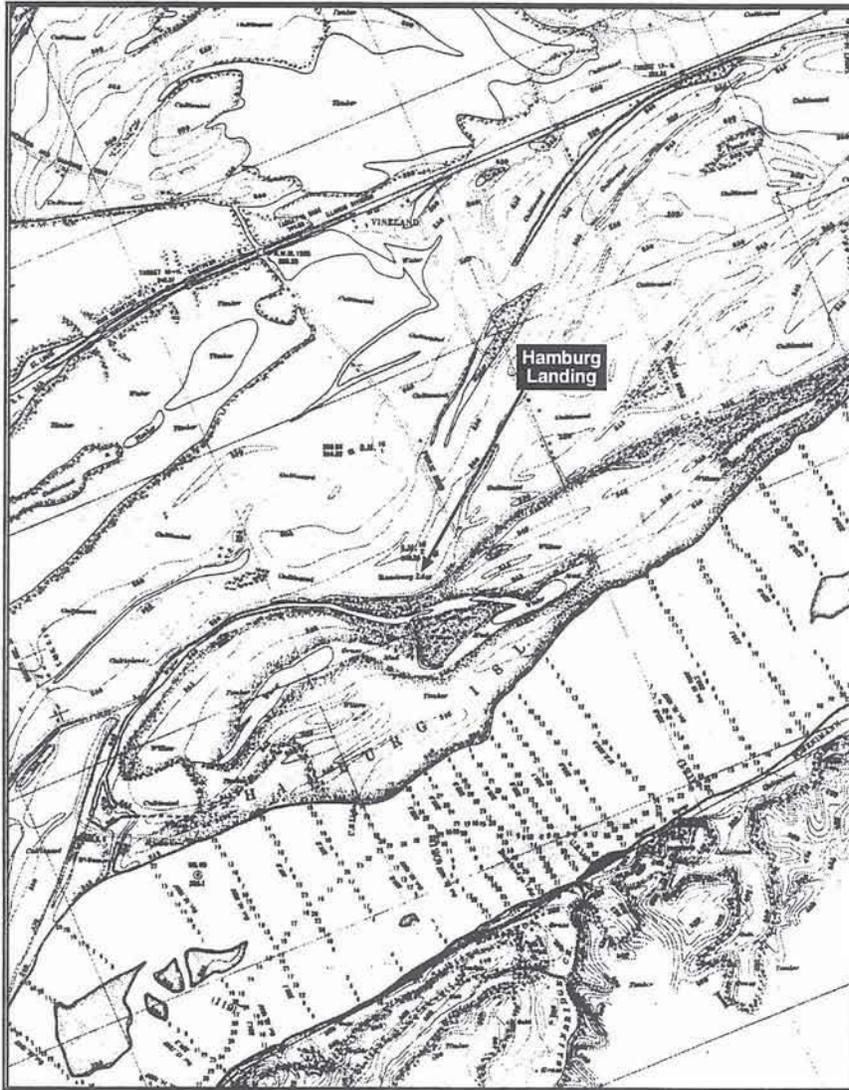

Archival and Historical Investigations for the Cherokee Trail of Tears in Union County, Illinois

Mark J. Wagner



Center for Archaeological Investigations
Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Technical Report 03-2

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for the Cherokee Trail of Tears in
Union County, Illinois**

by

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Submitted to

The National Park Service
Long Distance Trails Group Office
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Center for Archaeological Investigations
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Abstract

This report is a historical and archival study of Cherokee Trail of Tears (1837-1839) related sites within Union County, Illinois. This research determined the sequence of ownership and ferry licenses for three ferries—Green's Upper and Lower Ferries at Willard's Landing and Littleton's Old Ferry at Hamburg Landing—used by the Cherokee to cross the Mississippi River. It also revealed that at least one of the ferry operators—James Wilborn at Hamburg Landing—appears to have acquired his ferry license solely to profit off of the forced emigration of the Cherokee through Union County. Other Union County businessmen sought to profit off of the Cherokee removal by obtaining liquor licenses or tavern (hotel) licenses solely for the period (1837-1839) of the movement of the majority of the Cherokee through the county. A review of a series of mid- to late-nineteenth-century county, federal, and other maps that showed the locations of Willard's and Hamburg landings revealed that both landings potentially still may exist as archaeological sites on the Mississippi River floodplain west of the existing levee. The study also examined the chains-of-titles for nine early- to mid-nineteenth century archaeological sites contained near or on the Trail of Tears within present day Union County Conservation Area (UCCA) to determine if any of these sites could have been occupied at the time of the Cherokee removal. The study revealed that six of these sites (11U690, U704, U712, U723, U733, and U736) potentially may have been occupied during the late 1830s, but this could not be conclusively proven. Finally, examination of journals kept by two men—guide B.B. Cannon and the Reverend Daniel Buttrick—who accompanied the Cherokee through Union County, failed to produce any information regarding Union County residents who may have interacted with the Cherokee.

Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Contents.....	iii
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	iv
Acknowledgments.....	v
1 Introduction	1
2 Project Background	5
Environmental Setting.....	5
Local Historical Background	6
Trail of Tears in Union County.....	7
Previous Historical Archaeological Investigations	10
3 Methods	12
4 Results.....	14
Ferries.....	16
Green's Ferry at Willard's Landing.....	16
Green's Upper Ferry at Willard's Landing.....	14
Green's Lower Ferry at Willard's Landing.....	22
Hamburg Landing	24
Union County Conservation Area Archaeological Sites	28
Archaeological Site Descriptions.....	30
Examination of Cannon and Buttrick Journals.....	38
5 Conclusions.....	55
Introduction.....	55
Union County Conservation Area Archaeological Sites	55
Ferries.....	56
Examination of Cannon and Buttrick Journals.....	58
Possibilities for Future Research.....	58
References.....	62

List of Figures

1-1.	Location of Union County Conservation Area	3
1-2.	Location of Trail of Tears route and ferry sites in western Union County.....	4
4-1	Green's and Hamburg Landings in 1865 (U.S. Coast Survey Office 1865).....	39
4-2.	Willard's and Hamburg Landings in 1876 (Warner and Beers 1876).....	40
4-3.	Willard's Landing in 1881 (Lake 1881).....	41
4-4.	Willard's Landing in 1880-1881 (Comstock 1890).....	42
4-5.	Willard's Landing in 1899 (Beumann 1899).....	43
4-6.	Willard's Landing in 1908 (Sears and Bixby 1908).....	44
4-7.	Willard's Landing in 1908 county map (Ogle and Company 1908).....	45
4-8.	Hamburg Landing in 1881 (Lake 1881).....	46
4-9.	Hamburg Landing in 1880-1881 (Comstock 1890).....	47
4-10.	Hamburg Landing in 1903 plat map.	48
4-11.	Hamburg Landing in 1908 (Sears and Bixby 1908).....	49
4-12.	Hamburg Landing in 1908 county map (Ogle and Company 1908).....	50
4-13.	Locations of possible early- and mid-nineteenth-century sites in the UCCA.....	51
4-14.	Plan view of excavations at site 11U683.....	52
4-15.	Plan views of Features 1 and 2 at site 11U683.....	53
4-16.	Plan view of Feature 3 at site 11U683	54
5-1.	Projected location of archaeological remains of Willard's Landing.....	60
5-2.	Projected location of archaeological remains of Hamburg Landing.....	61

List of Tables

4-1.	Owners and operators for Green's Upper Ferry, ca. 1807-1866.....	17
4-2.	Owners and operators for Green's Lower Ferry, ca. 1807-1842.....	23
4-3.	Owners and operators of Littleton's Old Ferry at Hamburg Landing, 1813-1841.....	24
4-4.	Location, owner, and purchase date for possible Trail of Tears-related sites within the UCCA	29
5-1.	Possible residents of Conservation Area sites during the Trail of Tears era.....	56

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The archival and historical investigations described in this report were conducted by the Center for Archaeological Investigations at Southern Illinois University Carbondale (CAI-SIUC) between October, 2002, and September, 2003 as part of a Challenge Cost Share agreement with the National Park Service, Santa Fe and Trail of Tears National Historic Trail program. This research had three objectives. The first was to examine land, tax, and other records relating to nine early to mid-nineteenth-century archaeological sites contained within present-day Union County Conservation Area (Knight and Butler 1995; Wagner 1995) to determine if any of these sites could have been occupied during the period (1837-1839) of the Cherokee Trail of Tears (Foreman 1932:229-314; National Park Service 1992). The second was to determine the locations, owners, operators, and types of Union County river ferries potentially used by the Cherokee to cross the Mississippi River during their forced emigration to the western United States in the late 1830s. The third was to review the journals kept by two individuals, B.B. Cannon and the Reverend Daniel Buttrick, who accompanied different detachments of Cherokee who passed through Union County to see if either of these men mentioned the names of any of the owners of the archaeological sites within the Union County Conservation Area.

The Union County Conservation Area (UCCA) is a 6,200 acre area, administered by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, located on the Mississippi River floodplain southwest of Jonesboro, Illinois (Figure 1-1). The UCCA encompasses a former Mississippi River meander loop characterized by an arcing ridge and swale topography. The UCCA primarily functions as a resting place and food source for migratory Canadian geese that winter over in southern Illinois between the spring and fall migrations. The conservation area is bordered on the east by Clear Creek, a small stream that flows along the base of a series of rugged uplands known as the Illinois Ozarks. The northern, southern, and western edges of the conservation area, in contrast, are bordered by areas of the Mississippi River floodplain physically similar to that contained in the UCCA. The Mississippi River itself is located approximately 2.5 km west of the western edge of the conservation area.

During the nineteenth century the section of Mississippi River floodplain that now makes up the UCCA was crossed by one of the major east-west roads of frontier-period Illinois. Known as the Golconda to Cape Girardeau Trace, this dirt road extended westward from Golconda on the Ohio River across southern Illinois to a series of ferry crossings along the Mississippi River (Figure 1-2). During the late 1830s this road (essentially, modern day Rt. 146) formed a segment of the "Trail of Tears" followed by the Cherokee on their forced emigration from their ancestral homes in the Southeast to present-day Oklahoma (National Park Service 1992). This trail still extends through the conservation area today in the form of a paved road that leads to and through the headquarters complex of the UCCA.

Archaeological survey of a portion of the UCCA during the 1990s revealed that the conservation area contained at least nine early to mid-nineteenth-century historic period archaeological sites representing the remains of rural residences potentially dating to the 1837-1839 Trail of Tears period (Knight and Butler 1995; Stephens 1994). In addition, archaeological test investigations at site one of these sites (11U-683), which was located directly on the former

route of the trail through the UCCA, uncovered several subsurface mid-nineteenth-century features including a cistern and possible cellar (Wagner 1995). If the early-nineteenth-century artifact-based date ranges for these sites could be confirmed through archival research, they would then represent a tangible physical link with the Cherokee exodus across southern Illinois in 1837-1839.

This additional archival research was carried out during the fall of 2002 and the summer of 2003 as part of the current project. As described in the following chapters, this research recovered detailed information regarding the sequence of ownership, operators, buildings, and locations of the three ferries active in Union County at the time of the Cherokee removal. In addition, it revealed that the ferry sites potentially still exist (although buried beneath river alluvium) on the Mississippi River floodplain west of the existing levee.

Examination of the chains-of-title and other records relating to the nine archaeological sites located by the 1995 and other surveys was less productive in determining which, if any, of these sites were occupied during the period (1837-1839) of the Cherokee removal. Winstead Davie, one of the richest men in Union County during the nineteenth century, appears to have acquired five of the sites (11U683, 690, 699, 704, 712) by the mid-1840s and possibly earlier by paying their overdue tax bills. It is not clear from the existing records if the original owners were still living on the properties while Davie was paying their land taxes or if they already had abandoned them. Although some of these sites (most notably 11U-690) could have been occupied during the late 1830s, Davie's payment of the taxes on these properties makes this uncertain. Three other sites (11U723, 733, 736) potentially may have been occupied during the late 1830s based on their chains-of-title and the artifacts recovered by the 1995 survey, but this cannot be conclusively proven. Finally, one site (11U692) appears to have been established in the late 1840s, at least 10 years after the Cherokee Removal.

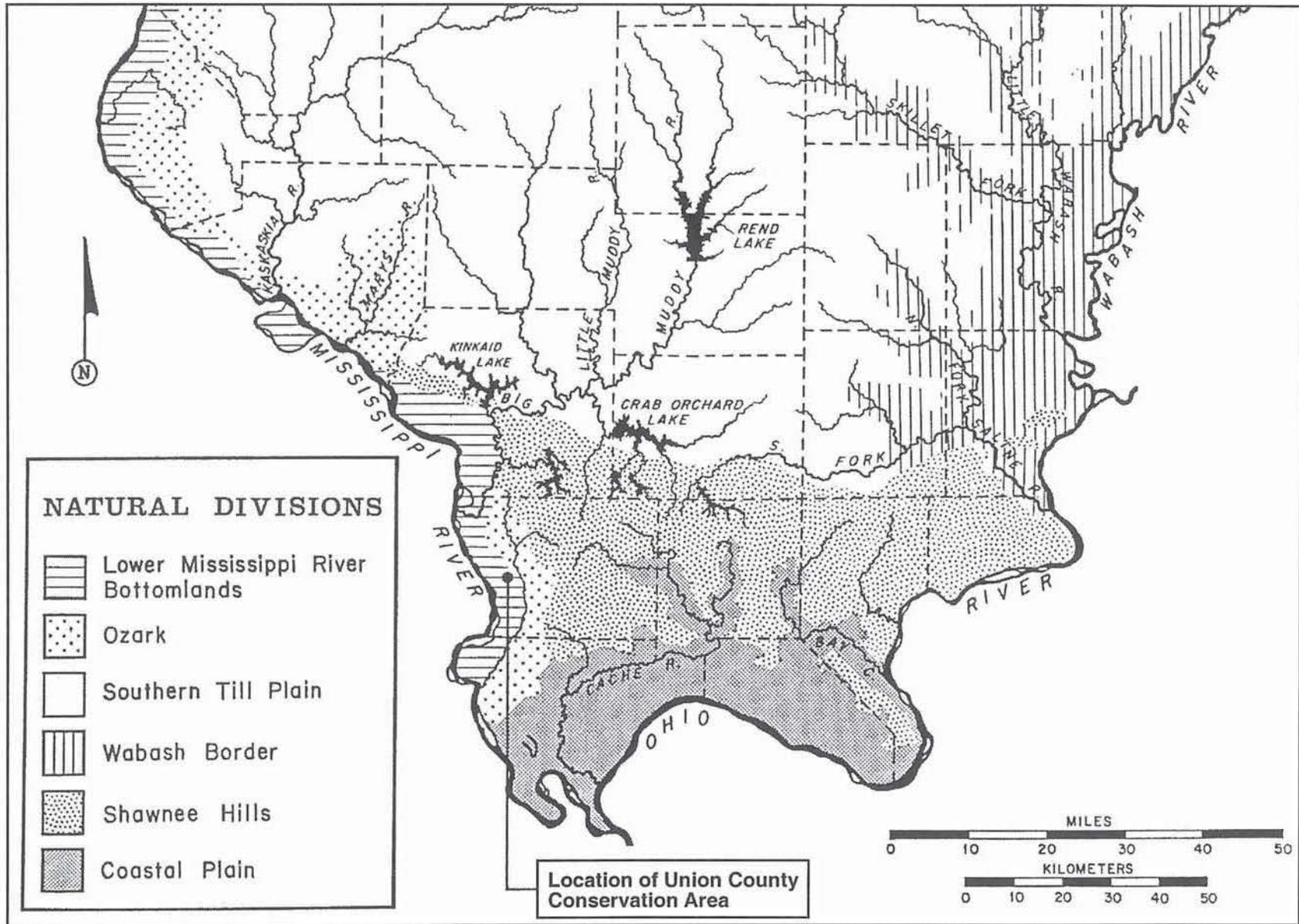


Figure 1-1. Location of the Union County Conservation Area.

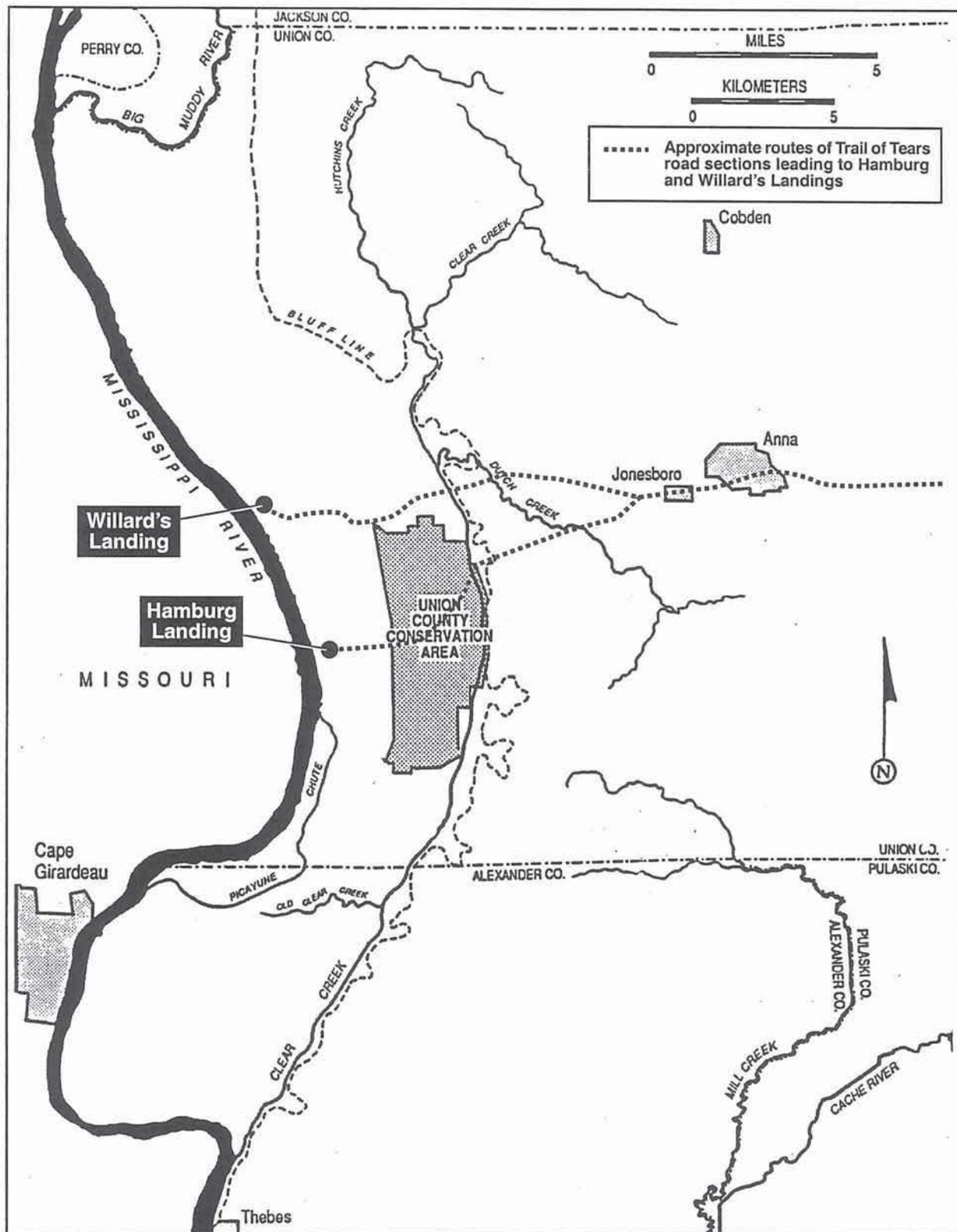


Figure 1-2. Location of Trail of Tears route and ferry sites in western Union County.

Chapter 2 Project Background

This chapter presents the environmental, historical, and archaeological background of the project area. Unless otherwise noted, sections of the environmental, historical, and archaeological sections are condensed from more extensive treatments in Knight and Butler (1995). The discussion of the route and history of the Trail of Tears within western Union County, however, is specific to this report.

Environmental Setting

The Union County Conservation Area and the former locations of Willard's and Hamburg landings are contained in the Mississippi River floodplain near the southern end of the Upper Mississippi River Valley, a feature demarcated by the Thebes Gap constriction that opens on to the Gulf Coastal Plain forming the Mississippi River Valley about 17.5 km south (Figure 1-2). The Upper Valley was formed by glacial meltwaters; subsequent meandering of the Mississippi River has resulted in a landscape of numerous meander scars, oxbow lakes, and floodplain ridges. Clear Creek, whose headwaters rises in the unglaciated Shawnee Hills and Salem Plateau of the Ozark uplands, originally flowed along the eastern bluffbase, through the relict Mississippi River channel just north of Cape Girardeau. Dense bottomland forest formed the native vegetation south of Kaskaskia and included various oak species, sweet gum, pumpkin ash, swamp cottonwood, red maple, water locust, and possibly bald cypress (Schwegman 1973:26).

Information regarding the early to mid-nineteenth century environmental conditions and vegetation on the Mississippi River within Union County are provided by the 1832 Government Land Office (GLO) plats and the 1866 geological studies of A.H. Worthen. The GLO plats reveal that the floodplain was covered by scattered swamps, ponds, and lakes, but they provide no information regarding the vegetation. In 1866, however, geologist Amos Worthen (1866:33) described Union County as being "one of the best timbered Districts of the state." He went on to note that:

The bottom lands of this county comprise a belt of about four miles in width along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, and extending to the river bluffs. These lands, where they are not too wet to admit of cultivation, are exceedingly fertile, and are the best corn lands in the county. The growth of timber on the bottom lands is even heavier than upon the uplands, and comprises several varieties of oak...that are not met upon the uplands; also, sycamore, horn-beam elm, cottonwood, bald cypress, tupelo gum, white maple, willow, ash, hackberry, pecan, persimmon, red birch, pawpaw, etc. A good deal of this bottomland is too wet for cultivation, and is covered with water, forming ponds, sloughs, etc.

Today, most of the Mississippi River bottomland has been drained and is cultivated, and Mississippi River and Clear Creek flooding is controlled by levees. Within the UCCA, lakes and sloughs are maintained by impoundment with some additional landscape modification.

Local Historical Background

Union County was created in 1818 out of the northwestern part of Johnson County which at that time encompassed parts of five present-day Illinois counties (Anonymous 1989:34-35). Euro-American settlers were present within the borders of the present-day county, however, at least as early as 1803 in settlements clustered in the Mississippi River bottom along Clear and Cache creeks. Many early settlers were descended from German Lutherans and Dunkards (German Baptists or Brethren) who originally had emigrated to Pennsylvania to escape religious prosecution in Germany (Adams 1994:43). This ethnic origin is reflected in place names within the county that extend back in time to the early nineteenth century such as the town of (New) Hamburg(h) and Hamburg(h) Landing.

The majority of the settlers in the eastern part of the county, however, as with virtually all of southern Illinois prior to 1818, were emigrants from the hilly backcountry of the Upper South known as the Upland South region. These settlers carried with them the cultural traditions of that region including a reliance upon a diversified farming complex, wood-oriented technology, the importance of the extended family as a co-operative labor unit, and a oligarchic system of local government dominated by a county court comprised of three appointed, and later elected, judges. The majority of the settlers in the county were small farmers established on individual farmsteads surrounded by those of other family members.

Early nineteenth century Euro-American settlement within Union County primarily was concentrated in the uplands east of the current project area. This area is contained within Jonesboro Precinct, the earliest settled precinct (1809) within the county. Bottomland floods, some of which covered the Mississippi River floodplain by as much as 18 to 30 feet of water, impeded early to mid-nineteenth century settlement on the floodplain (Knight and Butler 1995:16). Major floods occurred in 1808, 1844, 1851, and 1858 (Perrin 1883:291, 346). Scattered early- to -mid-nineteenth-century farms were present on higher elevation areas of the floodplain, but the majority of early settlement within the county was in upland areas of the county surrounding the county seat of Jonesboro. Early settlements on the floodplain included Hamburg, a river town where lots were advertised for sale as early as 1818 (Adams 1968).

