

**ARCHIVAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS  
INTO THE LOCATIONS OF  
CHEROKEE TRAIL OF TEARS SITES IN ILLINOIS**

By

**Mark J. Wagner and Kayeleigh Sharp**

Mark J. Wagner  
Principal Investigator

Submitted to

The National Park Service  
National Trails Intermountain Region  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Center for Archaeological Investigations  
Southern Illinois University Carbondale  
Technical Report 13-1

July, 2013

## Abstract

This report is a historical and archival study of the types and locations of cultural properties associated with the Cherokee Trail of Tears (1837-1839) within Illinois. Such properties included taverns, mills, residences, stores, ferries, cemeteries, and campgrounds. We examined the distribution of the above properties within a 10 mile wide corridor (five miles north and five miles south) of Route 146, the modern version of the trail that extended for 55 miles from Golconda on the Ohio River in the east to several ferry locations on the Mississippi River in the west. Archival data used to determine the types and numbers of cultural properties contained within the corridor included descendant interviews and other information contained in the papers of two 1930s researchers—John G. Mulcaster and Dr. George W. Smith—now housed at Southern Illinois University Carbondale; business licenses, tax records, and other information contained in the Union, Johnson, and Pope County courthouses; original land purchase records; and other information. The results of this research were used to create a GIS database showing the distribution of cultural properties with the information from that database presented in both tables and figures within this report. A total of 545 cultural and 31 natural (springs) properties were located within the corridor. Of these, 414 were mappable as to location. Thirty-eight of these sites have associated oral history or written documents that link them to the Trail of Tears. Fifteen of these sites could be identified to specific location while 23 could be located in only a general sense. Recommendations are presented in the conclusion of the report identifying which sites have interpretive potential as well as which sites have the potential to present additional information regarding the Trail of Tears in Illinois through archaeological investigations.

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<i>Previous Trail of Tears Related Research in Southern Illinois</i> .....	3
<b>2 Project Background</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<i>Environmental Setting</i> .....	8
<i>Local Historical Background</i> .....	15
<b>3 Methods</b> .....	<b>22</b>
<i>Archival Research</i> .....	22
<i>Geographic Information System (GIS) Database</i> .....	24
<b>4 John G. Mulcaster and the Trail of Tears</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	28
<i>Mulcaster and the Trail of Tears</i> .....	29
<i>Summary of Mulcaster’s Trail of Tears Research</i> .....	41
<i>Union County Sites</i> .....	42
The Morgan Mill and Dutch Creek Campground .....	42
The Willard and Davie Mills .....	49
Campground Church (Hileman Farm) .....	51
Other Burial Areas in Union County .....	53
Winstead Davie House and Tavern .....	55
<i>Johnson County Sites</i> .....	57
Bridges Tavern.....	57
<i>Pope County Sites</i> .....	60

Scott Cemetery.....	60
<b>5 Union County Properties.....</b>	<b>98</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	98
Taverns.....	99
Groceries.....	100
Other Businesses.....	102
Mills.....	103
Ferries.....	104
Cemeteries.....	105
Campgrounds.....	108
Residences.....	114
Springs.....	115
<b>6 Johnson County Properties.....</b>	<b>144</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	144
Taverns.....	145
Groceries and Other Retail Businesses.....	146
Mills.....	147
Cemeteries.....	147
Campgrounds.....	148
Residences.....	149
Springs.....	151
<b>7 Pope County Properties.....</b>	<b>164</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	164
Taverns and Groceries.....	164
Other Businesses.....	166
Mills.....	166
Ferries.....	167
Euro-American Cemeteries.....	168
Cherokee Burial Areas.....	168
Campgrounds.....	169
Residences.....	171
Springs.....	172
<b>8 Results and Recommendations.....</b>	<b>190</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	190
<i>Union County</i> .....	191

Interpretive Potential.....	193
Research Potential.....	193
<i>Johnson County</i> .....	197
Interpretive Potential.....	197
Research Potential.....	198
<i>Pope County</i> .....	201
Interpretive Potential.....	201
Research Potential.....	202
<i>References</i> .....	205

## List of Figures

1-1	Location of Illinois Section of Trail of Tears.....	7
3-1	Map illustrates the outcome of the methodology which uses Public Land Survey System (PLSS) spatial data and land tract sales records to visualize property owned during the period of interest. Example depicts properties with known owners and purchase dates prior to 1840 in Union County. 27	
4-1	Ellen Mulcaster (left), L.O. Trigg (center), and John G. Mulcaster (right)..	62
4-2	1934 DAR Photograph of Morgan (Nimmo) Farm Mound and .....	63
4-3	1934 DAR Photograph of Morgan Farm Mound, Union County .....	64
4-4	1934 DAR Photograph of Dutch Creek Bridge on Morgan Farm .....	65
4-5	1934 DAR Photograph of Campground Cemetery, Union County.....	66
4-6	1934 DAR Photograph of Hileman Family House, Union County .....	67
4-7	1934 DAR Photograph (Front View) of Bridges Tavern, Johnson County	68
4-8	1934 DAR Photograph of Bridges Tavern (Side View).....	69
4-9	1934 DAR Photograph of Nailed Door at Bridges Site.....	70
4-10	1807 GLO Plat of Morgan Farm Location, Union County .....	71
4-11	1938 Aerial Photograph of Morgan Farm, Union County .....	72
4-12	2011 Ortho Map, Morgan (Nimmo) Farm, Union County.....	73
4-13	1881 Map Showing Locations of Morgan and Batson Farms, Union County .....	74
4-14	1908 Map Showing Locations of Morgan and Batson Farms, Union County .....	75
4-15	1930s Map Showing Locations of Morgan and Batson Farms, .....	76
4-16	1951 Map Showing Location of Nimmo (Morgan) Farm, Union County..	77
4-17	2013 Photograph of “Batson Old Field” Area, Union County, View to East .....	78
4-18	2013 Photograph of Morgan Farm Mound, Union County .....	79
4-19	1908 Map Showing Possible Location of Willard Mill.....	80
4-20	1807 GLO Map, Hileman Farm Area, Union County .....	81
4-21	1938 Aerial Photograph, Hileman Farm, Union County .....	82
4-22	2011 Ortho Map, Hileman Farm Area, Union County .....	83
4-23	1807 GLO Map, Ware Site (11U31), Union County.....	84
4-24	1938 Aerial Photograph, Ware Site (11U31), Union County .....	85
4-25	2011 Ortho Map, Ware Site (11U31), Union County.....	86
4-26	Ware Site, Union County, 2013, View to West .....	87
4-27	Mound With Historic Cemetery, Ware Site, Union County, 2013, View to South .....	88

## List of Figures (Con't)

4-28	Early 1900s Photograph of Davie House, Smith Papers.....	89
4-29	1910 Sanborn Map Showing Location of Davie House and Store, Jonesboro .....	90
4-30	Modern (2013) Appearance of Davie House Location .....	91
4-31	Modern (2013) Appearance of Davie Store Location.....	92
4-32	1837 GLO Map, Bridges Tavern Area, Johnson County .....	93
4-33	1938 Aerial Photograph of Bridges Tavern Location, Johnson County .....	94
4-34	2011 Ortho Map, Bridges Tavern Location, Johnson County .....	95
4-35	1917 USGS Map Showing Land Owned by Scott Family in 1930s .....	96
4-36	Modern USGS Map of Scott Farm Showing Approximate Location of Grave.....	97
5-1	Tavern Locations, Union County.....	133
5-2	Grocery Locations, Union County .....	134
5-3	Liquor Licenses, Union County .....	135
5-4	Other Businesses, Union County .....	136
5-5	Mill Locations, Union County .....	137
5-6	Ferry Locations, Union County.....	138
5-7	Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Union County .....	139
5-8	Cherokee Burial Locations, Union County .....	140
5-9	Campground Locations, Union County .....	141
5-10	Residence Locations, Union County .....	142
5-11	Spring Locations, Union County .....	143
6-1	Tavern Locations, Johnson County .....	156
6-2	Mill Locations, Johnson County.....	157
6-3	Cemetery Locations, Johnson County.....	158
6-4	Cherokee Burial Locations, Johnson County .....	159
6-5	Campground Locations, Johnson County .....	160
6-6	Residence Locations, Johnson County .....	161
6-7	Spring Locations, Johnson County .....	162
6-8	1932 Photograph of McCorkle House, Johnson County (Smith Papers) .....	163
7-1	Tavern and Grocery Locations, Pope County.....	180
7-2	Other Businesses, Pope County .....	181
7-3	Mill Locations, Pope County .....	182
7-4	Pope County Ferries and Fords .....	183
7-5	Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Pope County.....	184
7-6	Cherokee Burial Locations, Pope County.....	185

7-7	Campground Locations, Pope County .....	186
7-8	Residence Locations, Pope County .....	187
7-9	Spring Locations, Pope County .....	188
7-10	1930s Photograph of Berry House, Kentucky (Smith n.d.a.) .....	189

## List of Tables

3-1	Outline of Data Resources .....	26
5-1	Tavern Licenses, Union County.....	117
5-2	Grocery Licenses, Union County .....	118
5-3	Liquor Licenses, Union County .....	119
5-4	Other Businesses, Union County .....	122
5-5	Mills, Union County .....	124
5-6	Ferries, Union County .....	125
5-7	Euro-American Cemeteries, Union County .....	126
5-8	Cherokee Burial Areas, Union County .....	127
5-9	Campgrounds, Union County .....	128
5-10	Residences, Union County.....	129
5-11	Springs, Union County.....	132
6-1	Tavern Locations, Johnson County .....	152
6-2	Mill Locations, Johnson County.....	152
6-3	Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Johnson County .....	153
6-4	Cherokee Burial Areas, Johnson County .....	154
6-5	Campground Locations, Johnson County .....	154
6-6	Residences, Johnson County .....	154
6-7	Springs, Johnson County .....	155
7-1	Tavern and Grocery Licenses, Pope County.....	173
7-2	Other Businesses, Pope County .....	173
7-3	Pope County Mills .....	174
7-4	Ferries and Fords, Pope County .....	175
7-5	Euro-American Cemeteries, Pope County .....	176
7-6	Cherokee Burial Locations, Pope County.....	177
7-7	Campgrounds, Pope County.....	177
7-8	Residence Locations, Pope County .....	178
7-9	Springs, Pope County .....	179
8-1	Trail of Tears Properties, Union County .....	196
8-2	Trail of Tears Properties, Johnson County .....	200
8-3	Trail of Tears Properties, Pope County.....	204

## Acknowledgments

We wish to acknowledge a number of individuals and institutions without whose assistance this project could not have been completed. Foremost among these are the members of the Illinois Trail of Tears chapter including Sandy Boaz, Joe Crabb, Gary Hacker, Harvey Henson, and Jon Musgrave. We also wish to thank United States Forest Service archaeologists Mary R. McCorvie and Heather Carey for providing information regarding segments of the trail that crossed through Forest Service land. These individuals willingly provided us with information regarding the locations of Trail of Tears-related sites that we might otherwise have been unaware of. We also wish to thank Union County researcher Darrel Dexter, who over the years has transcribed and published numerous primary archival documents from the Union County Courthouse. The publication of these documents greatly aided in helping to determine the locations, types, and operators or owners of the various Trail of Tears-related sites within Union County. We also wish to thank Louise Ogg and Monica Smith of Cairo, Illinois, for directing us to and letting us photograph the information in the 1930s DAR scrapbooks at the Cairo Public Library. Other institutions whose staff also aided in this research include those of the Map Library and Special Collections at Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC); Illinois State Archives, Springfield; the Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) at SIUC; John A. Logan College, Carterville; the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; and the Chicago Historical Society. We also wish to thank the staffs of the Union, Johnson, and Pope County courthouses that provided us with access and introduction to the land records, county commissioner notes, and other documents housed in those courthouses.

# 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 June 2012, and June 2013, as part of a Challenge Cost Share agreement with the National Park Service, Santa Fe and Trail of Tears National Historic Trail program. The object of this research was to create a planning document that (1) summarized the types and number of cultural resources other than trail segments potentially associated with the Trail of Tears route through southern Illinois (Figure 1-1) including structures, camp grounds, cemeteries, and other facilities; (2) provides information regarding the location of these resources through descriptive data that includes maps and tables and identifies the locations (specific or general) of these resources; (3) evaluates the potential of each of these resources for future historical, archaeological, or interpretive work.

The above goals were met through archival research into (1) primary county land, tax, commissioners, legal, and other records contained in the Pope, Johnson, and Union County courthouses, (2) these and other records housed at the Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) facility on the Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC) campus, (3) original land purchase and General Land Office (GLO) records maintained by the Illinois State Archives, (4) the John G. Mulcaster, John Allen, and George W. Smith Papers housed within Special Collections, Morris Library, SIUC, (5) the papers and correspondence of former state historian Dr. Paul Angle, which are housed at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, and the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago; and (6) 1930s scrapbooks of the former Cairo chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) that are now housed at the Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois. In addition, the research team explored numerous secondary sources relating to the Illinois section of the Trail of Tears for information on possible site locations (Dexter 1994, 1995, 1996 a-b-c, 1997, 2000, 2003; Hacker et al. 2010; Wagner 2003). We also met with the members of the southern Illinois chapter of the Trail of Tears association on several occasions to discuss the goals of our project with them and consult with them regarding possible site locations. We also met with and discussed the project with Shawnee National Forest archaeologists to gather information from them regarding possible site locations on Forest Service land.

It became clear as the project progressed that one way to organize the data being collected, in addition to writing the narrative report required by the project scope of work, was to utilize a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) framework. As team

member Sharp has extensive experience in creating GIS databases, it was decided to create a GIS database that would allow us to analyze and present the records collected by the project regarding land ownership, businesses, camp sites, cemeteries, and other properties located along the southern Illinois portion of the Trails of Tears in the 1830s in a visual format. We anticipate that the completed GIS database will be of use to the local Trail of Tears Association, the National Park Service, the USDA Forest Service, the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, and other agencies and researchers that either have land management responsibilities or research interests in the route of the Trail of Tears through southern Illinois.

The majority of the project archival research was carried out during the summer and fall of 2012. We also drove along the trail route during this same time to field check the locations of cemeteries, springs, archaeological sites, and other properties and obtain universal transverse Mercator (UTM) readings on their locations that could be incorporated into the GIS database. We also met with the local southern Illinois Trail of Tears Association and individual members in fall, 2012, and spring, 2013, to discuss the project with them and obtain information from them regarding the locations of properties they believed to be associated with the trail.

In addition to recording early nineteenth century properties located directly on the trail, we also recorded the locations of mill, cemetery, tavern, grocery, and other sites located within five miles north and five miles south of the trail route. This ten-mile wide corridor accounted for the possibility that the trail followed alternative routes that branched off the main trail (Hacker et al. 2010) as well as the chance that businesses located within a few miles of the trail (such as mills) may have been providing supplies or services to the Cherokee.

The project succeeded in recovering information regarding a total of 545 cultural properties, facilities, and natural features located within the ten-mile wide trail corridor. Possible residential sites consisted of pieces of property either purchased by or believed to have been occupied in the 1830s based on land purchase and tax records. Businesses that potentially could have been patronized by the Cherokee included mills, stores, taverns, ferries, and “groceries” (i.e., bars). The extent and accuracy of locational information for these properties varies. Johnson County, for example, has lost all of its legal records and commissioners’ notes for the Trail of Tears period that would have provided information similar to that found in Pope and Union counties regarding the locations of mills, taverns, groceries, and other businesses that may have provided services to the Cherokee. In other cases in Union and Pope counties, although the license records still exist, information regarding the locations of the licensed business may have been recorded in only general terms such as “within the town of Jonesboro”.

Thirty-eight of the sites had either written or oral histories that link them to the Cherokee Trail of Tears. Information regarding them is presented in Chapters 4 through 7 and the concluding chapter of the report. Fifteen of these sites, some of which had multiple functions such as tavern, cemetery, residence, etc., could be identified to specific location. The locations of the remaining 23 sites could be determined in only a general sense. Twenty of the sites were assessed as having high research potential while 19 were classified as having high interpretive value. Two sites in particular—the Morgan Farm/Dutch Creek site in Union County and the Bridges site in Johnson County—have very strong associations with the Trail of Tears. Both also possess the potential to provide additional information regarding the Cherokee Trail of Tears in southern Illinois through further historical and archaeological research at these two locations.

## **Previous Trail of Tears Related Research in Southern Illinois**

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, several individuals including local resident John G. Mulcaster and retired history professor Dr. George Washington Smith of Southern Illinois Normal University (SINU) began researching the history of the Trail of Tears in southern Illinois in the early 1930s. These two men, aided by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and others, collected oral histories from the descendants of settlers who lived along the trail in the 1830s that allowed them to locate Trail of Tears-related sites such as campgrounds, mills, taverns, and other facilities used by the Cherokee with a high degree of accuracy. Two of their goals were to commemorate the forced emigration of the Cherokee through southern Illinois with historical markers and a centennial commemoration in 1938, both of which they succeeded in doing. Their third goal, which was to produce a written history of the Trail of Tears in southern Illinois, was never accomplished due to the death of John Mulcaster in 1937 and the advanced age of Dr. Smith who died in 1945.

The most detailed historical investigations conducted into the Trail of Tears in Illinois following this early work are those of Scerial T. Thompson (1951) and Darrel D. Dexter (2000). Thompson (1951:289-304) produced the first detailed account of the journey of the Cherokee through southern Illinois, primarily through the use of the Cannon and Butrick journals as well as some federal records. He appears to have been completely unaware, however, of the research conducted by Mulcaster and Smith in the 1930s with the exception of citing one published article by Mulcaster. It is possible that their research materials had not yet become part of the holdings of Special Collections at Morris Library at SIUC at the time Thompson wrote his article and that he was unaware

of their existence. Darrel Dexter, who has conducted extensive research into primary documents contained in the Union County courthouse, produced an even more detailed history of the forced emigration through southern Illinois that included the identification of the owners and locations of mills, taverns, ferries, and other properties associated with the Trail of Tears (Dexter 2000:2-23).

Archaeological investigations into the Trail of Tears in southern Illinois began in 1991 when a 1,440 acre survey of Forest Service-owned lands in the Hamburg Hill area in Union County located three abandoned trail segments at the eastern end of Hamburg Hill Hollow. The survey also located two archaeological sites—11U615 and 11U316—that were interpreted as a late nineteenth/early twentieth century homestead and a prehistoric Mississippian-era (A.D. 1000-1500) village, respectively (Wagner et al. 1992). Later shovel testing of site 11U316 by Forest Service archaeologists recovered a portion of a Moravian pipe, a pipe type that had been manufactured by Moravian missionaries in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and distributed as presents to various Native American groups including the Cherokee (Polhemus 1977; South 1999). The presence of such a pipe at site 11U316, which is located at the mouth of Hamburg Hill Hollow adjacent to the Mississippi River floodplain, raised the possibility that the 1830s Cherokee may have used the site as a campsite. Site 11U615, which was located at the mouth of the hollow south of site 11U316, was also reinterpreted as a possible camp site due to the presence of a spring. Archaeological testing of site 11U615 in March 2013 revealed that it also contained prehistoric and early nineteenth century materials in addition to the main late nineteenth/early twentieth century occupation. Among the early nineteenth century artifacts recovered from the site were a white wire-wound bead and a pre-1820 green shell-edged plate fragment. Although both artifacts potentially could represent items lost or discarded by the Cherokee while using the spring, Euro-American travelers also could have lost them as well. Archaeological testing of site 11U316, in contrast, revealed that it represents a major Mississippian settlement containing subsurface prehistoric features. A small number of historic period artifacts were recovered from the site as well, but once again it was not possible to definitely associate these materials with the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois. Additional investigations are planned for site 11U316 in the spring of 2014 to search for additional historic period artifacts (Mary McCorvie, personal communication March 1, 2013).

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 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.

In 2002 SIUC archaeologists conducted archival and historical investigations into the locations of the ferries used by the Cherokee to cross the Mississippi River as well as reviewing the evidence for the possible association of six historic period archaeological house sites on the Mississippi River floodplain with the Trail of Tears (Wagner 2003). Although this study succeeded in unraveling the history of ownership of the Hamburg and Willard's Landing ferries as well as determining their locations, the ownership of five of the archaeological sites by one man—wealthy Union County businessman Winstead Davie—made it impossible to determine who the people actually living at these sites were other than that they were most likely tenants of Davie. The sixth site appeared to have been established in the late 1840s, at least a decade after the Trail of Tears period.

In 2003 SIUC researchers Karen Frailey and Dr. John Burde produced a detailed annotated bibliography for the Trail of Tears in Illinois that listed and summarized all historical and archaeological research conducted up to that time (Frailey and Burley 2008). The value of the work lies in its compilation of a list of previous articles and books, detailed discussions of the contributions made by the various researchers, the inclusion of primary source material that is otherwise difficult to locate, and the identification of the locations of the various works summarized in the bibliography.

In 2006 SIUC geologist Harvey Henson conducted remote sensing investigations at the Campground Church Cemetery site to determine if additional unmarked Cherokee graves are contained in this cemetery. Local residents have long maintained that such graves are indeed present. Although Henson's study revealed that the cemetery does indeed contain numerous unmarked graves, it is impossible to determine if these graves are those of Cherokee who died along the Trail of Tears or Euro-American settlers whose grave markers have disappeared over time (Henson 2010).

