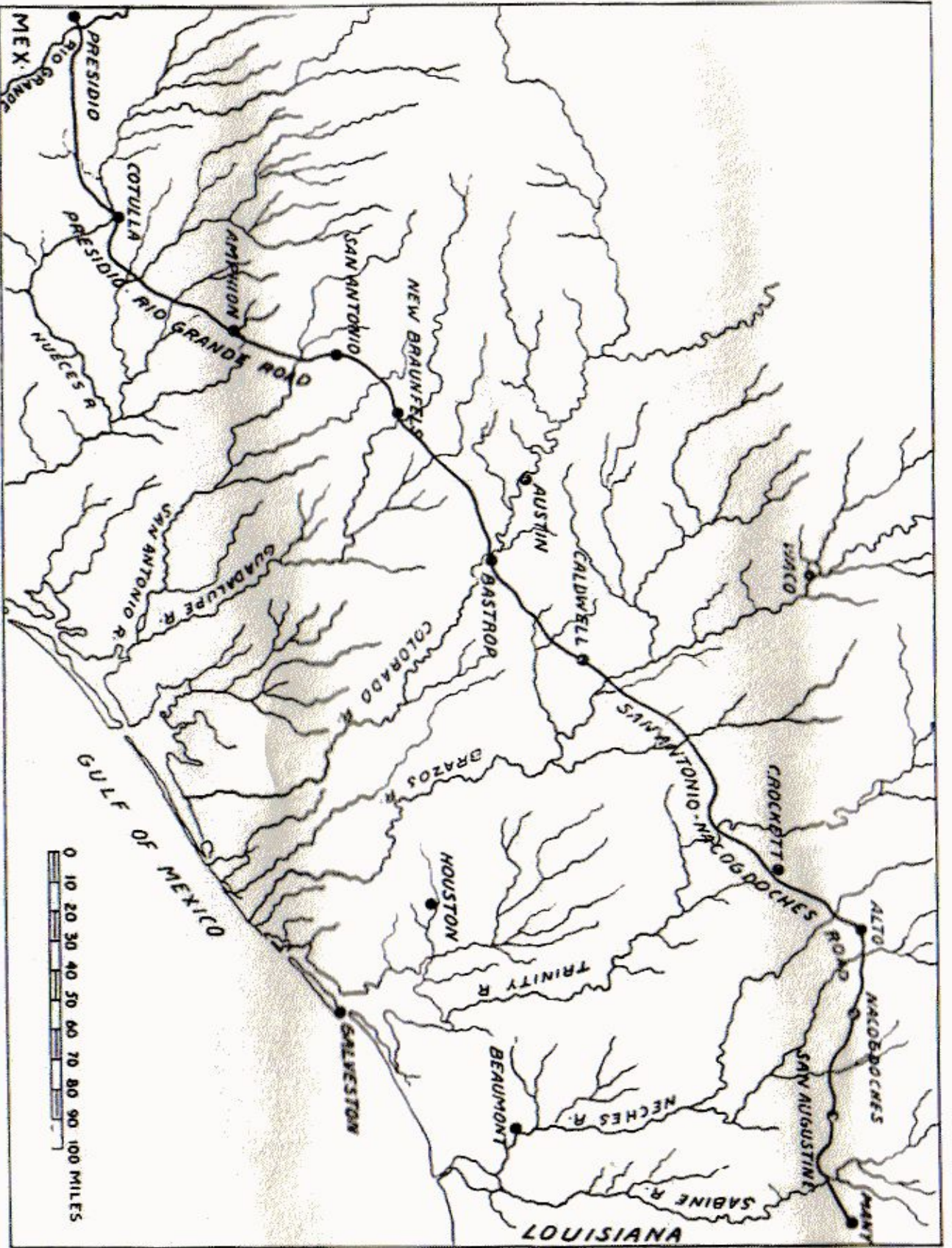
Here branched off the Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38) which led off to the southeast through Tuckaleechee Cove, and on through the passes in the Great Smoky Mountains to the middle and lower Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina. From the crossing just below the mouth of Dumpling the main trail went along the west side of Boyd's Creek to its head and down the west side of Ellijay Creek to and across Little River, then through what is now Maryville, and from there southwestward to the Little Tennessee River at the mouth of Tellico Creek, near the site of Old Fort Loudon. From the latter place it passed up along the south side of Little Tennessee River, through numerous Cherokee towns and fields, to Echota, the ancient capital and peace town of the Cherokee, after which it continued southwest across Tellico Creek, passed along the ridge between Chestua and Canasauga Creeks, crossing the Canasauga near its mouth, and Hiwassee River at the old Cherokee town of Hiwassee. It now continued southwest across the Ocoee River near its mouth, passing south of what is now Cleveland, through the present Oolte-wah, southwest to Old Chickamauga Town, on Chickamauga Creek, and thence on to the old Indian town of Citico, at the mouth of Citico Creek, in the suburbs of Chattanooga. Farther on it connected the Cherokee towns and settlements of Running Water and Niekajack with that at the Great Creek Crossing at Long Island (now Bridgeport Island) in Tennessee River, near Bridgeport, Ala. At Bridgeport Island it met several important trails leading to numerous