Agriculture remained the most important industry in Union County throughout the nineteenth century. Prior to 1850 the majority of agricultural produce within the county was shipped to exterior markets by using the Mississippi River which forms the western boundary of the county. The lower Mississippi River valley and New Orleans became the principal market for the farm products of the county. The principal crops raised prior to the Civil War were grain crops that could be fed to livestock or hauled to the river landings for transport by flatboat to New Orleans and other down river markets (Perrin 1883:336).

Other early industries and businesses included lumber and grain mills, taverns, and stores. By the 1830s three men—Elijah Willard, Willis Willard, and their brother-in-law Winstead Davie—had become the unrivaled political and economic leaders of the county. All three men interacted with the Cherokee to varying degrees and profited from their forced movement through Union County in 1838 and 1839 (see below and Chapter 4). Davie, who suffered from a birth defect that left him unable to walk, arrived in Union County as a young schoolteacher in 1816. In the following decades he became synonymous with county government, controlling or occupying a series of county positions including recorder, county clerk, circuit clerk, and probate judge, for many years (Parks 1984:258; Smith 1912:542-543). Apparently stung by

criticism that his crippled condition made him a unsuitable suitor for the hand of Anna Willard, sister of the powerful Willard brothers, Davie set out to become one of the richest merchants and land owners in the county. Although eventually allied to the Willard family by marriage, Davie and his brother-in-law Willis Willard remained personal and economic rivals for life (Perrin 1883:305-307).

Elijah Willard arrived in Union County in 1820 as “poor boy” along with his widowed mother and three siblings, one of whom (Willis) became his life-long business partner (Perrin 1883:291). Starting as a clerk in a Jonesboro store, Willard went on to found a wholesale business entitled “Willard & Co” that had sales of over \$100,000 a year prior to the Civil War. He also reportedly graveled the Mississippi River bottom section of the Jonesboro to Willard’s Landing Road to insure easier transportation of his merchandise in and out of the county (Smith 1912:543). By the time of his death in 1848 he had become the wealthiest man in the county, leaving an estate that included some 60,000 acres, a steam mill, ferry, store, and over \$16,000 in cash (Dexter 1996b:214). Elijah Willard’s interest in the steam mill and ferry passed upon his death to his brother Willis who continued the Willard family businesses for another 25 years, leaving an estate valued at over half a million dollars when he died in 1873 (Parks 1984:222; Smith 1912:543).

Trail of Tears in Union County

Early nineteenth century settlers in Union County maintained contact with the outside world through a series of dirt trails or “traces” that extended across the county, linking the county to other settlements in southern Illinois and ports located along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Many of these trails pre-dated the formation of Union County in 1818 with some possibly dating back into the late prehistoric period. Location along such trails provided early nineteenth century settlers, with access to information, manufactured goods, and exterior markets as well as economic opportunities in the form of travelers needing food and shelter for the night (Wagner and McCorvie 1992:312).

Among these early roads was the Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace or Trail, a dirt road that extended from Golconda on the Ohio River in the east to various ferry crossings along the Mississippi River in Union County in the west. James Lusk and his wife Sara operated a ferry known as “Lusk’s Ferry” on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River opposite the present-day town of Golconda as early as 1796. In 1803, following the death of her husband, Sara Lusk moved across the river to the Illinois shore and laid out a town called “Sarasville,” the name of which was changed to Golconda in 1817 (Trovillion 1929:192-194). Several early traces extended northwest from Golconda, leading to towns along the Mississippi River such as Kaskaskia. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the trace that led westward across Illinois from Lusk’s Ferry (the later Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace) appears also to have been known as Lusk’s Trace. The path of this road, which formed the major route of the Cherokee “Trail of Tears” through southern Illinois largely corresponds to that of modern-day highway Rt. 146. The western end of the nineteenth century trail forked at Jonesboro in Union County into northern and southern branches (Figure 1-2). The northern branch ran along what is now Rt. 146 to Dutch Creek Camp, then on to the town of Ware and across the Mississippi River floodplain to Green’s Ferry at Willard’s Landing. The southern branch, also known as the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road, passed through Dug Hill (now part of the Shawnee National Forest) across Clear Creek and through the modern-day Union County Conservation Area

(UCCA). After leaving the area of the UCCA the road continued west to Littleton's Old Ferry at Hamburg Landing which was located across the Mississippi River from the town of Bainbridge, Missouri (National Park Service 1992).

Portions of the original route of the Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace still survive as deep road cuts on lands owned by the Shawnee National Forest and private land owners in the hills located east of the Mississippi River floodplain. The virtually flat Mississippi River floodplain, however, lacks any relief and has been cultivated for at least the last 175 years. As a result, any shallow road cuts associated with the trail have been obliterated by farming.

Anthropologist James Mooney (1900:132) was told by aged Cherokee whom he interviewed in Oklahoma that they crossed the Mississippi River on two ferries: one at Cape Girardeau and "at Green's Ferry, a short distance below." This information is at least partially inaccurate as Green's Ferry was located above, not below, Cape Girardeau. Similarly, the statement that the Cherokee crossed at Cape Girardeau in actuality may be a reference to Hamburg Landing (Littleton's Old Ferry), which was the closest of the two ferries to Cape Girardeau.

Eleven of the 17 Cherokee detachments involved in the Trail of Tears experience traveled through southern Illinois from Golconda in the east to the Union County ferry crossings in the west. In mid-November 1837 an initial party of 360 Cherokee under the leadership of guide B.B. Cannon crossed the Mississippi River in Union County in a matter of three days. Gilbert (1996:56) states that the Cannon party crossed at (New) Hamburg Landing although the published version of B.B. Cannon's journal contains no information on where they crossed the Mississippi (Cannon 1978:170). Gilbert's inference that the Cannon party crossed at Hamburg Landing may have been based on the route and land owners encountered by this party once they entered Missouri.

The relatively easy crossing of the 1837 Cannon party stands in marked contrast to that experienced by seven separate detachments of Cherokee emigrants who attempted to cross the Mississippi River in late 1838 and early 1839. By December 30, 1838, only two of these detachments had reached the Mississippi River while five were still en route at various points along the Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace within southern Illinois (Buttrick n.d.:44). The first detachment to reach the Mississippi may have been that led by Reverend Evans Jones which reached the Mississippi River and began crossing in late December, 1838 (Jones 1839:127). As Jones recalled in a letter published a few months later, this detachment had been:

stopped by the ice running so that the boats could not cross for several days. Here br. (sic) Bushyhead's detachment came up with us, and we had the pleasure of having our tents in the same encampment, and before all our detachment was over, Rev. Stephen Foreman's detachment came up with us, and encamped along side of us. I am sorry to say that both these detachments have not been able to cross (Jones 1839:89).

In addition to the Bushyhead and Foreman detachments, two other detachments including parts of the Taylor detachment arrived shortly after, making a total of between 4,000 and 5,000 people waiting to cross the ice-choked Mississippi River. The Cherokee reportedly began dying so quickly from the intense cold during the three or more weeks they waited to cross the river that the dead could not be buried (Gilbert 1996:54; Henegar 1978:177). In a letter published in late 1839 Reverend Jesse Bushyhead reported that his detachment had been "delayed one month on the road at the Mississippi by the ice" (Bushyhead 1839:178). By January 12, 1839,

Brown's and Still's detachments had crossed while the Wofford detachment was expected to cross on January 13 (Buttrick n.d.:49-50). The detachments led by Hicks, Hildebrand, and Taylor however, were still on the road in the area of present-day Goreville in Johnson County as late as mid-January. The last of these detachments, that led by Richard Taylor, did not reach Jonesboro in Union County until January 23, 1839. They finally reached the banks of the ice-choked Mississippi two days later on January 25. Half of the detachment crossed at this time, despite the ice, with the remainder trapped on the Illinois shore until at least February 12, 1839 (Buttrick n.d.:59).

The various Cherokee detachments probably crossed at both the Willard and Hamburg Landings although specific documentation is lacking. Both ferries were in operation at this time, and it makes little sense that thousands of people wanting to cross the river would have used only one ferry and not the other. The Evans, Foreman and Bushyhead detachments are all believed to have crossed the Mississippi River at Willard's Landing (Gilbert 1996:54). In contrast, Richard Taylor's detachment (which included Reverend Daniel Buttrick and his family) may have crossed at both Willard's and Hamburg Landings. Reverend Buttrick noted in his journal that about half of the Taylor detachment apparently succeeded in crossing the Mississippi in late January, 1839. As he noted in his journal they crossed at a location where:

a sand bar in the middle extends probably half way across the bed of the river...Therefore it is like two rivers, crossed by two ferries, that is, two sets of boats, one conveying passengers to the bar, and the other from it (in Gilbert 1996:54).

Buttrick's description of an island or sand bar as being located in the middle of the river has been interpreted as indicating that his part of the detachment crossed the Mississippi at Hamburg Landing (Gilbert 1996:54). The ferry at this location, for which James Wilbourn held the license during the winter of 1838-1839, was commonly called "Littleton's Old Ferry" after an earlier ferry operator. During the nineteenth century a large sand bar or island variously known as Tow Island or Hamburg Island was located in the Mississippi River west of this landing. However, a large island also was present in the Mississippi west of Willard's Ferry by the late nineteenth century. It is possible that during the early-nineteenth century this island may have taken the form of a sand bar similar to the one described by Buttrick in 1839 (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of Hamburg and Willard's landings).

Ice floes on the river trapped the remainder of the Taylor party on the Illinois shore for another three weeks. In a newspaper article written 60 years after the event U.S. Army Captain H.B. Heneagar, who claimed that he had been left in command of that part of the detachment, recalled that when they finally did cross they used "Green's Ferry, on the Mississippi" rather than the one at Hamburg Landing (Heneagar 1978:177).

The forced emigration of thousands of Cherokee through Union County represented a potential financial bonanza for those local businessmen astute enough to prepare for their coming. Among these were the Willard brothers and Winstead Davie, all three of whom profited in different ways. The Willard brothers gained control of the less important ferry—Green's Lower Ferry—at what was to become known as Willard's Landing in 1835 while Elijah Willard acquired more important Green's Upper Ferry in late 1837. Elijah Willard also obtained a license to sell liquor in a storehouse near his ferry that same year (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the history of Willard's Landing). Willis Willard also opened a steam-powered mill that could grind grain into bread in Jonesboro in 1836, a business endeavor

that later profited off of the need of the Cherokee emigrants for bread. Willis Willard's daughter recalled that her father ran the mill "day and night, grinding corn into meal for the Cherokee" receiving a \$100 payment each day (Dexter 2000:13).

Winstead Davie profited by operating a steam mill that could make lumber and grain for the Cherokee as well as by running his home in Jonesboro as a hotel at which the wealthier Cherokee stayed. His daughter recalled that in January 1839, her "father invited Chief Bushyhead to be a guest at his home during this waiting period (to cross the Mississippi River). Their teams were kept in the Davie barnyard for the weeks of the layover of the travelers' trains" (Parks 1984:203). In reality, Davie had taken out a license to keep a public house of entertainment on his premises in December 1838, the first and only one that he ever had. This license permitted Davie to charge the Cherokee various rates for lodging, meals, and the feeding and sheltering of horses. He did not renew the license in 1839 following the end of the Cherokee emigration (Dexter 2000:14). His daughter also recalled that Davie's steam mill "was operated all day to make trees into plank floors for the Indians' tents...(and) run almost every night to make corn meal to feed the Indians and the soldiers in the train and at the camps...each morning the commanding officer would come to her father and pay in gold for the previous day's indebtedness" (Parks 1984:203). The recollections of Davie's daughter, collected long after the actual event, may be inaccurate in regard to some details. Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, for example, noted in an 1839 letter that he had spent "nine months and one day" continuously living in tents during the course of the emigration (Bushyhead 1839:178), a statement at odds with the Davie family recollection that he stayed at their house in Jonesboro.

Other small businessmen also attempted to make money off of the Cherokee emigration through Union County. James Wilbourn held the ferry license for the ferry used by the Cherokee at Hamburg Landing from June 1838 to September 1839. The license for these dates, which encompass the movement of the majority of the Cherokee through Union County, represents the only ferry license that Wilbourn appears to have ever held within the county (see Chapter 4). Other men profited by opening "groceries" or liquor-selling establishments along the county roads that the Cherokee traveled along to reach the Mississippi River ferries. Dexter (2000:17) noted that 15 liquor licenses were issued in the county in 1838, more than in any other year between 1818 and 1883. He also noted that four were issued to first-time licensees who did not renew their licenses in 1839, strongly suggesting that these men obtained their licenses solely to make money off the Cherokee emigration. These liquor "stands" or "houses of entertainment" were variously located along the Trail of Tears, in Jonesboro, and in storehouses associated with the Mississippi River ferries.

Previous Historical Archaeological Investigations

Historical archaeological investigations within the vicinity of the current project area have included both survey and test excavation projects. A 1991 archaeological survey of a 1,450 acre section of the USDA Forest Service-owned Hamburg Hill area recorded three road cuts that possibly represent abandoned segments of the Jonesboro-Hamburg Road section of the Trail of Tears, three mid- to late-nineteenth century historic period cemeteries, and a series of late nineteenth-to-twentieth century habitation and other farm-related sites (Wagner et al. 1992). With the exception of the road cuts, none of the sites within the survey area appeared to date to the Trail of Tears period (1838-1839).

In 1994 Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC) archaeologists recorded a historic period archaeological site (11U683) located immediately on the old Jonesboro to Hamburg section of the Trail of Tears as part of a survey of a proposed headquarters complex at Union County Conservation area (Stephens 1994). Later mechanical investigations located at this site recorded two subsurface features, a cistern and possible cellar, associated with a mid-nineteenth (ca. 1830-1860) occupation (Wagner 1995). Archaeological survey of large portions of the conservation area in 1995 located an additional 21 substantial historic period artifact scatters, nine of which had early- to mid-nineteenth-century components (Knight and Butler 1995). Based on the recovered artifacts, all of these sites, including site 11U683, potentially could have been occupied during the time the Cherokee crossed through the region (Knight and Butler 1995). This could not be confirmed, however, as the types of archival research necessary to make such an identification, including examination of dates of original purchase from the public domain, chains-of-title, and deeds for the properties containing the various historic archaeological sites, were not a required part of the 1995 investigations.

Chapter 3 Methods

The research for the project had three separate components. The first of these involved the identification, to the extent possible, of the initial purchase date and occupants of the ten nineteenth century historical period archaeological sites located by the 1994 survey of the UCCA (Knight and Butler 1995) as well as site 11U683 which is located immediately on the Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace within the UCCA (Stephens 1994; Wagner 1995). Such information could result in the identification as to which, if any, of these sites were occupied during the 1837-1839 Cherokee Trail of Tears period. The second component involved the identification of the operators and locations of ferry crossings in Union County outside of the UCCA that potentially could have been used to transport the Cherokee emigrants across the Mississippi River. The third component was an examination of the journals kept by guide B. B. Cannon and missionary Daniel Rev. Buttrick, both of whom accompanied the Cherokee on their emigration through southern Illinois, to see if any names of Union County residents mentioned in these journals correspond to those of early nineteenth century land owners within what is now the Union County Conservation Area. These three research avenues had the potential to provide previously unknown information regarding the forced movement of the Cherokee through southwestern Illinois. In particular, if any of the historical period archaeological sites could be demonstrated to have been occupied during the time (1837-1839) of the Cherokee removal, they then would represent one of the few tangible remains of this event. Future archaeological research at such sites could result in the recovery of detailed information regarding the material culture and lifeways of southern Illinois residents that the Cherokee encountered and interacted with during their movement through the region.

The research conducted as part of this project focused on the examination of archival records in county, state, and university holdings that had the potential to provide information on the early- to mid-nineteenth-century occupation of Union County, Illinois. Specific depositories visited during the course of this project included the Illinois State Archives, Springfield; Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) at SIUC; the University of Illinois Map Library, Champaign, Illinois; and the Union County Courthouse in Jonesboro, Illinois. Records examined at these facilities included the date of initial purchase of archaeological site locations within the UCCA from the public domain; the Credit System (1814-1821) federal land records for any archaeological site locations patented between these two dates; the chains-of-title for the ten archaeological sites and the various ferry locations from date of initial purchase through 1840; and other pertinent documents including population census and tax records, county commissioners notes, road survey records, ferry licenses, tavern licenses, and any other relevant documents.

Secondary sources consulted as part of the project included nineteenth and twentieth century histories of Union County (Leonard 1940; Parks 1984; Perrin 1883; published genealogical and county record information for Union and Johnson Counties (Dexter 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2000; Dexter et al. 1985; Sistler 1992); and books and articles dealing with the journey of the Cherokee through southern Illinois (Allen 1963; Dexter 2000; Foreman 1932; Gilbert 1996; King and Evans 1978; Mooney 1900; Thompson 1951; and others). A search for nineteenth century county atlas and other maps at SIUC and the University of Illinois resulted

in the discovery of an 1865 U.S. Coastal Survey map of the Mississippi River bordering Union County. This map, which showed the locations of Green's and Hamburg Landings, represents the earliest map yet found that shows the locations of these two landings (United States Coast Survey Office 1865). Other archival maps consulted as part of this map included county atlases and plats (Beaumont 1899; Lake 1881; Warner and Beers 1976) and nineteenth and twentieth century Army Corps of Engineers maps of the Mississippi River that showed the Illinois shore line (Comstock 1890; Sears and Bixby 1908).

Chapter 4 Results

Ferries

The western end of the Golconda to Cape Girardeau Trace or "Trail of Tears" terminated at the Mississippi River in Union County, Illinois (Figure 1-2). There the Cherokee had to board ferries for transportation across the river to Missouri. Most histories of the Trail of Tears state that the Cherokee crossed the Mississippi on two Union County ferries—Green's Ferry at Willard's Landing and an unnamed ferry at "Hamburg" or "Hamburg" Landing (Gilbert 1996:54-56). In actuality, they crossed on three ferries, two of which—Green's Upper and Lower Ferries—were located at Willard's Landing while the third—Littleton's Old Ferry or Wilbourn's Ferry—was located at Hamburg Landing (Dexter 2000:18-19). All three ferries appear to have been current or horse-powered at the time of the Cherokee removal, although the ferries at Willard's Landing had been converted to steam by the late nineteenth century.

Willard's Landing functioned as a landing for the county seat of Jonesboro, located about ten miles to the east, during the time of the Cherokee removal. Hamburg Landing, in contrast, appears to have been located at the early nineteenth century town of "Hamburg" or "New Hamburg" which appears to have been located on or near the banks of the Mississippi. Town lots in Hamburg were offered for sale in the *Kaskaskia Intelligencer* newspaper as early as 1818 (Adams 1968). These probably were the same lots that land owner David Cook authorized lawyer Abner Field of Union County to sell for him on May 20, 1818. Cook gave Field power of attorney "to sell lots in Hamburg (sic) on the banks of the Mississippi River in west 1/2 of Section 11, township 13 south, range 3 west" (Union County Deed Book A1:39). One of the few descriptions of Hamburg as it appeared shortly before the time of the Cherokee removal was provided by Charles Sealsfield, an early nineteenth century German traveler. Sealsfield briefly noted that Hamburg consisted of "nineteen frame dwellings and cabins, and four stores" when he saw it in the mid-1820s (Sealsfield 1970:91). The town was large enough to be awarded a post office (later discontinued) in October, 1829 (Sneed 1977:21).

Ferry rates within Union County were established and set by the Union County Commissioner's Court. These varied depending on whom and what was being transported across the river. The following rates were set for Green's Lower Ferry at Willard's Landing (see below for the history of this ferry) in March 1835: each four-wheel wagon and team \$2.00, two-wheel carriages and team \$1.50, dearborn (carriage) and horse \$1.50, every man and horse 50 cents, every pack horse 50 cents, lead horse 25 cents, meat cattle (by head) 20 cents, hog or sheep (by head) 20 cents, and footman 25 cents (Dexter 1996:157).

In September 1837, the Commissioner's Court established a series of new rates for people and animals on foot. These rates, which are very specific as to the status of travelers (free or slave) and types of animals (horses, mules, colts, etc.) and include rates for larger vehicles than previous rates set by the court, appear to have been established in anticipation of the Cherokee emigration through the county. The 1837 rates for Green's Upper Ferry at Willard Landing were as follows: each four-wheel wagon and team \$2.00; each person bond or free attached thereunto

and all other persons not connected with team or cargo 25 cents; wagon with six horses \$2.50; four wheel wagon without team \$1.00; horse, mule, jack(ass), jenny (female donkey) or ox attached to any carriage 25 cents, two wheel carriage or cart and each horse, mule, or ox attached 25 cents; man and horse 50 cents; led or loose horse, mule, jack, jenny, or colt 25 cents; meat cattle (by head) 25 cents; sheep or hogs (by head) 8 cents (Dexter 1996:157).

The various Union County histories and archival records that I examined contained no descriptions of the means used to power the ferries. Although a steam-powered ferry was in operation at St. Louis by at least 1832 (Perry 1957:120-121), it is more likely that the Union County ferries (at least into the early 1830s) consisted of flatboat or horse-powered ferries rather than steam-powered ones. This surmise is based on the apparent unimportance of the Union County ferries as a means of crossing the Mississippi prior to the Cherokee removal. Early and mid-nineteenth century traveler's accounts indicate that most western-bound travelers who crossed through southern Illinois took trails that headed northwest toward St. Louis rather than due west toward the Union County crossings. This suggests that the Union County ferries may have been primarily used by local residents who had businesses or farms on both sides of the river as well as by a relatively small number of overland travelers. The history of shifting, challenged, and abandoned licenses for these ferries also suggests that they may have been only marginally profitable prior to the Cherokee removal. As such, the various Union County ferry operators may have lacked both the money (and the need) to convert their ferries over to steam power.

Flatboat or current ferries consisted of simple rectangular flat-bottomed scows attached to a rope strung across the river. The boat was rowed or pulled across using a windlass to change the angle of the boat relative to the current. The rope or "rigging" that extended across the river could be submerged to avoid being fouled by passing river craft (Perry 1957:44-54). Current-powered ferries, which involved little investment outside of purchasing a flat-bottomed boat, were extremely common in the Midwestern and southern United States with some continuing to operate into the mid-twentieth century. A possible indication that the Union County ferries may have been current ferries is contained in the record of the April 4, 1835, sale of the Upper Green's Ferry tract to James and William Reed. In addition to the land containing the ferries, the Reeds also purchased "*the ferry boats, rigging and tackle, for \$1,000*" (Dexter 1997:211, 219; emphasis added). No mention was made in this sale of horses or a steam engine, the other two methods used to power ferries during the nineteenth century.

The other possibility, as mentioned above, is that the Union County ferries consisted of horse-powered team ferries. Use of horse power would have allowed the various ferry operators to operate their ferries without worrying about river craft fouling or breaking rigging strung across the river. Horse-powered ferries consisted of flat-bottomed scows with paddle wheels attached to either the stern or sides. Teams of two to eight horses or mules, depending on the size of the ferry, walked on a treadmill attached to the wheels in order to power the boat. Horse-powered ferries persisted along the Mississippi and in other parts of the country into the middle and later nineteenth century, long after steamboats first appeared in the second decade of the nineteenth century (Perry 1957:55-71).

The Willard brothers had acquired both the Upper and Lower Green's Ferries by 1837 (see below). If they did use horse teams to power the ferries, this is not reflected in Union County tax records of the period. An 1839 listing of their taxable property, for example, reveals that Elijah Willard owned five horses while Willis owned only one (Dexter et al. 1985:89-91). It is

possible that the larger number of horses owned by Elijah, the older of the two brothers and the leader in their business dealings, may have been associated with the ferry operation. At least 12 other Union County residents, however, owned five or more horses in 1839, indicating that the number of horses owned by Elijah Willard was not unduly large for a prosperous landowner.