In 2008 Gary Hacker and other members of the Johnson County Historical Society conducted a detailed archival and historical investigation into the route of the Trail of Tears through Johnson County, Illinois (Hacker et al. 2010). This detailed study succeeded in reviewing the evidence for and locating the route, trail segments, taverns, mills, campgrounds, and residences associated with the Trail of Tears in Johnson County. This type of study is particularly important due to the loss through time of county records that could have provided detailed archival information relating to these kinds of resources.

Finally, in 2012 SIUC students under the direction of Kayeleigh Sharp and colleagues conducted a survey and mapping project at Campground Church designed to locate and map the springs associated with that property (Sharp et al. 2012).

# Trail of Tears Route, Southern Illinois



Figure 1-1 Location of Illinois Section of Trail of Tears

## Chapter 2 Project Background

This chapter presents the environmental, historical, and archaeological background of the areas of southern Illinois crossed by the Cherokee Trail of Tears (Figure 1-1). Unless otherwise noted, sections of the environmental, historical, and archaeological sections for Union County are condensed from more extensive treatments in Knight and Butler (1995) and Wagner (2003). We do not discuss the history of the Illinois section of the Trail of Tears in detail as this information has been previously presented in other sources (Dexter 2000; Hacker 2010; McCorvie 2010; Thompson 1951; Wagner 2003).

### Environmental Setting

The Illinois section of the Trail of Tears extended for approximately 55 mi (88.5 km) from the town of Golconda along the Ohio River in the east to the now-landlocked location of Willard's/Green's Ferry (Willard's Landing) and Bainbridge/Smith's Ferry (Hamburg Landing) on the Mississippi River in the west (Wagner 2003; Figure 1-1). The route of the trail crossed through three early counties—Pope, Johnson, and Union—distributed in an east-west fashion across southern Illinois. In addition, it crossed through three of the major natural divisions of Illinois: the Shawnee Hills, Ozark, and Lower Mississippi River Bottomlands divisions (Schwegman 1973). Each of these areas would have provided both opportunities and obstacles to people traveling along the trail during the early nineteenth century such as the Cherokee emigrants of the late 1830s. Opportunities would have included springs and creeks for water; timber for firewood; fields that could have provided pasture for animals; and open areas that could have been used as campsites. Obstacles would have included swamps and boggy areas that would have had to have been avoided as well as steep or rocky terrain that would have had to have been ascended and descended by people, animals, and wagons.

The Shawnee Hills Division extends across all three counties, abutting the town of Golconda in the east and being flanked by small sections of the Ozark and Mississippi River divisions in the west. The Shawnee Hills Division is comprised of two parts: the Lesser and Greater Shawnee Hills sections. Most of the Trail of Tears (present-day Highway 146) route lay within the Lesser Shawnee Hill Section although it did cross through a small part of the Greater Shawnee Hills at its eastern end in Pope County. The rugged, largely northern Greater Shawnee Hills consist of steep hills and bluffs underlain by sandstone and limestones. The topography includes bluff, overhanging cliffs, ravines, canyons, and floodplain areas. Tributary streams draining

these hills, several of which would have had to be crossed by travelers on the trail, include the Big Muddy, Saline, and Cache rivers, all of which ultimately discharge into the Ohio or Mississippi rivers. The less rugged Lesser Shawnee Hills, which average about 200 ft (61 m) lower than the Greater Shawnee Hills, have sinkholes, caves, ravines, river bluffs, and floodplain as common features (Schwegman 1973:27, 28).

A narrow portion of the Southern Section of the Ozark Division is located west of the Shawnee Hill Division in Union County (Schwegman 1973:2). Steeply wooded slopes and high relief, consisting of a maturely dissected plateau with steep bluffs along the Mississippi River, characterize the southern section of the Ozark Division. The southern section contains a “distinctive southern and Ozarkian flora...[including] southwestern plants and animals that are rare or absent elsewhere in Illinois” (Schwegman 1973:24). The topography consists of river bluffs, steep ravines, and floodplains. This rugged topography directly influenced the western end of the Trail of Tears through southern Illinois, with the northern branch of the trail running through a relatively wide east-west oriented valley flanked by high hills that led to Willard’s Landing on the Mississippi River while the southern branch ran along the bottom of a steep-sided hollow south of Hamburg Hill that led to Hamburg Landing on the Mississippi.

Upon leaving the Ozark Division in Union County the Cherokee would have entered the Mississippi River Floodplain Bottomlands Division, which is characterized by a combination of bottomland forest, swamps, meander scars, and oxbow lakes. The dense forests in this area contained more tree species than that farther north, including some southern lowland species (Schwegman 1973:26). Tree species included pin, overcup, Shumard, and cherrybark oaks in combination with kingnut hickory, sugarberry and sweetgum. Bottomland swamps additionally contained pumpkin ash, swamp cottonwood, red maple and water locust (Schwegman 1973:26). Similar to the Shawnee Hills Division, the oaks and hickories in the Mississippi River Division would have provided the best firewood for travelers, with cottonwoods and red maples providing lesser heat. Locusts also could have been used for firewood if collected as deadfall that had been seasoned for a year or more.

Additional information regarding the natural environment that the Cherokee would have encountered in crossing southern Illinois is contained in the early nineteenth century General Land Office (GLO) plat maps and the mid-nineteenth century geological reports completed under the direction of Illinois State Geologist Amos Worthen. The GLO plat maps for southern Illinois, some of which were completed as early as 1807, provide the first detailed information regarding the environmental setting of the region. As in other parts of the Old Northwest Territory,

GLO surveyors began establishing townships, sections, and ranges within Pope, Johnson, and Union Counties shortly after the government obtained ownership of this land in the early nineteenth century. As part of their duties the surveyors were required to record the types and boundaries of the different vegetation zones—prairie or woods—that they encountered. The surveyors also frequently included notes on their maps regarding rock formations they encountered such as “steep cliffs”, “a high hill of rock”, and so on.

The GLO plat maps for Pope County indicate that the section of county crossed by the eastern end of the Trail of Tears was almost completely wooded in the early nineteenth century. The surveyor of the township containing Golconda as well as the surveyors of the next two townships to the west—A. Stone and Enos Cutler—simply identified the vegetation of this portion of Pope County as “timber”. Prairie areas were completely absent. The timbered areas would have consisted of an oak-hickory forest that contained a number of plant communities. Post, black jack, white, and black oaks as well as winged elm, pignut hickory, and red cedar would have been present on dry exposed ridge crests. Ridge slopes would have supported a wider diversity of tree species including white, red, and black oaks as well as pignut and shagbark hickories. The moist ravine bottoms and lower north-facing slopes contained plant communities dominated by beech, sugar maple, and tulip trees, with dogwood, redbud, pawpaw, and blue beech as understory plants (Voight and Mohlenbrock 1964:168-175). Although the wood of all of these species could have been used as firewood by travelers to some extent, the oaks, hickories, dogwood, and beech would have provided the most heat although the red cedar and maples, which provide slightly lesser heat, would have been easier to start.

The Trail of Tears route itself is identified on the most eastern (T13S, R7E) GLO map as the “road to Kaskaskia”. The trail split from that road, however, shortly after leaving Golconda and swung to the southwest, then turned to begin a steady rise to the northwest. The trail branched at Allen Springs, with one branch heading northwest to Dixon Springs and the other southwest to what is now the Crabb-Abbott Farm (Anonymous n.d.; Sparkousky 2009; Thompson 1951:209). Upon nearing the eastern border of Johnson County, the Cherokee would have encountered Dixon Springs, an area characterized by bluffs, rock shelters, and several springs. This area was a well-known stopping point along the trail. Beyond Dixon Springs lay the Grantsburg Swamp, a boggy area supporting a cypress-tupelo forest that the Cherokee would have had to skirt around (McCorvie 2010:10).

The GLO maps indicate that Johnson County also was heavily forested in the early nineteenth century with prairie areas again completely absent. Upon entering the

county the Cherokee would have begun to encounter a variety of aquatic bodies such as the Grantsburg Swamp that represented both obstacles and resources that they could exploit for food. These included large cypress ponds, swamps, creeks, rivers, and springs. Food resources that could have been obtained by Cherokee hunters (Hacker 2010:29) from these water bodies include fish, geese, and ducks as well as mammalian animals that prefer a semi-aquatic environment such as muskrats, beaver, raccoons, and other species. Some of these species, however, may not have been available in winter when the Cherokee crossed through the area. Upon entering the county the trail threaded a narrow path between a large cypress pond to the north and a swampy area before crossing over Cedar Creek. In approaching the center of the county the trail crossed over numerous small streams including Bay Creek before reaching McCorkle Creek, which is shown as a major stream on the GLO map. After passing through or north of Vienna, the trail angled northwest to avoid swampy areas located along a branch of the Cache River south of Vienna. The trail ran generally east-west, crossing only two large streams—Dutchman Creek and the Cache River—before it left the county. Carlton Spring, which was located near Dutchman Creek, reportedly provided water for the Cherokee and other travelers (Hacker 2012:25-27). A bridge had been constructed across the Cache River as early as 1821, although Hacker (2010:32-33) believes that corduroy roads—that is, logs or poles placed adjacent to each other—may have been used to cross swampy areas adjacent to the Cache River. In a 1934 tour of Trail of Tears sites in Johnson County, John Mulcaster similarly related to the tour group “that in Cache Bottoms they [the Cherokee] had to build a corduroy road before they could get through” (Hornbuckle 1934). After crossing the Cache, the trail went by yet another set of springs located adjacent to the Bridges Tavern at the eastern end of the county (Hacker 2010:35).

Upon entering Union County, the GLO records indicate that the Cherokee would have been traveling through heavily forested uplands similar to those of Pope and Johnson counties with prairie areas completely absent. Illinois State Geologist Amos Worthen concurred with the findings of the GLO surveyors, noting that even into the beginning of the late nineteenth century Union County was “one of the best timbered Districts of the state.... although very hilly and broken along” (Worthen 1866:33). The trail angled slightly northwest through the eastern part of the county as it skirted along the eastern side of a branch of Big Creek. The trail forked after leaving Jonesboro, Illinois, with the two forks leading to separate ferries on the Mississippi River. The northern fork ran due west, largely following the route of modern Highway Rte. 146 as it approached the Mississippi River. On the way the trail ran through a broad east-west oriented valley flanked by ridges to the north and south. The trail crossed Dutch Creek, extending westward through the floodplains that flanked the creek toward Dug Hill. “Dug Hill” was a large ridge at the western end of the valley that had to be ascended

and then descended in order to reach the Mississippi River floodplain. The name “Dug Hill” reportedly comes from the center of the hill having to be dug away during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to provide level access to Mississippi River floodplain.

The southern branch of the trail headed southwest upon leaving Jonesboro toward Hamburg Hill Hollow, which is a narrow east-west oriented valley flanked to the north and south by very high ridges with elevations from 280 ft (85 m) to 600 ft (183 m) greater than the valley floor. The valley floor is heavily dissected due to water runoff from the surrounding ridges, with the hollow increasing in size as it reaches the Mississippi River floodplain. Colluvial fans that could have been used as camp or habitation sites are located at the west end of the hollow immediately adjacent to the floodplain.

Travelers on both branches of the trail would have had to cross Clear Creek, which meandered in a general north-south direction along the edge of the hills of the Ozark Division to the east, before entering the main part of the floodplain. The northern branch of the trail, which was flanked by “inaccessible” swamps to the north and south, threaded its way through a prehistoric Mississippian period mound group—the Ware site (11U31)—as it headed toward Green’s Upper and Lower Ferries located approximately one-half mile away from each other on the Mississippi River. Although it did not cross any lakes, the southern branch of the trail that led to Hamburg Landing was forced to swing about a mile and a half to the south to go around the southern edge of Grassy Lake (Lake and Company 1881).

Travel across the floodplain was hampered by the presence of several long linear lakes including Running Lake, Wolf Lake, and Grassy Lake. Although they have since been largely drained, these lakes extended for miles in a northwest-southeast direction across the floodplain, blocking access to the Mississippi River. Swampy areas, all of which had to be skirted or forded in order to reach the Mississippi River, in turn bordered the lakes. Because of this the section of the Mississippi bottoms crossed by the two trails was described as being “frequently muddy... due to the swamps and overflow...with the mud [causing] great delay in transportation” (Lawler 1940:44).

John Mulcaster (n.d.f.) described the route of the trail across the floodplain as follows:

The road [running] west emerged from Dug Hill...[and] crossed Clear Creek immediately after going over Dug Hill...[it] immediately [ran] into the low lands called *running lake* in section 23 and 26 and into the larger

*grassy lake* in section 36 which occupied over half the area of these three sections of land...at the place where the corduroy road was built west of Dug Hill the lake was only a quarter of a mile wide but full of water most of the year (Mulcaster n.d.f. italics added).

As Mulcaster (n.d.f.) noted, although the trail across the floodplain was a simple dirt track at the time of the Cherokee Removal in the 1830s particularly swampy areas such as that near Running and Dry Lakes were “corduroyed” with logs or filled in with dirt from time to time to facilitate travel across the floodplain. At this same location, which reportedly was located “about a quarter of a mile beyond [west] of the present site of Ware, they [the Cherokee] built pontoon bridges, and the road through Running Lake, called the Old Willard Landing Road, was corduroyed” (Hornbuckle 1934). These two ways of crossing Running Lake probably were not unique to the Cherokee, but rather most likely represented standard methods used by the settlers of the region to reach the Mississippi River.

A farm owned or occupied by the Tucker family in 1934, which was described as “another landmark” located south of Running Lake in a 1934 newspaper article, may have been believed by Mulcaster to be the location of one of the pontoon bridges (Anonymous 1934).

Firm documentary evidence that the section of the trail followed by the Cherokee across the Mississippi River was simply a dirt track is provided by the records of the Jonesboro Plank Road Company, which began operation in 1850 (Jonesboro Plank Road Company 1850-1891). By planking the northern branch of the road to Willard’s Ferry with sawn lumber for its entire length, the businessmen hoped to divert “travel going by Hamburgh Landing or Cape Girardeau” which apparently also was a dirt trail (Goodman 1932). The company graded the road, planked it, constructed a tollbooth, and built a bridge over Clear Creek in 1850. Lawler (1940:44) stated that only in the “places where the mud interfered with travel” was the road planked, although the company records are not specific to this point (Jonesboro Plank Road Company 1850-1891). The company records also indicate that James Morgan, who had a mill along Dutch Creek that supplied grain to the Cherokee in the late 1830s, also contracted with the Plank Road Company to supply the lumber for the bridge across Clear Creek. The difficulty and cost of maintaining the road led the company to replace the wooden planks with gravel in the early 1870s, after which it was known as the “plank (gravel) road” and later as simply the “gravel road” (Lake and Company 1881).

The Jonesboro Plank Road Company also may have been responsible in the 1850s or early 1860s or later for the destruction of one or more prehistoric mounds reportedly

used by the Cherokee to inter members of their party who died while crossing through Union County (see Chapter 4). Continual problems with boggy areas along the plank road appear to have prompted Willis Willard, one of the officers of the Plank Road Company, to remove one or more of the mounds in the Ware Mound group (11U31) to provide fill for low areas along the trail adjacent to the mound group. This most likely occurred at some point between 1855 and 1862 when Willard was repeatedly authorized by the Jonesboro Plank Road Company to grade and gravel sections of the road (Jonesboro Plank Road Company 1850-1890). As his daughter, Anna (Willard) Woodson later recalled:

When the road from Jonesboro was built to Willard's landing on the Mississippi River they had to make a causeway across a little lake to do this and to get the dirt needed they dug some "Indian Mounds". I remember well for father gave them orders to dig away carefully and when they got down into the mounds to bring him anything they found. So we had quite a collection of cooking vessels and all sorts of things they used in their lives...A younger brother of mine was interested in such things, [and] had a case made with glass doors to put these relics in and after he died we decided to give them to Anna Academy. That is the last I know of them (Goodman 1932).

Although Anna Willard made no mention of historic period burials within the mound, such burials were encountered by the Bureau American Ethnology (BAE) excavations at the Ware Mound site in the late 1800s as well as by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this event).

Severe floods that could cover the entire floodplain with water to a depth of many feet also hampered travel across the Mississippi River bottomlands. In 1844, for example, only six years after the Cherokee had passed through, a great flood covered the roads leading to Willard's Ferry and Hamburg Landing to a depth of between 18 to 30 feet with "stocks, crops, houses, and fences...carried away in the raging waters. The people made efforts to save their [live] stock...but soon found they could only hope to save a few" of their possessions (Leonard 1940:21-23). Additional great floods are cited as having occurred both before and after the Cherokee Removal in 1808, 1851, and 1858 (Perrin 1883:291, 346).

The Mississippi River bottomland, like the Shawnee Hills and the Ozark divisions was very heavily forested at the time of the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois. Although this heavy tree cover would have provided them with

firewood, it may have restricted the areas where they could have camped to areas located near the Mississippi River where the tree cover had been removed to provide wood for passing steamboats. Illinois State Geologist Amos Worthen noted that even into the 1860s the Mississippi River bottomland forests were more extensive than those covering the uplands to the east:

The bottomlands of this county [Union 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. (Worthen 1866:33, emphasis added).

## **Local Historical Background**

The early histories of all three counties—Union, Pope, and Johnson—are intertwined, with all three counties having formed part of Randolph County prior to 1809. Johnson County was split off from Randolph County in 1812, with the new county containing all of present-day Union and Johnson counties and most of Pope County. Pope County was established as a separate county in 1816 with all three counties becoming separate political units by 1818. Although later changes occurred to the southern boundaries of all three counties with the formation of Alexander County in 1819 and Massac County in 1843, the area traversed by the Trail of Tears in the 1830s lay in the northern or central sections of the three counties (Anonymous 2005).

The majority of the early settlers in these three counties, as with virtually all of southern Illinois prior to 1818, were Euro-American 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 these counties were small farmers established on individual farmsteads surrounded by those of other family members. In

Union County, many early settlers also were descended from German Lutherans and Dunkards (German Baptists or Brethren) who originally had immigrated 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, both of which are associated with the Trail of Tears route within the county.

The pattern of settlement in both Pope and Union counties was affected by the locations of these counties along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, respectively. In Pope County, towns such as Golconda and Shawneetown became major ports of entry into southern Illinois for southern-born settlers traveling to Illinois along the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers as well as for northern-born settlers descending the Ohio River from Pittsburgh and other upriver ports. As a result, early settlement within the county clustered on the Ohio River and along creeks that drained into the Ohio such as Big Bay, Grand Pierre, Little Grand Pierre, and Dog creeks. Roads branching out from Golconda and Shawneetown provided access to interior southern Illinois before terminating at the Mississippi River.

In Union County, early nineteenth century settlement primarily was concentrated in 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). 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. River ports such as Hamburg, and later Willard's Ferry, provided Jonesboro and the other interior settlements with an outlet to ship agricultural produce down the Mississippi River as well as being a source of manufactured goods transported from farther east on steamboats and other craft. As noted earlier, the two branches of the Trail of Tears connected Jonesboro with both of these ports as well as with Golconda on the Ohio River.

Johnson County suffered in comparison to Pope and Union Counties in terms of both economic development and population due to its landlocked condition and lack of access to exterior markets. In 1830 its population was only 1,596 people, approximately half that of the other two counties. The earliest settlement was concentrated in the southern two-thirds of the county along the major drainages including Big Bay, Cedar, Dutchman, and Lick creeks; the Cache River; and along roads leading to or through the early towns of Elvira (1806) and Vienna (1818) (Chapman 1925:283, 292-294; Nelson

1981:29). Vienna was located on an early road leading from Fort Massac to the pre-1818 territorial capital of Kaskaskia and also along the east-west “La Grande Trace” (later known as the Trail of Tears) that extended from Golconda on the Ohio River to Jonesboro and Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi River (Meyer 1976: 153).

In sum, at the time of the Cherokee Removal in 1837-1839, the great majority of Euro-American settlers in all three counties were primarily small farmers descended from the Upland South farming tradition of the Upper South. Additional economic opportunities, such as they were, lay in the larger towns such as Golconda and Jonesboro, whose locations adjacent to two major rivers, used by early nineteenth century travelers and commercial traffic, enabled them to support a limited number of taverns, stores, mills, and other businesses. Economic opportunities in interior areas, such as Johnson County, were restricted to operating taverns as well as grist and saw mills along the various roads extending through the interior.

By the late 1830s in Union County, however, three men—Elijah Willard, his brother Willis Willard, and Winstead Davie—had come to dominate the business interests of the county. All three owned extensive land holdings, participated in county government, and operated businesses such as stores, warehouses, taverns, and mills that provided services to the surrounding population. For men such as the Willard brothers and Winstead Davie, the movement of thousands of Cherokee through their county represented an unparalleled economic opportunity. Both they and other southern Illinois businessmen appear to have had advance notice by at least 1837, either through newspapers or their political contacts, that thousands of Cherokee who were going to need supplies and services such as food, drink, lodging, shelter, and transportation were going to be moving through their county.