crossed some small mountains to the Tuckaleechee towns, and so on to the Over-hill villages of the Cherokees. The other and main fork, went up Boyd's Creek to its source, and falling upon the head branches of Allejay, descended its valley to Little River, and crossing near Henry's, went by the present town of Maryville, to the mouth of Tellico, and passing through the Indian towns and villages of Tellico, Chota and Hiwassee, descended the Coosa, where it connected with the Great War Path of the Creeks. Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the earlier English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Rockcastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston."—Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 87-88.



LOCATION OF THE
OVERHILL CHEROKEE TOWNS
made by
HENRY TIMBERLAKE
1762

A Scale of Miles



THE CAMINO REAL IN TEXAS (AFTER ZIVELY)

We reproduce in Plate 16 Timberlake's map of the Over-hill Cherokee towns in 1762,²³ which shows the Great Warpath ("Path from Virginia") entering ancient Echota ("Chote, the Metropolis"). It also gives the well-known path leading from Echota to the sea at Charleston and Savannah (Trail No. 35). Timberlake's map illustrates the large number of paths which were found in all thickly settled Indian regions, and among other things shows that just before this warpath crossed the river to enter Chote it came to "A Fort built by the Virginians [in] 1756 and soon after destroyed by the Indians." It also shows Fort Loudon at the mouth of "Tellequo River" where the massacre occurred in 1760 which has taken such deep hold on the imagination of our people.

THE OHIO BRANCH

The main or Ohio prong of the Great Indian Warpath led from the forks of the trail at Long Island, Sullivan County, Tenn., up the valley of the north fork of Holston River, and past the recently discovered site of an ancient Indian town on the east side of the Holston Valley, about 6 miles northeast of the present village of Abram's Falls, in Washington County, Va.

This town was evidently deserted long before historic times, for no hint of its former existence reached the early white visitors. That it was a place of some importance and inhabited for many years is shown by the great number of skeletons of its one-time

²³ The Indian crossing place at Long Island (also called Bridgeport Island) on Tennessee River near Bridgeport, Ala., known to the early whites in Middle Tennessee as the "Old Creek Crossing," was a natural gateway for aboriginal travel. The Cisca and St. Augustine trail, the Nickajack trail, the Chickamauga path, all crossed the Tennessee River at this point. Several other great paths leading through Georgia to Middle Tennessee and the North used it, as does the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Rail way to-day.

Its importance as a trading point was quickly grasped by all early white visitors to this region. On the French map of Guillaume De l'Isle, published in 1722, an island is shown at about the location of Long Island or the Old Creek Crossing, on one end of which a village of "Casquinampo" Indians is located, on the other a village of "Caskighi" (Tuskegee). This information De l'Isle probably obtained from those French traders who began passing up the Tennessee River as early as 1701.

There is an old manuscript map of this region in the British Archives, a copy of which was given to the Historical Society of South Carolina. It is undated but experts think it belongs to about the year 1715. An island on this also corresponds in location to the Long Island at Old Creek Crossing. In its center a French fort is located, with the words: "Since ye Warre a French Fort." It shows a village of "Cusatees" (probably Koasati) at either end. The author finds on another old map in the Library of Congress, "Carte de la Louisiane par N. Bellin," published in Paris in 1744, a "Fort et Poste Anglois" at what appears to be the same location, showing that about that time the English had a fort and trading post here. On account of its importance as a trading point and the command it assured of the river, it is evident that its possession was eagerly sought by both the French and the English.

The Cherokee came to Long Island after its successive occupations by the Casquinampo, "Caskighi," and Cusatees, probably after 1740.

Explorations by Mr. Clarence B. Moore in 1914 (Aboriginal Sites on the Tennessee River, p. 331) show that there was a village site on the lower end of the island. He found three mounds there, one on the Tennessee side of the Tennessee-Alabama State line and two in Alabama. The owner was unwilling to permit digging on the island, and consequently we do not know whether vestiges of a village on the upper end could be unearthed.