Green's Ferry at Willard's Landing

As noted above Green's Ferry consisted of two ferries, an upper ferry and a lower ferry, both of which took their names from brothers Thomas and Parrish Green of Union County, Illinois, and Cape Girardeau County, Missouri. The nineteenth century county history states in one place that the Green family came to Union County as early as 1805, while in another it states that Thomas Green arrived in 1814 (Perrin 1883:B100). This history also credits Parrish Green with having "settled down at the Willard Landing...(where he) long operated a ferry" (Perrin 1883:435). In reality, the Green brothers had lands on both sides of the river with Parrish Green giving Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, as his residence in numerous documents.

Dexter (1994:42) credits Nathaniel Green, father of Thomas and Parrish, as "having settled along the Mississippi River west of what is now Jonesboro...(where he) established Green's Ferry" in 1805. However, in 1807 Nathaniel Green was squatting on a 320 acre parcel "Situate(d) on the waters of Clear Creek" in T12S, R2W. This land probably was located in the uplands east of the Mississippi River floodplain, at least four miles east, if not farther, from the later site of Green's Ferry. It could not have been located directly on the river as it was "bounded on the west by the residence of Robert Tweedy." Thomas Green claimed the 320 acres immediately east of his father along Clear Creek, indicating that he also did not live on the floodplain in 1807 (Hammes 1977:330).

Green's Upper Ferry (Willard's Ferry) at Willard's Landing

Green's Upper Ferry originally was contained within a 120 acre tract within the N 1/2 of the S1/2 of Section 21, Range 3W, Township 12S. By the mid-nineteenth-century the ferry tract had expanded to also include the south part of the NW 1/4 of Section 21 as well as the south part of Section 20. Green's Upper Ferry may have been established by Richard Waller as early as 1807 (Table 4-1). On September 3 of that year Waller filed a preemption claim on 320 acres in R3W, T12S, that was:

Bounded on the North by vacant land, on the East by vacant land, and on the South by the residence of Medad Randol, and on the West by the Mississippi River (Hammes 1977:330).

The location of this tract along the Mississippi River strongly suggests that it contained the site of what was to later become known as Green's Ferry at Willard's Landing. Waller apparently assigned his claim to this tract to Henry Earthmann at some point between 1807 and 1811. On September 14, 1813, Henry Earthman of Johnson County (of which Union County was then a part) received a license from the Johnson County Commissioners' Court for a "ferry on the Mississippi formerly known by the name of Waller's ferry" (Sistler 1992:9). The following January three men—Thomas Green, Samuel Penrod, and Ezekiel Wells—two of whom (Green and Penrod) subsequently became ferry operators in Union County—were appointed by the

Table 4-1. Owners and operators for Green's Upper Ferry, ca. 1807-1866.

Owner*	Operator**	Location (All in T12S, R3W)
Richard Waller (1807?-1811?)	Richard Waller (1807?-1811?)	
Henry Earthman (1811?-1814)	Henry Earthman (1811?-1814)	
Thomas Green (1815)	Thomas and Parrish Green (1814-1815)	Fractional SE 1/4 and fractional SW 1/4, section 21
Thomas Green (1815-1821)	Thomas Green (1815-1821)	
Benjamin Hall (1821-1822)		N 1/2, S 1/2 section 21
Parrish Green (1822)***	Parrish Green (1825-1828)	
William Hickman (1821-1822)***		
David Armour (1822?)***		
William Edmond (1823-1827)	James Edmond (1823-1825?)	N 1/2, S 1/2, section 21
Jacob Littleton (1827-1831?)	Jacob Littleton (1827-1830)	North part, S 1/2 section 21
William Edmond (1831)		
John Giles (1831-1834)	John Giles (1831-1836)	
John Giles and James Reed (1834-1835)		S 1/2, section 21
James and William Reed (1835-1837?)		
Elijah Willard (1837?-1848)	Elijah Willard (1837-1848)	Upper half, S1/2, section 21; south part, section 20. South part, NW 1/4, section 21;
Willis Willard (1848-1866+)	Willis Willard (1848-1866)	

*Owners prior to 1816 were squatters who used the land without owning it.

**Some ferry operators received licenses before owning the land, possibly as part of an agreement to eventually buy the ferry.

***Parrish Green disputed Hall's title to the property, selling it to William Hickman who may have lost it to Armour. The matter appears to have been settled in Hall's favor by 1823, who then sold the land to William Edmond.

?=Unknown or probable date that lacks supporting documentation.

court to view the road from Earthman's Ferry (Sistler 1992:15). Earthman did not hold legal title to the land containing the ferry; it had not yet been offered for sale from the public domain by the federal government. He probably expected, however, to be paid for their improvements including the ferry by whoever became the first legal owner of the property.

Thomas and Parrish Green appear to have done this and acquired ownership of the ferry at some point from Earthmann prior to the fall of 1814. On September 13, 1814 the Johnson County Commissioners' Court ordered that "the order made at the last May term for laying out a road from this court house to Earthman's Ferry on the Mississippi (now the ferry of Thomas and Parrish Green) be renewed" (Sistler 1992:31-32).

On April 28, 1815, Thomas Green, as the assignee of Henry Earthmann, filed a preemption claim on the fractional SE 1/4, fractional SW 1/4, of Section 21, T12S, R3W, containing the ferry. In this claim, which had been assigned to him by Earthmann, Thomas Green stated:

That Henry Earthmann did cultivate & improve SW fr qr & on said frac qr Sec prior to 5 Feb 1813 and continues his residence ever since, and this deponant was requested to enter for said Green the above land (Hammes 1977:358, all spellings as in original document.)

On September 11, 1815, the court taxed "Thomas Green's Ferry" eight dollars. The omission of Parrish Green's name on this tax bill suggests either that Thomas Green was the leading partner in the brother's business operations or that Parrish Green no longer was involved in running the ferry. Original Government Land Office (GLO) land purchase records maintained by the Illinois State Archives indicate that Thomas Green became the first legal owner of the ferry property when he obtained a patent on 240 acres in the south fractional south 1/2 of Section 21, T12S, R3W, on September 25, 1816. Thomas Green paid taxes on the ferry in 1816 and 1817 in Johnson County and in 1818 and 1819 in Union County. Green, who died after a lengthy illness on September 13, 1822, never completed the installment payments required to obtain final ownership of this tract. Possibly because of his illness, he appears to have assigned ownership of the tract to Benjamin Hall of Missouri. Hall completed the payments and obtained title to the 240 acre tract from the federal government in April 1821.

Parrish Green, however, apparently as part of a conflict over the title, sold "Green's Ferry (in Missouri) formerly known as Waller's Ferry, undivided 50 acres, and land in Union Co., including the ferry landing formerly known as Waller's Ferry, 120 acres, for \$2,251" on Dec. 20, 1821 to William Hickman of Cape Girardeau County, Missouri. An entry recording this transaction in Union County also noted that "Green's Ferry (in Illinois extends for)...1/4 mile(s) on the banks of the Mississippi" (Union County Deed Index Book 1:n.d.a). Less than 2 weeks later on January 2, 1822, Hickman deeded 120 acres of this tract over to David Armour of Jackson, Missouri, in return for Armour being his security in two legal cases brought against him by Parrish Green. If Armour did not have to pay any of Hickman's debts, then the agreement was to be void (Dexter 1996a:31).

The dispute over the ownership of the Green's Ferry tract appears to have been resolved in favor of Benjamin Hall by 1823. Hall split the 240 acre tract into two 120 acre parcels (north and south), each of which may have contained part of the original ferry site, leading to the creation of the Upper and Lower Green's Ferries. On March 6, 1823, Hall and his wife Rebecca sold the northern part of the tract or the "N 1/2, S 1/2, 21, 12S, 3W, 120 acres, including the ferry formerly known as Green's Ferry, for \$1,100" to William V. Edmond of Cape Girardeau County, Missouri (Dexter 1996a:39). The Edmond family retained ownership of the tract until forced to sell it at auction for the very low price of \$130 on December 1, 1827 to Jacob Littleton of Bainbridge, Missouri, to settle a debt of \$102 owed by the Edmonds to Littleton. The property sold at auction was identified as the "north half section 21, township 12 south, range 2 west, known as Green's Ferry tract" (Dexter 1997:80).

Hall may not have operated Green's Upper Ferry during the time that he owned it. Hall did pay taxes on a ferry in Union County in 1820, but this appears to have been on the Green's Lower Ferry that he acquired in 1821 (see below). James Edmond, presumably a relative of William Edmond, received a license to operate a ferry in the "north half of (the) south half (of) Section 21" on June 3, 1823. A reference to Edmond's Ferry also appears in the County Commissioners' Notes for 1825 (Dexter 1996a:154-155). It is unclear if Edmond continued to operate this ferry into 1826. Jacob Littleton "was licensed to revive a ferry (upper ferry) formerly occupied by the late Thomas Green on east side Mississippi River north part south half

Section 21 township 12 south range 3 west" on December 3, 1827. Jacob Littleton continued to operate the ferry to at least 1830 (Dexter 1996a:155). The reference to "reviving" the ferry in Littleton's license suggests that the Edmond family may indeed have stopped operating the ferry in 1826 and 1827.

Jacob Littleton, possibly because he purchased the tract as part of a lawsuit, may not have had a clear title to the property. William Edmond, who had been forced to sell the property at auction three years earlier to settle a debt owed Littleton, regained ownership of the tract in some fashion in either 1830 or 1831. Edmond then sold the tract to John Giles of Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, for \$200 in March 1831. Jacob Littleton then sold the same tract—120 acres in the "N 1/2 of S fractional 1/2 Sec 21 T12S R3W"—to John Giles for the very low price of \$25 on July 9, 1831. Littleton's very low selling price for this property again suggests that he may not have had a clear title.

John Giles received licenses in Union County from 1832 to 1835 to operate a ferry at this location which was referred to in the court records as being "formerly Littleton's (upper) ferry" (Dexter 1996a:156). James Reed, who apparently was a business partner of John Giles, was licensed to "retail spirituous liquors at Giles Ferry" in March and November 1834. In March, 1835, James Reed and W(illiam) H. Reed were licensed to "retail spirituous liquors at the storehouse on (the) margin of the Mississippi." Rates set by the court as part of this license included ones for various liquors sold in half-pint and pint quantities, feeding and keeping a horse overnight, lodging, and breakfast and dinner (Dexter 1996a:142). In effect, the Reeds appear to have been licensed to operate a tavern at the Upper Green's Ferry Landing where travelers could spend the night.

John Giles and James Reed expanded their land holdings adjacent to the ferry tract by purchasing 50 additional acres located in the "south side of (the) northeast quarter (of) section 21 and (the) northwest quarter of section 21" from Benjamin Harris on May 17, 1834. Giles sold all of his land holdings at Upper Green's Ferry to James and William Reed in April of 1835. On April 4, 1835, Giles and his wife Elizabeth sold James Reed their interest in the 50 acres that he and Reed had purchased together from Benjamin Harris less than one year earlier. That same day they also sold to James and William H. Reed (relationship unknown) the "south half (of) section 21, township 12 south, range 3 west, 130 acres, and the ferry boats, rigging and tackle, for \$1,000" (Dexter 1997:211, 219; emphasis added). County deed books indicate that James Reed quickly divested himself of ownership of the ferry, selling his interest in the 130 acres in the "undivided 1/2 of N 1/2 S(outh) fractional 1/2 Sec 21 T12S R3W" as well as the additional 50 acre tract to William H. Reed on December 1, 1835 (Union County Deed Book E5 n.d.b: 45, 49-50). John Giles continued to operate the ferry after he sold the tract to the Reed family, receiving one last license in 1836 when the property was owned by William Reed.

William Reed and his wife maintained their sole ownership of the ferry for less than a year. Land records indicate that they sold the "N 1/2 of S(outh) fractional 1/2 of Sec 21 T12S R3W; (and) 100 acres from (the) S(outh) side of NE 1/4 & NE fractional qr Sec 21 T12S R13W also ferry & ferry boat, etc." to Elijah Willard on November 3, 1836, for \$1,800" (Union County Grantor Book 1818-1856, emphasis added). The deed for this sale further specifies that the ferry boat "rigging" was included in the sale (Union County Deed Book E5:160-161). Elijah Willard then obtained a license to operate a ferry at this location on September 5, 1837. The Union County Commissioners' Notes indicate that this ferry was located in the "upper half (of the) south half (of) section 21, (in the) south part (of the) northwest quarter (of) section 21, and (in the) south

part (of) section 20" (Dexter 1997:157). In June, 1837, Elijah Willard was licensed by the county "to retail spirituous and vineous liquors by small measure in (his) storehouse on (the) margin (of the) Mississippi River" or, most likely, at the Upper Green's Ferry Landing tract (Dexter 1996a:144). The license made no mention of providing food or lodging to travelers. Willard did not renew his liquor license in 1838. Instead, George McGehney, who probably worked for or was a business partner of Willard's, was licensed on August 16, 1838 "to keep public house of entertainment and retail liquor by small measure" at an unspecified location in the county that may have been at Willard's Landing. Possible evidence for this is that two years later in March, 1840, McGheney received a license to "retail spirituous liquors at storehouse on Willard's farm near bank of the Mississippi River" (Dexter 1997:145).

Elijah Willard developed the Upper Green Ferry (also known as Willard's Ferry) into the major Mississippi River port for Union County. Willard, who had arrived in Union County in 1820, had risen to become the wealthiest merchant in Union County by the Civil War with a reported yearly income of over \$100,000. Willard acquired his wealth by selling goods at his Jonesboro store and buying farm products from local farmers that he then "flat-boated" from his landing to New Orleans. Needing an outlet for the farm produce that he took in, Willard constructed a turnpike across the Mississippi River to the Upper Green's Ferry location which was called "Green's Old Landing" or "Willard's Landing." Willard, who resided in the county seat of Jonesboro, undoubtedly had someone else operate the landing and ferry. Willard's Landing appears to have functioned primarily to ship Union County produce down the Mississippi River (Perrin 1883: 292, 358).

Elijah Willard continued to renew his license for the Upper Green's Ferry every year until his death from consumption in 1848. In his will he left "1,990 acres and the ferry" to his brother Willis Willard. He also left \$500 to the county to "improve the road leading from the courthouse to Willard's Ferry, alias Green's Old Ferry, on the Mississippi River past Dug Hill" (Dexter 1996b:214-214). The ferry license was then renewed in 1848 by Willis Willard who continued to operate the ferry for at least an additional 18 years until 1866 (Dexter 1996a:159).

The earliest known map of Willard's Landing dates to 1865 (Figure 4-1). During the Civil War the U.S. Coastal Survey mapped the central and lower Mississippi River Valley as well as part of the Ohio River Valley. These maps, although lacking much of the detail of later United States Army Corps of Engineer maps, paid particular attention to the locations of river landings, wood yards, and landowners along the two rivers that might be of use to the United States Navy. "Green's Old Landing" (i.e., Willard's Landing) was shown as a roughly rectangular cleared area on the Illinois shore that was located between the riverbank and a road that paralleled the river. At least two structures, and possibly as many as four, were located at the landing. The name "Bondman," presumably that of the ferry operator or a tenant of the Willard family, is printed across the clearing containing the structures. Green's Old Landing was located slightly above river mile 60 with this distance representing the number of miles to the confluence of the Mississippi with the Ohio.

The location of the ferry landing along the riverbank within Section 21 was shown for the first time on the 1876 map of Union County (Figure 4-2). This map indicates that the Jonesboro-Willard's Landing road extended through a road that paralleled the riverbank, forming a crossroads, and terminated at the river's edge. Two structures are on the map, one to the northeast and one to the southeast of the cross-roads. The first of these, which was labeled "store," may represent the Willard brothers storehouse. The second was the residence of "A.

Lence" or Alfred Lence, a storekeeper who eventually bought the property containing the ferry landing in the late nineteenth century.

A more detailed map of Willard's Landing appeared in the 1881 Atlas of Union County (Lake 1881). Two sets of parallel lines oriented perpendicular to the riverbank in the SW 1/4 of Section 21 apparently represent the locations of two ferries, both of which were located at the northwest end of a gravel road that ran along the landing (Figure 4-3). Beyond this point the gravel road turned into a dirt trail that ran northwest along the riverbank for about 1.5 miles before turning away to the northeast. The gravel road at the landing represented the western end of the Golconda to Cape Girardeau Trace (or Willard's Landing Road) which had been graveled for its entire length across the Mississippi floodplain at some point prior to 1881 (Lake 1881). The landing contained 12 structures in 1881, ten in the SW 1/4 of Section 21 and two in the NW 1/4 of that same Section. These buildings consisted of three residences, one store, one warehouse, and seven other structures. Ten buildings were located on the east side of the ferry landing road, one was located between the road and the riverbank, and one—a warehouse—was located south of the road immediately upon the riverbank. Those living at the landing included store keeper Alfred Lence, a "dealer in dry goods, groceries, hats, caps, books, shoes, clothing, etc." who also bought wheat and corn; surgeon and physician Dr. J. N. Swain, who had his office and residence at the landing; and J. R. Slaughter. The land containing Willard's Landing, however, was still owned by Willis Willard in 1881. The 1881 map also indicates that a ca. one-quarter mile long towhead (late named Vancil's Towhead) had begun to form in the Mississippi River about 1/2 mile upstream from the landing (Lake 1881:43).

A ca. 1890 Mississippi River Commission map of the Mississippi River in the area of Willard's Landing in 1880-1881 reveals that a sand bar also had begun to form directly in front of Willard's Landing by that date (Figure 4-4). This one-mile-long build-up of sand along the riverbank blocked the landing from the river, requiring the excavation or dredging of a sinuous channel through the sand bar so that the ferry could continue to operate. Also in contrast to the 1881 Union County map, the 1881 Mississippi River Commission shows Willard's Landing as containing only 8 structures instead of 10.

Vancil's Towhead to the north as well as the sand bar in front of Willard's Landing continued to grow in size into the late 1800s. By 1899 the towhead had increased in length to over 1 mile with its southern end almost reaching Willard's Landing (Figure 4-5). The map provides no information on the sand bar in front of the landing but, based on later maps, this bar also had increased in size. The continued formation of the towhead as well as the silting in of the channel in front of the landing apparently led to the decline of Willard's Landing. In contrast to 1881 when the landing contained 8 or 10 structures, it contained only four buildings in 1899, one of which was a store. All of these structures as well as the landing are shown as being located in the SE 1/4 and SW 1/4 of Section 21 on the 1899 map. The store, presumably, was still owned by Alfred Lence who had acquired over 1,000 acres in Sections 15, 16, and 21 including the ferry landing by 1899 (Beauman 1899).

By 1908 the channel that separated Vancil's Towhead from the Illinois shore had silted in, connecting the towhead to the mainland (Figure 4-6). The towhead also had extended further south, joining with the sand bar in front of Willard's Landing (Sears and Bixby 1908). In order to keep Willard's Landing open, a 6-to-21 ft deep channel that paralleled the shoreline apparently was dredged for over a mile through the sand bar from the northwestern end of the landing southward. This channel was intersected by a second eight-foot-deep east-west channel that

had been cut through the center of the sand bar in front of the landing. The landing still contained nine structures in 1908, none of which were identified by name or function on the map.

The less-detailed 1908 Union County atlas presents a misleading picture of the appearance of Willard's Ferry in the early twentieth century (Ogle and Company 1908). This map, which shows the landing as still being located on the river, appears to be based on the 1899 Union County atlas rather than the 1908 Mississippi River Commission map. It differs slightly from the 1899 Union County map in that it shows the landing as containing 7 rather than four structures (Figure 4-7). Six of the structures were located to the north and east of the landing road in the SW 1/4 NW 1/4 and NE 1/4 SW 1/4 of Section 21. A seventh structure, that appeared to be the warehouse shown on the 1881 map was located south of the landing road

Green's Lower Ferry at Willard's Landing

Green's Lower Ferry was located within an 120 acre tract along the Mississippi River in the S1/2, S 1/2, Section 21, T12S, R3W (Table 4-2). Parrish Green is reported to have established this ferry at some point after 1814, following his separation from Thomas Green, his brother and former partner (Dexter 2000:18). Neither the Johnson or Union County, Illinois, Commissioners' Notes, however, indicate that Parrish Green held a ferry license from either of these counties between 1814 and 1821. In addition, although Union County issued a series of ferry licenses to Thomas Green between 1816 and 1819, these appear to apply to Green's Upper Ferry rather than the Lower Ferry. Finally, Thomas—not Parrish—had patented the 240 acre tract within the fractional S 1/2 of Section 21 that contained the ferry location (Dexter 1997:173). Possibly because of the illness that took his life in 1822, Thomas Green did not complete the required installment payments to the federal government needed to acquire final ownership of the tract. The tract was assigned instead, possibly by Thomas Green, to Benjamin Hall of Missouri who completed the payments and obtained ownership of the tract from the government on April 2, 1821. Hall paid taxes on a ferry within the 240 tract in 1820 (Dexter 1996a:154) but in all likelihood these were for the Green's Upper Ferry rather than the Lower Ferry. Parrish Green apparently disputed Hall's title to the property, selling off the 120 acres containing the original ferry site to William Hickman in 1821, but the matter appears to have been settled in Hall's favor by 1823.

As noted previously, Benjamin Hall and his wife Rebecca then appear to have split the 240 acre tract into two parcels (north and south), each of which may have contained part of the original Thomas Green ferry site, leading to the creation of the Upper and Lower Green's Ferries. They sold the 120 acre S 1/2, Section 21 or southern part of the tract and "half the ferry" to Parrish Green for \$500 on November 23, 1822 (Dexter 1996a:34). This transaction appears to represent the creation of the Green's Lower Ferry with Parrish Green receiving a license on March 7, 1825 to operate a ferry at this location (Dexter 1997:174). Parrish Green's 1826 license noted that this ferry was "established on the lower half of the S. frac, E. half of Section 21 in T12S of Range 3 West on the E. bank of the Mississippi River" (Union County Land Entry Book 1 n.d.) Parrish Green maintained ownership of the Green's Lower Ferry property until April 21, 1828, when he and his wife Clary sold the tract as well as "half the ferry" for \$200 to Linus Bolling Sublette in Cape Girardeau, Missouri (Dexter 1997:190). Parrish Green, although retaining half ownership in the ferry, apparently ceased to operate it after the sale. On December 2, 1828, fellow ferry operator Jacob Littleton urged the county commissioners' court to revoke Green's license as the ferry was "neglected and forsaken." The court did so three

Table 4-2. Owners and operators for Green's Lower Ferry, ca. 1807-1842.

Owner	Operator	Location (All in T13S, R3W)
Richard Waller (1807?-1811?)	None	
Henry Earthman (1811?-1814)	None	
Thomas and Parrish Green (1814-1815)	None	
Thomas Green (1815-1821)	None	
Benjamin Hall (1821-1822)	None	S 1/2, Section 21
Parrish Green (1822-1828)	Parrish Green (1825-1828)	S 1/2, Section 21
Linus Sublette (1828-1832)	George and Jacob Snider (1830-1832)	S 1/2, Section 21
George and Jacob Snider (1832-1835)	George and Jacob Snider (1832-1834)	S 1/2, Section 21
Elijah and Willis Willard (1835-1842+)	E. and W. Willard (1835-1842)	

months later in March of 1829 (Dexter 1996a:155). No record exists of Linus Bolling Sublette applying for a ferry license in Union County, Illinois.

Linus Sublette apparently reached a financial arrangement with George Snider, Sr., and Jacob Snider to take over the ferry and gradually purchase the tract in 1830. On December 7, 1830, while the ferry was still owned by Sublette, the two Sniders petitioned the commissioners' court to let them revive the ferry. The court delayed its decision on this matter until its March 1831 meeting, prompting the Sniders to start operation without a license. The court fined them \$8.50 at its March 1831 session for this breach of the ferry laws but issued them a license afterwards. Rival ferry operator Jacob Littleton, who had petitioned the court to declare the Lower Green's Ferry site abandoned in 1828, opposed the issuance of this license to no avail. Linus Sublette, the owner of the tract, acted as security for the Sniders. The Sniders subsequently purchased the Lower Green's Ferry tract from Sublette and his wife Harriet on June 7, 1832, for \$120, two and a half years after they first started operating a ferry at this location (Dexter 1997: 206; Union County 1818-1856 Grantor Book).