The two Willard brothers had begun moving in late 1835 to gain control of the two major Union County ferries—Green’s Upper and Lower. This attempt by the Willards to gain control of the ferries is associated, at least in part, with the widespread belief in Illinois in the mid-1830s that the development of transportation facilities such as roads, railroads, and canals would lead to increased population growth and an economic boom within the state (Krenkel 1948). By November 1836, Elijah Willard had purchased the land, as well as the ferryboat, at Green’s Upper Ferry. By June 1837, he had erected a storehouse at this location where he was licensed by the county to sell liquor by the drink. On September 5, 1837, only two months before the arrival of the Cherokee partly led by B.B. Cannon in Union County, Willard also was granted a license to operate a ferry at this location (Wagner 2003:19). Elijah, joined by his brother Willis, also managed to acquire ownership of the Green’s Lower Ferry by the spring of 1835. They operated a ferry at this location from at least 1835 to 1842, but apparently

had abandoned it by at least 1842. The mid-1842 (if not earlier) abandonment of this ferry by the Willard brothers suggests that there was not enough business to support the two adjacent ferries, situated roughly one-half mile apart, following the end of the Cherokee emigration in early 1839. Another man—James Wibourn—obtained and held a ferry license at Hamburg Landing from June 1838 into 1839, but requested that his license be vacated by September 1839. As the Cherokee migration was over by March 1839, Wilbourn may have seen no need to maintain his license any longer (Wagner 2003:27).

The Willard brothers also apparently realized that the Cherokee would require grain for themselves and their animals, ordering a steam mill from St. Louis that they erected about one mile west of Jonesboro in 1836 or 1838 (see Chapter 4). 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). Other Union County men such as James Morgan, who appears to have put a mill in operation along Dutch Creek several miles west of Jonesboro in the mid-1830s that became a major stopping point for the Cherokee, also may have been anticipating that the thousands of Cherokee traveling along the road would need food supplies.

The other wealthy businessman in Union County—Winstead Davie—apparently could not compete with the Willards in the ferry business, but instead chose to profit off the emigration by operating his house as a tavern, similar to a modern hotel, where wealthier Cherokee could stay. His daughter recalled that in January 1839 her father invited Chief Jesse Bushyhead to be a guest at his home during the waiting period (to cross the Mississippi River). "Their teams were kept in [our] barnyard for the weeks of the layover" (Parks 1984:203). In reality, Davie had taken a license out to keep a public house of entertainment on his premises in December 1838, the only one that he ever held. This permitted Davie to charge the Cherokee various rates for lodging, meals, and the feeding and sheltering of their 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, similar to the Willard brothers, operated a steam mill to grind corn and saw lumber for the Cherokee (Parks 1984:203). However, there is no evidence that Davie operated a mill during the late 1830s, and this story actually may be referring to the mill operated by the Willard brothers (see Chapter 4). It also is possible that Davie was a partner in this mill with the Willard brothers, who were his brothers-in-law, but this appears unlikely as he and the Willard brothers were bitter personal and business enemies throughout their lives (Wagner 2003:6-7).

Other small businessmen in Union County profited by opening "groceries", which were establishments similar to a modern bar that could sell liquor by the drink.

The form that these groceries took is unknown, but they may have been as simple as setting a tent up along the Trail of Tears route to sell alcohol to the passing Cherokee. 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 license in 1839, strongly suggesting that these men obtained their licenses to make money off the Cherokee emigration. These liquor stands, as noted above, were all located in areas that the Cherokee might be expected to pass by such as along the Trail of Tears, in the town of Jonesboro, or along the banks of the Mississippi River where Cherokee would be waiting to cross to Missouri.

Documentary evidence is lacking for Johnson County, where tax records and business licenses that could shed light on the involvement of county businessmen with the Cherokee Trail of Tears emigration have long since been destroyed. Oral histories, however, indicate that local residents who lived along the trail profited off the emigration through the operation of taverns, stores, and mills (Hacker 2010). Taverns represent one of the earliest and most prevalent forms of economic activity on the Illinois frontier of during the early nineteenth century. Taverns were present along every major road of every county in the region. As new counties were formed, one of the first orders of business at the first meeting of the commissioner's board was the all-important business of granting tavern licenses. Together with milling and blacksmithing, the operation of a tavern represented one of the few economic activities available to settlers of the region.

Although tavern operators in Illinois were required to have a license as early as the late eighteenth century, enforcement appears to have been lax in rural areas on the fringe of settlement. As a result, two types of taverns probably existed within Johnson County at the time of the Cherokee emigration: (1) licensed taverns, such as the Bridges Tavern, where travelers were charged set prices determined by the county for food, drink, and lodging, and (2) "latchstring" or unlicensed taverns, which were the homes of private citizens, where travelers might be accommodated and charged whatever the owner thought was appropriate if he was willing to allow them to stop on his property (Wagner and McCorvie 1992).

Hacker (2010:15-16) has drawn attention to the association of taverns, streams, campgrounds, and mills at the same location in Johnson County. This is undoubtedly correct. Taverns often were located adjacent to streams, which provided natural stopping places for travelers as well as water for themselves and their animals. The association of campgrounds with taverns also was a common feature of tavern complexes on the Illinois frontier. Taverns had limited space to accommodate travelers.

As a result, many camped in fields adjacent to taverns with their livestock and wagons. It is unknown, however, if the tavern keepers charged people to camp on land near their taverns (Wagner and McCorvie 1992:21-68).

Many accounts of western-bound emigrants traveling through southern Illinois prior to 1850 indicate that they traveled in caravans of wagons, similar to the Cherokee, with the men ranging ahead of the party to hunt for food. In 1850 a traveler named James Bennet joined a western-bound group of emigrants who were traveling across southern Illinois. Bennet's party camped in the open each night along the trail rather than pay for lodging for a tavern. Each day he and several other men traveled several miles ahead of the wagons, hunting for wild game for food for the rest of the party. Bennet recorded that they found deer, squirrels, and other game in abundance in the wooded areas along their route. Feed for the oxen that pulled their wagons was apparently purchased from farmers, or mills, located along the route (Bennet 1906:3). An account of a second party of emigrants from the same time period who were traveling through southern Illinois noted that, similar to Bennet's group, "all of the movers were prepared for camping out of nights and in consequence their outfit comprised quilts, blankets, and other needed bedclothes and food and cooking utensils" (Johnson 1922:60-61).

Although the Cherokee may have traveled, hunted, and camped along the Trail of Tears similar to other immigrants of the period and later, the sheer size of the Cherokee Removal dwarfed anything that settlers in the region had seen before. Pope County, for example, had a population of only 4,094 people in 1840 or approximately one-third of the nearly 12,000 Cherokee who passed through southern Illinois between 1837 and 1839. Golconda itself had a population of only 150 people in 1838, meaning any one of the 11 Cherokee detachments outnumbered the citizens of the town by a 6:1 margin. In adjacent Johnson County, the Cherokee outnumbered the residents of the county by an almost 4:1 margin. As a result, settlers who had no means to profit from the emigration and were worried about the damage caused to their land through the cutting of firewood and the hunting of animals they needed to support themselves through the winter refused to allow the Cherokee to camp on their lands, instead hurrying them down to other locations along the trail (McCorvie 2010). The party led by Reverend Daniel Butrick, for example, was told "by a white man living near, that this was not the place for camping, but we must go beyond [to] the next plantation...[here we] selected a place for our tent...and gathered wood...when word came that we must not camp there as the owner would not allow the Cherokees to cut or burn any wood. Mr. Taylor...who was yet behind wished the detachment to [go] farther & camp on public land" to avoid any more trouble (Butrick 1998:8).

Those land owners in Pope, Union, and Johnson counties who *did* allow the Cherokee to camp on their properties generally had other economic interests that made up for the depletion by the Cherokee of their woods and the hunting of animals on their property. The Bridges family in Johnson County, for example, and probably the McCorkles as well, operated taverns and mills that supplied lodging and food and drink to the Cherokee for a price. A similar situation existed in Union County, where thousands of Cherokee camped on land adjacent to James Morgan's mill, which clearly ground corn meal for them at his mill, on Dutch Creek. Cherokee also may have camped near the Willard steam mill west of Jonesboro (see Chapter 4) as well as on the Mississippi River floodplain adjacent to Willard's Landing. Again, the economic benefit accrued by having thousands of Cherokee camp next to one's ferry (in the case of the Willard brothers), where there was also a license to sell alcohol, outweighed any potential damage the Cherokee could do to the extensive forests that covered the Mississippi River floodplain.

Social factors also may have accounted for the hostility and lack of empathy that met the Cherokee when they first entered southern Illinois (Butrick 1998:49). The majority of the Euro-American settlers in the region were either from the Upper South or descended from immigrants from that region who had moved into southern Illinois in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They carried with them, as a result, hostility to Native Americans that had been engendered by the almost constant warfare between Native Americans and Euro-Americans in southern Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Wagner 2010, 2011). During the War of 1812 men from southern Illinois also joined militia and Ranger companies that both protected the borders of the region as well as participating in military expeditions against British-allied Native Americans in central and northern Illinois. Native American war parties also had raided virtually every southern Illinois county during that conflict in retaliation for attacks on their villages (Ferguson 2012). Troops raised in southern Illinois also participated in the Black Hawk War of 1832, which resulted in the removal of the Sauk and all other resident Native American tribes from Illinois by the mid-1830s. As a result of all of this, southern Illinois residents may have felt little sympathy or concern for the Cherokee who traveled through the region only five years after the end of the Black Hawk War. Instead, the Cherokee who traveled through Pope County, at least, were greeted with "infernally language" and "volleys of oaths" and "told that was not the place for camping" but that they instead must move on (Butrick 1998:49).

## Chapter 3 Methods

The research conducted for the project had two separate components. The first of these involved examining records contained in municipal, county, state, and university archives for information on the names of land owners as well as the locations of taverns, mills, cemeteries, camp grounds, and other facilities that the Cherokee may have used while traveling along the Illinois section of the Trail of Tears in the 1830s. The second research component involved taking the data gathered by this research and using it to create a Geographic Information System (GIS) database that visually showed the locations of these various sites within a ten-mile corridor (five miles to either side of the trail) encompassing the trail. Each of these research components is described separately below.

### Archival Research

Archival research, as noted above, was conducted in both public and university archives. The first phase of the archival research involved examining the papers of John G. Mulcaster, an early twentieth century southern Illinois local historian who became interested in the Trail of Tears in the early 1930s, for any information that they might contain regarding the trail. Mulcaster, as described in further detail in Chapter 4, was a disabled Spanish-American War veteran who began researching and publishing articles on southern Illinois history starting in the 1920s. As the centennial of the Trail of Tears approached in the 1930s, Mulcaster began communicating with local and state officials, including Illinois State Historian Paul Angle, about having a public celebration of the event as well as having the state erect historical markers at various locations along the trail. As part of this effort, Mulcaster wrote almost 200 letters to people he believed to be descendants of settlers who had lived along the trail in the 1830s, asking them to provide him with family memories of the Cherokee Removal. Mulcaster passed the results of his research along to the Illinois chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) who offered to type up this information for him, as well as making a copy for themselves. The Illinois chapter of the DAR attempted to locate their copy of this manuscript for us in the DAR national archives in 2012 but was unsuccessful; it is possible that this document has been lost or no longer exists. However, two boxes of Mulcaster's notes and papers regarding his Trail of Tears research are contained in the John G. Mulcaster, George W. Smith, and John Allen papers housed in Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, which we also examined. George W. Smith was a retired SIU history professor who corresponded with Mulcaster, while Allen was a later local southern Illinois history researcher and SIU staff member who acquired some of Mulcaster's papers following his death. We

researched all three of these collections as part of the current project. In addition, we researched the Paul Angle Papers at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, and Chicago Historical Society, for information regarding Mulcaster's research. Angle, who was the State Historian in the 1930s, corresponded with Mulcaster regarding the Trail of Tears in the early 1930s. We discovered previously unknown correspondence from Mulcaster relating to the Trail of Tears within the Angle papers at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, but were less successful at the Chicago Historical Society (CHS), where Angle was Director from 1945 to 1965. Although the Angle papers at the CHS do contain materials relating to southern Illinois history, we could find no records or other information relating to the Trail of Tears. We also researched several 1930s Daughter of the American (DAR) scrapbooks from the Cairo chapter of the DAR that are now held at the Cairo Public Library. The scrapbooks contained numerous newspaper clippings detailing the history of the 1930s DAR involvement in trying to locate and commemorate Trail of Tears-related sites in southern Illinois. In addition, they also contained approximately one dozen previously unknown black and white photographs taken by DAR members of Trail of Tears-related sites including the Morgan (Nimmo) Farm along Dutch Creek in Union County; Campground Church in Union County; and the Bridges Tavern in Johnson County.

We also conducted research at the Union, Johnson, and Pope county courthouses; the Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD); and online databases maintained by the Illinois State Archives for information regarding: (1) the original purchase dates from the public domain of lands, as well as the name of the purchaser, of lands located five miles to the north and south of the Trail of Tears route through southern Illinois; (2) tavern, grocery, ferry, and mill licenses recorded within the County Commissioner's Court Records in Union and Pope counties for the Trail of Tears period (the records in Johnson County for this period no longer exist); (3) tax records for Union and Pope counties that provide information on the locations, value, and landowner names of land parcels located within five miles either side (north and south) of the Trail of Tears in the 1830s (these records for Johnson County, once again, have been destroyed and no longer exist). Land ownership and tax records for Union and Pope counties for this period were also examined on microfilm at the Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) on the Southern Illinois University campus.

The early nineteenth century General Land Office (GLO) plat maps for southern Illinois that provide information on the location of prairies, wooded areas, streams, other natural features, and sometimes cultural features such as roads, Indian villages, and settler's houses and fields at the time of settlement in the early 1800s were also reviewed. These maps, as well as a later copied set dating to the 1850s, that are now housed at the Illinois State Archives, are available online at the Illinois Secretary of

State's web site. The importance of these maps lies in (1) the information they provide regarding the location of the eastern end of the Trail of Tears in Pope County; (2) the locations of swamps, lakes, ponds, streams, and springs in the three counties; (3) the locations of trail segments on some of the GLO maps from Pope County.

Historical research also was conducted into a variety of secondary sources on the Trail of Tears in southern Illinois that contained information regarding land ownership; the locations of roads, mills, and ferries; and recollections of the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois. These included nineteenth and twentieth century histories of Union, Johnson, and Pope counties (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; Hacker 2010; King and Evans 1978; McCorvie 2010; Mooney 1900; Thompson 1951; and others). 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).

## **Geographic Information System (GIS) Database**

One of the project's key objectives, to create a planning document that summarizes the numbers and types of cultural resources associated with the Cherokee Trail of Tears, required the development of a centralized and persistent storage and data management system. This resulted in the creation of a customized Geographic Information System (GIS) with integrated spatial database structure (SDBMS), referred to hereafter as the TOTSI (i.e., Trail of Tears – Southern Illinois) geodatabase. ESRI's ArcGIS was used to generate maps while the Microsoft Access database program stores the data (see ESRI 2012). This approach made possible the consolidation and management of data derived from multiple disparate resources.

Various data types ranging from archival texts, electronic spatial data resources such as the Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse, to actual maps of the region (some of which were generated during surveys carried out in the early 1800's such as the previously mentioned GLO plat maps) were consulted. The project's iPad was used to collect and store relevant archival data on the history of the study area. Data entry consisted of manual text entry, shapefile and map (e.g., 1938 Aerial photography) downloads, as well as the scanning and georeferencing of printed maps.

All data resources beyond print matter that are associated with the TOTSI Geodatabase are shown in Table 3-1.

The first stage of data management was the mapping of land owner records derived from electronic and archival resources (see for example Dexter 2003; ISA 2012). While electronic records gave the names of individuals and parcels owned, electronic Public Land Survey System (PLSS) which are geographical subdivisions consisting of one-square mile land Sections, 160 acre quarter sections and 40 acre quarter/quarter section datasets provided the necessary spatial geometries to map the public domain land tract sales records onto the TOTSI maps through a series of complex queries in MS Access. The spatially-referenced parcel data along with property purchaser information were then used as the baseline for cross-referencing individuals and/or associated information mentioned in the archival records alone (see Figure 3-1). From this, it was possible to identify the provisional and in some cases exact location of individuals bearing business licenses issued in Union County (Dexter 1996a; b) and property owners in Pope County that were mentioned in published and archival accounts (Allen 1963, 1949; Annable n.d.). For Johnson County, no complementary business license or property owner archival records were available. A long-term work on the Trail of Tears in Johnson County recently compiled and released by Gary Hacker and colleagues (Hacker, et al. 2010) provided an excellent resource from which the location of most sites in Johnson county were reconstructed.

In sum, the primary tables in the geodatabase are property sales records and shape files corresponding to PLSS land tracts. By combining the names of original property purchasers with the geographical location of their purchases, it was possible to work through a series of query systems to combine data from archival resources in order to determine the location of businesses and geographical features that would have had some connection to the TOTSI. The maps and tables contained in the chapters on each county depict data that were mapped using the property masters as well as those that were reconstructed from previously published maps.

Table 3-1 Outline of Data Resources

Resource Type	Online Access Location
Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales	URL: <a href="http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp">http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp</a>
30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois	URL: <a href="http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html">http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html</a>
Illinois PLSS county, state and land section	URL: <a href="http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html">http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html</a>
PLSS township, first and ladesc	URL: <a href="http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/lis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm">http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/lis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm</a>
Ortho Map	NRCS Geospatial Data Gateway, Union County Ortho Photo
Illinois State Archives, Federal Township Plats of Illinois (1804-1891)	<a href="http://landplats.ilsos.net">http://landplats.ilsos.net</a>
1938 Aerial Photography: Historical Aerial Photography for Union and Johnson County, Illinois - MrSID Format, Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse	<a href="http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/ilhap/county/johnson.html">http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/ilhap/county/johnson.html</a>
Illinois Department of Transportation, 2012 Roads and Highways in Union, Johnson and Pope counties	<a href="http://gis.dot.illinois.gov/gist2/">http://gis.dot.illinois.gov/gist2/</a>

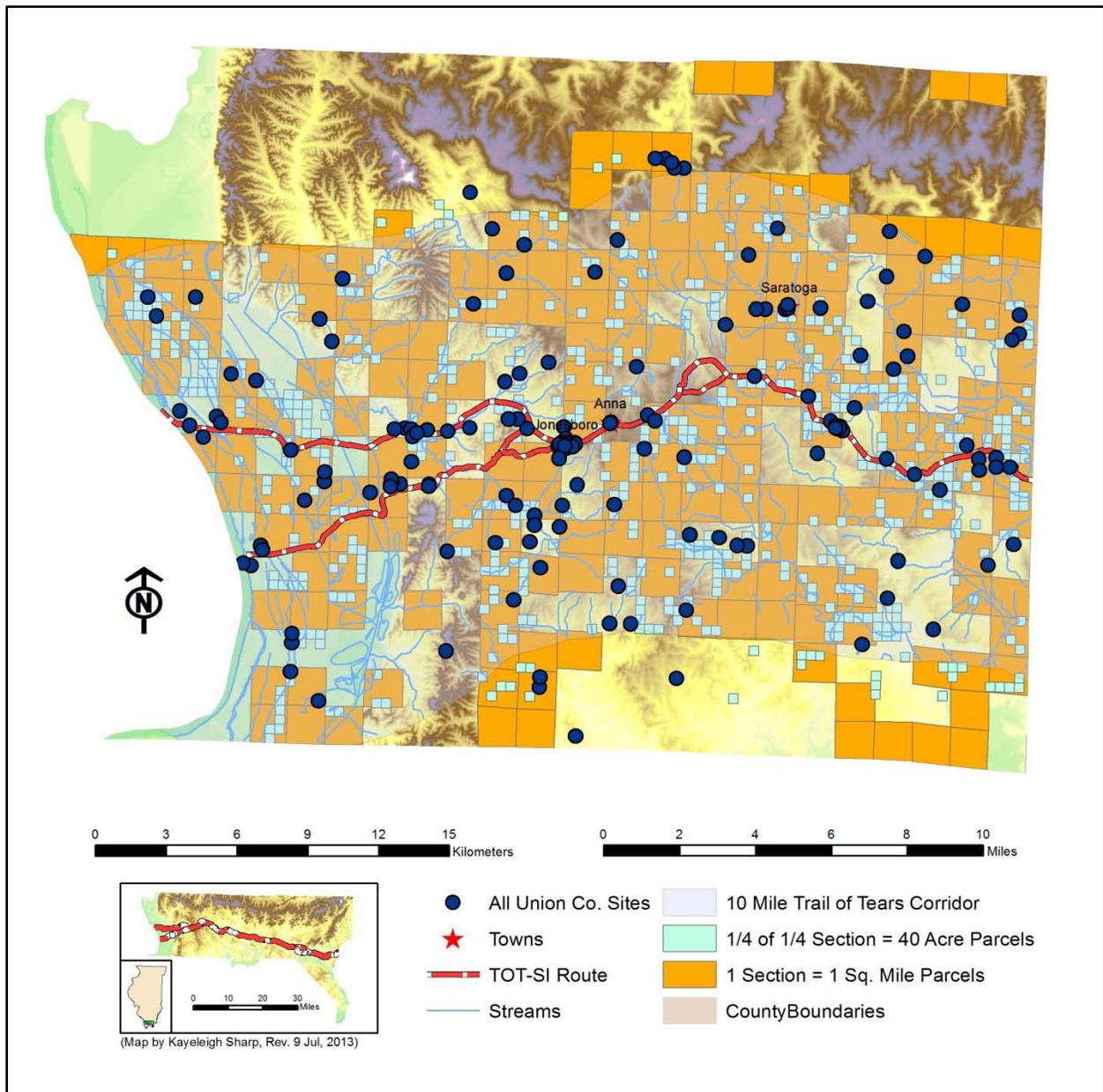


Figure 3-1 Map illustrates the outcome of the methodology which uses Public Land Survey System (PLSS) spatial data and land tract sales records to visualize property owned during the period of interest. Example depicts properties with known owners and purchase dates prior to 1840 in Union County.