²⁴ Timberlake, *Memoirs*.

inhabitants which were found in two burial caves or cavern shelters in the adjoining mountain side. These burial caves were discovered in January, 1922, and announcement was immediately made by telegraph to the writer and Dr. A. Hrdlička by Col. Samuel L. King, of Bristol, Tenn. Colonel King states: "The caves were discovered by an enterprising moonshiner looking for a suitable location for a still [fact]." In his search, a round, well-like opening was found in the bottom of a small depression, and, descending by means of a rope, the searcher found at the bottom of the "well" a cave, where, immediately underneath the "well" opening, to his utter astonishment, he came upon an irregular mound of earth and stones with which some human bones were indiscriminately mingled. Doctor Hrdlička visited this site in February, and reported that this mound-like pile was an irregular oval, approximately 8 feet high, about 80 feet long, and 30 feet in width. The bodies appeared to have been brought down the well-like crevice and placed near the walls of the cave. The mound of earth had gradually accumulated by washings from the surface above and the stones had fallen from the roof of the cavern-shelter. The human bones had in some way become moved from their original positions near the side of the cave, probably by animals, and were mingled with this gradually accumulating mound, which appeared to contain the badly scattered fragments of several hundred human skeletons. Most of the bones were more or less broken.

Another near-by burial cave was also reported to contain a large number of fragments of human bones, and Colonel King was told later of still other burial caves in the neighborhood.

This skeletal material seems to suggest the Cherokee type.

From this ancient village site the trail continued on up the valley of the Holston about 25 miles until it reached the great salt lick at what was known to the early whites as King's Salt Works, from a settler who began the manufacture of salt at this point about 1810. As the place grew in importance it became known as Saltville, and, although the deposit has been worked for over 100 years, it continues to furnish great quantities of salt and is the site of a large manufacturing establishment in the products of which salt plays an important part.

The first white men who came to this salt lick found a small shallow lake covering a portion of the little valley, a great resort for waterfowl, and on or near its marshy edge in the trail-cut valley they discovered several bones which proved to belong to the mastodon, *Megalonyx* and other large extinct animals of the Pleistocene period. Some of the bones of these animals the reader may see, if he so desire, at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.

The old Cherokee path to Virginia (No. 37).—At Saltville the Ohio prong was joined by the old Cherokee path to Virginia, in existence

before 1775, which passed through the Carolinas and the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee before reaching this point.

Route of the Ohio prong from Saltville to Kanawha Falls (No. 31 continued).—Although we have made diligent inquiry, we have been unable to locate the course of the Ohio prong between Saltville and the falls of the Kanawha with any degree of certainty. The existence of such a trail is well known, but it ran through a wild country with a poor soil and one that did not attract the aborigines; nor did it lie in such a position as to be used and thus emphasized by the oncoming wave of early white immigration. Probably this portion of the trail led from Saltville via the North Holston Valley along the west side of Lick Creek, up the Hunting Camp Creek Fork of Clear Fork, through Rocky Gap, and thence along the ridges between the Bluestone and New Rivers to the mouth of the former stream. The evidence for that portion of the route near the Bluestone is strengthened by the fact that there are some ancient Indian remains in Mercer County, where the trail crosses the eighty-first meridian, about 5 miles in a straight line southwest of Elgood. There it crossed New River, and probably went 1 or 2 miles to the east of Hinton, passing along the ridge about 3 miles east of Ramp, 2 miles west of Grassy Meadows and 3 miles west of Rainelle. About 4 miles west of Rainelle it was joined by a trail (No. 48) which led up from central Virginia, through White Sulphur Springs, Lewisburg, and Rainelle. From this point the Ohio prong followed the course of the old turnpike from Virginia which led along the Flat Top Mountain to the falls of the Kanawha. Local tradition affirms that this portion of the old road to Virginia followed an Indian trail. The fact that it left the valley for the ridge is confirmed by the following quotation from George Washington's "Tour to the Ohio."²⁴ Speaking of the Kanawha River he says:

"The river is easily passed with canoes to the falls, which can not be less than one hundred miles, but further it is not possible to go with them; that there is but one ridge from thence to the settlements upon the river above, on which it is possible for a man to travel, the country between being so much broken with steep hills and precipices."

From Saltville another fork of the Ohio prong led up the narrowing valley of the north fork of the Holston to its head northeast of Ceres in Bland County, Va. Thence it passed to the head of Walker Creek, a distance of less than 2 miles, and on down Walker Creek to its junction with New River.²⁵ It is probable that many travelers bound north from Saltville took this Walker Creek route, made canoes at the junction of Walker Creek and New River and floated down the swift New River to Kanawha Falls. Southbound travelers,

²⁴ Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. II, p. 529.

²⁵ The author questions this sentence, evidently feeling doubtful of its complete accuracy.

THE TRAIL SYSTEM OF THE
SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES
IN THE
EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

A Preliminary Map From Data Collected By
W. E. Myer
1923