The Sniders mortgaged the 120 acre tract—identified as the “south half section 21 township 12 south, range 3 west (patented 2 Apr 1821 by Benjamin Hall) on or near the banks of the Mississippi River”—for \$308.55 on December 27, 1833, to Elijah and Willis Willard of Union County. The condition was that if the Sniders failed to pay off the \$308.55 debt before March 1, 1835, the tract became the property of the Willards. The Sniders paid the required amount on

January 13, 1835, and the Willards “released all claim to the mortgaged land.” Two days later on January 15, 1835, the Sniders sold the same land to the Willard brothers for \$455 (Dexter 1997:209, 216).

The Willards maintained ownership of Green's Lower Ferry up to and through the time of the Cherokee removal in 1838-1839. On March 6, 1835, they received a license to operate a ferry “where Jacob and George Snider formerly had one.” They paid taxes of \$5.00 on this ferry in 1837 indicating that it still existed at that time. Their license was revoked on December 7, 1842 “because the ferry had been disused and unfrequented for more than six months” (Dexter

1996a:157). The mid-1842 (if not earlier) abandonment of the Green's Lower Ferry location by the Willards suggests that there was not enough business to maintain two adjacent ferry locations (Elijah Willard also owned and operated the Green's Upper Ferry during this time) following the end of the Cherokee removal across the Mississippi River in the late 1830s. Green's Lower Ferry also does not appear on the 1865 U.S. Coast Office Survey map of this section of the Mississippi River Valley, indicating that neither the Willards nor anyone else put it back into operation between 1842-1865.

Hamburg Landing

As with Willard's Landing, a ferry appears to have been in operation at Hamburg Landing prior to 1815. Also similar to Willard's Landing, two competing ferries appear to have operated at this location during the early part of the landing's history (1819-1820, Table 4-3). By the time of the Cherokee removal, however, only one ferry, variously referred to as "Littleton's Ferry" or "Littleton's Old Ferry" in the county records, appears to have operated at Hamburg Landing.

The ferry at Hamburg Landing appears to have been located at the south end of Session's Island (also known as Island 21) during the nineteenth century. The ferry was located on the river on the line between Sections 2 and 11, T13S, R3W. At various times prior to the Cherokee Removal, businessmen operated competing ferries at the landing on either side of the section line, one ferry being located in Section 2 and the other a short distance away in Section 11. A

Table 4-3. Owners and operators of Littleton's Old Ferry at Hamburg Landing, 1813-1841.*

Owner	Operator	Location (All in T13S, R3W)****
Pat Gallaher (pre-1813)	Pat Gallaher (pre-1813)	Section 2
James Geoffery (1813-1816)	Unknown, possibly Samuel Penrod	Fractional part of section 2
Samuel Penrod (1816-1820)**	Samuel Penrod (1816-1820)	Fractional part of section 2
Jacob Littleton (1816-1820)**	Jacob Littleton and Abner Field (1819-1821)	Fractional W 1/2, section 11
Jacob Littleton (1821-1837)	Jacob Littleton (1821-1837)	W 1/2, section 2
Micajah Littleton (1837)	Jacob Littleton (1837)	SE 1/4, section 2; W 1/2, sec. 11; W 1/2, NE 1/4, sec. 11
Obadiah Roberts (1837-1839)	James Wilbourn (1838-1839)***	SE 1/4, section 2; W 1/2, sec. 11; W 1/2, NE 1/4, sec. 11
Obadiah Roberts (1840-1841)	Obadiah Roberts (1840)	

*Ferry owners and operators were examined only to 1841.

**Penrod and Littleton had conflicting land claims to section 2 between 1816-1820.

***Following the end of the Cherokee Removal in 1839 Wilbourn petitioned the county court to vacate his license.

****Locations are given as noted in the county court record.

Note: Not included on this list is David Cook who in 1818 owned the land containing the town of Hamburg. This was located in the "1/4 of the 1/2 of W fractional 1/2 of sect 11" near or surrounding the ferry.

"chute" or channel that once separated this island from the mainland has since filled in and the island now forms part of Illinois. A road extended west from this landing through Jonesboro (the county seat of Union County) to Elvira, the original county seat of Johnson County. Hamburg Landing and Willard's Landing represented the two major Mississippi River ports for these counties with Willard's Landing functioning as a port for produce shipped out of the county. Hamburg Landing, in contrast, served as a port for the unloading of eastern merchandise that had been shipped up the Mississippi River by steamboat to Union County. These goods were then "hailed to town (Jonesboro) upon large wagons, usually drawn by four to six strong horses, or as many yoke of oxen" (Perrin 1883:359).

Parks (1984:95) noted that an early ferry known as "Penrod's Ferry" was located at the south end of Island 21 at what later became known as Hamburg Landing. This ferry appears to have been located in the W 1/2, Section 2, R13S, T3W along the Mississippi River. James Geoffery filed a preemption claim on a tract located in the fractional part of Section 2, T13S, R3W on June 23, 1815, that appears to represent this ferry site (Table 4-3). In his claim, which Samuel Penrod witnessed, Geoffery stated that a man named Pat Gallaher had improved, cultivated, and resided on the tract at some point prior to February 5, 1813 (Hammes 1977:35). Gallaher (or Gallegher) apparently had operated a ferry at this location at some point prior to 1814. This is supported by the fact that in September 1814, the Johnson County commissioners ordered that a road be laid out "from Johnson County Court house to Gallaher's old place (so called) on the Mississippi below Green's Ferry" (in Sistler 1992). Additionally, on February 14, 1816, the Union County commissioners ordered that a road be laid out from "Gallegher's old ferry on the Mississippi River" to the then-county seat of Elvira (Dexter 1996a:153).

Geoffery apparently conveyed his claim to the ferry tract to Samuel Penrod in late 1815 or early 1816. The Johnson County Commissioners' Notes for 1816 indicate that Samuel Penrod was operating a ferry along the Mississippi River on the road that led to Elvira (the county seat) by March of that year. Penrod renewed his license in Johnson County in 1817 (Sistler 1992:72, 83, 85, 109) and in Union County (1818-1820) following the formation of that county (Dexter 1996a:154-154).

Penrod did not own the land in Section 2 containing the ferry although his possible purchase of Geoffery's 1815 claim may have given him some legal rights to the property. On October 9, 1816, however, Jacob Littleton, patented the 78.09 acre fractional section of the western half of Section 2, T13S, R3W that contained Penrod's Ferry. Two months later on November 23, 1816, Littleton patented the 160 acre SE 1/4 of Section 2 that lay immediately east of the ferry location, giving him a combined acreage of 238.09 acres. The first of these patents, depending on exactly where it was located, would have been bordered on the west by the chute separating Island 21 from the mainland as well as containing a small section of the Mississippi River shoreline immediately below the island. The island would have protected the ferry from the main current of the Mississippi River with the adjacent chute being a safe place to keep the ferry when not in use.

David Cook of Randolph County had acquired the "1/4 of the 1/2 of W fractional 1/2 of sect 11" along the Mississippi River immediately south of Penrod's land at some point prior to 1818. Although located in Illinois, this land was not patented in Illinois and it may be that Cook or the former owner had patented it in Missouri. This land appears to have contained part, if not all, of the town of Hamburg. On May 20, 1818, Cook gave lawyer Abner Field power of attorney "to sell lots in Hamburg (sic) on the banks of the Mississippi River in west 1/2 of

section 11, township 13 south, range 3 west." Five days later on May 23 Field sold lots 5 and 8 in block 17 of Hamburg for \$100 to James Duncan. Jacob Littleton, who was a business partner of Abner Field, appears to have acquired part of Cook's holdings in Section 11 immediately after Cook assigned power of attorney to Abner Field. On May 21 Littleton sold the undivided 1/8 of the west 1/2 of Section 11 to Timothy Nash. That same day he sold the undivided 1/2 of the west 1/2 of Section 11 to Thomas Cox (or Case) (Dexter 1996a:4). Eight days later on May 29, 1818 Thomas Case sold the "W frontal 1/2 sec 11" to Warner (Warren) Brown for \$500 (Union County Grantor Book 1818-1856).

Littleton and Field received a license in 1820 that permitted them to operate a ferry in the W 1/2, Section 11, T13S, R3W (Dexter 1996a:154). This suggests that Littleton or Field maintained ownership of the ferry landing in Section 11 at the same time that they were selling other parts of the section off to men such as Duncan, Nash, and Case. Samuel Penrod continued to operate his ferry in Section 2 during this same time despite the fact that Littleton apparently held the title to the land. Squatters, or as in the case of Penrod, individuals who held pre-emption rights to property in frontier Illinois often continued to occupy these properties even after other individuals legally bought the property, when it finally came on the market. They would refuse to vacate these properties unless compensated for their improvements, a refusal that almost always was supported by local juries made up of their friends and neighbors.

Financial difficulties associated with several court cases apparently motivated Penrod to settle with Littleton in 1820 and sell him his ferry operation. On September 26, 1820, Samuel and Jane Penrod sold 79.08 acres along the Mississippi River to Littleton for \$1,000. Two days later on September 28 the Union County Court issued a judgment against Samuel Penrod in favor of Joseph Palmer in a court case involving the two men. County sheriff George Hunsaker was authorized to levy against "the goods and chattels, lands and tenements of...(Samuel) Penrod" to recover a debt owed Palmer. The land that the county sheriff was authorized to sell apparently included the site of Penrod's Ferry. Three Mississippi River ferry operators—John Raddle, Thomas Green, and Benjamin Hall—appraised the value of Penrod's Ferry at \$1,200. Jacob Littleton then bought the "W fractional 1/2 Sec 2 T13S R3W" containing the ferry location at auction from the county sheriff for \$1,352 on October 24, 1820 (Union County Deed Book C3 n.d.c:59-60). Penrod's financial difficulties continued after the sale of his ferry with more of his property being seized and sold to settle a separate court case in April, 1821 (Dexter 1996a:24).

Jacob Littleton and Abner Field subsequently received a license from Union County on March 7, 1821 to operate a ferry in the "west half section 2....at the same place as Samuel Penrod's formerly was." Littleton continued to operate the ferry in Section 2, now known as "Littleton's Ferry," from 1821 to 1838. Littleton's June, 1826 license described his ferry as being "established at the same place where Samuel Penrod's was formerly kept on the W. fr 1/2 of Sec No. 2 N(orth) T. No. 13S. of R3W and...(being the same one) established at the March 7, 1821 (meeting of the county court)" (Union County Land Entry Book 1).

On May 9, 1837 Jacob Littleton sold the Section 2 and 11 tracts containing the ferry to Micajah Littleton of Madison County, Missouri. These tracts were identified in the deed as: (1) 238 acres in the SE 1/4 of Section 2, T13S, R3 W, and: (2) 193 acres consisting of 3/4 of the undivided W 1/2 of Section 11 and the W 1/2 of the NE 1/4 of Section 11, T13S, R3W. Micajah Littleton then sold these same two tracts to Obadiah Roberts on November 20, 1837, although the sale was not recorded until May 22, 1838. The acreage for the two tracts remained the same, but the later deed identified the 238 acres in the first tract as consisting of 160 acres in the SE 1/4

of Section 2 and 78.9 acres in the west fractional 1/2 of Section 2. Jacob Littleton paid taxes on a ferry at the Hamburg Landing location in 1838 despite the sale of this tract to Obadiah Roberts. This suggests that he may have continued to operate a ferry at this location until Roberts recorded the sale at the courthouse in May 1838.

In June, 1838, while the property was owned by Obadiah Roberts, James Wilbourn was "licensed to keep a ferry across the Mississippi River where Littleton's Ferry was, Section 2 and 11 or either of them" (Dexter 1996a:154). The reference in this license to locating the ferry in either Sections 2 and 11 or both of them suggests that Littleton's Ferry probably was located along the line separating the two sections. Wilbourn paid taxes on this ferry in 1839 but then applied to have his license vacated in September of that same year. The date range of Wilbourn's Ferry—June 1838 to September 1839—encompasses the movement of the majority of the Cherokee emigrants through southern Illinois. This suggests that Wilbourn acquired a ferry license to specifically profit off of the Cherokee removal during the winter of 1838-1839, subsequently abandoning the license following this event. The ferry landing remained in the ownership of Obadiah Roberts throughout the period of the Cherokee removal.

Obadiah Roberts took over direct control of the ferry at Hamburg Landing in March 1840. James Wilbourn, the former ferry operator, acted as security for this license suggesting a possible shortage of cash on Robert's part. Roberts renewed his license in 1841 but apparently was already deep in debt by this time. On July 26, 1841, Roberts conveyed temporary ownership of the tract to Thomas Quigley of New Orleans, Louisiana, to secure a \$1,000 debt owed to Quigley. Roberts was given one year to pay the debt. If he did not, the tract "known as Littleton's Ferry" would become the possession of Thomas Quigley and his wife. Quigley authorized James Littleton to sell the tract at public auction if Roberts was unable to pay the \$1,000 debt in the specified time. Although we did not research the chain of ownership of the Hamburg Landing tract past 1841, Roberts did not apply for a ferry license in 1842 (Dexter 1996a) suggesting that he probably lost the Hamburg Landing tract to Quigley.

The name "Hamburg Ldg" appears on the 1865 U.S. Coastal Survey Map, although a ferry may not have been operating at this landing at that time. In contrast to Green's Old Landing, which appears as a cleared area containing at least two structures, Hamburg Landing is shown as completely wooded and without structures on the 1865 map (Figure 4-1). The landing was located due west of the junction of the river road with the roads leading to Jonesboro and Clear Creek. Three fields and an orchard (but no structure) belonging to the Vancil family were located north of the junction of these same three roads. The 1876 map of Union County provides even less information regarding Hamburg Landing than does the 1865 map (Figure 4-2). This map shows the road from Jonesboro as ending at the road that ran along the river's edge. The landing, which would have been located immediately east of the southern edge of Island No. 21, is not labeled nor are any structures shown at this location.

A ferry may have been present at Hamburg Landing, however, in 1881 (Figure 4-8). The Union County atlas shows that the road leading from Jonesboro through Dug Hill and Ware to the ferry intersected the road running along the river in the NW 1/4 of Section 21. From there, travelers seeking to reach the ferry had to travel north along the river road for a short distance before reaching an unimproved road that ran off at a northwest angle toward the river shoreline and ferry. The ferry itself was located in the SW 1/4 of Section 2 at the south end of Tow (or Hamburg) Island. The channel that separated Tow Island from the Illinois shore may have been a deciding factor in locating a ferry at this location. Ferries and other river craft could have been

safely docked or loaded in this channel which presumably had much less of a current than the main channel of the Mississippi River.

The more detailed ca. 1890 Mississippi River Commission map of the river as it appeared in 1880-1881 provides slightly more and somewhat different information regarding the appearance of the landing at that time (Figure 4-9). This shows the landing as being located in the chute behind the south end of Tow Island. The ferry, if still in operation at this time, initially would have had to go south for a short distance, then turn and go northwest through a channel separating the south end of Tow (or Hamburg) Island from the north end of a large unnamed island and continue northwest toward Bainbridge Landing on the Missouri shore. The map shows a small trapezoidal clearing that contained one structure as being located immediately east but not contiguous with Hamburg Landing. A second structure was located in the woods south of the southern edge of the clearing (Figure 4-9). In contrast to the 1881 Union County map, the 1880-1881 map also shows no evidence of an unimproved road leading down to the river's edge where the ferry presumably would have been located. The poorly detailed 1899 Union County map shows the Hamburg ferry location as being largely unchanged from that of the 1880-1881 map (Figure 4-10). The landing, which contained no structures, is not identified on the 1899 map and already may have been abandoned by that time.

By 1908 Hamburg Landing had become completely cut off from the river. The channel separating the two islands west of the landing had completely silted in while the islands themselves now formed part of the mainland (Figure 4-11). Hamburg Landing was now located 1000 m (5/8 of a mile) inland from the eastern edge of the Mississippi River (Figure 4-11). In contrast to the 1881 map, the 1908 map identified the former island in front of the landing as Hamburg Island rather than Tow Island. The former site of Hamburg Landing was shown as a set of parallel dashed lines heading toward the filled-in channel that once ran to the east of the island. These lines were located beneath the number "340" (i.e., the 340' elevation contour) which was located beneath or west of the words "Hamburg Ldg" on the map (Figure 4-11). The abandoned landing contained no structures

The 1908 Union County atlas also shows Hamburg Landing as being cut off from the river by the early twentieth century. This map shows that the channel separating Sessions Island west of the landing from the mainland had completely silted in while the island itself now formed part of the mainland (Figure 4-12). A projection that extended due west from the access road leading down from the road that paralleled the river appears to represent the former location of the ferry.

Union County Conservation Area Archaeological Sites

Nine sites (Figure 4-13) that potentially could have been occupied during the Trail of Tears period (1837-1839) have been located by past archaeological surveys within the Union County Conservation Area (Knight and Butler 1995; Stephens 1994). Date ranges for these sites (Table 4-4) were based on the artifacts recovered by these surveys as well as the materials recovered by the Phase II investigations at site 11U683 (Wagner 1995). As such, the possibility exists that these date ranges could be in error.

Three types of archival data were used to refine the occupation dates for these sites. These consisted of: (1) Nineteenth century Government Land Office (GLO) records that give the date

of original purchase of various land tracts from the public domain; (2) The chain of title for the tracts containing the archaeological sites from the date of the original purchase through 1840; (3) An 1839 list of property owners for Union County that provides legal descriptions of the land tracts owned by these individuals. All three of these data sets have limitations that affect their usefulness. First, pre-1821 land purchases from the public domain involve a great deal of land speculation as opposed to actual settlement. Under the Credit System of land purchase as authorized by Congress in 1796, individuals could purchase land by making a small down payment and then pay the remainder of the price through a series of installment payments. Although the price of land was set at \$2.00 an acre to deter speculation, the required down payment was only 1/20 of the total cost of the land. As such, an individual purchasing an

Table 4-4. Location, owner, and purchase date for possible Trail of Tears-related sites within the UCCA.

Site	T	R	S	Quarter Sections	Original Purchaser	Purchase Date	Projected Date Range*
11U683	13S	2W	6	NWNENW	David Miller	1821	Mid-19th century
11U690	13S	2W	7	NESENE	Josiah Godwin and Hithipher Sames	1836	Mid-to late 19th century
				SESENE	Josiah Godwin and Hithipher Sames	1836	
				NENESE	Josiah Godwin and Hithipher Sames	1836	
11U692	13S	2W	7	NENWNE	Kenneth Hargrave	1848	Mid-to late 19th century
11U699	13S	2W	6	SWSWSE	Hithipher Sames and Jacob Trees	1835	Mid-19th to early 20th century
			7	NWNWNE	Kenneth Hargrave	1848	
11U704	13S	2W	7	SEENENW	Joseph Smith**	1818	Mid-to late 19th century
					Josiah Godwin	Unk.	
				SESWNW	David Trees	1836	
				SENEW	Jonathon Eaves	1838	
11U712	12S	2W	31	SESWSE	Wilkinson Godwin	1834	Mid-19th to mid-20th century.
				SWSESE	Wilkinson Godwin	1834	
11U723	13S	2W	7	NESWSE	Joseph Smith***	1821	
					Jacob Rinehart	1836	
11U733	13S	2W	7	SESESW	Joseph Smith****	1821	Early- to mid-19th century.
					Jacob Rinehart	1836	
				SWSWSE	Joseph Smith	1821	
					Daniel Kimmel	Unk.	
11U736	13S	2W	6	NWSWNW	Joseph Miller*****	1821	Mid- to late 19th century.
				NESWNW	Benjamin McIntosh	1828	

*Artifact-based date ranges taken from Knight and Butler (1995) and Wagner (1995).

**Joseph Smith relinquished the NW 1/4 of Section 7 in 1821; Godwin repatented it at an unknown date.

***Smith relinquished this tract and Rinehart repatented it 15 years later.

****Tract apparently relinquished by Smith and repatented by Rinehart.

*****Tract apparently relinquished by Smith and repatented by Rinehart.

*****Tract apparently relinquished by Miller and repatented by McIntosh.

entire section (640 acres) valued at \$1,280 was required to make an initial down payment of only \$64.00. The result was wide-spread speculation as individuals placed down payments on numerous parcels, hoping that some of them would rise in value. Congress replaced the Credit System with the Cash System in 1821, requiring individuals to buy at least 80 acres at \$1.25 an acre and pay for the entire amount at the time of purchase. This effectively ended the wave of speculation in Illinois and elsewhere with most post-1821 land purchases being reflective of actual settlement as opposed to speculation.

Second, early nineteenth century chains-of-titles for Mississippi River bottom tracts within Union County also can be reflective of land speculation rather than actual settlement. Many of the wealthier men in the county purchased large tracts of agricultural land that they expected to increase in value as the county developed. Although a particular tract may have changed hands several times between 1816 and 1840, none of the purchasers may have lived at the tract.

Third, although the 1839 property list contains detailed legal descriptions of properties owned by various individuals, it does not indicate on which of these properties the landowner lived. If an individual owned only a single 80 acre tract, it is safe to conclude that the individual lived on that particular tract. In the case of individuals owning multiple tracts totaling hundreds or thousands of acres, however, the property list contains no information as to which of these tracts contains their primary residence.

Archaeological Site Descriptions

Site: 11U683

Size: multiple areas; 5600 m²

Legal Description: NE 1/4, NW 1/4, Section 6, T13S, R2W

Age of Historic Component: Early to mid-nineteenth century.

Description: This site is located on level terrain southwest of the UCCA headquarters complex. Jeannette Stephens and Jon Muller located the site in 1994 as part of a survey of new construction areas for the headquarter complex. Stephens defined 3 concentrations (A-C) of material within this area, one of which (A) clearly represented the remains of a domestic occupation (Stephens 1994).

Phase II archaeological investigations were conducted at the site by the CAI in 1995 to determine the integrity and NRHP eligibility of the site (Wagner 1995). The site was contained both in a fallow agricultural field (100% visibility) and a winter wheat field in which visibility varied from 0 to 75%. A datum (N500E500) was established in the grassy area east of the winter wheat field.

A surface survey was conducted to re-establish the site limits (Figure 4-14). This revealed that Area A consisted of a very light scatter of historic artifacts dating between ca. 1830-1850. Ceramic types included annular-decorated, blue shell-edge, hand-painted, and transfer-printed whitewares. Noticeably absent were late nineteenth century artifacts or window glass. The northern edge of the scatter was located approximately 50 m south of the southern end of the 1995 refuge headquarters at grid point N550 E590. The scatter extended south from this point for approximately 80 m. The scatter had an east-west dimension of approximately 50 m.

Area B was contained the winter wheat field in an area of approximately 75% surface visibility. Pedestrian survey of this area revealed that a light scatter of broken limestone covered an approximate 40 m by 40 m area. The single artifact observed on the surface in this was a machine-made twentieth century bottle neck. The absence of domestic debris suggested that the limestone in Area B represented the remains of an outbuilding such as a barn.

Area C could not be relocated in 1995. The 1994 Phase I survey report revealed that this area consisted of four pieces of broken limestone covering a 6 m by 1 m area. Pedestrian survey of the recorded location of this scatter failed to locate any limestone fragments or artifacts.

Area A was investigated by excavating an approximate 5 m wide north-south trench along the edge of the field from grid points N485 to N550. A series of east-west trenches was then excavated at a right angle off of the original trench (Figure 4-14). A light scatter of brick was observed in the north-south trench from N508 to N518. The trackhoe was then used to clear a large block west of this area to check for possible structural remains. Although additional brick and limestone fragments were found, there was no sign of a foundation or stone piers within this area.