## Chapter 4 John G. Mulcaster and the Trail of Tears

### Introduction

This chapter details the history of the pioneering research conducted by southern Illinois resident John G. Mulcaster into locating and commemorating the Illinois branch of the Trail of Tears in the 1930s. The importance of the research conducted by Mulcaster cannot be overstated. When he began his work in the early 1930s, the Trail of Tears had almost entirely faded from memory with both university and state historians largely unaware that such an event had ever occurred. Mulcaster also conducted extensive interviews, both written and oral, with the children and grandchildren of people who had lived along the trail that provided much of the information that forms the basis for our current knowledge of the Trail of Tears. Although Mulcaster had intended to publish a detailed history of the Trail of Tears in Illinois, he was able to publish only a single article (see Mulcaster 1935) before his death from cancer in 1937. Nevertheless, the information contained in his unpublished papers, which are now housed at Morris Library at Southern Illinois University, continues to inform Trail of Tears research within Illinois today.

A detailed summary of the information recovered by Mulcaster, including previously unpublished photographs taken in the 1930s, in regard to the Trail of Tears sites in Union and Johnson counties is presented at the end of this chapter. Our reason for doing so is that, particularly in regard to the Union County sites, Mulcaster's research contains information that makes it possible to identify the location of some of the facilities (taverns, campgrounds, Cherokee cemeteries, etc.) associated with the Trail of Tears with a higher degree of certainty than has been previously possible. We do not discuss all of the Trail of Tears sites in these two counties, only those for which Mulcaster supplies locational information or previously unknown photographs. Information regarding all the potential Trail of Tears sites in the three counties, including those discussed at the end of this chapter, is summarized in Chapters 5 through 7.

The following narrative of Mulcaster's research into the Trail of Tears route through southern Illinois is drawn from the above sources as well as information contained in contemporary newspaper accounts and records associated with the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).

## Mulcaster and the Trail of Tears

John G. Mulcaster was a local southern Illinois resident who had a lifelong interest in the history of the region (Figure 4-1). Born in 1880, Mulcaster worked for the Illinois Central Railroad and a local coal company as a telegraph operator. He joined the U. S. Army in 1898 and served as a telegrapher in the Signal Corps during the Spanish-American War. Mulcaster was seriously injured when his arm became entangled in a rope while unloading a ship in Puerto Rico. He was pulled ten feet into the air and then dropped back on the deck when the tension on the rope slackened. Although he refused treatment for his injury at the time, he suffered from severe pain for the remainder of his life (Mulcaster 1916).

He resumed his job as a railroad telegraph operator when he returned home to southern Illinois. By 1914, however, the pain in his arm had become so intense that he could no longer work. Mulcaster applied for a pension in 1915, but did not receive one until 1926 (Anonymous 1926). His receipt of a pension enabled him to begin historical research on a number of subjects relating to the history of southern Illinois – which had long been known as Egypt – including the 1830s Cherokee Trail of Tears about which he wrote articles for magazines, newspapers, and historical journals. Mulcaster, who lived in Makanda, was regarded as a serious historical researcher with his professional contacts including retired history professor George W. Smith of Southern Illinois Normal University (now Southern Illinois University) and State Historian Dr. Paul Angle. Mulcaster also was a “booster” for southern Illinois, who hoped to use the region’s historical and natural features to attract tourists.

The passage of thousands of Cherokee through southern Illinois in the 1830s had largely slipped from memory by the early 1930s. Prominent Illinois historians such as SINU professor George Washington Smith, author of a detailed history of southern Illinois; Illinois State Historian Paul Angle; and John Hauberg, Vice-President of the Illinois State Historical Society, had never heard of the Trail of Tears before Mulcaster brought it to their attention (Hauberg 1934; Smith 1936). How Mulcaster learned of it is unclear, although it may be that he had read brief descriptions of the migration contained in various southern Illinois county histories. It also is possible that he had read a book published in 1925 called *A Century in Egypt*, that contained the recollections of a pioneer settler named George Elkins who had witnessed the Cherokee passing through Johnson County (Elkins 1925). Once he learned that such an event actually had happened, however, Mulcaster began interviewing and writing to the descendants of southern Illinois residents who had lived along the trail. By November 1933, he had

collected over 200 letters from people that he had interviewed regarding the movement of the Cherokee through southern Illinois (Mulcaster 1933a).

Based on the information he had collected from local informants, Mulcaster at first believed that the Cherokee Removal had occurred in 1834, not 1838. As a result, he began writing to various civic groups trying to organize a commemoration. On August 17, 1933 he contacted the Golconda, Vienna, and Anna chambers of commerce in Illinois and the Cape Girardeau chamber in Missouri to solicit their help. As he noted:

Gentlemen.

As you are of course aware between the years 1832 and 1838 the United States Government moved several tribes of Indians (some 13,000 in all) from their reservations in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida to the new reservations assigned them in the Oklahoma territory. Many were transported by water but the Cherokees and Creeks numbering some 7,000 chose the land route. In 1834 they were moved crossing the Ohio River at Lusk's Ferry and the Mississippi at Willard's Landing traversing what is now route 146; after they had crossed the Ohio River, Army officers in charge were advised that the Mississippi River was full of floating ice and it was necessary to find quarters for them until the ice ran out, about one half of these Indians camped at what is now named the Camp Ground church six miles East of Anna and the other two miles west of Jonesboro on Dutch Creek on or about the Nicholadas (sic) farm they remained in these Camps for several weeks and only the strongest survived

It occurred to me that as 1934 will be the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this historic event a day might be set aside during the month of May or June to commemorate it by trip by auto over route 146 with speakers at these two camp sites (Mulcaster 1933c).

He sent this same letter to Illinois State Historian Paul Angle at the Illinois State Historical Library in an effort to gather his support. Angle replied back on September 5, 1933, that "I am certainly interested in the anniversary you propose and I am sure you can count on our Society to cooperate in every possible way in making such a project a success" (Paul Angle Papers. Letters L-M, 1933).

Mulcaster also began a campaign to mark several of the locations associated with the Trail of Tears with state historical markers with the aid of the Daughters of the

American Revolution (DAR). He contacted Mrs. Bess Parrish, head of the Harrisburg, Illinois, chapter about his plan to mark the Cherokee campsites in early September 1933. Mrs. Parrish responded back to him on September 11, 1933, thanking him “for the interest that you show in marking historic spots”. She suggested that he contact Mrs. P.T. Chapman of Vienna, a DAR member and author of a history of Johnson County about his plan, noting that this “line of work is near to her heart” (Parrish 1933). She also noted that a meeting of the Anna, Jonesboro, Vienna, and Harrisburg chapters of the “Little Egypt” or 7<sup>th</sup> Division Chapter of the DAR that Mulcaster might want to attend would be held at Mt. Carmel on October 3, 1933. By mid-November 1933 he had succeeded in interesting the Cairo chapter, at least, in the effort to commemorate the trail route based on a supportive newspaper article by that chapter that noted “the idea of marking these historic spots [along the trail] originated with John G. Mulcaster of Makanda” (Anonymous 1933).

Mulcaster apparently met with the Cairo chapter of the DAR in mid-November, 1933, to ask their help in typing up the 200 hand-written letters that he had received from descendants of settlers who had lived along the Trail of Tears route through Illinois in the late 1830s. He apparently lent his file to Mrs. Julian Schuh of Cairo, Illinois, who was the DAR Vice-chairman of the Preservation of Historic Spots Committee at the time. Mrs. Schuh wrote Mulcaster on November 22, 1933 that:

I am returning your file today...Your information from descendants of the early residents is very valuable; and every bit you glean should be preserved, and it would be fine to have some of this data put into final typed form on DAR stationary, and sworn to, especially as to the sites. I would be glad to take that up later on, perhaps some of our chapters could go with you to see some of these people some time, we could possibly get some new facts as recalled to mind since your early interviews (Schuh 1933).

Schuh also stressed to Mulcaster that it was important to determine the correct date-1834 or 1838—of the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois. Acting on this advice, Mulcaster contacted Paul Angle on November 26 1933, for his advice. Mulcaster noted in his letter to Angle “The exact date the Cherokee and Creek were here has not been definitely learned and the data and information I have been able to collect from descendants of laymen who in 1834 lived in the country between the rivers says the year was 1834”(Mulcaster 1933b).

Mulcaster went on to inform Angle that “My entire file on the subject including some 200 letters is in the hands of the State Regent 7<sup>th</sup> Div DAR after a meeting held

here in my home, they are willing to sponsor a tablet but all hinges on the correct historical date. We are after that but just where we will find it is yet a question” (Mulcaster 1933b).

Information contained in the Mulcaster papers indicates that the DAR did indeed type up Mulcaster’s Trail of Tears records, providing him with one copy and keeping one for the DAR. Unfortunately, neither Mulcaster’s original handwritten notes nor the typed copy are contained within his papers at Morris Library at SIUC. The collection does contain, however, a number of typewritten interviews with various Trail of Tears descendants that may represent loose pages from the now-vanished DAR-typed manuscript.

The typed copy believed to have been kept by the DAR is likewise missing. The most likely chapter to have typed the manuscript for Mulcaster would have been the Cairo chapter, one of whose members—Mary Schuh (or Mrs. Julian Schuh) —was Vice-President of the DAR Historic Spots Committee and the person who first suggested to Mulcaster that the DAR could type up his manuscript for him. The Cairo chapter of the DAR, however, is no longer active and it is unknown what happened to their correspondence and records after they disbanded. Four scrapbooks that once belonged to the Cairo DAR chapter are now housed at the Cairo Public Library. Inspection of these scrapbooks, however, revealed that they contained only newspaper items and photographs dating from the 1930s. Although it is possible that the Cairo chapter forwarded some of their papers to their state organization, present-day DAR officials in Illinois were unable to find any records relating to the Cairo chapter (Mattern 2012).

Angle responded to Mulcaster’s query regarding the year of the Cherokee Removal on November 28, 1933 sending him an excerpt from Mooney’s 1900 article in the Nineteenth Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) as well as other references that indicated the “passage of the Cherokee through southern Illinois” occurred in 1838 (Angle 1933a; Mooney 1900). This appears to have finally persuaded Mulcaster that the 1833 and 1834 dates supplied by his informants were wrong. For on December 16, 1933, he wrote Angle again, this time using the 1838 date. As he noted in that letter “Professor [George Washington] Smith [of Southern Illinois University] and myself have attended two meetings of the DAR at Murphysboro and Cairo in an effort to have them mark the camp sites on Rt. 146 this next summer and we feel pretty sure that this will be done then we will have plenty of time to work out all the minute details for the Celebration of the Centennial (sic) at the proper time [in] 1938” (Angle 1933b).

In early December, 1933, Mulcaster wrote a newspaper article entitled “Indian Treck (sic) Across Egypt Fatal to 4,000” that presented a basic history of the Cherokee

Removal, although it badly exaggerated the numbers of Cherokee who had died while crossing through southern Illinois. In discussing the journey of the Cherokee through this region, Mulcaster noted, "tragedy stalked their every step" (Mulcaster 1933). He apparently believed that there had been three major campgrounds, one where a "halt was made building a corduroy road through Cypress swamp (Cache Bottom)"; another at "Jonesboro where a large camp was made on Dutch Creek on the bottom lands"; and a third that formed as the oncoming detachments "...were stopped six miles east of Jonesboro on the farm of a Mr. Hileman, which may be identified today as Camp Ground church" (Mulcaster 1933a). In regard to the location of where those who died along the trail may have been buried, he noted that "it is certain that the creek bottoms on either side of Jonesboro and *the little mounds around the village of Ware* contains the bones of hundreds of these unfortunate exiles" (Mulcaster 1933, emphasis added). In mentioning Ware, Mulcaster was referring to the prehistoric Mississippian-era (A.D. 1000-1500) Ware mound and village site (11U31) that still exists today.

On December 23, 1933, Angle sent Mulcaster the good news that as "[you may have] seen in the papers during this last week" the state of Illinois was "undertaking a program of historical marking along the hard road system. We might well include the [Cherokee] Indian campsites on route #146" (Angle 1933c). Mulcaster indeed had seen the article and sent a letter to Illinois Governor Henry Horner on December 22, 1933, asking that the Cherokee camp sites along Route 146 be marked with state historical markers. This letter was forwarded to Angle, who wrote Mulcaster on January 4, 1934, asking him to mark the locations of the camps on a map and "write an inscription for each one...[that] must not exceed 50 words (Angle 1934a).

That same day, a newspaper article reported that history professor George W. Smith of Southern Illinois Normal University had been in Anna the day before (January 3, 1934) to address a group of DAR women from throughout the region to "arouse an interest in celebrating the migration of several Indian tribes across southern Illinois". The article went on to note that while Smith may have organized the meeting, "John Mulcaster of Makanda has been actively supporting such a project for some time" (Anonymous 1934a).

Information regarding Mulcaster and Smith's activities also appeared in the *Historical News* section of the 1934 Illinois Historical Society Journal, which noted, "an almost forgotten episode in the history of Illinois is becoming the subject of much interest in the southern part of the state" (Anonymous 1934b: 475). The article went on to note that:

A number of communities in southern Illinois plan to mark the campsites of the Indians. Professor George W. Smith, Carbondale, and J.G. Mulcaster, Makanda, are making historical investigations of the subject, and would be glad to hear from any one who has material, traditional or documentary, relating to the subject (Anonymous 1934b: 476).

Mulcaster's interest in commemorating the trail continued throughout the rest of the year. On November 15, 1934, he and his wife joined a 24 person strong DAR "Cherokee Trail Cavalcade" comprised of Mrs. Schuh and members of the Alexander, Massac, Jackson, Johnson, and Union County DAR chapters. Newspaper accounts appeared throughout southern Illinois shortly after the trip, as the various tour members returned to their home counties with what clearly must have been instructions to provide their local newspapers with accounts of the trip (Carbondale Herald 1934; Egyptian Republican 1934; Golconda Herald Enterprise 1934a-b; Jonesboro Gazette 1934; Mounds Independent 1934). Other notables included Professor G. W. Smith who was described as the "chairman of the Cherokee Trail committee"; newspaper editors Hal Trovillion and Colonel L.O. Trigg; local historian W.N. Moyer; and Theodore McCoy, who was the Pope County court reporter.

Mrs. Schuh, John Mulcaster, and Professor Smith were identified as the leaders of the group. Mulcaster and his wife Ellen were particularly singled out as having "explored every country road and by-path on the old Cherokee trail" (Mounds Independent 1934). The trip was undertaken for the "purpose of creating an interest in a proposed celebration at different points along the old trail, in 1938, commemorating the crossing of the Indians in 1838" (Golconda Herald Enterprise 1934b). An earlier newspaper article noted that the party was to visit the Bridges Tavern in Johnson County, where they were to take lunch, and view the "Big Camp of the Indians" as well as Camp Ground Church. From there they were going to go west to Union County and "visit the camp at Dutch Creek...at the Nimmo Farm, and from there west to what can yet be seen of the old Willard Landing, on the Mississippi, where the Cherokee Indians crossed the river to Missouri" (Golconda Herald Enterprise 1934a).

A November 26, 1934, newspaper article appears to be referring to this same trip. According to this later article, the DAR-led party consisted of 24 people whose goal was "to not only gather additional historical data but to visit the points of interest enroute" (Hornbuckle 1934). Along the way one of the tour leaders—probably Mulcaster or Professor Smith—pointed out the difficulties the Cherokee had in crossing southern Illinois. As reported in the newspaper article, their first trouble reportedly came at "Dutchman's creek where they were held for three days because of heavy rain and snow. In Cache Bottom they had to build a corduroy road before they could get

through” (Hornbuckle 1934). A second article claimed that they were held up at the same place for about a month because of the winter (Mounds Independent 1834). When the Cherokee reached the very steep Dug Hill in Union County:

Where they camped for the whole year, it was necessary to snake a windlass to get the wagons over the hill, and huge logs were used to act as brakes to take them down on the other side. About a quarter mile beyond the present site of Ware [on the Mississippi River floodplain], they built pontoon bridges, and the road through Running Lake, called the old Willard Landing Road, was corduroyed (Hornbuckle 1934).

The *Mounds Independent* article provided additional details regarding the Morgan family mill and Cherokee camp along the northern branch of the trail leading to Willard’s Ferry. Some of the information in this article, most notably that identifying the mill as belonging to the Willard family, may be incorrect. Mrs. Myrtle Nimmo, a descendant of the Morgan family who operated the mill at the time of the Trail of Tears, supplied most of the information. As she noted:

My grandfather, James Morgan, born in 1812, came here when a young man. Jack Lewis got the land from the Government and my grandfather bought the land from him. There was a sawmill here and they built the house on the opposite side of the road. The house is about 91 years old [or built about 1843] and was originally built of logs. Grandfather [Morgan] talked with the Indians.

[James Morgan’s daughter] Kate Hileman said she was about four years old when the Indians came. My husband’s step-grandfather’s name was Meek Keith. He was a wagonsmith and the Government employed him to mend the wagons of the Indians and to go on with them to Indian Territory. They [the Indians] camped [on] this side [or east] of Dug Hill.

The Indians camped here for a whole year. There was a grist mill here where they could grind their corn. They solved the problem of getting their wagons over Dug Hill by making a windlass of bark and raising them to the top. In order to get them down on the opposite side they tied huge logs to the wagons for brakes.

The Tucker farm south of Running Lake [on the Mississippi River floodplain] is another landmark. About a quarter of a mile west of Ware there was a pontoon bridge.

Just the other side (west) of Dug Hill and Running Lake, parallel with the highway, is the old Willard Landing road. Going through Running Lake this road was corduroyed. This road was there before 1830. There are a number of Indian Mounds along the Willard Landing road evidently there long years before the Indian trek.

Another landmark is the "Big Barn" near Willard's Landing. The original building was destroyed by fire. Here was Green's Ferry and at the Mississippi shore was completed the Indian trek through southern Illinois (Mounds Independent 1934).

Other sites visited by the tour group included the "W.C. McCorkle home six miles east of Vienna, that was erected in 1802" (Mounds Independent 1934); the "Nimmo house, a 90 year old log house covered with clapboard" that was located along the road leading to Willard's Ferry; the "[Winstead] Davie home behind the bank [in Jonesboro] where the Indian chiefs, Bushy Head and John Ross stayed"; and the Bridges Tavern in Johnson County, which most likely was inaccurately described as "the only tavern between Golconda and Jonesboro" (Hornbuckle 1934). The Hornbuckle article went on to provide a fairly detailed description of the Bridges Tavern and the nearby Cherokee campground site:

[The Bridges Tavern was] built in 1818. Small lookout windows in the sides up near the roof and covered with oil paper admitted the light. The center part of the dwelling house was open through in the early days. Huge timbers, hand-hewn, were used in building the barn. Here the immigrants traded in the tavern and camped in the locust grove surrounding it. About a mile from Bridges Tavern and off the concrete road about 1-8 of a mile, around the corner of the Pleasant Grove church, was the permanent camping ground. Here in a clump of trees in the field was the Indian burying ground, and close by, the site of the old water wheel (Hornbuckle 1934).

The *Mounds Independent* article also described the Bridges Tavern. Although some of this information duplicated that in the Hornbuckle article, it provided additional details regarding the tavern and the locations of the campgrounds. The *Mounds Independent* article was more detailed than the other newspaper articles because the writer was one of the DAR party as well as having access to the "official" notes of the trip:

Bridges Tavern...[is] a large old double log building still standing but boarded over with siding and now used as a barn on the farm of Aunt Sally Bridges where also stands a large two-story house with natural stone chimneys at each end...The Indians used the Locust grove for a place to stop when they traded at the tavern. A visitor may still see the rafters of the tavern, the huge hand-hewn logs and the door studded with hand-wrought nails which was used as a barricade to protect the stock of goods, which included much liquor. This was one of the most interesting parts of the trip.

The Indians made a permanent camping ground and remained for some time at a spot about one mile from the Tavern, and not far from Pleasant Grove church. There still stands a clump of trees marking their burial ground. At the site of the old water mill are some of the mill stones. There is a spring, and Cache River is near. The Indians had considerable trouble in the Cache bottoms and were forced to build a corduroy road in the dead of winter.

Another camping place was near old Camp Ground church, used on account of the many springs and a mill owned by the Hileman family, whose ancestor preempted the land from the government. The Hileman house was built prior to 1838. Gordon Hileman, a grandson, is the present owner (Mounds Independent 1934).

An article in the *Egyptian Republican* added the further detail that while at the Bridges Tavern:

The party was much interested in the door full of nails, which swings on its original hinges.