Three features dating to the mid-to-late nineteenth century were found at the south end of the trench (Figures 4-15 and 4-16). These consisted of a 4.7 m wide cistern (Feature 1), a rectangular feature of unknown function (feature 2), and a probable cellar (feature 3). These features were mapped in plan view but not excavated. Artifacts recovered from the top of Feature 1 included four fragments of a plain white ironstone bowl, four hand-painted transfer-printed sherds, blue-transfer print sherd, and a large section of a multi-colored transfer-printed plate. Hand-painted transfer prints are suggested to date between 1840 and 1860, while multi-colored transfer prints with blue, yellow, and red colors similar to the feature 1 plate date after 1848 (Majewski and O'Brien 1984:35). Other items from the feature included the head to a broad hoe and an iron horse stirrup. Feature 2 was a rectangular stain measuring 1.30 m long by 1.0 m wide that produced a single whiteware cup base. Feature 3 was a roughly rectangular stain with a projection off one corner that measured 2.3 m long by 1.9 m wide. Artifacts recovered from the surface of the feature included six pig or cow bones, a plain white ironstone plate base, an iron hinge, six fragments of a "log cabin" bitters bottle, and the neck and lip to a salt-glazed stoneware bottle. One of the bitters bottle fragments was embossed "PATENTED/1862" indicating that it represented a fragment of an "1860 Plantation Bitters" bottle manufactured between 1862 and 1885 (Fike 1987:33).

Features 1-3 probably represent only a portion of the farmstead features contained in Area A of the site. Nineteenth-century farmsteads in southern Illinois typically contain a suite of features including pits, post molds, cellars, cisterns, smokehouses, molasses furnaces, and other facilities contained within a 30 to 40 m radius around the house (McCorvie 1987). Although the 1995 investigations defined the northern and western boundaries of the site, additional features may be located in the unexcavated portion of the site east and south of Features 1-3.

The limestone scatter comprising Area B was investigated in 1995 through a combination of pedestrian survey and mechanical excavations. Survey of this area under excellent field conditions in 1995 recovered only a single machine-made twentieth-century bottle neck. The trackhoe was then used to excavate two trenches through the limestone scatter in a cross pattern. This revealed that only two horizons existed in this area of the site: (1) a dark gray brown plow zone, 35-70 cm bs, that contained limestone, brick, and gravel fragments; (2) the

culturally sterile clay subsoil. Artifacts recovered during the stripping consisted of an iron hinge and two plain white ironstone sherds. The combination of limestone fragments and very low artifact frequency was interpreted as indicating that Area B represented the remains of a late-nineteenth early-twentieth-century barn or other outbuilding.

Archival Research: Illinois State Archives records indicate that David Miller patented the E 1/2 of the NW 1/4 Section 6 under the Credit System of land purchase in 1821. The Union County Land Entry Book (n.d.), however, indicates that David Miller patented only 44 acres within this area on April 17, 1821. The Union County Grantee-Grantor records indicate that Miller subsequently sold the E 1/2 of the NW 1/4 (or 80 acres) to Jacob Trees on December 19, 1829. Trees, a long-time resident of the county, already owned multiple tracts within Union County totaling many hundreds of acres by the time he purchased the land containing site 11U683 and he almost certainly did not reside on this property. Trees in turn sold the property containing site 11U683 to Winstead Davie on January 13, 1845 as part of a larger land transaction between the two men in which Davie bought over 500 acres of Mississippi River bottomland belonging to Trees. Davie subsequently paid the taxes on this land in 1846 (Dexter 2003:84), maintaining ownership of the tract until he sold all of the NW 1/4 of Section 6 to Jackson Frick and his wife in 1874.

By 1881 the property containing the site was owned by R. E. Holmes. The T13S, R2W map in the 1881 Union County atlas shows two structures in the general area of site 11U683, one north and one south of the Jonesboro-Hamburg road. Neither structure appears on the 1899 Union County atlas, by which time the property was owned by Harriet M. Spann (Beumann 1899). The absence of the structures on later maps is in general agreement with the artifacts recovered by the Phase II investigations, which indicate that the site was abandoned in the late-nineteenth century.

Conclusion: The artifacts recovered by the Phase II investigations at site 11U683 have a date range of ca. 1828-1885. Ceramic and glass artifacts recovered from the top of Features 1 and 3 such as the multi-colored transfer-printed plate and the bitters bottle, however, have beginning dates of manufacture that clearly post-date the Trail of Tears era (1837-1839). Based on the artifacts alone, the site appears to date to the 1870s and 1880s. However, as noted in the Phase II report (Wagner 1995), the presence of late-nineteenth-century artifacts in the tops of Features 1 and 3 indicates only that these features were abandoned by this date, it does not tell when they were constructed. As such, site 11U683 may have been established in the mid-nineteenth century or earlier and abandoned in the late nineteenth century. No conclusive evidence was found that would indicate the site was occupied during the Trail of Tears period. It appears most likely that the site was established and occupied by either Jackson Frick or R.E. Holmes in the late-nineteenth century.

Site: 11U690

Legal Description: SE 1/4, NE 1/4, SE 1/4; NE 1/4, SE 1/4, NE 1/4; NE 1/4, NE 1/4, SE 1/4, Section 7, T13S, R2W

Size: 115 x 100 m; 11,500 m²

Age of Historic Component: Mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century

Description: Site 11U690 is located on a prominent sand ridge overlooking a slough. The site predominantly consists of an extensive scatter of prehistoric ceramics, lithics, faunal remains, and other artifacts. The historic component covered an approximate 115 m x 100 m area at the

south end of the ridge and contained the remains of a gravel drive, brick, and limestone. Historic period artifacts consisted of a combination of nineteenth century (redware and sponge and annular decorated whitewares) and twentieth century (spark plugs, bottles with 1945-1960 maker's marks) artifacts.

A review of historic maps and aerial photographs revealed that a structure is evident at the site on the 1938 aerial photographs and 1948 USGS map but not on the 1923 USGS map or 1952 aerial photographs. This indicated that the later historic period occupation has a maximum date range of 1924-1951. The absence of the site on nineteenth century maps, given the presence of mid-nineteenth-century artifacts at the site, suggests that this earlier occupation pre-dates the publication of the 1881 Union County map.

Archival Research: Illinois State Archives records indicate that the two 40 acre tracts—the SE 1/4 of the NE 1/4 and the NE 1/4 of the SE 1/4 of Section 7—containing site 11U690 were patented by Josiah Godwin in 1836. County land records indicate that Godwin sold both of these tracts to wealthy merchant and land speculator Winstead Davie on January 13, 1845 who then paid the taxes on both parcels in 1846 (Dexter 2003:84).

Conclusion: Artifacts recovered from site 11U690 indicate that the nineteenth-century-component dates to the early- to mid-nineteenth century. As such, it is possible that Josiah Godwin could have lived at site 11U690. Possible support for this supposition is Josiah Godwin made no land purchases from the federal government other than the two tracts containing the site. Given the date range of the artifacts (ca. 1830-1860), it is possible that Godwin may have occupied this site during the Trail of Tears period (1837-1839). Unfortunately, 11U690 is located over a half mile south of the nineteenth-century route of the trail (Figure 4-13). Even if it was occupied by Josiah Godwin during this period, he may have had little or no direct interaction with the Cherokee.

Site: 11U692

Legal Description: NE 1/4, NW 1/4, NE 1/4, Section 7, T13S, R2W.

Size: 80 m East/West by 44 m North/South; 2286 m².

Age of Historic Component: Mid-to-late nineteenth century

Description: This site lay on the summit, shoulder, and north-facing ridge slope of a floodplain ridge. The 1995 survey collected 39 artifacts at this location, a total which represented 100% of all observed materials. Ceramic types recovered from the site included mid-nineteenth century whitewares, stonewares, and porcelain. The site does not appear on map or photograph source, indicating that it was abandoned before publication of the earliest county map in 1881.

Archival Research: Information obtained from the Illinois Secretary of State's office indicates that the 80 acre tract containing the site (NE 1/4 of Section 7) was purchased from the federal public domain in 1848 by Kenneth Hargrave. Hargrave was not taxed for this property in 1846 (Dexter 2003), supporting the information obtained from the Secretary of State's office.

Conclusion: The few artifacts recovered from the site are in general agreement with an 1848 date of purchase. The site appears to have been established about that time, occupied for a few years, and abandoned before the late nineteenth century. It definitely post-dates the date range (1837-1839) of the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois.

Site: 11U699

Size: 95 m N/S by 70 m E/W; 5111 m²

Legal Description: SW 1/4, SW 1/4, SE 1/4, Section 7; NW 1/4, NW 1/4, NE 1/4, Section 6, T13S, R6E

Age of Historic Component: Early-nineteenth to early-twentieth century

Description: This site is located on the summits, shoulders, and slopes of a sandy north-south trending floodplain ridge that rises 1.5 to 2 m above the surrounding floodplain. Historic materials at the site included limestone and sandstone chunks as well as glass, ceramic, and metal artifacts. Early- to mid-nineteenth-century artifacts among this assemblage included handpainted, sponge decorated, transfer printed, and blue shell-edged whiteware ceramics. A structure is shown near the site 11U699 location only on the 1881 Union County atlas, suggesting the site was abandoned at some point in the early-twentieth century.

Archival Research: The Illinois State Archives and Union County Courthouse land records indicate that the 40 acre SW 1/4, SE 1/4 of Section 6 was bought by Hithipher Sames in 1835 while the 80 acre W 1/2 of Section 7 was bought by Kenneth Hargrave in 1848. Sames sold his parcel to Jacob Trees, who owned numerous tracts on the floodplain, on March 27, 1838. Trees in turn sold this land and over 400 additional acres to land speculator and merchant Winstead Davie as part of a major land transaction between the two men on January 13, 1845. Davie subsequently paid the 1846 taxes on the W 1/2 of the SE 1/4 (Dexter et al. 1985:45).

Conclusion: It is not clear if site 11U699 was occupied during the Trail of Tears period (1837-1839) but it appears unlikely. Although some of the artifacts found at the site could date to this period, all three of the men—Sames, Trees, and Davie—who owned the land in Section 6 containing the site also owned other lands and (in the case of Trees and Davie) are known to have lived elsewhere in the county. It also is possible that the nineteenth-century artifacts recovered from the site are associated with Kenneth Hargrave who purchased the part of Section 7 containing the site in 1848. It also should be noted that the site is located about a half mile south of the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road, again indicating that it may be a later site not directly associated with the Trail of Tears.

Site: 11U704

Legal Description: SE 1/4, NE 1/4, NW 1/4; SE 1/4, SW 1/4, NW 1/4; SE 1/4, NW 1/4; Section 7, T13S, R2W.

Size: 450 m NE/SW by 125 M NW/SE; 39, 596 m².

Age of Historic Component: Mid- to late-nineteenth century

Description: This site consisted of an extensive but light prehistoric and historic artifact scatter paralleling the western edge of Barker Lake. The landform containing the site gradually slopes away from the lake as a series of low narrow ridges and intervening shallow swales. These decrease in elevation with distance and finally merge with the low-lying surrounding terrain. All observed historic artifacts (n=20) were collected. The few whiteware ceramics collected on the site exhibited early- to mid-nineteenth-century decorations including annular, transfer printed, and sponge. The site also produced a fragment of a Pike's Peak flask dated to ca. 1859-1872. This site does not appear in any map or photographic source, indicating abandonment before the publication of the earliest Union County map in 1881 (Knight and Butler 1995:44-44).

Archival Research: Land speculator Joseph Smith purchased the 160 acre NW 1/4 of Section 7 under the Credit System in 1818, relinquishing it to the federal government in 1821. County land records indicate that David Trees subsequently bought the 41 acre NE 1/4 NW 1/4 of this section in 1836, later selling this property to Jacob Trees on March 40, 1840 for \$100. Jacob Trees in turn sold it to Winstead Davie as part of their 500 acre plus land transaction on January 13, 1845. Union County land records indicate that Jonathon Eaves bought the 41 acre SW 1/4 NW 1/4 of Section 7 in 1838. He then sold this to Christian Hileman for \$50 on December 4, 1838. Hileman and his wife then sold the property to Winstead Davie for \$150 on January 17, 1846.

Conclusion: The artifacts recovered from the site have a date range that extends back into the early nineteenth century. It is possible that these artifacts are associated with Christian Hileman and his wife who owned part of the tract containing the site from 1838 to 1846. Even if it was occupied during the Trail of Tears period, the site is not located directly on the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road, and its occupants may have had little direct interaction with the Cherokee.

Site: 11U712

Legal Description: SE 1/4, SW 1/4, SE 1/4; SW 1/4, SW 1/4, SE 1/4, Section 31, T12S, R2W.

Area: 300 m ESE/WNW by 150 NNE/SSW; 25,348 m².

Age of Historic Component: Early-nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century

Description: The historic component at this site consists of a large scatter of artifacts distributed on a sand ridge whose eastern half is bisected by a swale that parallels the ridge axis. This swale corresponds to the former route of the road connecting Jonesboro and Hamburg Landing as shown on the 1881 Union County atlas. A high artifact density area, measuring 30 by 50 m and containing glass and ceramic artifacts, limestone slabs, and brick fragments, was located on the ridge crest overlooking the swale. A structure is shown at this location on a variety of map and photograph sources dating from 1881 to 1948. The structure appears to have been demolished between 1948 and 1952 based on its absence in the 1952 aerial photographs of the site. Artifacts recovered from the site consisted of a wide range of ceramic, glass, and other items dating from the early-nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century (Knight and Butler 1995:51-52).

Archival Research: The 40 acre SW 1/4 SE 1/4 of Section 31 containing site 11U712 was patented by Wilkerson (Willis) Godwin under the Cash System of land purchase in 1834. County land records indicate that Wilkerson Godwin sold the property to John Godwin on January 15, 1830 as part of a larger transaction. John Godwin owned an additional 204 acres consisting of the 80 acre W 1/2, NE 1/4 of Section 31, T12S, R2W and 124 acres in the NE 1/4, Section 6, T13S, R2W by 1839. John Godwin maintained ownership of these tracts until at least 1846 (Dexter 2003:23, 82).

Conclusion: The purchase date (1834) for the tract containing site 11U712 agrees with the presence of early-nineteenth century handpainted blue broad-line and polychrome floral decorated whiteware ceramics at the site. Other ceramic types recovered from the site that first became available in the late 1820s include red and green transfer printed whiteware ceramics (Knight and Butler 1995:52). As such, the site may represent the mid- to late-1830s homestead of Wilkerson Godwin. However, Godwin also had claimed 320 acres in the N 1/2 of Section 7, 13S, R1W as early as 1816, indicating that either his primary or an earlier residence may have been located farther to the east in the uplands (Hammes 1977:344).

Site: 11U723

Legal Description: NE 1/4, SW 1/4, SE 1/4 of Section 7, T13S, R2W

Size: 150 m NE/SW by 80 m NW/SE; 8678 m²

Age of Historic Component: Mid- to late-nineteenth century

Description: This site occupied the summit, shoulder, and southeast-facing slope of a northeast-southwest trending sand ridge. The historic artifacts were fairly uniformly distributed across the landform with no apparent concentration. Pieces of limestone that may have been part of the structure foundation also were present. Temporally diagnostic whiteware ceramics included post-1828 brown, purple, and cranberry transfer printed; hand-painted polychrome and blue broad-line floral; and blue shell-edged ceramics. Salt and slip-glazed stonewares also were present. This site does not appear on any historic map or photo source, suggesting abandonment prior to the publication of the 1881 Union County atlas (Knight and Butler 1995:61-62).

Archival Research: This site is located within the 80 acre W 1/2 of the SE 1/4 of Section 7 first patented under the Credit System of land purchase by land speculator Joseph Smith in 1821. Smith appears to have relinquished the tract back to the federal government as Jacob Rinehart patented the same tract in 1836. Jacob Rinehart still held this land and paid taxes on it in 1847 (Dexter et al. 1985:44; 2003:83). Jacob Rinehart and his son Jacob, Jr., however, patented five tracts in Union County totaling 200 acres of land in 1836 and 1837. It is unclear which, if any, of these tracts they actually lived on. Multiple land purchases such as those made by the Rineharts that immediately precede the financial Panic of 1837 often are associated with land speculation rather than actual settlement.

Conclusion: The date range of the artifacts recovered from the site suggests that it could have been occupied between ca. 1828-1870. As such, it is at least possible that Jacob Rinehart may have lived at the site following his purchase of the land in 1836. It is equally possible, however, that Rinehart lived elsewhere in Union County and that the artifacts found at the site are associated with a later occupation.

Site: 11U733

Size: 150 m ENE/WSW by 65 m NW/SE; 7988 m².

Age of Historic Component: Early- to mid-nineteenth century

Location: SE 1/4, SE 1/4, SE 1, 4; SW 1/4, SW 1/4, SE 1/4, Section 7, T13S, R2W

Description: This site occupied the summit and slopes of a southeast-facing slope of a prominent northeast-southwest trending sand ridge. Historic artifacts had a high count and density in the central portion of the site and extended in lower numbers to the southwest. A limestone scatter also was present in this area. A depression also was present on the southwest side of the central area but it could not be determined if this was cultural or natural. The site produced a number of early- to mid-nineteenth-century ceramic artifacts including green shell-edge pearlwares, plain pearlwares, and sponge, annular, transfer printed, and hand painted whitewares. Knight and Butler (1995:68) noted that this site, which does not appear on any map or photograph source, represented one of the earliest sites identified in the UCCA.

Archival Research: This site occupies parts of two different tracts. The 80 acre W 1/2 of the SE 1/4 of Section 7 was first patented under the Credit System of land purchase by land speculator Joseph Smith in 1821. As noted for site 11U723, Smith appears to have relinquished the tract

back to the federal government as Jacob Rinehart patented the same tract in 1836. Jacob Rinehart still held this land and paid taxes on it in 1847 (2003:83; Dexter et al. 1985:44;). Jacob Rinehart and his son Jacob, Jr., however, patented five tracts in Union County totaling 200 acres of land in 1836 and 1837. It is unclear which, if any, of these tracts they actually lived on. The second tract is the 40 acre SE 1/4, SW 1/4 of Section 7. According to the original purchase records housed at the Illinois State Archives, the 160 acre SW 1/4 of Section 7 containing this tract was originally purchased from the federal government by Joseph Smith in 1821. He must have relinquished it to the federal government, as the Union County Land Entry Book (n.d.) indicates that the 40 acre SE 1/4 SW 1/4 of Section 7 was first purchased by Young E. Brown on December 9, 1836. Brown and his wife subsequently sold the property to Daniel Kimmel on March 29, 1839 as part of a larger transaction totaling 82 acres for \$500. Daniel Kimmel sold the property to George Kimmel at some point between 1839 and 1846. In 1846 George Kimmel paid taxes only on this 41 acre property (Dexter et al. 1985:42), suggesting that he may have been living at this location.

Conclusion: The artifacts strongly suggest that site 11U733 was occupied during the Trail of Tears period (1837-1839). The occupation most likely is associated with Young E. Brown and wife, who owned part of the land containing the site between 1836 and 1839. George Kimmel subsequently may have lived at the site in the 1840s, although that family made numerous land purchases in the 1830s and 1840s and it is unclear where their primary residence was located.

Site: 11U736

Size: 120 m E/W by 65 m N/S; 6042 m²

Legal Description: NW 1/4, SW 1/4, NW, 1/4; NE 1/4, SW 1/4, NW 1/4, Section 6, T13S, R2W

Age of Historic Component: Early-nineteenth to early-twentieth century

Description: This site was located on the summit and slopes of a knoll. Historic period materials including limestone, brick, gravel, metal, glass, and ceramic artifacts occurred on top of the knoll. Early-nineteenth-century materials among the mixed assemblage included hand-painted, sponge-decorated, transfer-printed, and blue shell-edged whiteware ceramics. Mid- to late-nineteenth-century materials included ironstone, porcelain, and stoneware ceramics. Late nineteenth- to early-twentieth-century material included bottle fragments with maker's marks dating to that period (Butler and Knight 195:70-71). The site appears on 1908 and 1923 maps of the area but is not shown in earlier and later maps or photographs. It is located on the north side of the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road.

Archival Research: Illinois State Archives records indicate that the 80 acre W 1/2 of the NW 1/4 of Section 6 containing the site originally was patented by David Miller in 1821. Miller's patent appears to have been voided and the tract subsequently patented to Benjamin McIntosh in 1828. It is possible that Benjamin McIntosh lived there as he made no other purchases from the public domain in Union County. County land records indicate that McIntosh subsequently sold 60 acres in the W 1/2 NW 1/4 of Section 6 to Jacob Trees in 1831. Trees, who owned multiple tracts within Union County, probably did not reside on the tract. He sold the entire W 1/2 NW 1/4 of Section 6 to Winstead Davie on January 13, 1845 as part of a 500 plus acre land sale between the two men. Davie paid the taxes on the land in 1846 (Dexter 2003:84).

Conclusion: The 1828 purchase date of the NW 1/4 of Section 6 by Benjamin McIntosh falls within the date range (ca. 1828-1860) of the early nineteenth century decorated whitewares recovered from the site. McIntosh was still living in Union County in 1846 but paid no land

taxes, suggesting he may have been a renter or tenant on the land he formerly owned. We could find no other Union County land transactions involving Benjamin McIntosh for the period 1818-1856, again suggesting (but not proving) that McIntosh may have lived at the site at the time (1837-1839) of the Cherokee removal.

Examination of Cannon and Buttrick Journals

Examination of the two journals kept by B.B. Cannon in 1837 and the Reverend Daniel Buttrick in 1838-1839 in regard to whether they contained the names of any of the various Union County ferry operators or land owners proved extremely disappointing (Buttrick n.d.; Cannon 1978). Although these journals did contain such information for other parts of southern Illinois, both are silent regarding the names of landowners or other people within Union County with whom the Cherokee may have interacted during their movement through the county. This contrasts with scattered references in various Union County histories and other articles that the missionaries and soldiers accompanying the various Cherokee detachments had financial dealings with the three wealthiest men in the county—Elijah Willard, Willis Willard, and Winstead Davie—(Dexter 2000; Perrin 1883; Parks 1984), all of whom profited off of the movement of the Cherokee through Union county.

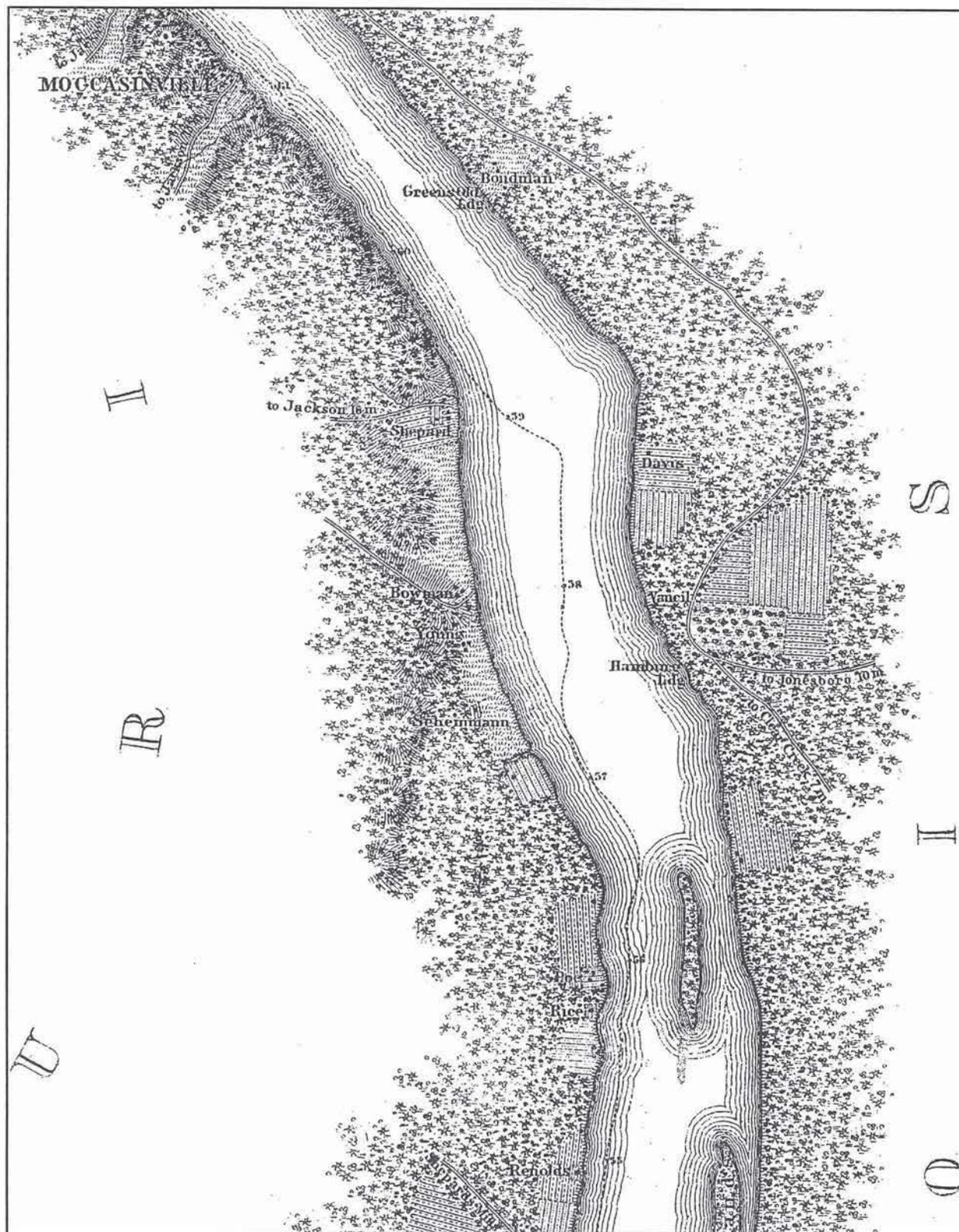


Figure 4-1. Green's and Hamburg Landings in 1865 (U.S. Coast Survey Office 1865).

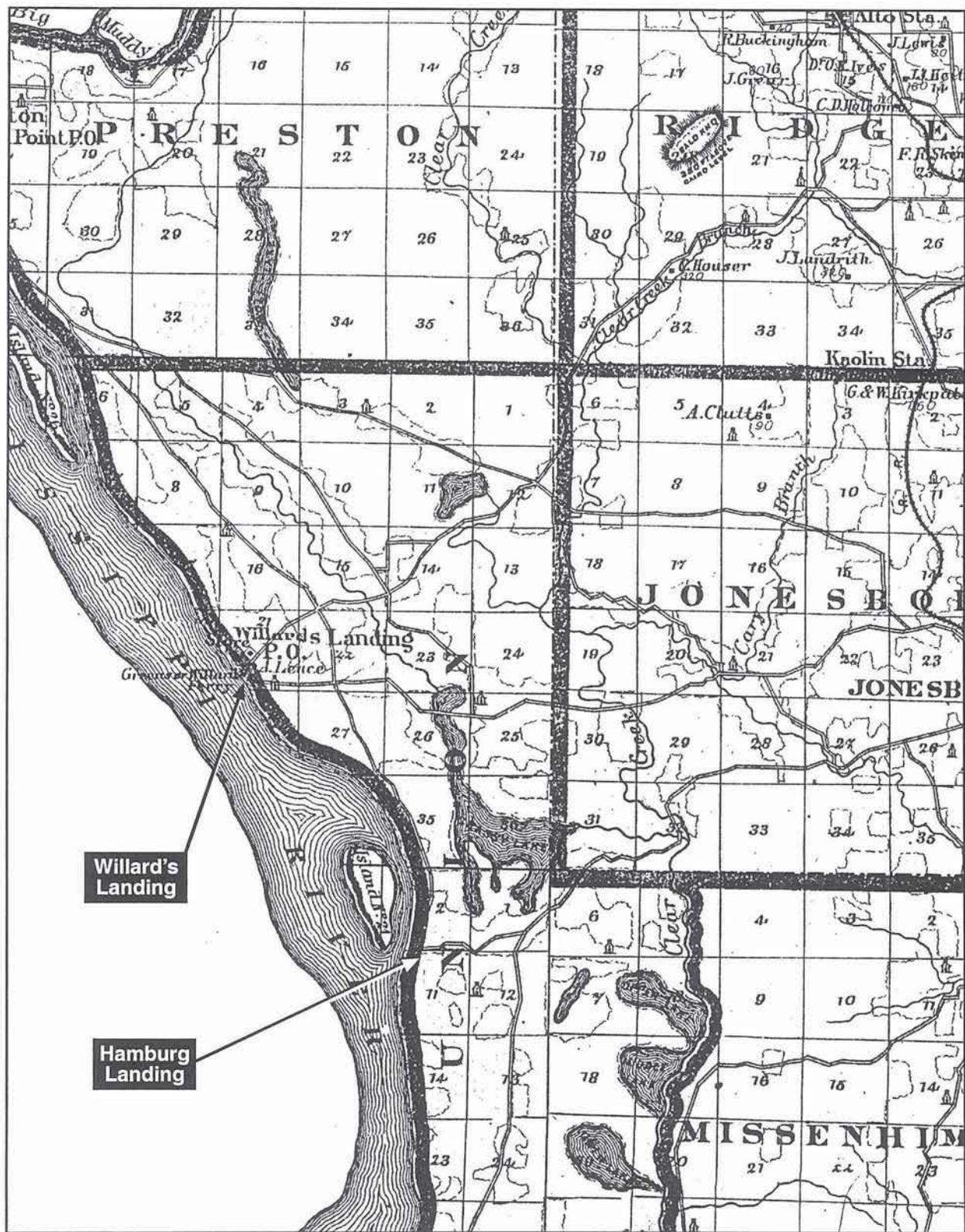


Figure 4-2. Willard's and Hamburg Landings in 1876 (Warner and Beers 1876).

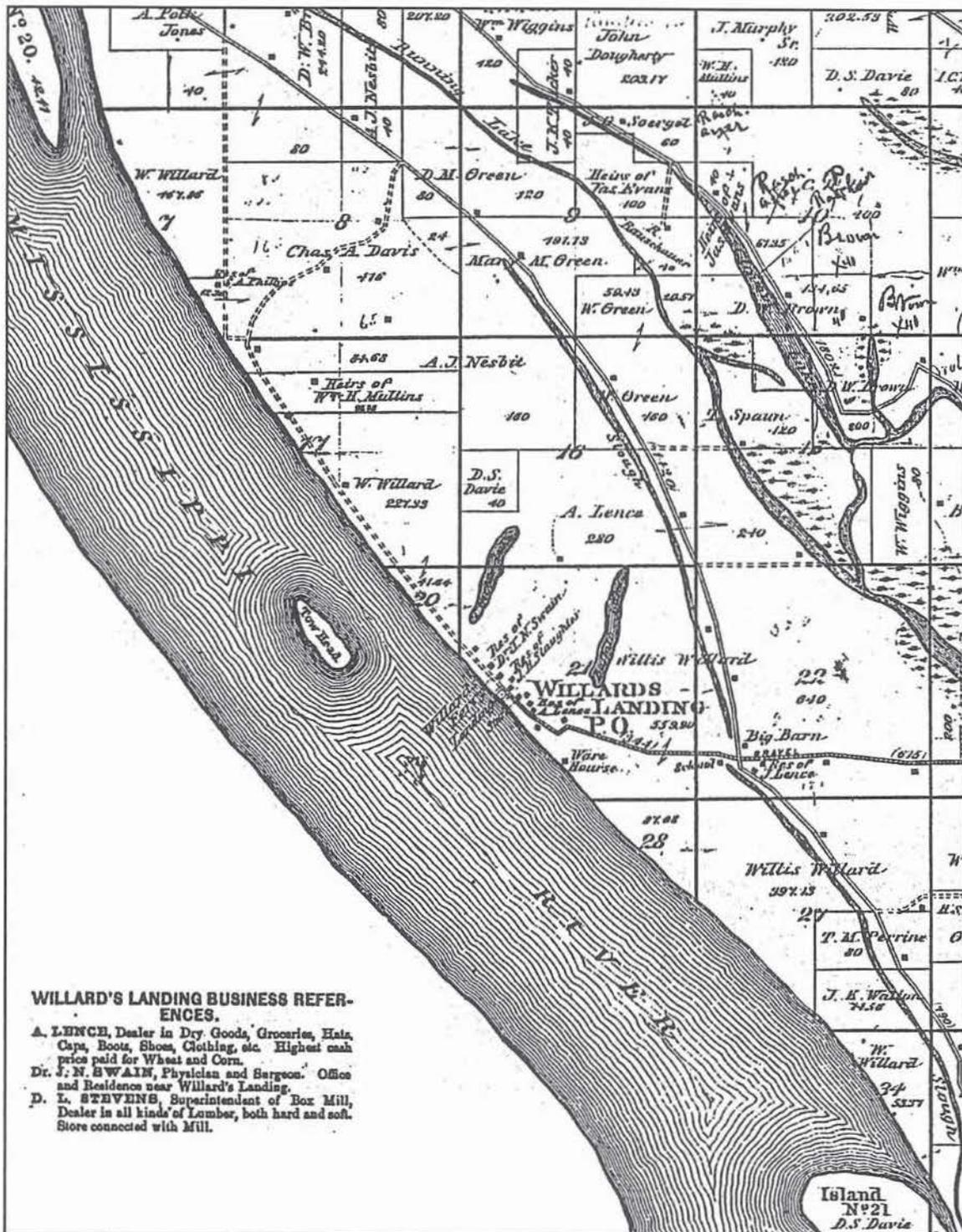


Figure 4-3. Willard's Landing in 1881 (Lake 1881).

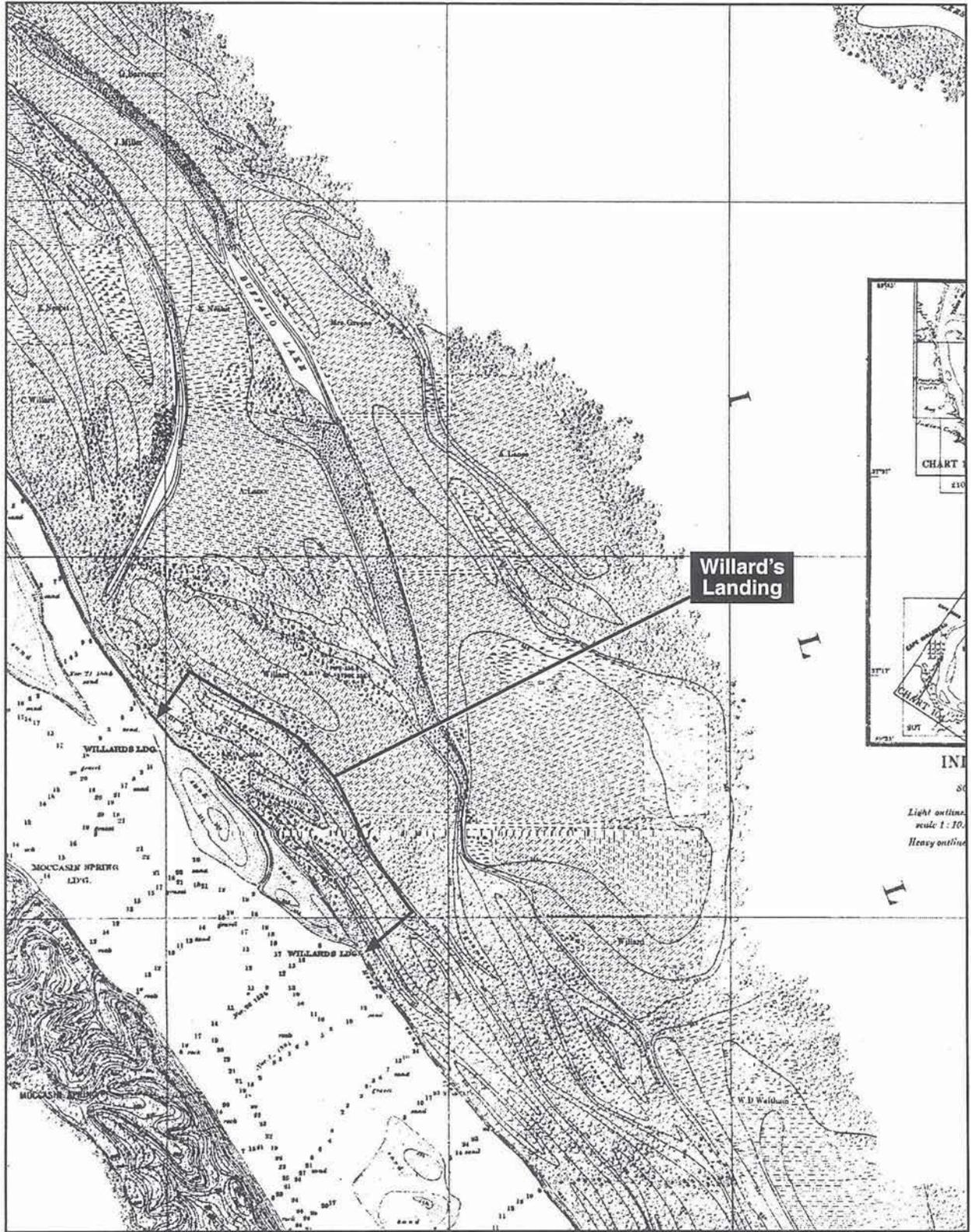


Figure 4-4. Willard's Landing in 1880-1881 (Comstock 1890).

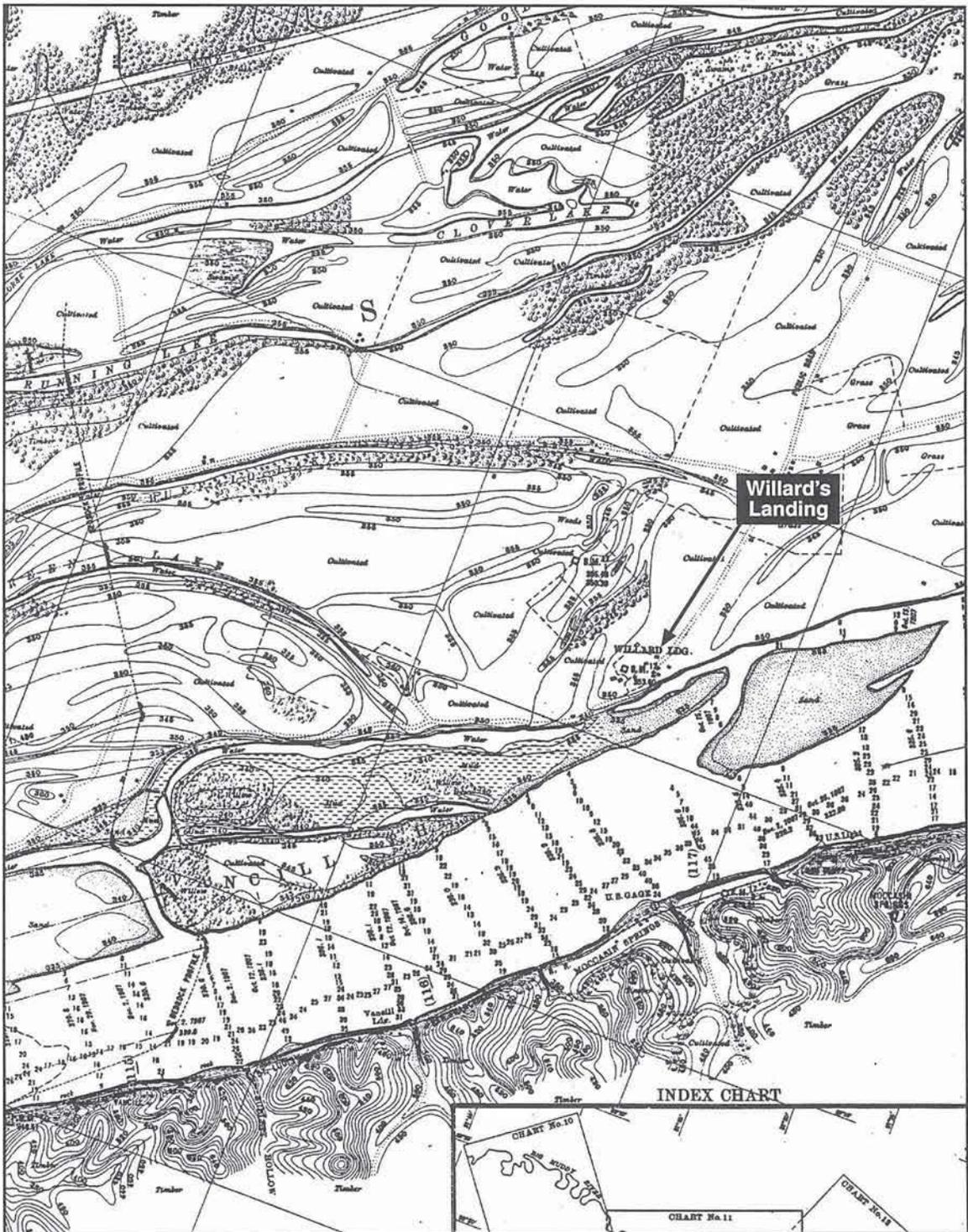


Figure 4-6. Willard's Landing in 1908 (Sears and Bixby 1908).

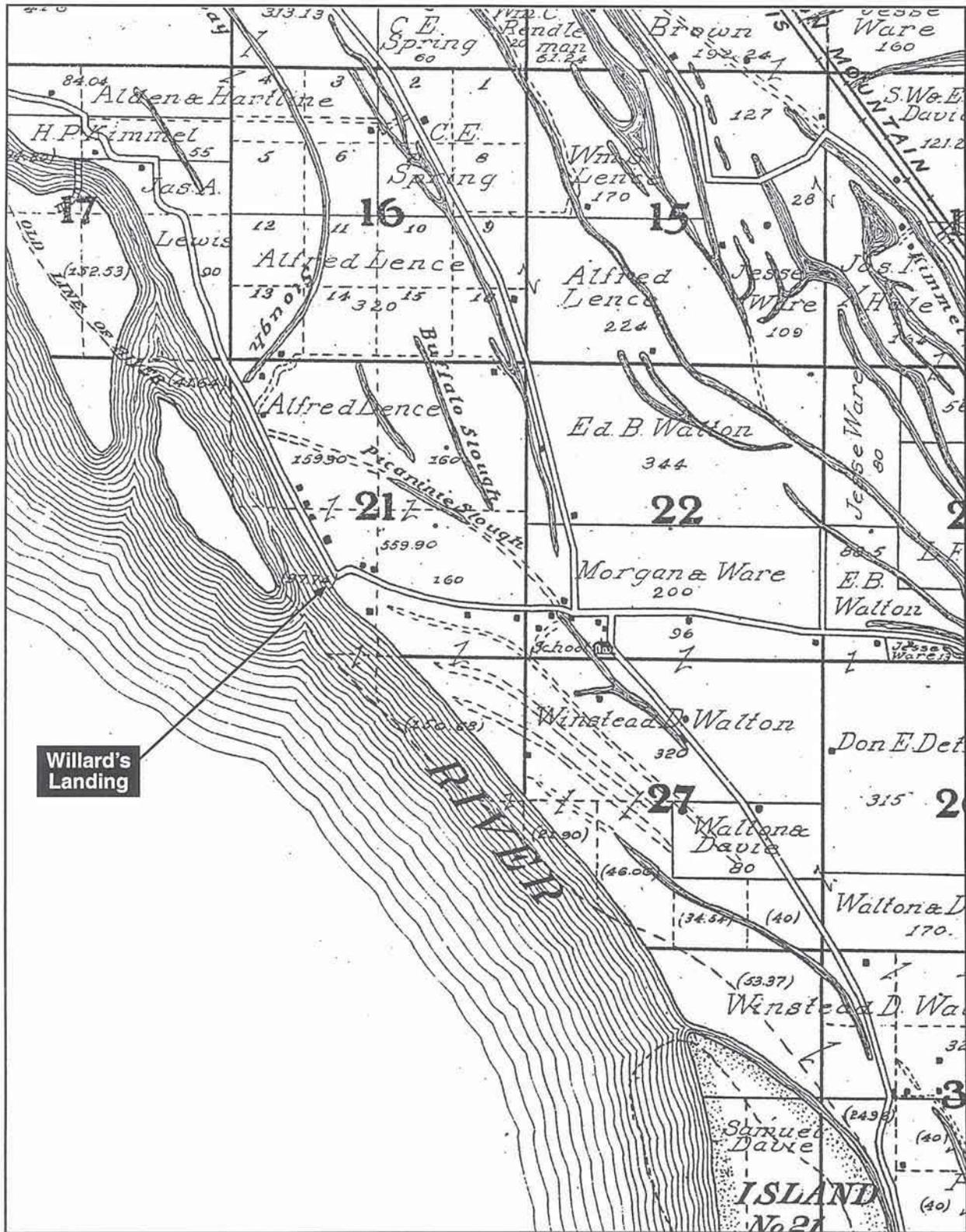


Figure 4-7. Willard's Landing in 1908 county map (Ogle and Company 1908).

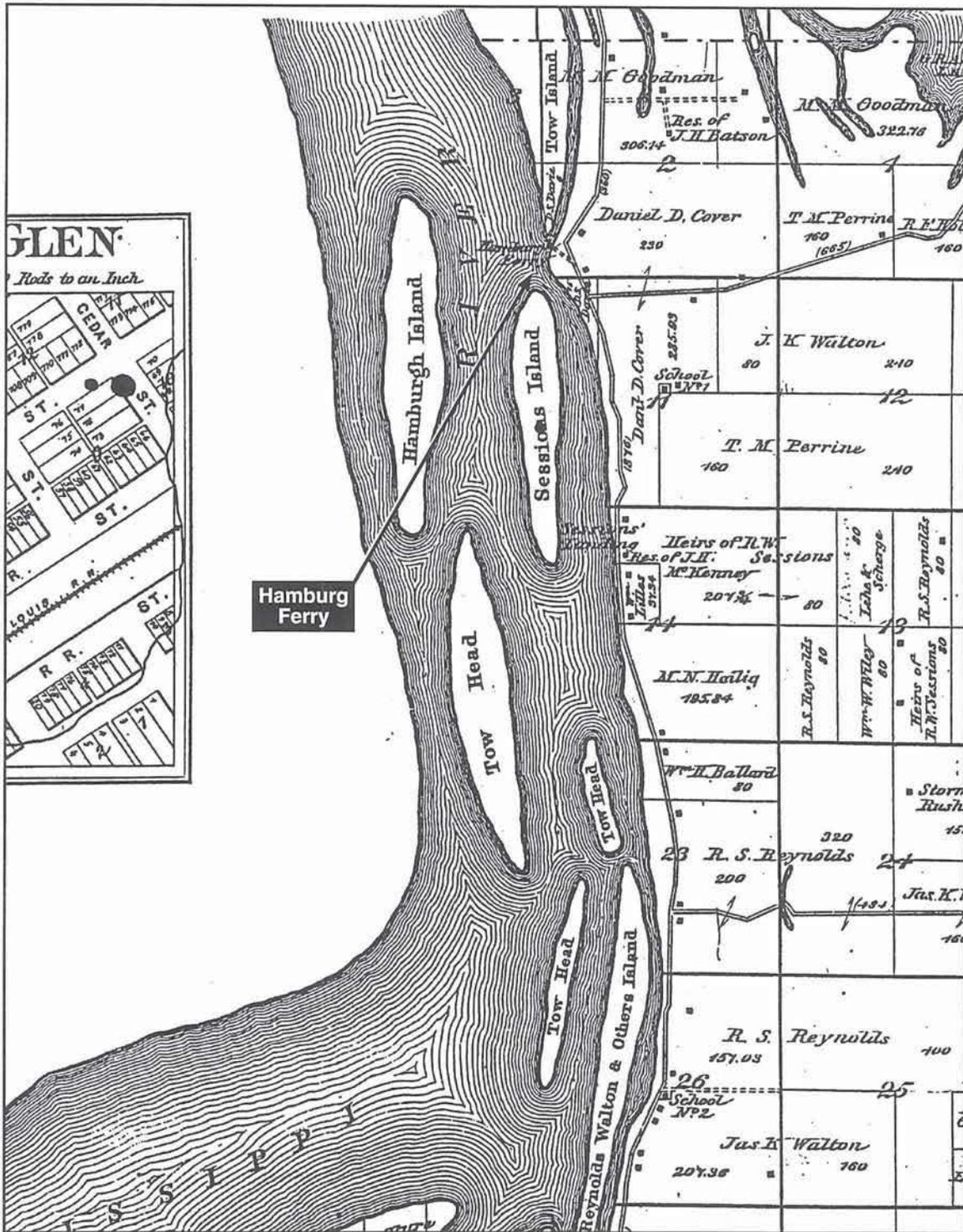


Figure 4-8. Hamburg Landing in 1881 (Lake 1881).