In addition to the newspaper clippings, a Cairo chapter DAR member pasted eight small snapshots of the tour in the scrapbook (Figures 4-2 to 4-9). The Johnson County photographs consisted of three photographs of the Bridges Tavern site including two photos of the tavern itself (Figures 4-7 and 4-8), which showed it to be a clapboard-sided two-story structure with stone chimneys at the gable ends. A third photo showed the nail-studded door that was still in place in the log structure within the barn at the time of the tour (Figure 4-9). The Union County photographs included two of Campground Cemetery and Church and three of the Dutch Creek campground. The Dutch Creek campground photos show the old metal bridge located over Dutch Creek, which reportedly was located near a Cherokee burial area, and two photos of the

earthen mound on which the Nimmo house built by James Morgan in the early 1840s was located (Figures 4-2 to 4-4). The Campground Cemetery photographs consist of one of the cemetery and church and one of the Hileman houses, which were still standing at the time of the tour (Figures 4-5 and 4-6).

As Paul Angle had requested in January 1934, Mulcaster also apparently wrote the text for state historical markers that were to be placed in Union County, with the markers at the two sites erected on January 1, 1935. Both markers are now missing. Both markers were located east of Dutch Creek Bridge along Illinois Highway 146 (the Trail of Tears). One was located on the south side of Highway 146 while the location of the other, which may have been closer to the community of Ware at the junction of Highways 3 and 146, is unknown. Both had identical texts that read:

During January 1839, thousands of Cherokee Indians enroute from Georgia to Indian Territory and unable to cross the Mississippi because of floating ice, camped along the Dutch Creek in this vicinity. Unprepared for the intense cold, nearly 2000 of the 13,000 Indians who started lost their lives during the journey.

In the winter of 1934-1935, Mulcaster also traveled along the eastern portion of the trail before it entered Illinois, ending his journey in North Carolina where he “talked with several of the 3,000 Cherokee full blooded Indians residing there” (Mounds Independent 1935a). Following his trip, he wrote a short article describing the lives of the contemporary Eastern Band Cherokee (Mulcaster 1934).

On January 4, 1935, three days after the placing of the historical markers along the trail in Union County, he and his wife left on a journey to travel the western portion of the trail. Mulcaster departed “for Willard’s Landing Ill., on the Mississippi River, where he will pick up the old Cherokee trail and follow it to Talequah or Park Hill, Okla., passing through Jackson and Millersville, Mo., and Batesville, Ark.... picking up bits of legendary Indian lore and Indian facts as he passes through the towns now occupying the old trail” (Eldorado Daily Journal 1935; Mounds Independent 1935a). They were accompanied on part of their journey by “Colonel” L. O. Trigg, editor of the *Eldorado Daily Journal* and a southern Illinois tourism booster, with the story of their travels, which were featured in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* newspaper on January 27, 1935 (Figure 4-1). Mulcaster’s goal was to obtain information for the “great pageant [to be held in 1938] commemorating the march of the Cherokee tribe...[at which] time Mr. Mulcaster’s valuable collection of data will be publicized as part of the celebration” (Eldorado Daily Journal 1935).

John Mulcaster and Professor Smith, now joined by local historian William Nelson Moyer, continued their efforts to promote the commemoration throughout 1935. On November 12, 1935, the three men presented a combined program for the DAR entitled "The Cherokee Trail". Moyer talked on the "The Trail in Illinois from Willard's landing to Golconda" while Professor Smith and John Mulcaster concentrated on the eastern and western portions of the trail contained in other states, respectively (Anonymous 1935a).

The next month, however, difficulties were encountered as Mulcaster entered the Veteran's Hospital in Hines, Illinois, with the beginnings of long bout of cancer that was to claim his life (Angle 1935). Angle continued to write short notes to Mulcaster at the hospital about every day matters throughout the spring of 1936 (Angle 1936a-d). Mulcaster never recovered from his illness, dying of cancer at the Veteran's Hospital on February 2, 1937.

Following Mulcaster's death, William Nelson Moyer took over his role in organizing a commemoration of the 1838-1839 Cherokee migration through southern Illinois. At some point in 1937 Moyer called a meeting, possibly in Carbondale, Illinois, to go over the plans for the "celebration of the Cherokee centennial" (Anonymous 1938). Many of the attendees were people who had worked with Mulcaster, including Professor Smith and Mrs. Schuh, but a new addition was Mr. Gerard Lambert, director of the Federal Arts Project for Illinois. In addition to the "celebration", Lambert proposed that a thousand dollars be spent on the construction of a "permanent monument of considerable proportions...to be erected at some place on the Cherokee Trail between Golconda and the Mississippi River". This monument, which was to be prepared by the sculptors of the federal Works Project Administration (WPA), was to be entitled "The Spirit of the Cherokee" (Anonymous 1938).

Moyer and an executive committee formed of local dignitaries planned an ambitious three-day commemoration that was to include a "cavalcade" tour along the trail, "pageants and exercises by five hundred [school] children", speeches by Cherokee representatives and federal officials, Indian sports and games, and the "unveiling of the statuary monument" along the trail (Anonymous 1938a). Additional information regarding the commemoration appeared in the 1937-1938 issue of the *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*:

In southern Illinois plans are already being made for observing the centennial of the Cherokee migration across the state...George W. Smith of Carbondale has accepted the chairmanship of the executive committee in charge of the centennial observance. W. N. Moyer of Mound City is the

committee secretary. The Daughters of the American Revolution, chambers of commerce, civic clubs, and teacher's organizations have all promised full cooperation (Anonymous 1938b: 277).

Smith continued to work on the commemoration into 1938, writing a long article on the Trail of Tears that appeared in the *Herrin Daily Journal* on August 30, 1938. This article accompanied an equally long story on Williamson County's centennial celebration that reportedly drew 40,000 spectators. Smith tried to tie the Trail of Tears to the Williamson County celebration, even though the trail did not run through that county, by noting that Cherokee "hunting parties would wander for days from their camps...[and] they may have wandered far north into the [southern] edge of Williamson County" (Smith 1938).

Smith apparently had been hoping that he could interest Williamson County officials into combining their centennial with that of the Trail of Tears. This effort fell short, however, with the Herrin newspaper editor noting "it is a matter of regret that the Centennial of Williamson County and that of the 100<sup>th</sup> year of the passing through of the Indians...could not have been jointly observed. It [the Trail of Tears] is a sad epoch of our early history, however, and might have detracted from the festivities of the occasion" (Smith 1938).

Although detailed information is lacking, Smith, Moyer, and their committee apparently did hold a commemoration of the Cherokee migration through southern Illinois in 1938, although one smaller than they or Mulcaster may have hoped. Some elements of the planned commemoration, for example, such as a memorial statute, may simply have been too much for local officials in southern Illinois to complete. Instead, the commemoration appears to have consisted of a group of dignitaries including Cherokee Indians driving along the trail route through southern Illinois and visiting sites associated with the trail along the way. Union County historian George Parks, who had been a young man in 1938, recalled the arrival of the commemorative party in Union County as follows:

In 1938 a delegation comprised of as many as three or four automobile loads of Cherokee Indians from the State of Oklahoma came through Anna and Jonesboro upon the occasion of *their centennial tour of the Trail of Tears*...The visit of the Cherokees to town was brief because there had been no preliminary notice. Short visits in the city halls at Anna and Jonesboro meeting a few older residents of the communities and Jonesboro were made...[I remember] the genuine sorrow expressed by the descendants of the tribal leaders, as they paid call at our city halls, gave

respects to our mayors, and were introduced to a few of our citizens who were hastily assembled for the occasion. “The occasion was generally a time for a sorrowful afterlook at something which happened which probably should never have occurred” (Parks 1984:200, 204, emphasis added).

## **Summary of Mulcaster’s Trail of Tears Research**

The Mulcaster Papers at Morris Library contain both hand-written and typewritten oral histories that Mulcaster collected from descendants of settlers living along the Trail of Tears in southern Illinois between 1932 and 1935. There also is at least one account taken from a late nineteenth century county history. Some, if not all, of the typewritten accounts in the collection may represent loose pages from the typed manuscript prepared by the DAR in 1933 or 1934.

Although it is difficult to tell, the surviving accounts within the collection may represent only a fraction of the over 200 accounts that Mulcaster had already collected from trail descendants by late 1933 (Mulcaster 1933b). There are numerous short letters of only a few sentences as well as postcards within the collection, however, that Mulcaster may have considered part of his 200 documents. Mulcaster continued to collect additional accounts into at least 1935 with the assistance of the DAR based on a letter he wrote to Paul Angle:

I and a Committee selected by the Regents of the several Chapters of the DAR have been gathering data, Traditional stories etc. in the matter, hoping to have markers placed at the two camp sites viz (sic) east and west of Anna or old Jonesboro where the Indians were halted [on account of the] river frozen over at Willard’s landing (Mulcaster to Dempsey, April 2, 1934).

The accounts that Mulcaster collected with assistance of the DAR can sometimes be identified within the collection by the use of the phrase “traditional story”. They also typically include various items such as the name of the DAR typist, the name of the person being interviewed, and the time and place where the interview occurred. A typical example follows:

Traditional Story—From personal interview with Frances Wiggins now living just west of Jonesboro Ill at 7 Pm. June 5<sup>th</sup> 1934. Anita Skelton taking the notes for the statement (Mulcaster 1934).

Mulcaster's informants variously identified themselves as children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of people who had lived along the trail in the 1830s. The relationship of other informants is unknown although at least two were local newspaper editors who were passing along stories that they had heard to Mulcaster. None of the information in the collection is from a primary source, as almost 100 years had passed before Mulcaster began collecting information in the early 1930s. He also appears to have collected virtually no information for Pope County.

The most valuable information in the Mulcaster collection relates to (1) the gristmills, Cherokee campsites, and possible cemeteries located in Union County, and (2) the Bridges Tavern and campground in Johnson County. Additional information regarding these locations, primarily in the form of letters written by Mulcaster to George W. Smith, is contained in the Smith Papers at SIUC. The Smith Papers also contain some letters to Smith written by local informants that contain information regarding Trail of Tears sites including the identification of the location of a possible Cherokee grave in Pope County. The counties are described separately below with additional information contained in newspaper accounts, census and land records, archaeological reports, and other sources used to further document the sites reported by Mulcaster and Smith in the three counties.

## **Union County Sites**

Mulcaster was intensely interested in determining the location of the James Morgan family mill and Cherokee campsite located along Dutch Creek in Union County. He also was interested to some degree in the Campground Church or Hileman site in eastern Union County. He appears to have been much less interested in determining the location of the Willard family mill or the Hamburg or Willard's Landing ferries. Mulcaster's Union County informants included Mary Ann [Willard] Goodman (one of the Willard children) as well as a number of Morgan family descendants including: John R. Treece, A. H. Keith, Frances Morgan Wiggins, L.S. Beggs, and Mrs. Thomas Nimmo. Frances Wiggins, Mary Ann Goodman, and Mrs. Nimmo provided the most detailed information.

### *The Morgan Mill and Dutch Creek Campground*

Both the Morgan mill and campsite were located either on or very near the section of the Willard's Landing Road located west of Jonesboro and east of Dug Hill (Figures 4-10 to 4-12). The four factors that most likely influenced the Cherokee to stop at this location were the presence of the mill, water for themselves and their animals in

the form of Dutch Creek, the difficulty of ascending the eastern flank of Dug Hill, and an extensive floodplain adjacent to Dutch Creek that would have provided ample room for camping. If, as traditional stories relate, wagons had to be winched up the east side of Dug Hill one at a time, and then slowly lowered down the west side (Mounds Independent 1934), it would have created a bottleneck at this location with people forced to camp as they waited their turn to ascend Dug Hill.

Frances Wiggins was a daughter of James Morgan, a mill owner who owned land along Dutch Creek in Union County. Morgan had been born in 1812, but his name does not appear in the 1835 state census for Union County when he would have been 23 years old. This suggests that he moved to Union County at some point between 1835 and 1840 when he is listed in the federal census for Union County. The two members of the Morgan family listed in the 1835 census—an older man between 30 and 40 years of age a younger man aged between 15 and 19 years old—were engaged in manufacture and trade, which most likely were blacksmithing, milling, or both.

It is possible that Morgan may have begun construction on his mill in late 1837 or early 1838 in anticipation that thousands of Cherokee who needed supplies would shortly be passing through the county. At least some southern Illinois residents were probably aware of the Treaty of New Echota of 1835, which called for the Cherokee to remove themselves from their lands in the Southeast in exchange for new lands west of the Mississippi River. That at least some of these Cherokee emigrants might pass through southern Illinois was vividly demonstrated in November, 1837, when an initial party of 355 “volunteer” Cherokee emigrants under the direction of B. B. Cannon passed through Union County (Cannon 1978). Although a final agreement was not reached until September, 1838, between Chief John Ross and General Winfield Scott for the overland transportation of the remaining Cherokee, some local businessmen in southern Illinois may have believed this was the most likely scenario and began to plan ways to profit off Cherokee emigration.

Frances (Morgan) Wiggins had been born in 1859, meaning that she had no direct recollections of the Cherokee Removal. She told Mulcaster that her father had been clearing his land along Dutch Creek in 1837 or 1838:

When the Cherokee came along in droves and made their camp in the woods along the creek near the present Nimmo home which was where he lived and near it was a large flour mill of 2 stories run by water power which ground the meal for the countryside far and near, the old mill was not running in her day but she well remembers playing in it when a girl and of seeing it fall bit by bit as it decayed, she identifies the spot where

the pile of rock now are between the mound and the present highway bridge (Wiggins 1934).

Her recollection that the mill had fallen into disrepair when she was a child in the early 1860s suggests that it had already ceased operations by this date. An even earlier date for the mill's disuse is suggested by the 1860 federal census where James Morgan gave his profession as "blacksmith" rather than "miller". Morgan was relatively well off for the time, owning a farm valued at \$4000 and having \$1000 in personal property.

Mrs. Wilma Hines, a descendant of ferry operators Thomas and William Green, told George W. Smith that her father (who had left Union County in 1913 but was still alive in 1936) had told her, similar to the story told by Frances Wiggins, that in his "day the ruins of the old mill near the Morgan house was still standing, but the mill was not operating" (Hines 1936).

James Morgan had patented only one piece of property from the public domain by December 8, 1837, which was a 40 acre tract located in the NW1/4, NW1/4, Section 15, T12S, R2W, in Union County. This parcel, however, was located about 1.5 miles north of the Willard's Landing Road and could not represent the location described in the traditional accounts. It is more likely that Morgan's home and mill were located within an 80 acre parcel—the SW1/4, SW1/4, Section 21 and the NW1/4, NW1/4, Section 28, T12S, R2W—that Morgan patented in 1866 (Boyd 2010) and still owned in 1881 (Lake & Company 1881:31). Of these two parcels, it is more likely that his mill would have been located within the 40 acre parcel located in Section 21. The reason for this is that the trail ran along the north edge of the parcel; the parcel was crossed by Dutch Creek while the parcel to the south was not; and a structure with an unimproved trail leading to it that could represent either the Morgan mill or his house was shown within this parcel on the 1881 map (Figure 4-13). In addition, the Dutch Creek crossing was located only 1/4 mile west of the western border of this parcel while a 120 acre parcel owned by the Batson family in turn was located directly north of the stream crossing.

Additional information regarding the Morgan Farm was provided by Mrs. Myrtle (Morgan) Nimmo, who identified herself as a granddaughter of James Morgan (Anonymous 1954:369). As Mrs. Nimmo had been born in 1883, 45 years after the Cherokee emigration, she could have had no personal knowledge of that event, but was instead conveying family stories.

Mrs. Nimmo lived with her husband William "Thomas" Nimmo on the old Morgan Farm in a house built by James Morgan in 1843 that stood on top of a ca. 5 m

tall "Indian mound" (Figures 4-2 and 4-3). This home reportedly was located "200 yards to the right" of the new route of Highway 146 (Smith 1938), which straightened out the old highway by cutting off the loop to the north that ran through the Nimmo farm. Myrtle Nimmo owned 240 acres in 1951, including the SW1/4, SW1/4 of section 21 containing the presumed location of the mill (Hixson 193-a, 193-b, 193-c; Rockford Map Publishers 1951), the remains of which are known to have been present there in the 1930s (Mounds Independent 1934).

According to a newspaper interview given by Mrs. Nimmo, James Morgan had bought the land containing his mill from an earlier settler named Jack Lewis. The land (SW1/4 SW1/4, Section 21) containing the Morgan (Nimmo) home, however, had been first purchased from the public domain by a Union County man named David Arrendall on February 2, 1836, who then purchased the NW1/4, NW1/4 of adjacent Section 28 the same day. If Morgan indeed did purchase the tract from Jack Lewis, Lewis must have purchased the property from Arrendall and resold it to Morgan at some point between February, 1836, and December of 1838.

It is unclear from Mrs. Nimmo's account if there had been a mill on the property at the time when her grandfather supposedly purchased it from Jack Lewis. Although a newspaper article appears to indicate that there may have been a sawmill on the property at the time Morgan acquired it (Mounds Independent 1934), Mrs. Nimmo told John Mulcaster that her grandfather had built the sawmill. She further added:

When Mr. Morgan [James] entered the land it was all in wilderness [and] huge forest trees were plentiful. He built a mill dam in Dutch Creek and with a great water wheel operated a grist mill. The rocks still mark the place. With this grist mill he supplied the country for miles with meal. This mill was a two story building and was blown down years later in a storm. Mr. Morgan later put up a saw mill near this place with which he sawed the lumber to build the house that now marks the spot. This house [which was built in 1843] is the oldest in the country for miles.

This farm is on the Cherokee Indian trail, and the Indians spent some months here before crossing Dug-Hill. There had to be roads cut and passages made for their progress. Here some 1500 or more died from exposure.

When they reached Dutch Creek they camped until they were able to go on, probably several months. Their means of getting over Dug Hill was by making ropes of bark and raising the wagons over. When they reached

Running Lake at Ware...here they made a Pontoon bridge on which they crossed the water. They were taken on to Willard's landing where they finally crossed the river.

P.S. This house [that was built by James Morgan in 1843 in which I live] is also on an Indian mound (Nimmo n.d.).

Mrs. Nimmo also mentioned that there had been an earlier "old log house" on the Morgan Farm that presumably had been built by James Morgan. James Morgan's daughter Catherine was born in this house on June 7, 1840. Catherine "moved with her parents into the present house when 3 years of age" when it was built in 1843 (Nimmo n.d.) It is unclear where this earlier log house would have been located but it almost certainly must have been the one the Morgan family lived in at the time of the Cherokee emigration.

The 1936 DAR photos of the mound that the Nimmo house was located on do not show the house, which must have been located at the other end of the mound (Figures 4-2 and 4-3). A barn is shown as being located at one end of the mound, which is enclosed by a wooden fence, while a metal fence runs across the mound. Several large trees that may have been located at the edge of the Nimmo yard are visible at the right end of the photograph. Based on the height of the fence, the mound appears to have been at least 15 ft tall. It is unknown whether it is a prehistoric mound or a natural feature, although it is identified on the photo as an "Indian mound". However, Mrs. Nimmo described it as containing about "5 or 6 different kinds of soil in layers about 12 [inches] thick", which would support its identification as a built rather than natural feature (Nimmo n.d.).

The 1938 Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT) aerial photograph of the property (Figure 4-11) provides additional information regarding the spatial organization of the Morgan Farm in the 1930s. In this photograph the large barn shown on the DAR photograph is clearly visible with what is presumably the Morgan (Nimmo) house located north of the barn. The house is located in a grassy area that may be the mound. An east-west driveway connected the house/barn area to old Route 146 while a second, presumably newer, drive ran northwest from this same area to connect the property to the new highway route. A bridge, possibly the same one photographed by the DAR two years earlier (Figure 4-4), extended across Dutch Creek on the old route.

The remains of the 1830s Morgan mill are not visible in the photograph. Similarly, no indications of possible features associated with the Cherokee camp are

visible within the southern end of the “Batson field camp” where the Cherokee reportedly camped along Dutch Creek (see below), a small portion of which is visible in the photograph (Figures 4-10 to 4-12).

Two other individuals—A.H. Keith and John R. Treece—also supplied information to Mulcaster regarding the Dutch Creek camp that they heard from their grandfathers. A.H. Keith’s grandfather—George Washington Keith—reportedly had been employed by the government as a blacksmith and wagon smith who accompanied the Cherokee all the way to Oklahoma. As had Mrs. Nimmo, he noted the difficulty that the Cherokee encountered crossing Dug Hill:

...When the large camp on Dutch Creek west of Jonesboro was broken up and the movement to the Mississippi River started, it was necessary to draw the heavy army wagons up “Dug Hill” with a windlass and then let them down with huge rocks fastened to the rear to keep the wagons from running onto the teams pulling them, that while in this camp the [women] did all of the work, the men spent their time hunting, both oxen and horses were used [and] the horses were of a very fine stock and the harness of the very best quality. [Mr. Keith said] that the camp on Dutch Creek was selected as the land just west of Dug Hill was in 1838 what was known as Running Lake [and was not a good camp site] and in the winter time [it was] full of water where there were numbers of flocks of wild ducks and geese. That many of the Indians died during this severe winter and were buried in the bottoms adjacent to the Camp in the bottoms (Keith n.d.).

John H. Treece, who had been born in Union County in 1870s, told Mulcaster that he had:

heard his grandfather tell that the Indians camped on Dutch Creek in the fall of 1834. Says that many of the Indians [were] buried in what was then the *Batson field camp* site, about 100 yards North of Dutch Creek bridge; on route 146. That the old bed of Dutch creek is yet visible on the old road and was selected [as a camp site?] on account of good water four miles East of where Willards landing road was rip-rapped (Treece n.d., emphasis added).

Information regarding the possible location of the “Batson field camp” is provided by the original purchase data for Union County as well as the 1881 and later plats maps and atlases (Figures 4-13 to 4-16). The Dutch Creek bridge crossing referred

to by Treece would have been located almost directly on the line between the SE1/4 and the NE1/4 of the SE 1/4 of Section 20, T12S, R2W. The Batson family owned both of these parcels, as well as the adjacent NW 1/4, SE 1/4 of Section 20 in 1881 (Lake and Company 1881). The Batsons, who acquired an additional 40 acres of uplands in the NE1/4, NE1/4 by 1908 (Ogle and Company 1908; Figure 4-14) retained ownership of this parcel into the 1930s (Hixson 193-a, b, c; Figure 4-15) but had sold all of it by the 1950s (Rockford Map Company 1951). The northern 1/2 of this tract is comprised of a north-south trending ridge spur while the southern 1/2 largely consists of a level floodplain adjacent to Dutch Creek (Figure 4-16). The present authors suspect but cannot prove at this point that the camp site referred to by Treece would have been located on the level floodplain adjacent to Dutch Creek rather than on the ridge spur. Based on the 1908 map, this would appear to indicate that the camp was largely contained in the NW1/4, SE1/4, and Section 20. This location is now contained within a farm field (Figure 4-17).

An unknown number of Cherokee who died in 1838-1839 also reportedly were buried at the Dutch Creek camp ground near Morgan's Mill. John H. Treece, who had been born near the mill property in 1870, told Mulcaster that his grandfather had said that "many of the Indians [were] buried in what was then the Batson field Camp site, about 100 yards North of Dutch Creek bridge" (Treece n.d.). In a letter to Grant Foreman written in 1933, John Mulcaster reported that "during the excavation for Route 146 west of Jonesboro many human bones were unearthed in the vicinity of this camp ground, which in all probability are some of the Indians who died in the winter of 1834" (Mulcaster 1933). Mulcaster most likely was referring to the modern-day route of 146, which cut off the loop to the north that ran through what had been the Morgan and Batson properties [also noted on p. 36]. If so, these burials would have been located in the SE1/4, Section 20, south of the presumed location of the "Batson old field". The road construction referred to by Mulcaster also had to have taken place before 1938, when aerial photographs show the modern route as having been completed. Mulcaster, however, provided no detailed information on the burials reportedly uncovered by the road construction, making it impossible to determine if human burials actually were encountered by the highway work or whether they were historic or prehistoric in age.

The mound photographed by the DAR in the 1930s still exists today, but only as a shallow rise that extends a few feet above the surrounding floodplain (Figure 4-18). The Morgan home apparently was demolished at some point following 1938 and the mound reduced to its present state by grading. A modern home now sits on the basal remnant of the mound. The surrounding fields, however, that once formed part of the Morgan and Batson properties and which are believed to contain the remains of the Morgan mill, Cherokee campground, and possibly a Cherokee cemetery still exist as agricultural fields.

### *The Willard and Davie Mills*

Two other Union County mills—Willard and Davie—have been mentioned as furnishing grain and wood to the Cherokee (Dexter 2000). Of these, only one—the Willard Mill—is mentioned in the Mulcaster papers. In 1932, Anna (Willard) Goodman, daughter of Union County businessman Willis Willard, conveyed in a letter several stories regarding the Cherokee movement through Union County that she had heard from her mother. This letter was printed in the *Eldorado Daily Journal* and parts of it are also included in the Mulcaster papers (Goodman 1932). As Anna Goodman was born three years after the Cherokee removal (Dexter 2000:12-14) she could have had no personal knowledge but was conveying family stories. According to Goodman she had often heard her mother tell when the Cherokee were camped about “two miles west” of Jonesboro how:

Father and the men at the saw mill would saw wood all day and at night they would ground corn mill for the use of the Indians and the Soldiers and every morning the General in Charge would give him a Government Voucher for \$100.00. There was no ferry boat at Willard’s landing; so they had to be all taken across the river in yawls and other boats they rowed when the river broke up as they say (Goodman n.d.).

Goodman stated that her father and his brother and business partner Elijah “operated the first steam grist and saw mill in southern Ill. The material and machinery for same being brought by boat from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh” (Goodman 1932). According to Dexter (2000:13), the Willard brothers had bought the steam mill two years before the Cherokee emigration. George Washington Smith also dated the construction of the Willard Mill to 1836 (Smith 1912:543). Perrin (1883: 298, 359), however, placed the date of the mill construction variously at 1836 and 1838. Leonard (1940:20) reconciled these two dates by stating stated that the Willards had “built the first steam saw and grist mill in the county in 1836” and that they added the steam flour mill two years later in 1838.

Goodman’s account contains several inaccuracies including that there was a military “General” accompanying the expedition and that there were no ferries at Willard’s Landing. In reality, her father and uncle held the ferry licenses at both Green’s Upper and Lower ferries during the late 1830s (Wagner 2003).

Goodman’s account of her father’s mill as having supplied lumber and grain for the Cherokee camped along Dutch Creek also caused early researchers to confuse the

Willard Mill with the Morgan Mill. Jonesboro newspaper editor George Tibbetts, for example, informed Mulcaster that “the Indians camped along Dutch Creek near the Willard saw mill” instead of near the Morgan Mill (Tibbetts n.d.). Mulcaster, however, appears to have disregarded the Willard Mill story as being true once he and Dr. Smith talked to Mrs. Nimmo and the descendants of other early settlers (Hines 1936).

Mulcaster’s lack of interest in the Willard Mill may have begun once he learned from Anna Goodman that it had been located on “what is now the Nicolaides farm” in the 1930s rather than the Nimmo farm (Mulcaster n.d.b.). As such, it could not have been the location of the large Cherokee camp along Dutch Creek that he was looking for. The tract that Anna Goodman appears to have been referring to is the 44 acre SW1/4, SE1/4, Section 14, T12S, R2W (Figure 4-19) owned by William Nicolades from at least 1908 to the 1930s (Ogle and Company 1908; Hixson 193-a, b, c). By the 1950s, however, this tract had passed out of the hands of the Nicolades family and been subdivided into smaller parcels (Rockford Map Company 1951). Factors that would have made this parcel a good location for the Willard Mill include that it is bordered to the south by Route 146, which the Cherokee would have been traveling along; that it has a water source for the steam-powered Willard Mill in the form of Green Creek, a tributary of Dutch Creek; and that it was located only about one mile north of Jonesboro, which contained the homes of the Willard brothers, enabling them to visit the mill on a daily basis if they needed to.

The remains of the Willard mill may still have been visible in 1934, although this is not certain. On a tour group led by George Smith in 1934, but which Mulcaster was a member of, the group reportedly visited the remains of the Willard Mill as recounted in a newspaper article:

Leaving Jonesboro, Dutch Creek was passed. Here there is the remains of an old mill which was built and operated by Willis Willard...Supplies were shipped to his landing, hauled up to his mill and warehouses and sold at a great profit. The migrating Cherokee camped on Dutch Creek to wait for the breaking up of ice on the Mississippi (Anonymous 1934).

This is the only reference to the remains of the Willard Mill being visible in the 1930s and it may be that the reporter was confusing this mill with the Morgan Mill, which did indeed still have visible remains in the 1930s. Mulcaster himself, early on in his research, believed that the mill on the Nimmo farm had been operated by the Willards, not James Morgan, and this article might represent that confusion.

The first reference to the Davie Mill occurs in Parks (1984:203). The account of this mill, which supposedly came from Node Davie, a daughter of early Union County businessman Winstead Davie, is strikingly similar to that provided by Anna (Willard) Goodman of the Willard Mill:

Her recollection is that her father had purchased one of the earliest steam engines to come to the county. This was operated all day to run the sawmill to make trees into plank floors for the Indians' tents. It was run almost every night to make cornmeal to feed the Indians and the soldiers in the train and at the camps. She related that each morning the commanding officer would come to her father and pay in gold for the previous day's indebtedness (Parks 1984:203).

In contrast to the above account, Perrin (1883:359) notes that, following the Willards in the late 1830s, "Col. Bainbridge erected the next steam flouring-mill in 1847", making no mention of the Davie Mill. Winstead Davie did eventually operate a gristmill in Anna, but that was not until the 1850s (Parks 1984:221, 251; Perrin 1883:381). In sum, the story of the Winstead Davie Mill making cornmeal and plank lumber for the Cherokee as contained in Parks (1984) must be regarded as suspect, especially as no reference to it occurs in either the Mulcaster or Smith papers.

#### *Campground Church (Hileman Farm)*

The Campground Church (or Hileman Farm) location, which is located eight miles east of Jonesboro, consists of the remains of a campground, mill, house, cemetery, and springs (Figures 4-20 to 4-22). Mr. Gordon Hileman, a grandson of George Hileman who owned the property in the 1830s, showed the property to Mulcaster at some point in the 1930s. Mulcaster initially described it as follow as well as locating it according to township and range:

Near the farm of Gordon Hileman, Township 12 Range 1 E, will be found the "Camp Ground" church so named because on this farm one of the tribes of Indians camped during the winter of 1835; as they were being moved to the Indian Territory in Okla. Mr. Hileman showed the writer one of the fields the Indians cleared in order to secure fire wood to use. The land then belonged to George Hileman Grandfather of the present owner, who owned and operated a grist mill run by horse power, here he ground 21 bu. of meal per day for the use of these Indians (Mulcaster n.d.g).

Additional information was provided in a second typed entry in the Mulcaster papers:

George Hileman [was the man] who pre-empted this land from the Government and was the owner when the Indians camped on his land in 1833 and 1834, he owned and operated a horse mill and ground corn mill for the Indians and officers in charge and was required to furnish 21 bu. per day, Indians cleared 7 acres of wooded land just across the road from the present site of Camp Ground Church for fire wood (Mulcaster n.d.h.).

This entry contains several inaccuracies including that the Cherokee emigration occurred in 1833 or 1834 and that Army (?) officers accompanied the emigrants. There is a remote chance that the claim that the Cherokee cleared seven acres of woods could possibly be true if all 11 emigrant parties, which consisted of over 11,000 people total, all of whom would have needed firewood, camped on the Hileman property.

A photograph of Campground Cemetery and Church taken in November, 1934, shows that its appearance at that time was similar to that of today (Figure 4-5). A photograph of the Hileman home taken at the same time from across the trail shows it as being a two-story structure that faced the trail. It had a one-story ell addition off the back of the house and a chimney on the gable end (Figure 4-6). It is not clear from the photo if the Hileman house was log or frame.

In late 1933 John Mulcaster wrote an article on the Bridges Tavern in Johnson County that attracted the attention of Ellen Cox, who wrote a letter in response that appeared in the *Vienna Times*. Mulcaster, who was spending the winter in Florida, appears to have been unaware of the letter until one of his Johnson County informants (L.S. "Stan" Beggs) told him about it. Beggs informed Mulcaster that Cox had written that it was:

Either her father or grandfather who was named *Brand* and that he owned a farm near the Camp Ground Church...he leased a few acres of this farm to the government for a few months as a camping ground for the Indians and that her mother would go to their camping place and take them provisions such as milk and butter and exchange them for spices or such things as the Indians might have to trade.

She also stated that while they were located here [at Bridges?] that one of the Chief's daughters died, and told of how they acted when their relatives died (Beggs 1933b).

Mulcaster wrote a letter on February 11, 1934, to Ellen Cox, asking her to confirm the identification of the “present site of Camp Ground Church which is about six miles east of Jonesboro” as the site of the Cherokee campground. He also sent her an additional nine questions that he needed information on including “What were a few of the Indian names you remember”, “were there any soldiers in charge of the Indians, if possible, who”, “What was the name of the Chief’s daughter who died in the camp [at the Bridges Tavern]...Can you direct me to her grave, if not to the plot where buried”, and so on (Mulcaster 1934).

If Ellen Cox did respond to Mulcaster, her letter is now missing from his papers at Morris Library. She did write him a friendly letter on July 10, 1935, apologizing for having missed meeting him in southern Illinois. They apparently had planned to meet at the dedication of one of the Trail of Tears commemorative markers erected by the state of Illinois but had missed connections. She offered to try to meet him again when she would be attending a religious conference in Marion in September 1935, and “go out to the camping place” at Camp Ground Church. She apparently planned to enclose with her letter a map “of the farm of my Grandfather’s place east of Mt. Pleasant. The map is as I remember it 50 or 60 years ago”. This map, which unfortunately is not contained in the Mulcaster papers, may never have been completed as Ellen Cox noted in a postscript at the bottom of her letter that “the map will come later” (Cox 1935).

#### *Other Burial Areas in Union County*

In addition to the burials reportedly contained at Campground Church and the Morgan Farm, Mulcaster identified two other possible Cherokee burial areas within Union County. These consisted of prehistoric earthen burial mounds located east and west of Jonesboro, respectively. In regard to the burial mounds located east of Jonesboro, Mulcaster provides no locational area information other than that there were burial mounds in this area that he believed contained Cherokee burials. He does not identify which creek drainages these mounds were located in, however, or who owned them in the 1930s, making them impossible to locate today.

His information in this regard appears to have come from local resident A. H. Keith who was 79 when interviewed by Mulcaster in the early 1930s. Keith stated that his grandfather had told him that many of the Indians who “died during this severe winter [of 1838]...were buried in the mounds in the bottoms adjacent to the Camp in the bottoms”. Although this could have been taken as an indication that the Cherokee buried some of their dead in the mound on the Morgan Farm, Mulcaster apparently had additional information that led him to believe that Keith was referring to the Ware

Mound Group (11U31) which is located on the Mississippi River floodplain on the road to Willard's Landing on the west side of Dug Hill.

Evidence for this comes from an unpublished manuscript contained in his papers at Morris Library at SIUC where he states:

Near the present [town of] Ware was a ridge where was much evidence of Indian Mounds just three miles from where the Indians went onto the rafts on the [Mississippi] river and as they were dying by the tens and twenties each day it is very possible that these mounds may contain many [Cherokee] Indians (Mulcaster n.d.f.).

In a newspaper article written in 1933, Mulcaster again stated, "it is certain...that the little mounds around the village of Ware contain the bones of hundreds of these Cherokee exiles" (Mulcaster 1933a). In the Trail of Tears tour led by Professor Smith in 1934, but in which Mulcaster and his wife were participants, the party was taken to visit "a few of the old Mounds around Ware and [go] over the old Willard's Landing Road to the Mississippi" before disbanding (Anonymous 1934).

The Ware Mound Group (11U31) is a National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) listed prehistoric Mississippian (A.D. 1000-1500) village and mound group. It currently contains four mounds although more are believed to have once been present (Figures 4-23 to 4-25). As noted in Chapter 2, at least one mound appears to have been removed for fill for the Willard's Landing Road in the late nineteenth century. The site is currently being cultivated, as it has been for many years (Figure 4-26 and 4-27).

Archaeological investigations were conducted at the Ware site in the early 1880s as part of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) investigation of earthen mounds throughout the eastern United States. Although the published report (Thomas 1894:159) only lists one mound as being present at the site, which was then known as the Running Lake site, archaeologist George Milner (1993:376) notes that unpublished BAE field notes (Middleton 1882) and other records (Perrine 1873, 1874) indicate that at least four burial mounds were present at the site in the 1880s. In addition, the unpublished BAE records indicate that their excavations at the site encountered a "historic grave yard" in the top of Mound 2, which was located south of Willard's Landing Road (Middleton 1882; Milner 1993:176). Information contained in the SIU site files indicate that more historic burials were encountered in 1938 when 10 feet of the largest mound at the site was removed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), most likely for highway fill. These burials were interpreted on the archaeological site form, which was filled out 12 years later in 1950, as having been part of a "white cemetery" located on top of the

mound. This interpretation almost certainly was based on the presence of historic period artifacts such as buttons, buckles, etc., with the burials as it highly unlikely that the WPA would have removed a Euro-American cemetery with standing tombstones or other grave markers for highway fill. As such, these burials could have just as easily been Cherokee as Euro-American.

Historic period Native Americans living in or passing through southern Illinois did continue to bury their dead on the top of prehistoric burial mounds into the early nineteenth century. A Native American burial with an early nineteenth century Jesuit religious medal, for example, was found in a prehistoric burial mound at the Hale site in Alexander County, immediately south of Union County, in the late nineteenth century (Thomas 1894:155). A second historic period Native American burial was found in a prehistoric Mississippian mound contained within an early nineteenth century Kaskaskia Indian reservation in Jackson County, which borders Union County to the north (Milner and Schroeder 1992:56).

In sum, based on both the oral history collected by Mulcaster in the 1930s; the BAE archaeological excavations of the 1880s; and the 1938 WPA highway work, we think it is highly likely that a Cherokee cemetery associated with the Trail of Tears was once located at the Ware site. Whether any of these burials still remain, however, is unknown.

#### *Winstead Davie House and Tavern*

Winstead Davie, who was one of the leading businessmen in Union County, lived in Jonesboro, Illinois, through which the Trail of Tears passed. In December 1838, he took out a license to keep a public house of entertainment on his premises, the first and only one that he ever held. This license permitted Davie to charge the Cherokee various rates for lodging, meals, and the feeding and sheltering of their horses. His daughter recalled that in January 1839, her father “invited Chief Bushyhead to be a guest at his home during the waiting period [to cross the Mississippi River]. Their horses were kept in the Davie barnyard for the weeks of the layover of the travelers’ trains” (Parks 1984:203). In truth, rather than being his guests, Davie most likely charged the Cherokee for these services.

The 1934 newspaper accounts of the Trail of Tours tour led by George W. Smith provide contradictory information whether the Davie home was still standing at that time. According to the *Egyptian Republican* article, the tour group “visited the *site* of the Davie home in Jonesboro, where Chief Bushey Head stopped during the time his

contingent was encamped at Dutch Creek” (Anonymous 1934, emphasis added). A second account, however, stated that the group visited the “[Winstead] Davie *home* behind the bank [in Jonesboro] where the Indian chiefs, Bushy Head and John Ross stayed” (Mounds Independent 1934, emphasis added).

In reality, the Davie house was no longer standing in the 1930s, having burned in a fire on January 6, 1911. A newspaper account published a week after the fire stated that:

Fire broke out in the old Winstead Davie building in Jonesboro last Friday evening. It soon communicated to the old Davie homestead at the north end of the block and in an hour half or less time both buildings had burned to the ground...The store building was unoccupied except that Carter & Walter, coal and ice dealers had an office room there. The other building was leased by the Fruit Growers' Traction & Power Co. and used for a street car station.... The fire originated on the north side of a large frame structure adjoining the store building on the north, built several years ago for a feed store.... An effort was made to keep the flames from communicating with the residence building, but this was soon seen to be useless and attention was then given to the safety of the Sessions buildings and Masonic hall across the street on the west and the Gazette residence at the northeast corner of the square on the east

The burned buildings were about ninety years old as nearly as can be arrived at. Winstead Davie, one of the early merchant princes of Jonesboro, was their builder. A small log house stood on the corner when Winstead Davie bought the block. It gave place to the dwelling house, which finally extended the length of the block from west to east. It had seven fireplaces upstairs and down. Dan Davie says he used to have to carry wood to feed 'em when he was a boy. Winstead Davie kept a tavern there. When the Indians were moved by the government from Tennessee and Alabama to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, they were detained here during the winter, sometime in the 30's we believe, and Bushyhead, Ross and other of the chiefs were his guest. Winstead Davie built the store building soon after building his house. He was in business there until he founded the town of Anna (Jonesboro Gazette, January 13, 1911).

An undated photograph of the house that must have been taken shortly before the 1911 fire is contained in the Smith Papers (Figure 4-28). Similar to the above description, which indicates it had been turned into a streetcar station by 1911, a

streetcar is parked in front of the building. The structure appears in the photograph as a story and a half clapboard structure with one dormer extending out of the slanted roof with two interior chimneys located near the two ends of the building (Figure 4-28). The home appears to have sat on a stone foundation although the chimneys may have been brick.

The 1910 Sanborn fire insurance map for Jonesboro, which was completed the year before the Davie home burned, provides detailed information regarding the location of Davie home (Sanborn Map Company 1910). The map shows that a building located at the north end of the block that contained both a “street car waiting room” and an “ice room” as described in the 1911 newspaper article was located one block north of the town square, on the south side of Market Street, between Main and Water streets (Figures 4-29). A Masonic hall also was located west and across the street from this structure, again identical to the location of the Davie home as described in the 1911 newspaper article.

The location of Winstead Davie’s home, which Davie operated as a “house of entertainment” where several prominent Cherokee reportedly stayed, now lies beneath a paved parking lot located behind a modern bank building (Figure 4-30). The location of his store, which sat on the northeast corner of the town square, now lies beneath the bank building located adjacent to and south of the parking lot (Figure 4-31).

## **Johnson County Sites**

Johnson County historian Gary Hacker and others (Hacker et al. 2010) have done an excellent job of summarizing the historical background of Johnson County Trail of Tears sites in great detail. We do not intend to repeat that information here, but limit ourselves to presenting new information associated with these sites that is contained in the DAR scrapbooks in Cairo, Illinois. This information primarily consists of (1) three previously unpublished photographs of the Bridges Tavern and Wayside Store, and (2) newspaper accounts that provide information regarding the appearance of the Bridges Tavern and Wayside Store that are not contained in Hacker et al. (2010).