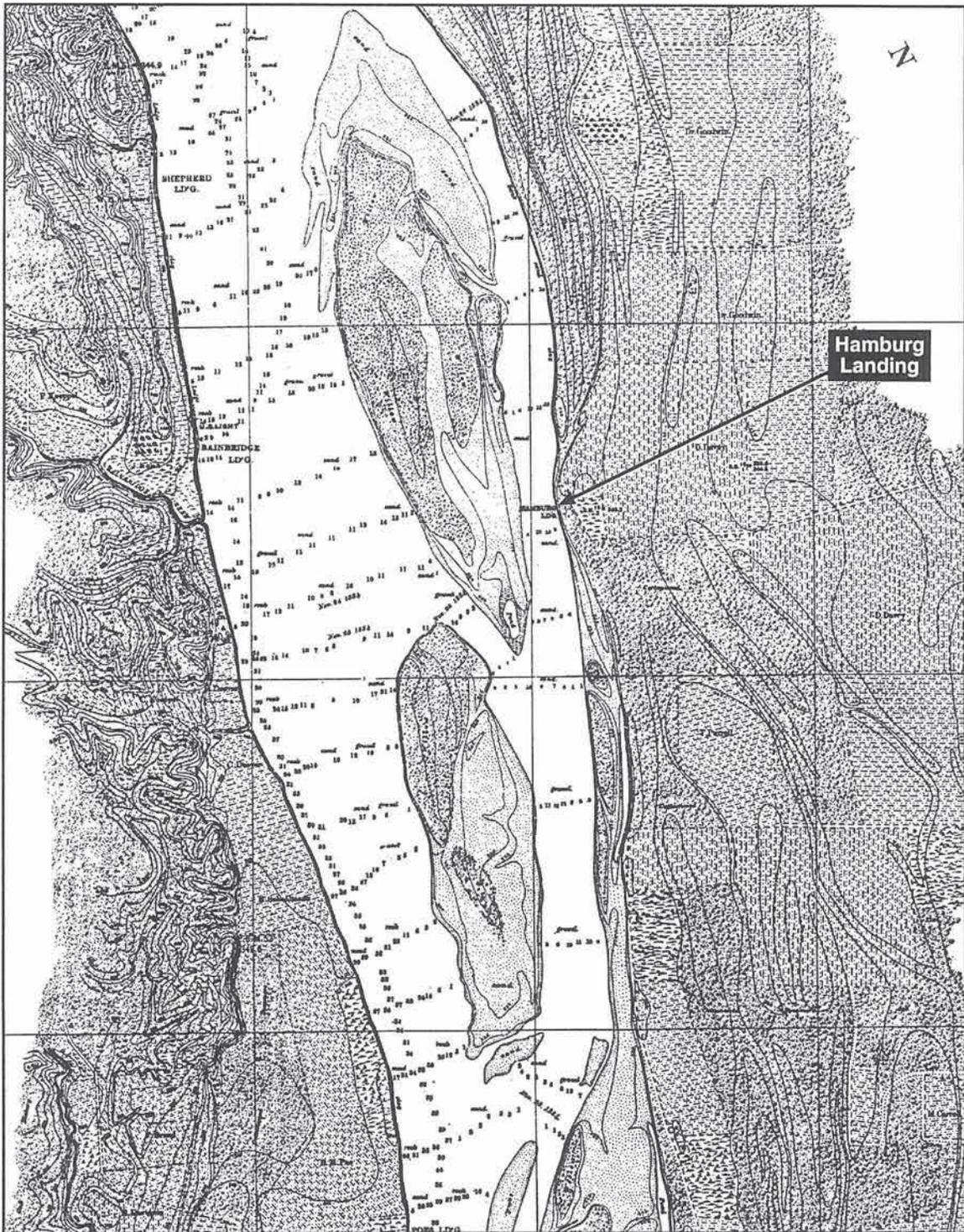


Figure 4-9. Hamburg Landing in 1880-1881 (Comstock 1890).

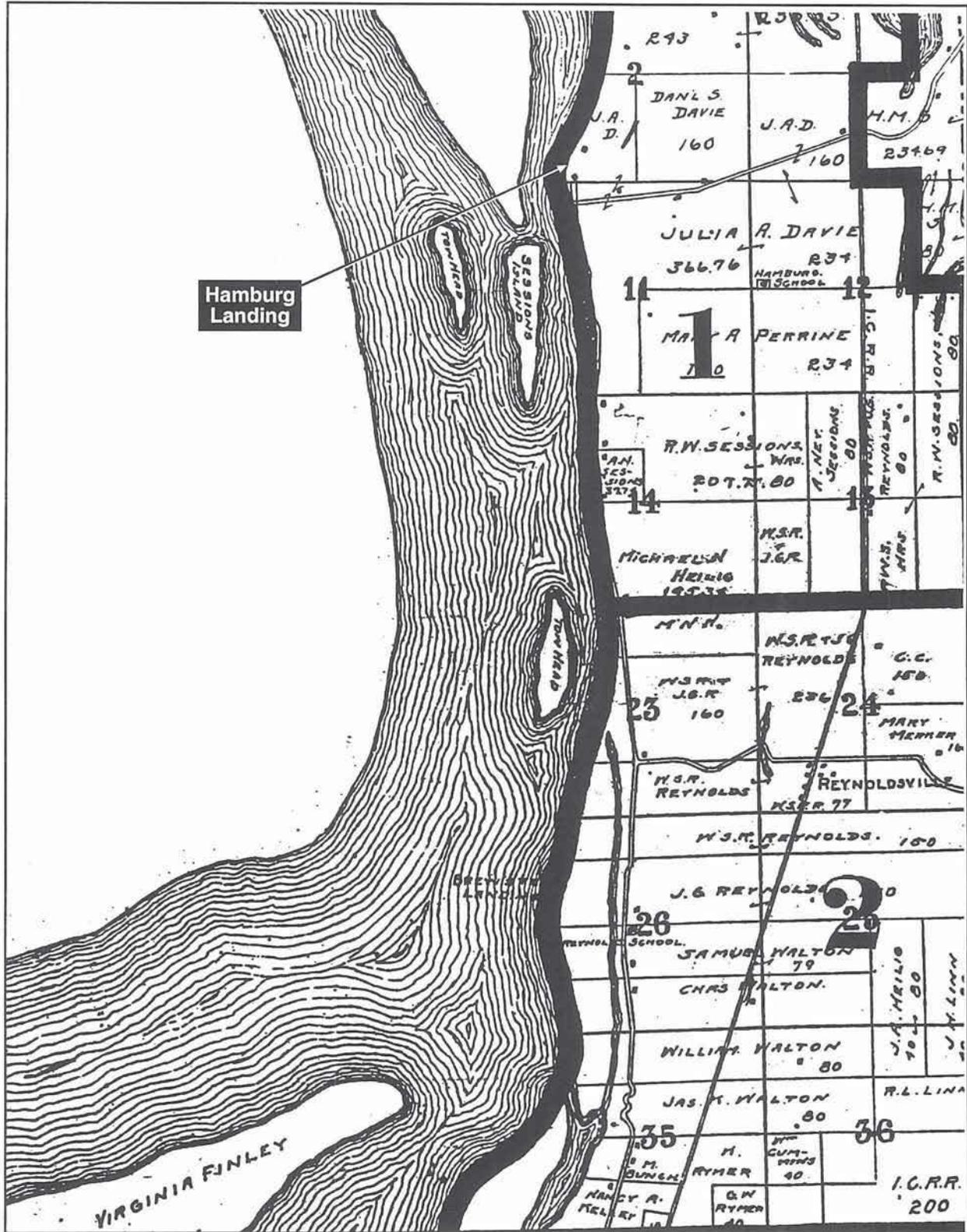


Figure 4-10. Hamburg Landing in 1903 plat map.

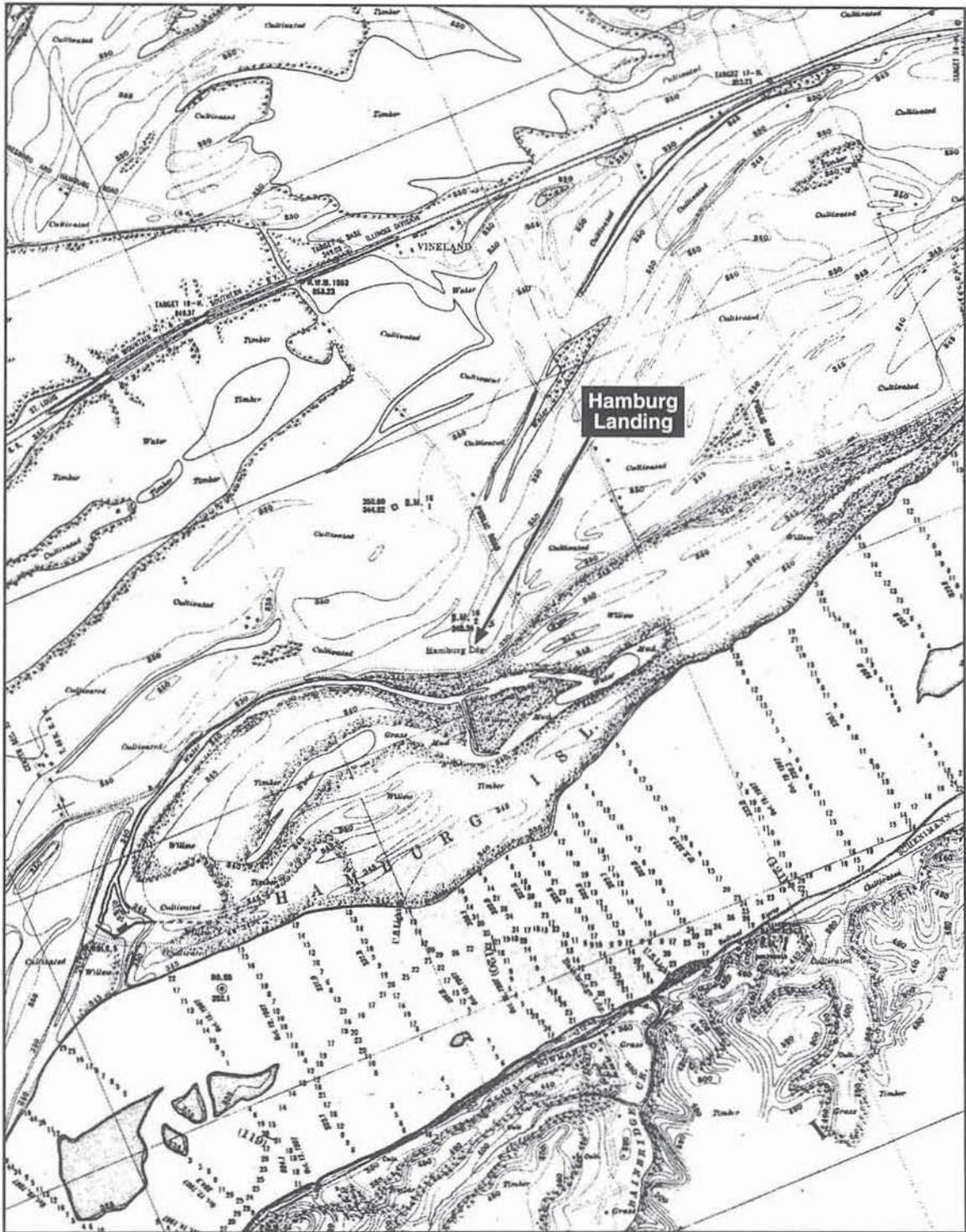


Figure 4-11. Hamburg Landing in 1908 (Sears and Bixby 1908).

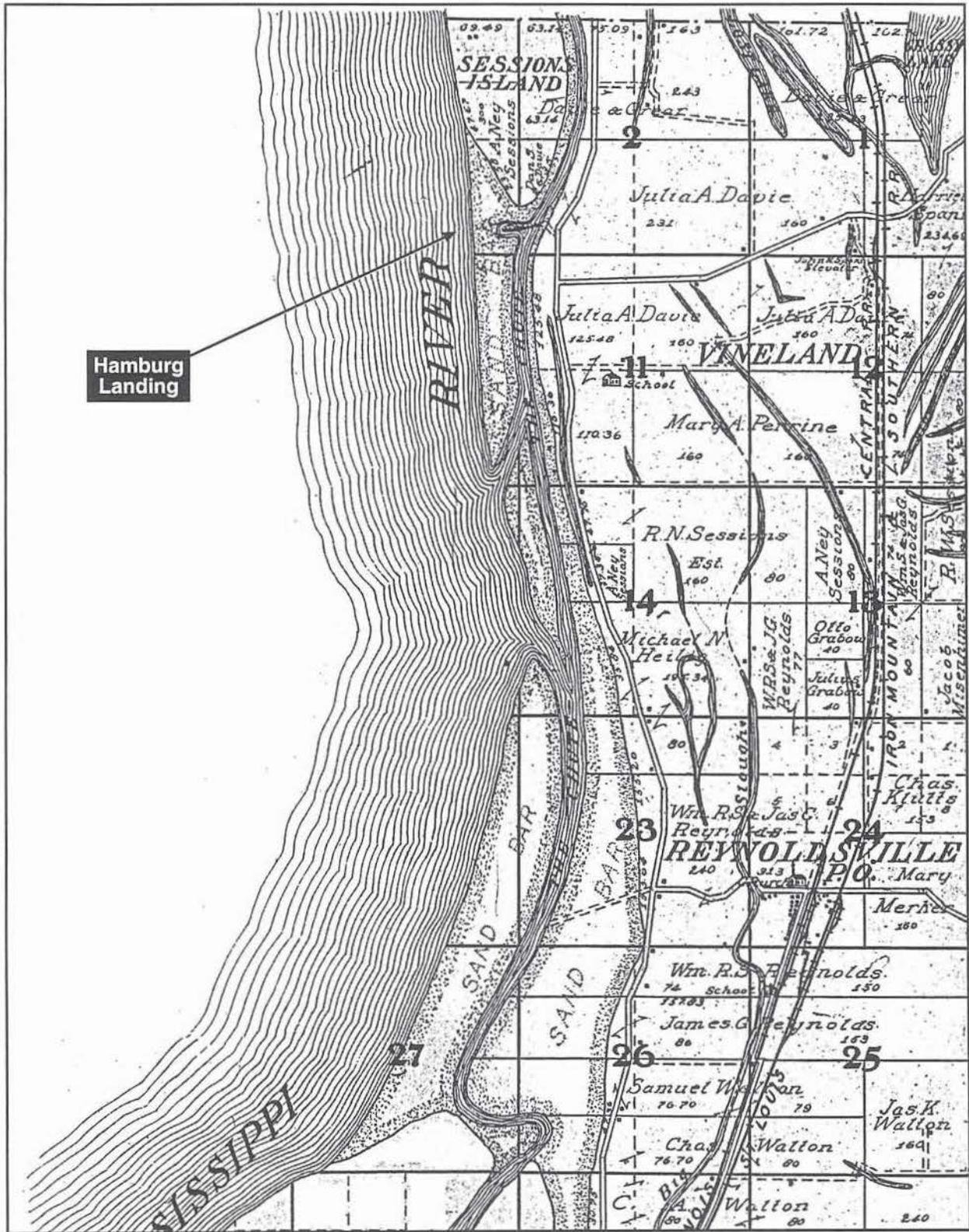


Figure 4-12. Hamburg Landing in 1908 county map (Ogle and Company 1908).

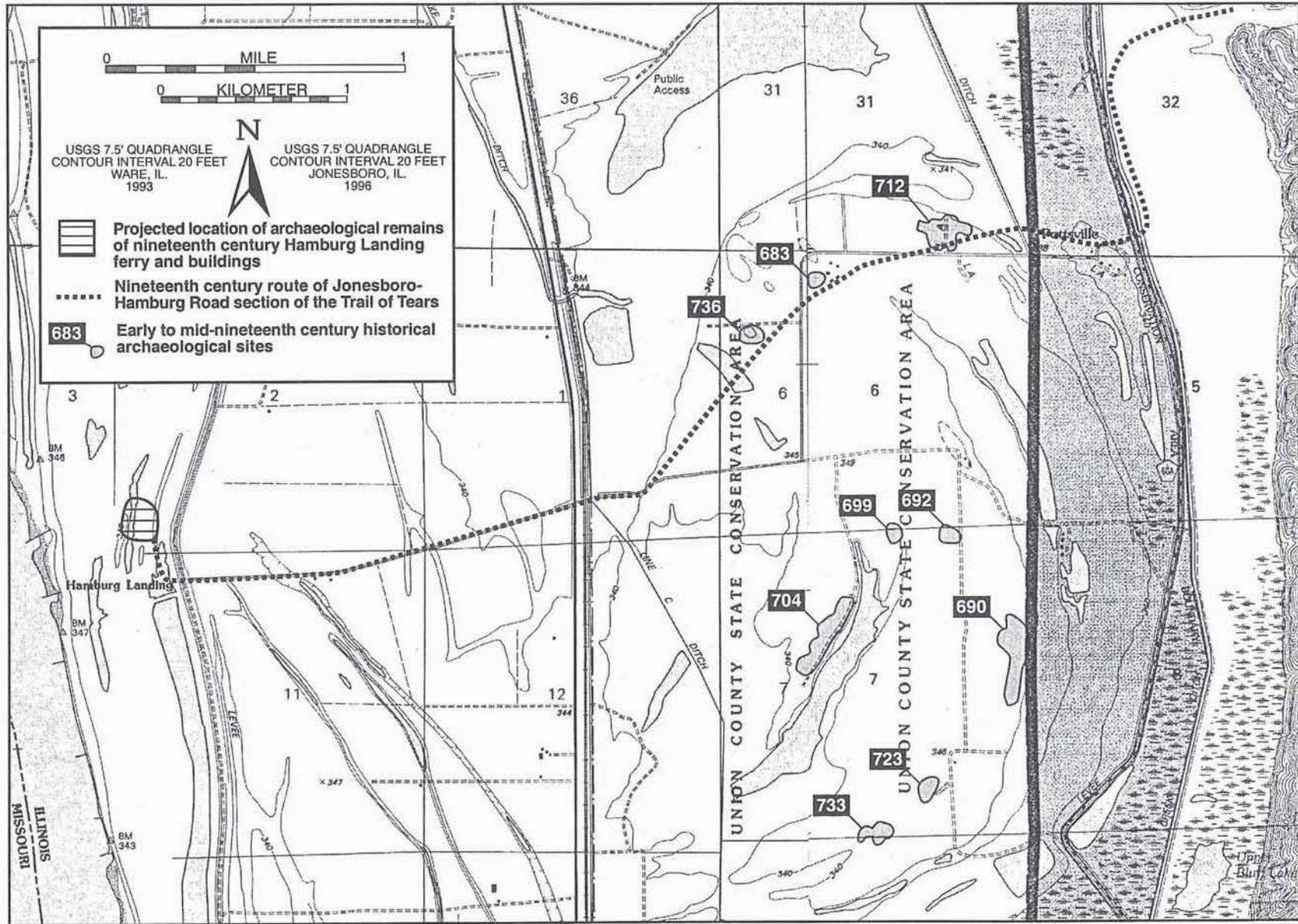


Figure 4-13. Locations of possible early- and mid-nineteenth-century sites in the UCCA.

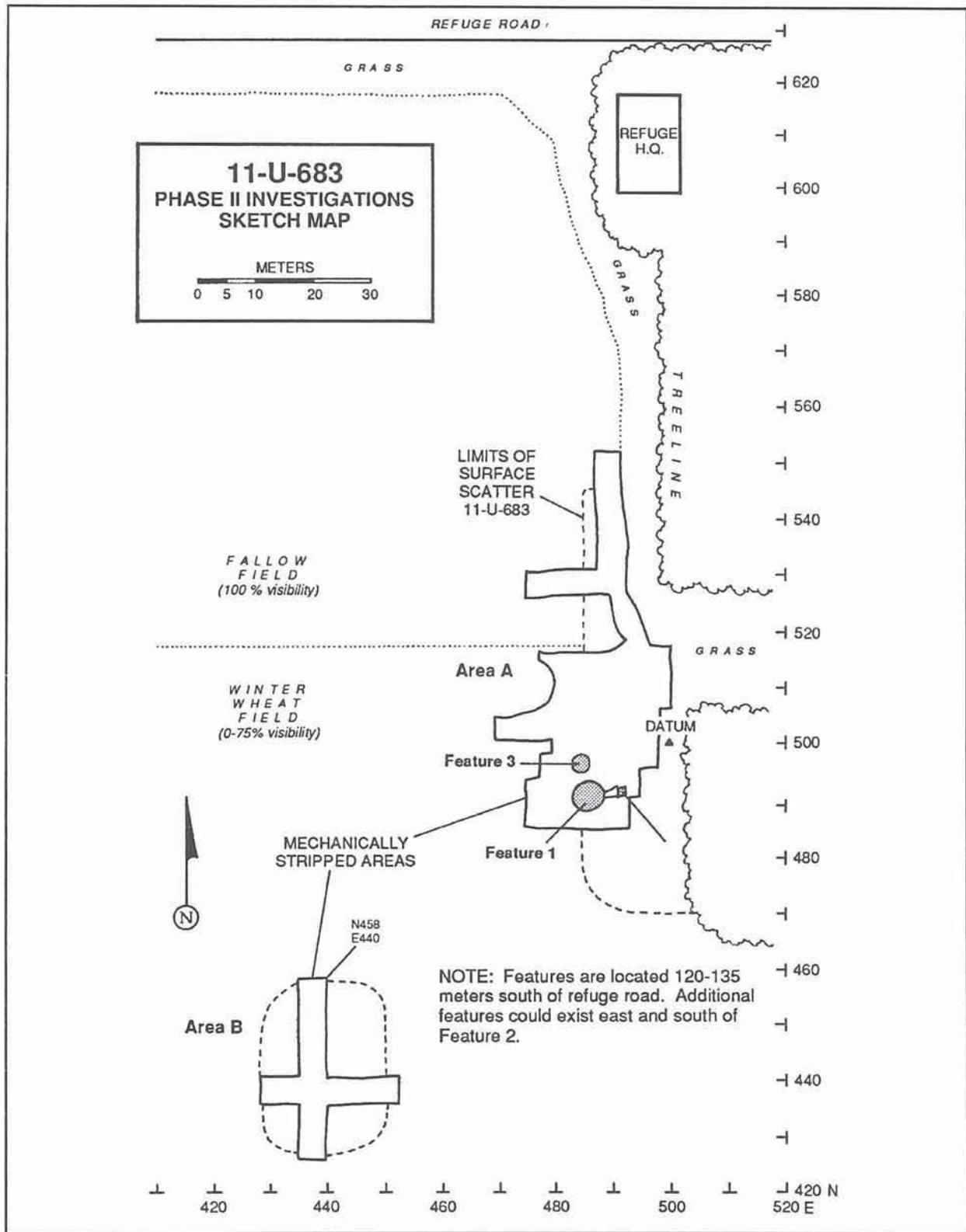
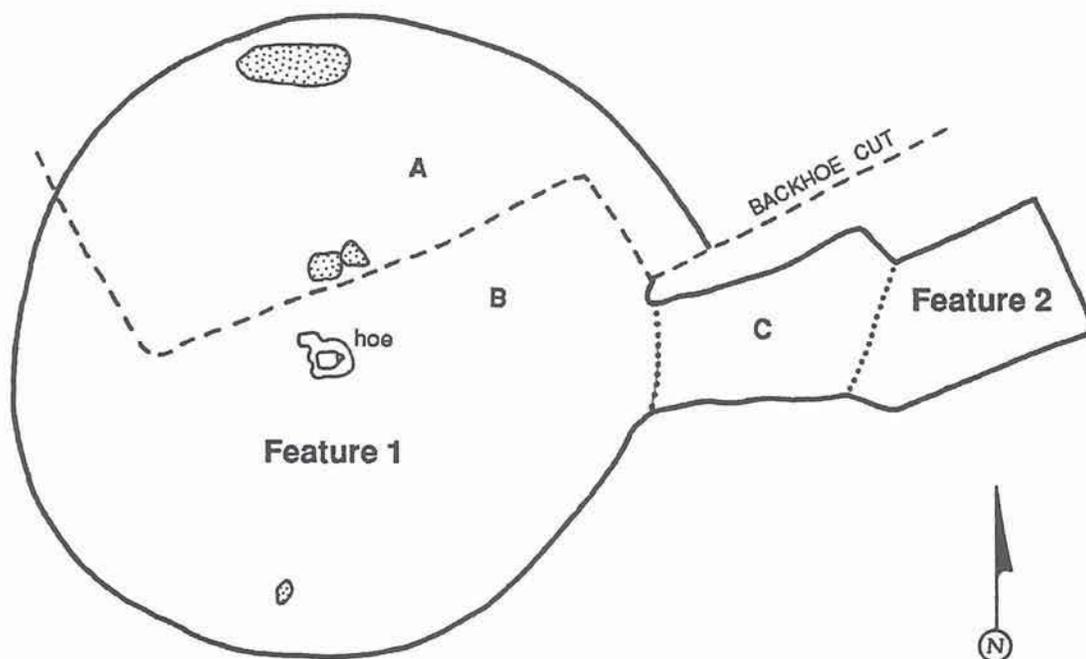


Figure 4-14. Plan view of excavations at site 11U683.