### *Bridges Tavern*

Newspaper articles and photographs indicate that only two possible Trail of Tears-era structures were present at Bridges Tavern (Figure 4-32 to 4-34) site in the 1930s: the tavern itself (which burned in 1940) and a log building known as the “Way Side Store” that was contained within a later barn at the site. A significant architectural

feature of the Way Side Store is a nail-studded door that was documented in detail by Ed Annable (2010:1-12). Although oral histories indicate that the door was removed from the Way Side Store about 1940, Annable apparently was unable to find a written account or photographs of it while it was still in place. Consequently, he referred to the door in a photograph caption as the "Door Assumed to Be From the Bridges Site" (Annable 2010:1).

Both newspaper accounts as well as a photograph of the door while it was still in place, however, are contained in the D.A.R. scrapbooks in Cairo, Illinois. John Mulcaster, for example, wrote a story for the *Golconda Herald-Enterprise* on the Bridges Tavern that appeared on December 21, 1933, in which he described both the Way Side Store and the door:

Just north of the [Bridges Tavern] building stands today what one would think a modern barn but a closer investigation shows the center building to be a two story log building now used as a granary around which lean to sheds have been built in recent years. This a century ago was used by Bridges as the wayside store of various goods and the inevitable supply of whiskey an article which was of absolute necessity to the pioneer. *The huge door to this building still swings on its original hinges* and is an object of curiosity and beauty in its size, thickness, and its decoration of hundreds of nails driven through it to prevent robbers boring around the locks to gain entrance a favorite scheme in those days, as the heavy hewn logs and ponderous locks thwarted their efforts that way (Mulcaster 1933).

Mulcaster also interviewed Mr. "Stan" Beggs in 1933 who conveyed to Mulcaster a story that his mother had told him regarding seeing the Cherokee pass by Bridges Tavern, where she lived as a little girl. Beggs' account, if accurate, is significant for the information it contains about a store being present on the tavern property where the Cherokee could purchase alcohol:

That his mother Susan Beggs when a little girl lived with her uncle John Bridges in what was then known as the Bridges Tavern, located in Section 29, Elvira Twp, Johnson County, Illinois. She was living there in 1838, and remembers seeing the Indians pass the Tavern by the hundreds, [and] *also [saw them] stop at the little store to buy whiskey* (Beggs 1933a, emphasis added).

Mulcaster revisited the Bridges Tavern on November 15, 1934, as part of the Trail of Tears tour led by Professor Smith that included a number of DAR women

throughout southern Illinois. On visiting the Bridges Tavern, the party went to look at the “door of the old tavern full of nails which still swings on its original hinges” (Anonymous 1934). One of the parties also photographed the door, which is the only known photograph of the door taken while it was still in place (Figure 4-9). A hand written caption accompanying the photograph in the scrapbook reads:

Door at “Old Bridges Tavern” full of nails to keep out burglars—Still swinging on its original hinges—

Both the newspaper article describing the tour visit (Anonymous 1934) as well as the handwritten caption appear to indicate that the door was on the tavern, not the wayside store. However, the logs in the wall next to the door appear to match those of the Wayside Store as illustrated in Annable (2010:39), suggesting that the DAR ladies and the newspaper writer may have both misidentified the Wayside Store as a tavern.

In addition to the photograph of the door, the DAR scrapbooks also contain two previously unpublished photographs of the Bridges Tavern itself (Figures 4-7 and 4-8). One of the photographs shows the tavern from the front while the other shows one of the gable ends. The photograph taken from the front shows it as a very large two story building that is similar in appearance to other southern Illinois frontier taverns of the period (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). Large stone chimneys were located at the two gable ends while what appears to have been an ell addition was located behind the building (Figure 4-7). The photograph taken of the gable end shows that the chimney was composed of large stone blocks with the structure exterior covered by clapboard siding. A small window was located to the front side of the chimney in what would have been the structure’s attic. The porch was in a state of disrepair, with the porch posts slanting back toward the taverns and gaps present in the porch roof (Figure 4-8). The hand written caption accompanying the photograph of the front of the building reads:

“Bridges “Tavern” Built 1820. 6 miles East of Anna Route 146. Stopping place for Emigrant Trains Enroute to West. Here whiskey and groceries were dispersed to the Indians in 1838.

That of the gable end reads:

End view of “Old Bridges Tavern” Showing original Window and Chimney in the house at the Time erected (1820). There were two. One in Either End.

## Pope County Sites

### *Scott Cemetery*

On the 1934 Trail of Tears tour led by George W. Smith, either he or Mulcaster pointed out a cemetery area located at Dixon Springs. The newspaper article noted that “the group went to Dixon Springs where there is a large burial ground; this is close to the hard road; the trail stays very close all the way, the Indians choosing even as the highway engineers, the easiest path” (Anonymous 1934).

In contrast to this vague location, in a letter contained in the Smith Papers former student of Dr. Smith’s identified the specific location of a Cherokee grave on his family’s former property. Winfield Scott, then a science teacher at Iowa State Teacher’s College, wrote Dr. Smith on December 9, 1935, in an apparent response to a letter from Dr. Smith about the Cherokee Trail of Tears. Scott informed Smith that:

My father lived about 2 1/2 to 3 miles west of Wool, now Old Brownfield. Just 1/4 to 1/2 mile east of our home, which sat on a hill, was a creek. This in the early days before drainage contained many waterholes...the backwater in March was often ¼ mile wide in the meadows north of the bridge.... I can hardly separate my facts and my fiction regarding the Cherokees. It seems to me that father reported a 1000 to each encampment. Were there 10 encampments? Government agents preceded the Indians and purchased food supplies from the farmers. One death occurred while the Indians were at this camp. *The grave is now on our old home farm 1/8 mile west of the bridge and 1/8 mile south of the old road.* We respected this grave as long as I worked on the farm. I presume it has now been plowed over, however (Scott 1935, emphasis added).

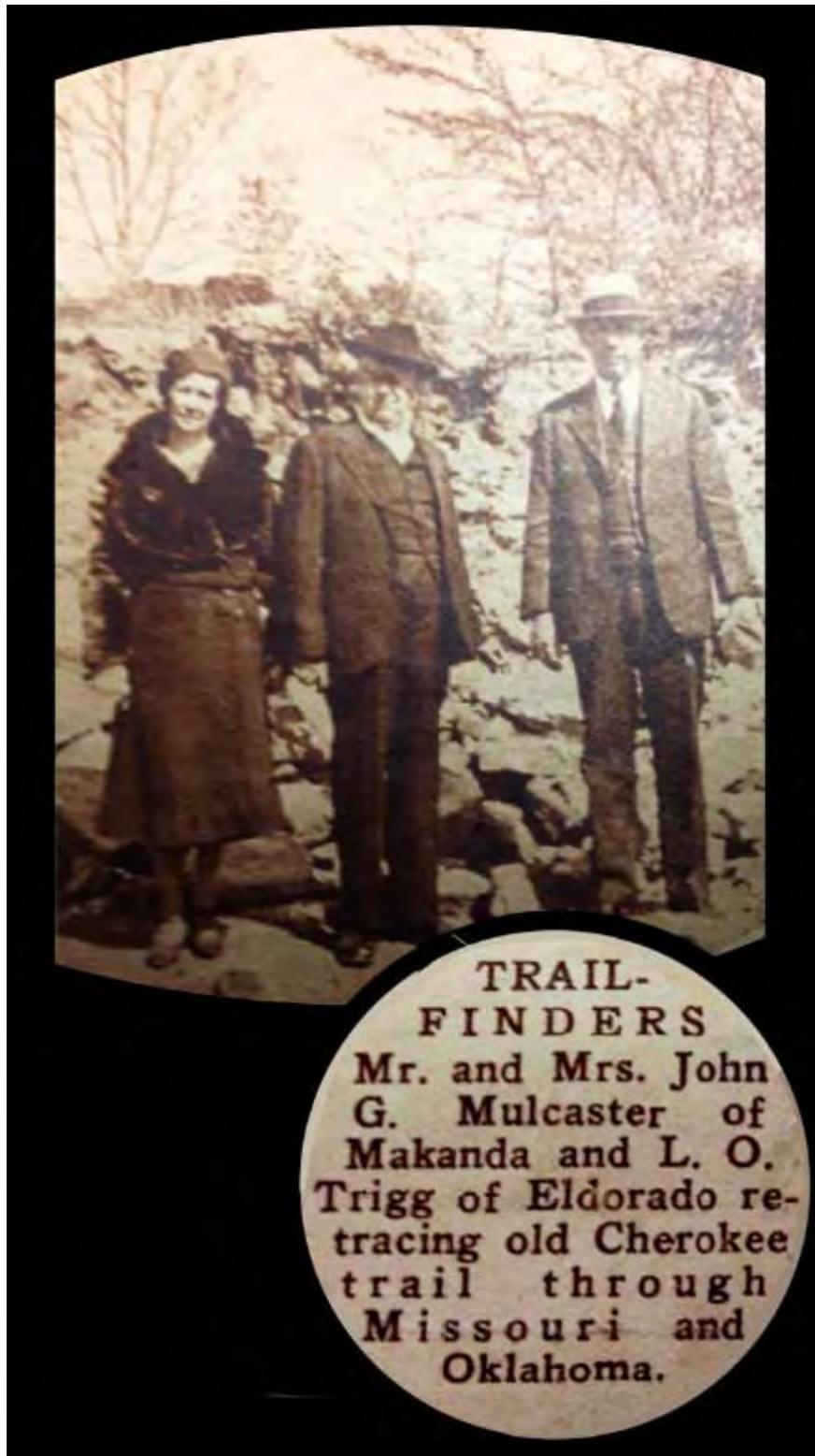
Brownfield was located approximately 7 miles south-southwest of Golconda. Scott’s statement that his family’s farm was located 2.5 to 3 miles beyond Old Brownfield would have placed it approximately 9.5 to 10 miles beyond Golconda. In the early 1930s a “T. Scott” owned a 116-acre parcel located in the W1/2, NW1/4, Section 26 and the SW1/4, SW1/4 Section 23, T13S R5E, of Pope County. Route 146 extended through the center of this parcel, which was located approximately 1 mile east of Allen’s spring. A north-south oriented creek named “Root Lick Branch” also ran through the property (Hixson 193-d) that had a bridge over it as early as 1917 based on the 1917 United States Geological Survey (USGS) Brownfield Quadrangle map. The property was located approximately 7 miles from Golconda, similar to Scott’s description.

Original purchase records indicate that John Rudd Bracken of Kentucky purchased the W1/2, NW1/4, of section 26 in February 1837. This was most likely a speculation associated with the boom in land sales in the late 1830s (Wagner and McCorvie 1992), as Bracken was a non-resident of Illinois. Original purchase records are not available for the other part of the 1930s Scott farm—SW1/4, SW1/4 Section 23—and it is unknown who first purchased this property from the public domain.

Census records indicate that Winfield Scott was born in 1881. His father Robert was born in 1827, meaning that he would have been between 10 to 12 years old at the time of the Cherokee emigration (1837-1839). Robert's parents—Isaac and Elizabeth—were born in 1794 (or 1800) and 1802, respectively, indicating that they would have been in their 30s (Elizabeth) and 40s (Isaac) at the time of Cherokee Removal. As such, they were the ones who most likely permitted the Cherokee to bury someone on their property. The Scott family lived in Webster Precinct (T13S, R5E) of Pope County from at least 1870 to 1880, which is where Old Brownfield and Wool would have been located. The census records also indicate that Isaac Scott was present in the county as early as 1840, although the 1840-1860 records do not indicate where he lived in the county.

The original purchase records maintained by the Illinois State Archives contain no information regarding the original purchaser of the SW1/4, SW1/4, and Section 23 of T13S, R5E where the part of the Scott farm containing that portion of their land crossed by the trail is located. However, tax records contained in the Pope County courthouse indicate that Isaac Scott was present in the county by at least May, 27, 1837 when he paid taxes on land located in the SE 1/4, SE 1/4, Section 22 and the NE 1/4, NE 1/4, Section 27, T13, R5E (Anonymous 1837). Both of these parcels are located on an upland ridge immediately adjacent to and west of the land owned by the Scott family in the 1930s. This places the Scott family as owning land and living directly on the Trail of Tears route several months prior to the beginning of the Cherokee emigration, indicating that the story told by Winfield Scott in 1935 regarding the burial of a single Cherokee while camping on or near their property could be true.

Based on the 1917 USGS Map, which had been issued just 18 years earlier when Winfield Scott told Professor Smith about the Cherokee burial on his family farm, the grave of this individual would have been located in the NW 1/4 NW 1/4 Section 26, T13 R5E (Figure 4-35 and 4-36). Such a location agrees with Scott's description that the grave was approximately 1/8 mi west and 1/8 mi south of the bridge over Root Lick Branch. The grave would have been located near the end of a southeastern sloping ridge spur above the 350 ft. contour line. The modern USGS map shows two structures located on this same spur, indicating that it is high enough above the creek floodplain that it typically does not flood.



TRAIL-  
FINDERS  
Mr. and Mrs. John  
G. Mulcaster of  
Makanda and L. O.  
Trigg of Eldorado re-  
tracing old Cherokee  
trail through  
Missouri and  
Oklahoma.

Figure 4-1 Ellen Mulcaster (left), L.O. Trigg (center), and John G. Mulcaster (right)

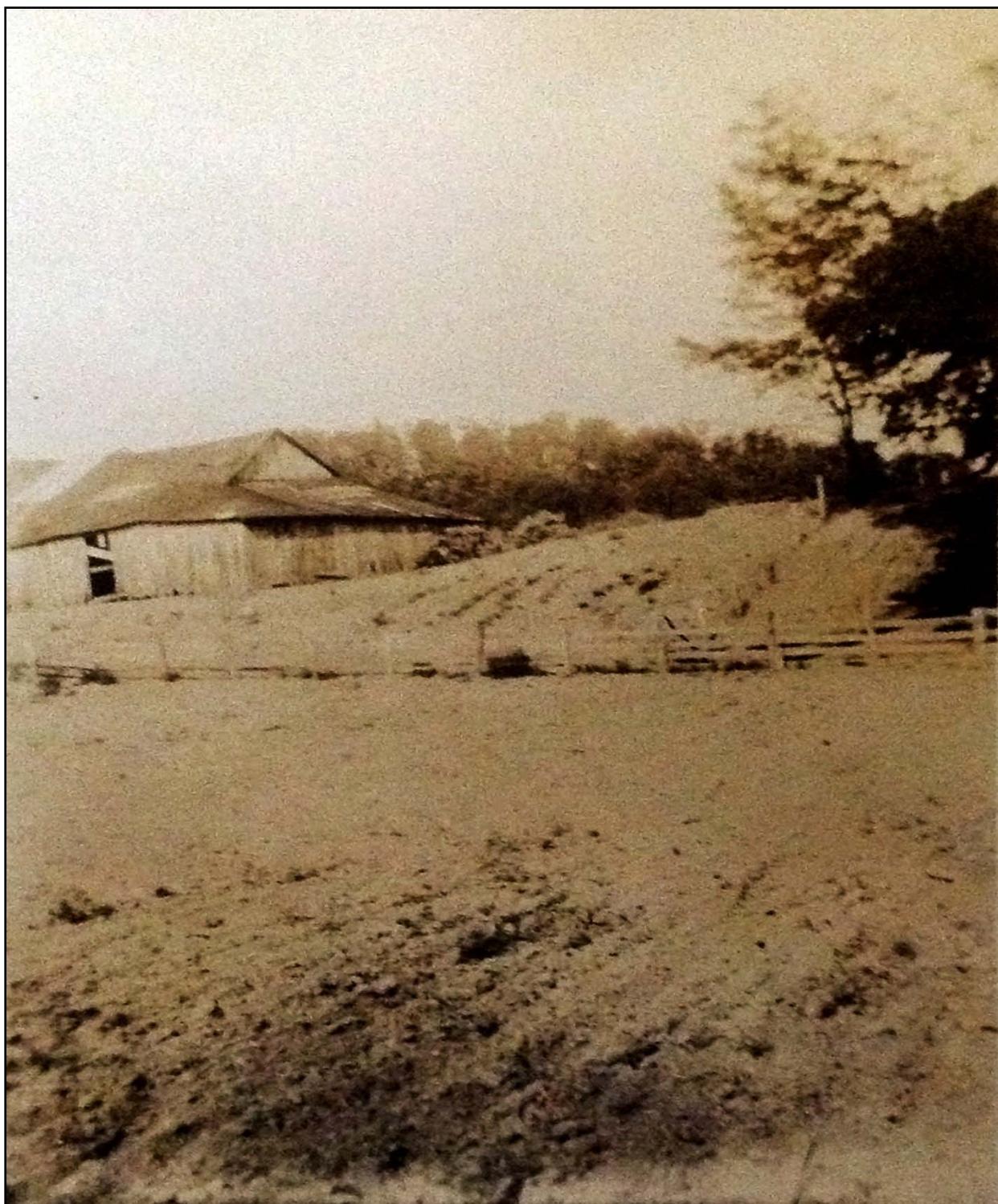


Figure 4-2 1934 DAR Photograph of Morgan (Nimmo) Farm Mound and Barn, Union County



Figure 4-3 1934 DAR Photograph of Morgan Farm Mound, Union County



Figure 4-4 1934 DAR Photograph of Dutch Creek Bridge on Morgan Farm



Figure 4-5 1934 DAR Photograph of Campground Cemetery, Union County



Figure 4-6 1934 DAR Photograph of Hileman Family House, Union County



Figure 4-7 1934 DAR Photograph (Front View) of Bridges Tavern, Johnson County

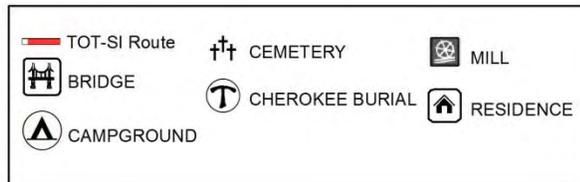
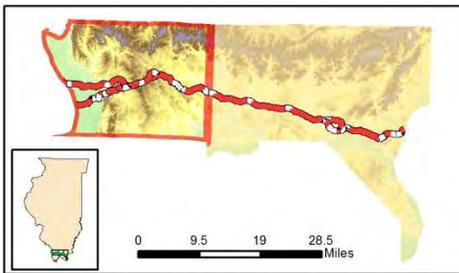
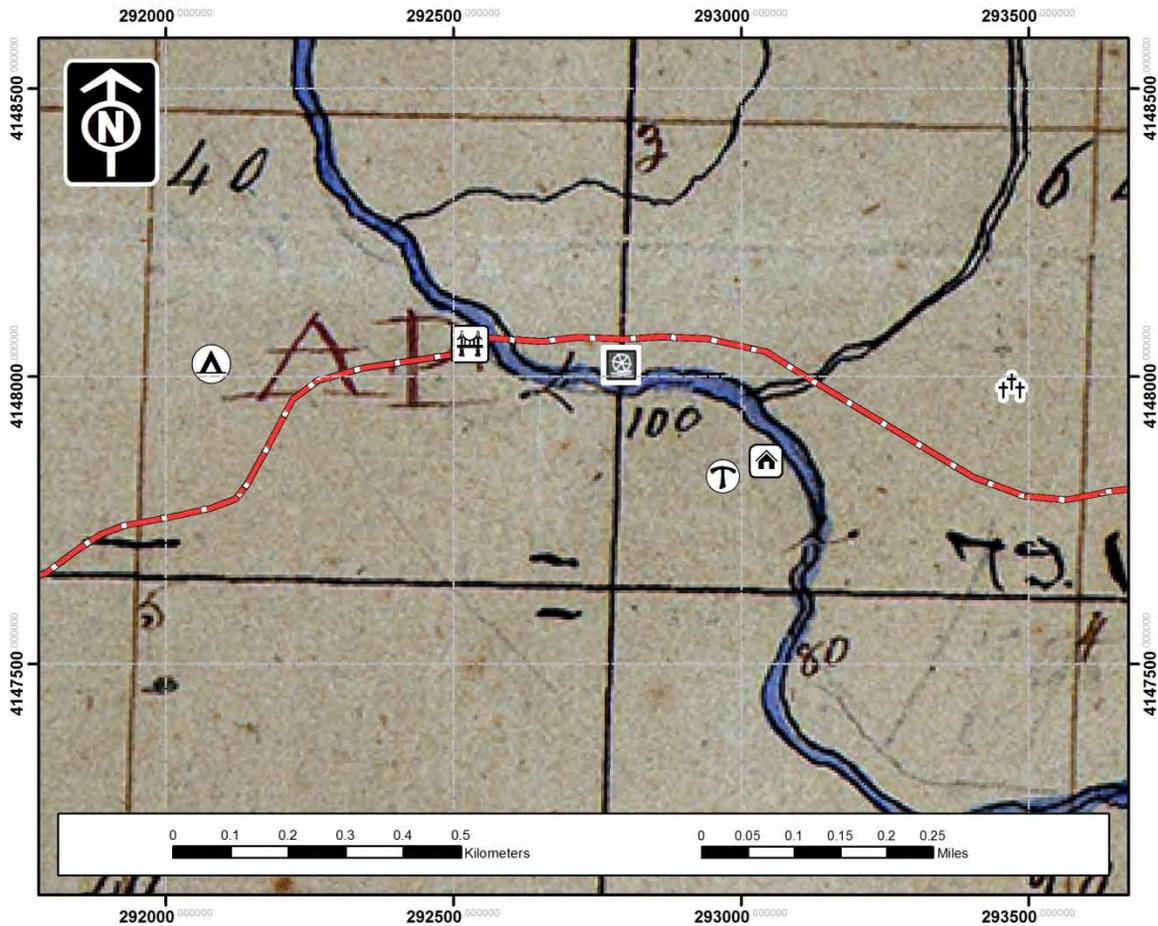