Plan View



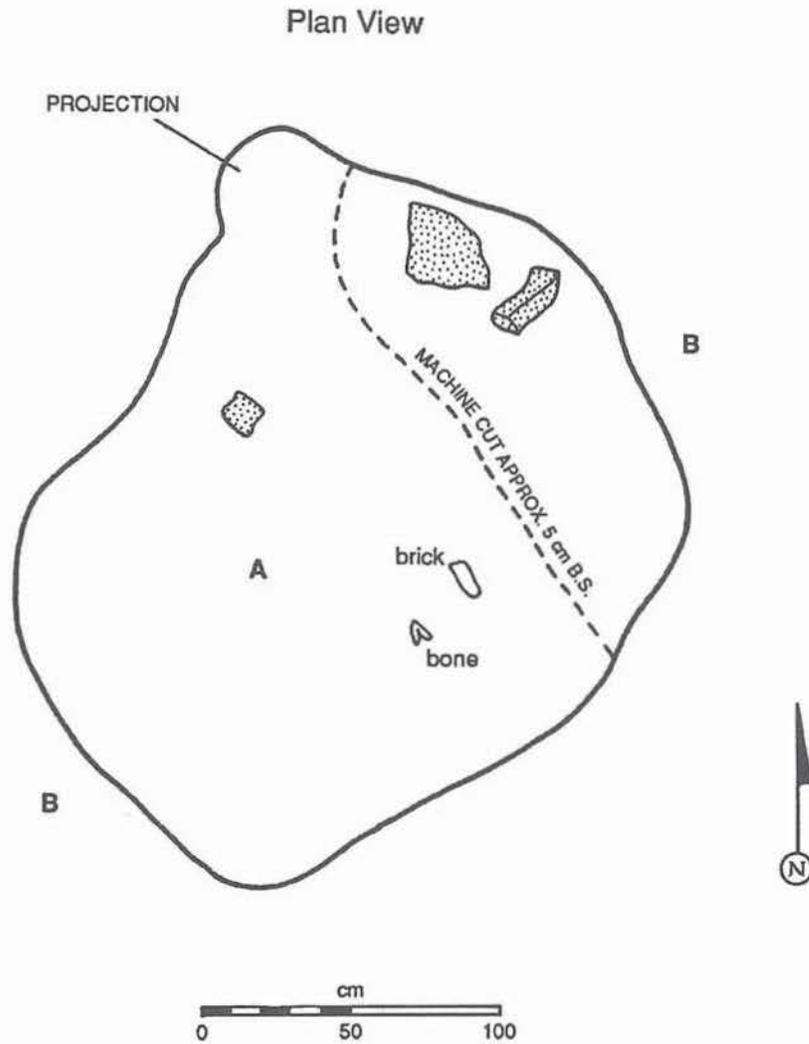
- A This area of Feature 1 remains at approximately 10 cm higher level than remainder of feature in plan view.
- B This area of Feature 1 shown after removal of approximately 10 cm by backhoe.
- C Mottled area: 10YR 3/2 and 10YR 5/6.

Feature 1: 10YR 3/2 silty clay fill.

Feature 2: 10YR 2/2 silty clay with brick and limestone inclusions.

 Limestone

Figure 4-15. Plan views of Features 1 and 2 at site 11U683.



- A** Feature fill; 10YR 3/2 very dark brown clayey loam; inclusions of moderate charcoal and whitish gray ash, brick fragments, light to moderate clay mottling, and bone fragments.
- B** Subsoil; 10YR 5/3 brown clay; virtually no inclusions; some grayish clay mottling.
- Limestone

Figure 4-16. Plan view of Feature 3 at site 11U683.

Chapter 5 Conclusions

Introduction

This project had three goals: (1) to examine archival records relating to nine early- to mid-nineteenth-century-archaeological sites contained within present-day Union County Conservation Area to determine if any of these sites could have been occupied during the period (1837-1839) of the Cherokee Trail of Tears; (2) to determine the locations, owners, and operators of the Union County ferries that the Cherokee reportedly used to cross the Mississippi River between 1837 and 1839, and (3) to review the journals of B.B. Cannon and the Reverend Daniel Buttrick for information on land owners or other Union County residents with whom the Cherokee may have interacted during their forced movement through the county. The results of the archival and historical investigations in regard to each of these goals is discussed separately below.

Union County Conservation Area Archaeological Sites

Artifacts recovered during the 1995 archaeological survey of the Union County Conservation Area (Knight and Butler 1995) and by mechanical test investigations at site 11U683 (Wagner 1995) indicated that nine historic archaeological sites within the UCCA potentially dated to the Trail of Tears (1837-1839) period. The individuals associated with these sites and their dates of ownership are listed in Table 5-1. Chain-of-title research conducted at the Union County Courthouse as part of the current project revealed that five of these sites (11U690, 704, 712, 723, and 733) represent the best candidates for having been occupied during the Trail of Tears period (1837-1839) within Union County. Only one of these sites—11U712—is located adjacent to the old route of the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road. Two of the land owners—Christian Hileman and Young E. Brown—appear to have owned no other land in the county, strengthening the case for their being actual occupants as opposed to land speculators or large farmers who owned numerous tracts. None of the land owners for these four sites were associated with the operation of Hamburg Ferry nor did any of them hold a liquor license within Union County between 1837 and 1839. As such, their actual interaction with the Cherokee, if any, is unknown.

A sixth site—11U736—located on the former route of the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road, possibly pre-dates the 1837-1839 period but may have also been occupied at the time of the Trail of Tears. The land containing this site was owned by Benjamin McIntosh from 1828 to 1831. McIntosh sold this land to wealthy farmer Jacob Trees in 1831, but it is not known where he lived thereafter. It is possible that he remained on the land as a tenant after the sale, as tax records indicate that he still lived in the county in 1846 but owned no land. This cannot, however, be proven.

Although it is entirely possible and even likely that some of the occupants of these six sites *did* have dealings with the Cherokee, particularly during January and February, 1839, when ice

Table 5-1. Possible residents of Conservation Area sites during the Trail of Tears era*

Site	Occupant*	Period	Located on Jonesboro-Hamburg Road
11U683	None	N/A	Yes
11U690	Josiah Godwin	1836-1845	No
11U692	None	N/A	No
11U699	None	N/A	No
11U704	Christian Hileman	1838-1846	No
11U712	Godwin Family	1829-1846+	Yes
11U723	None	N/A	No
11U733	Young E. Brown	1836-1839	No
11U736	Benjamin McIntosh?	1828-1846?	Yes

*This represents a final conclusion as to the possible occupants of the various sites from 1837-1839.

on the Mississippi prevented the Cherokee from crossing over to Missouri, I could find no histories or letters describing such interaction.

Three sites—11U683, 692, and 699—appear to post-date the Trail of Tears period. One of these sites—11U683—is located directly on the former route of the Jonesboro to Hamburg Road. Test excavations at this site in 1994 revealed that it contains several subsurface farm-related features (Wagner 1995). The chain-of-title for the site, however, indicates that it was owned by wealthy farmer Jacob Trees from 1829-1845. According to the 1883 county history, Trees lived several miles north of the site on the Willard's Landing Road rather than at site 11U683 (Perrin 1883:291).

Ferries

The research revealed that three Mississippi River ferries existed within Union County at the time of the Cherokee removal: Green's Upper Ferry, Green's Lower Ferry, and Littleton's Old Ferry. The first two were located at "Green's Old Landing" or "Willard's Landing" while the third was located at Hamburg Landing. The histories of all three ferries are characterized by complicated chains-of-titles and shifting licenses. Early businessmen in southern Illinois and southeastern Missouri competed with each other over for control of these ferries by challenging each others land titles and licenses. By the late 1830s the Willard family had gained control of both ferries—Green's Upper and Lower—located at Willard's Landing. The less important of these two ferries—Green's Lower Ferry—became their property in 1835 while they acquired the more important Upper Ferry in 1837. The Willards may have acquired these ferries in anticipation of the forced emigration of the Cherokee across southern Illinois, or they may have been trying to secure control of the landing in order to ship agricultural produce out of Union County. Their acquisition of liquor licenses for the storehouse at Willard's Landing in 1837 and 1838, however, seems like it almost certainly must have been intended to profit off of the Cherokee emigration through Union County in those two years

James Wilbourn held the ferry license for Littleton's Old Ferry at Hamburg Landing in the fall of 1838 and early winter of 1839 when the majority of the emigrant Cherokee crossed through Union County. His acquisition of this license (which he held for one year only) appears

almost certainly to have been an attempt to profit off of the Cherokee removal. It is unclear if Wilbourn or others also sold liquor at Hamburg Landing in 1838 although they probably did. In January 1838, a liquor license was issued to "Messrs. Bennett, Neely & Co....to retail spirituous and vineous liquor by the small measure at (a) storehouse on (the) margin of (the) Mississippi River" (Dexter 1996a:144). The location of the storehouse was not specified in this license; however, as the Willards already had a liquor license for their storehouse at Willard's Landing, this license may have been intended for Hamburg Landing.

Willard's and Hamburg landings both contained a number of structures in addition to the ferries themselves. The town of Hamburg reportedly contained 19 frame structures and four stores in the mid-1820s (Sealsfield 1970). It is unknown how many of these still existed at the time of the Cherokee removal (1837-1839), although some undoubtedly did. At least one or two structures appear to have been present at the landing as late as the early 1880s. Willard's Landing minimally contained a storehouse in the late 1830s and probably other structures as well. By the early 1880s Willard's Landing contained at least 12 structures including a store, doctor's office, and storehouse (Lake 1881). Some structures still existed at the landing as late as 1908, although it already had been cut off from the river by that date (Sears and Bixby 1908).

The probable locations of the archaeological remains of Willard's (Green's) Landing and Hamburg Landing are shown in Figures 5-1 and 5-2. Note that these projected locations are based on the legal descriptions given in various land titles and ferry licenses as well as nineteenth and twentieth century maps that showed the locations of these landings (see Chapter 4). Both locations are situated west of the existing levee on agricultural and wooded lands located between the Mississippi River and the levee.

I made a brief field inspection of the probable locations of Willard's Landing on July 15, 2003. The Willard's Landing area currently is covered by a combination of cropland and woods. The woods are confined to a northwest-southeast oriented linear rise that is shown with dashed edges on the USGS map (Figure 5-1). I could not determine if this heavily wooded rise, the top of which has an elevation approximately 1.5 m higher than the floodplain to the southwest, represents a raised section of the old landing road or if it is an abandoned segment of an old levee that pre-dates the existing levee. A large trench-like feature that is not shown on the USGS map intersects the west side of the north end of the rise where it makes a turn to the northwest (Figure 5-1). This east-west oriented trench, which is very similar in appearance to a nineteenth century road cut, is approximately 2 m deep by 10 m wide at the bottom. The west end of the trench is formed by the northwest oriented rise, suggesting that if it indeed is an old road bed, its western end was filled in and closed off at some point. Extremely dense vegetation covered the rise and trench, with some weeds being over 3 m in height, making it impossible to do even a minimally accurate inspection of this area. Any detailed future archaeological survey of this rise will have to be conducted in the winter when it would be clear of underbrush. The fields surrounding the rise to the southwest and northeast were planted in low soybeans with 100% ground surface visibility. A brief inspection of these fields failed to identify any cultural remains whatsoever. Excavation of a single shovel test to a depth of 50 cm on the southwest side of the rise encountered only culturally sterile floodplain soils. This suggests that if the remains of the Willard's Landing structures still exist in this area, they may lie deeply buried beneath layers of alluvium deposited throughout the twentieth century.

Inspection of the possible location of Hamburg Landing yielded similar results. This area is largely covered by agricultural fields with the exception of a row of trees that border the

western edge of the slough located parallel to the levee. A brief inspection of a soybean field with 100% visibility located in the approximate area of the structures shown on the 1881 atlas (Lake 1881) failed to identify any cultural remains.

Examination of Cannon and Buttrick Journals

Review of the journals kept by guide B.B Cannon and missionary Daniel Buttrick (Buttrick n.d.; Cannon 1978:166-173) and other contemporary documents (Bushyhead 1839; Jones 1839) in regard to the names of Union County residents with whom the Cherokee might have interacted while traveling through the county was disappointing, to say the least. None of these documents contained any names nor did they mention or describe which ferries the Cherokee used to cross the river.

More successful was a literature review of local secondary sources regarding the emigration of the Cherokee through Union County. This revealed that the three leading businessmen of the county—Winstead Davie, Elijah Willard, and Willis Willard—all benefited economically from the movement of the Cherokee through their county. These men variously held ferry, tavern (hotel), and liquor licenses that they appear to have acquired intentionally to make money off the thousands of Cherokee who passed through Union County. In addition, both Willis Willard and Winstead Davie operated steam mills to make lumber and grain that they sold to the Cherokee and those officials who escorted them through the county (Dexter 2000:13; Parks 1984:203). Small businessmen also sought to profit off of the Cherokee by opening liquor-selling “groceries,” “stands,” or “houses of entertainment” along the roads of the county in 1838. As noted by Dexter (2000:17) the 15 liquor licenses issued by the county in 1838 were more than had ever been issued before in a single year and more than would ever be issued again until 1883.

Possibilities for Future Research

The archival and historical research conducted as part of the current project succeeded in determining the chains-of-titles, sequence of licenses, and probable locations of Willard’s and Hamburg landings, two of the most important Trail of Tears related sites in Union County. Based on the legal descriptions of these properties as well as their locations as shown on nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps, both appear to have been located on the Mississippi River floodplain outside (west) of the existing levee. It is not clear what effects river floods may have had on the remains of these settlements, but the Mississippi River has deposited alluvium on and adjacent to the nineteenth century shoreline with the result that both of these nineteenth-century landings are now located approximately a quarter mile inland from the present-day river channel.

A one-day field visit to both ferry sites in July, 2003, failed to locate any historic (or prehistoric) archaeological artifacts at either location. The results of this visit need to be checked, however, by more intensive archaeological survey at both locations. In particular, the linear rise and trench at Willard’s Landing need to be investigated more thoroughly to determine if they represent nineteenth century features associated with the landing or abandoned levee segments. Systematic intensive archaeological survey of the fields in the presumed locations of the two landings also could locate nineteenth century artifact scatters

overlooked during the one-day field inspection. Soil augering or coring of these two locations also could provide information on whether the remains of Willard's and Hamburg landings now lay buried beneath alluvium deposited by flooding of the Mississippi River during the twentieth century. Both landings—if their physical remains can be located through such further archaeological investigations—would comprise two of the more important Cherokee Trail of Tears related sites in southern Illinois. Both also would have the potential to provide archaeological information regarding the material culture of Union County settlers who interacted with the Cherokee (assuming features that contain such materials still exist at both locations) that currently can be obtained from no other source. As such, the determination of the exact physical locations of these two landings and their current state of archaeological preservation would be an important contribution into the research and history of the Trail of Tears through southern Illinois.

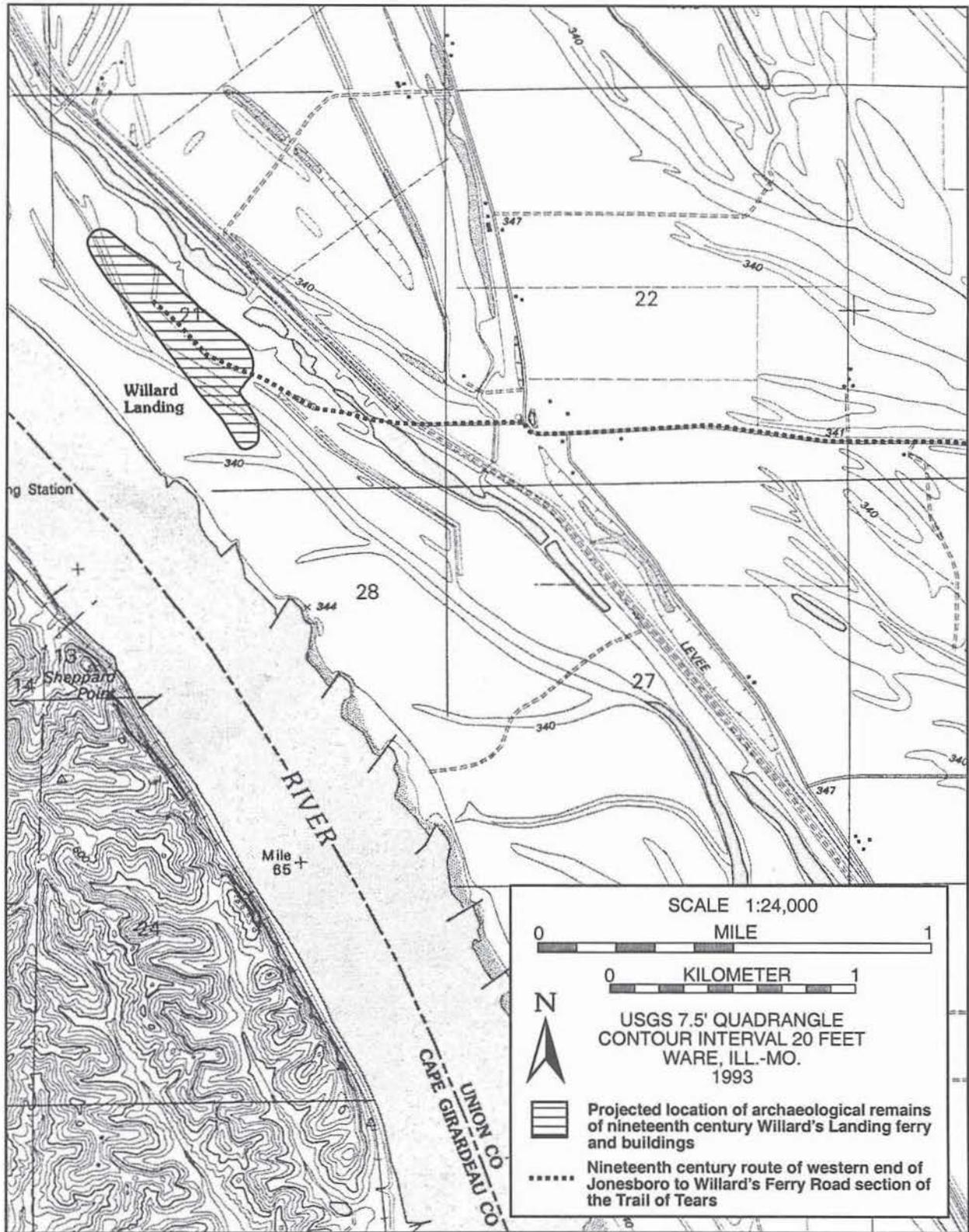


Figure 5-1. Projected location of archaeological remains of Willard's Landing.

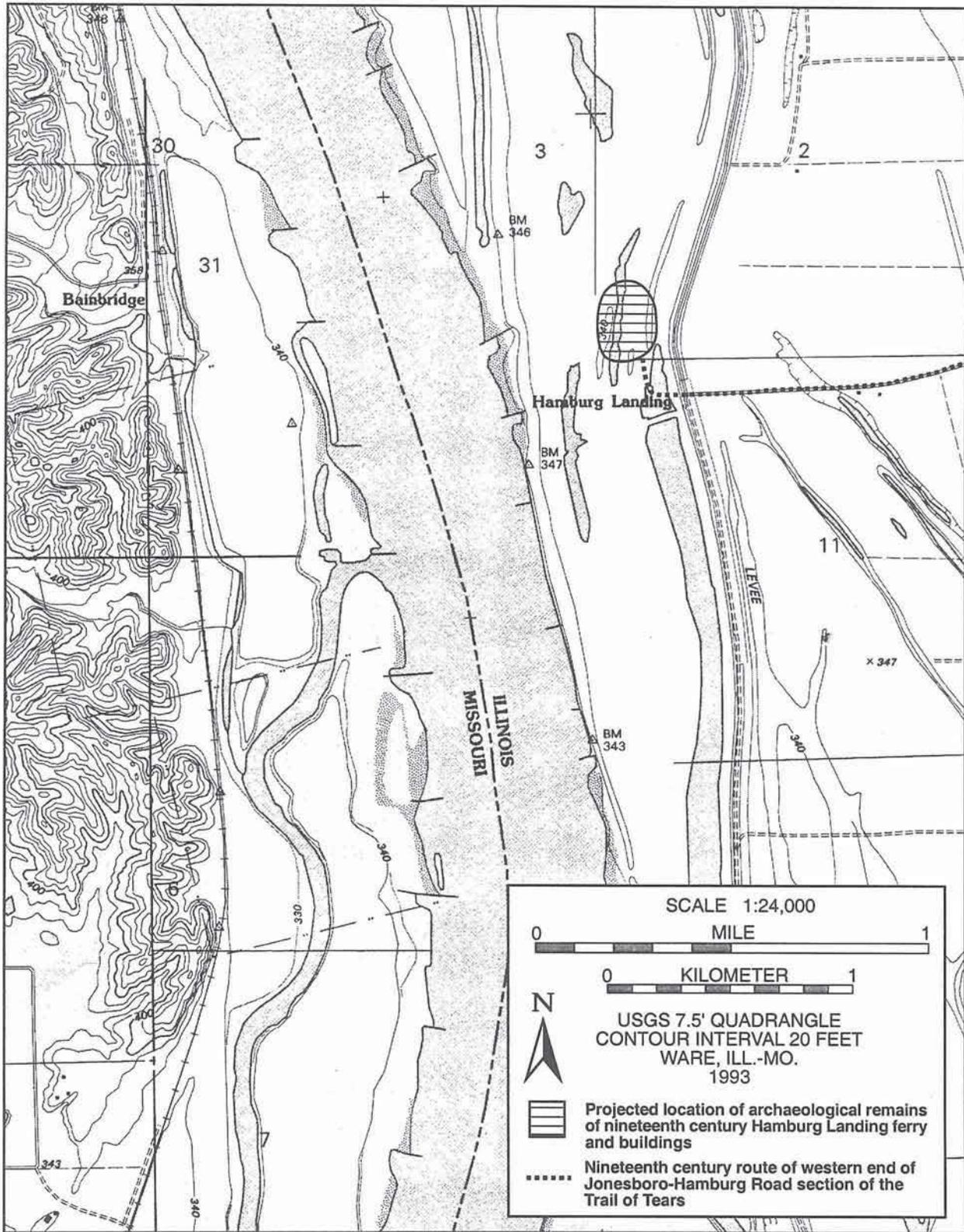


Figure 5-2. Projected location of archaeological remains of Hamburg Landing.

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