Figure 4-8 1934 DAR Photograph of Bridges Tavern (Side View)



Figure 4-9 1934 DAR Photograph of Nailed Door at Bridges Site

# 1807 GLO Map, Morgan (Nimmo) Farm, Union County

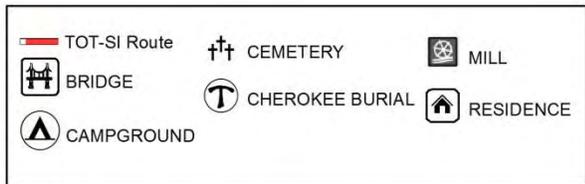
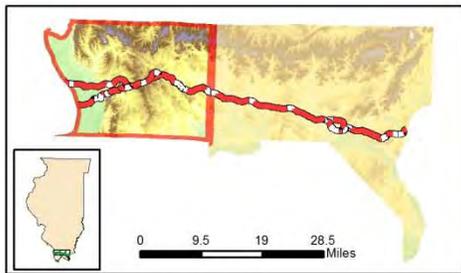
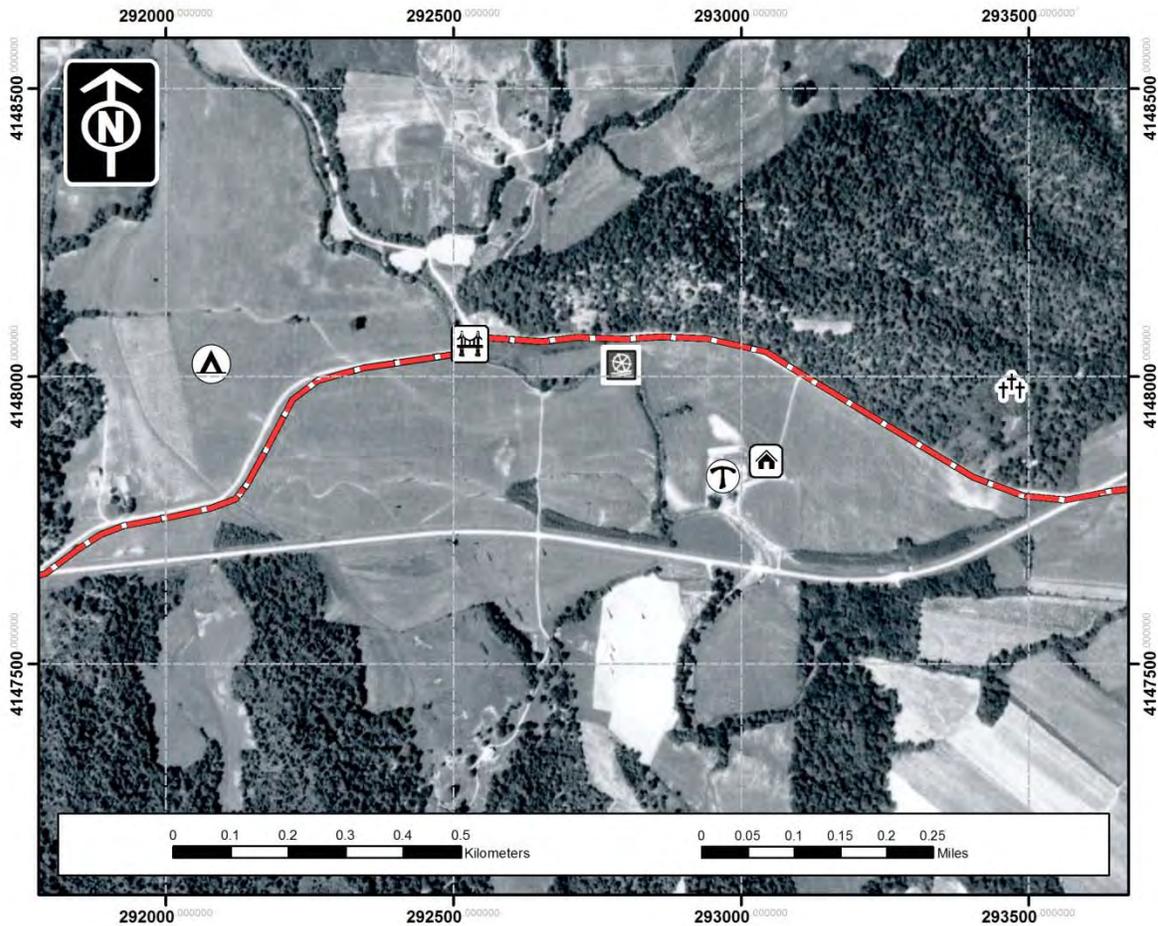


Information Source:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Federal Township Plats of Illinois (1804-1891). URL: <http://landplats.isos.net>  
 2. TOTSi Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-10 1807 GLO Plat of Morgan Farm Location, Union County

# 1938 Aerial Photograph of Morgan (Nimmo) Farm, Union County

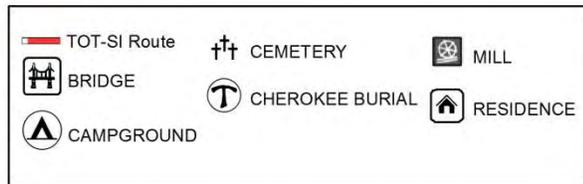
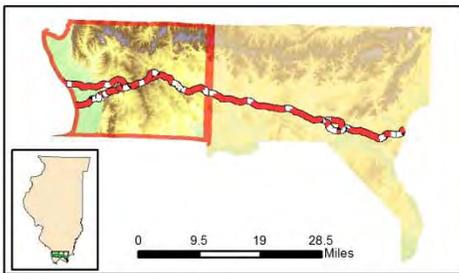
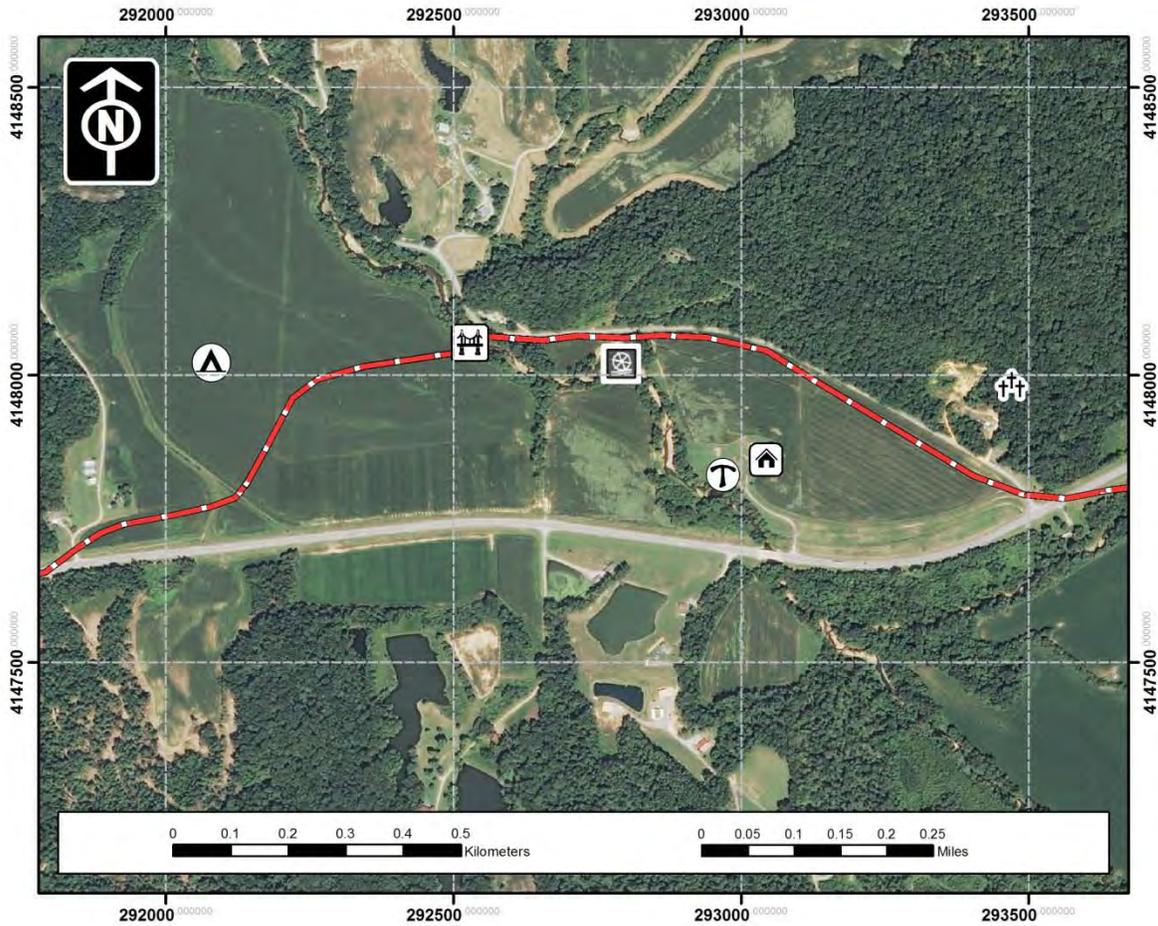


Information Source:  
 1. 1938 Aerial Photography: Historical Aerial Photography for Union and Johnson County, Illinois.  
 MSID Format, Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/llhap/county/johnson.html>  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-11 1938 Aerial Photograph of Morgan Farm, Union County

# 2011 Ortho Map, Morgan (Nimmo) Farm, Union County



Information Source:  
 1. Union County Ortho Map: NRCS Geospatial Data Gateway, Union County Ortho Photo  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-12 2011 Ortho Map, Morgan (Nimmo) Farm, Union County



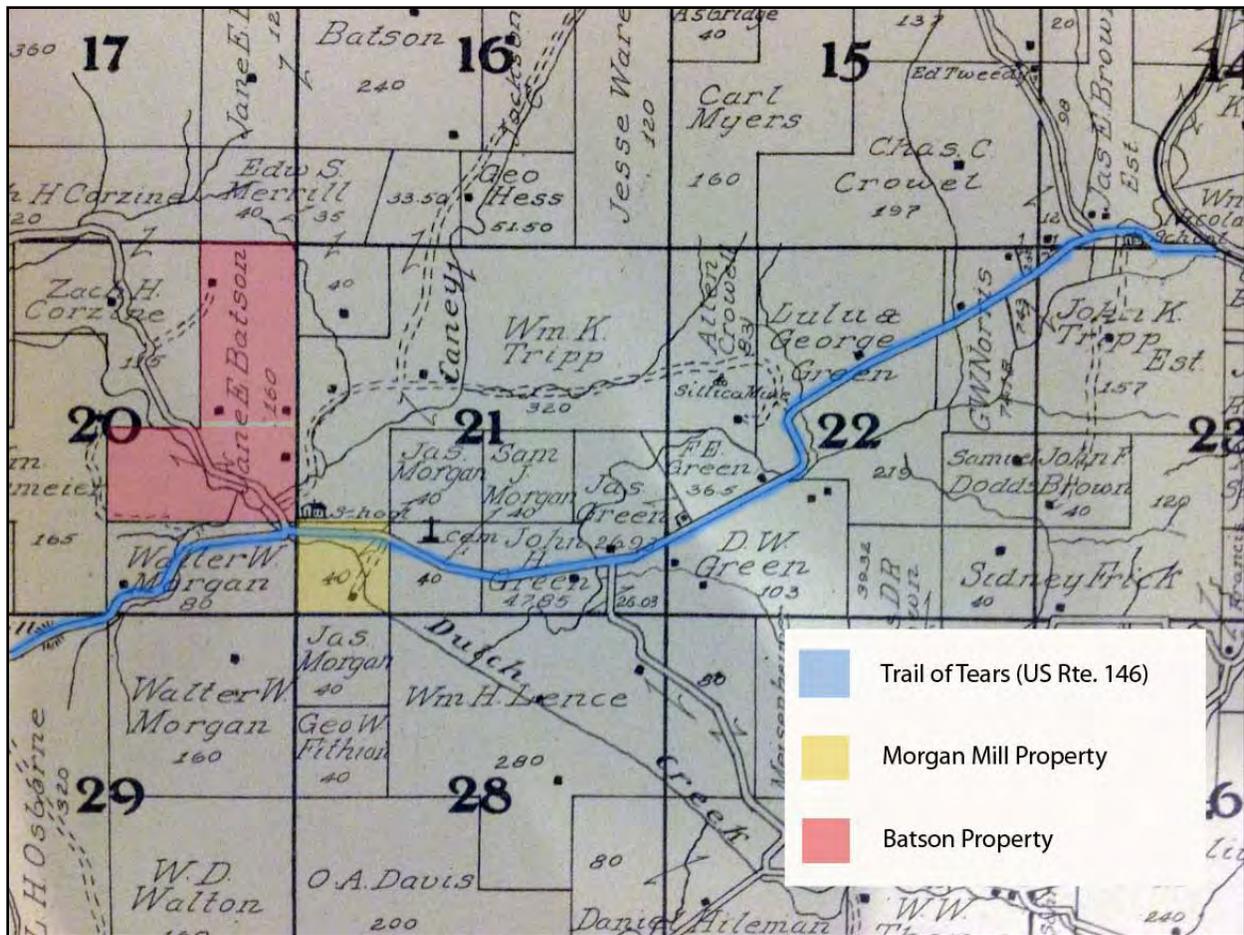


Figure 4-14 1908 Map Showing Locations of Morgan and Batson Farms, Union County

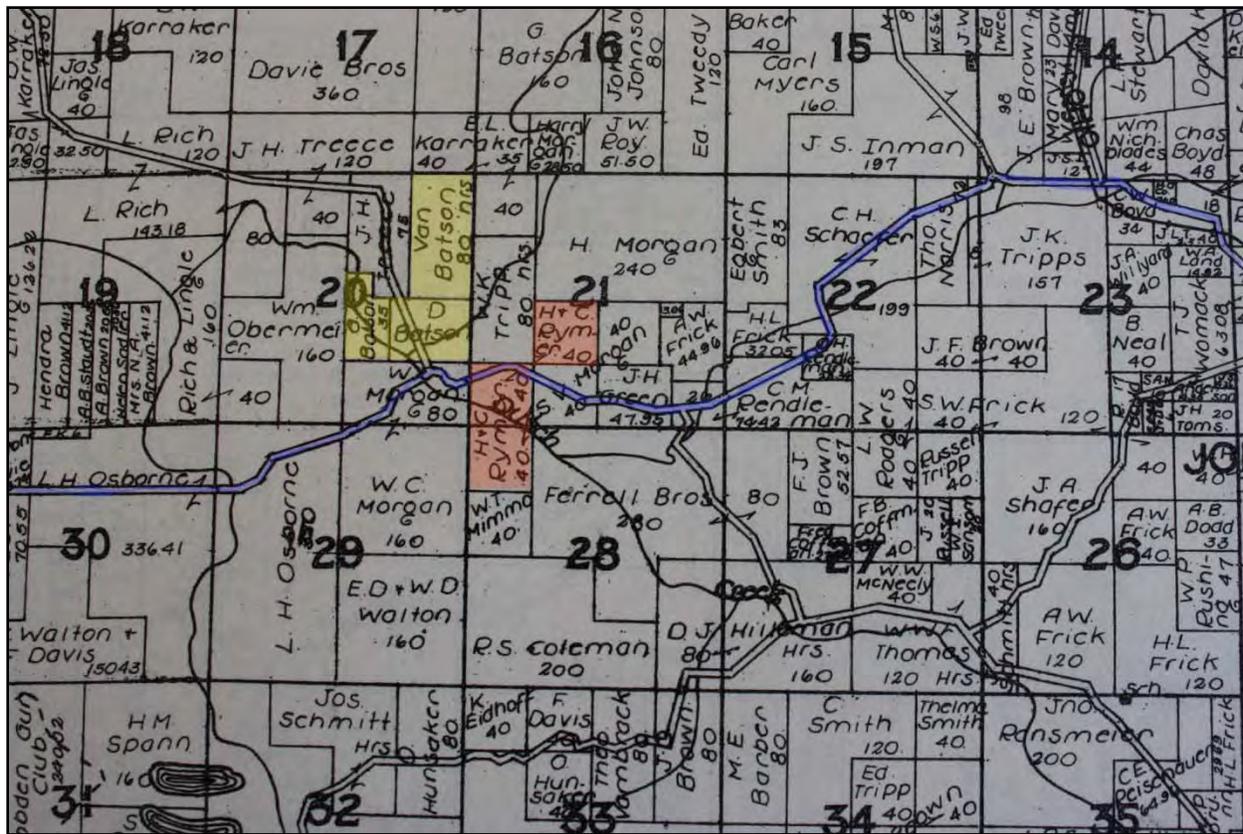


Figure 4-15 1930s Map Showing Locations of Morgan and Batson Farms, Union County

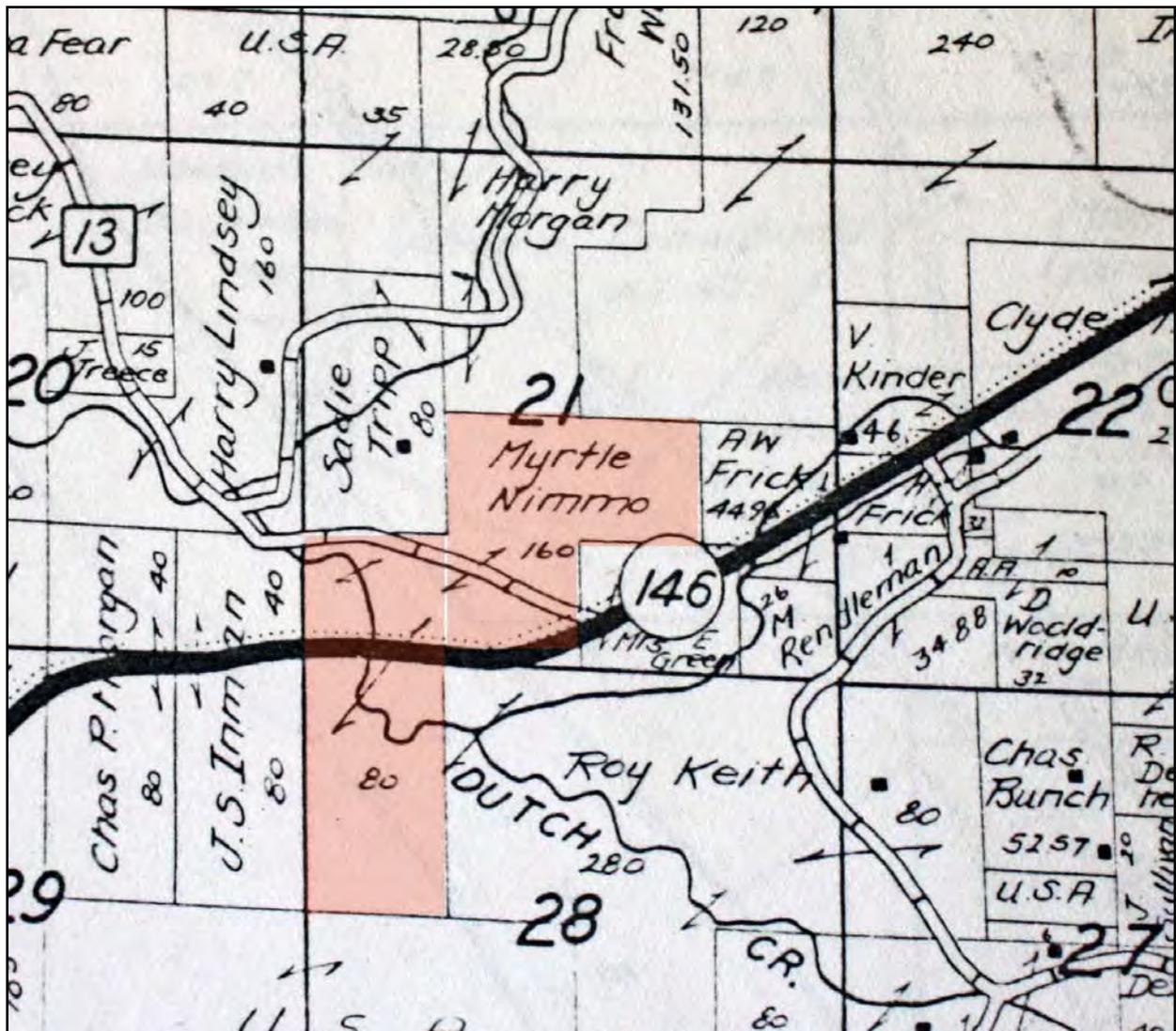


Figure 4-16 1951 Map Showing Location of Nimmo (Morgan) Farm, Union County



Figure 4-17 2013 Photograph of "Batson Old Field" Area, Union County, View to East



Figure 4-18 2013 Photograph of Morgan Farm Mound, Union County



Figure 4-19 1908 Map Showing Possible Location of Willard Mill

# 1807 GLO Map, Hileman Farm, Union County

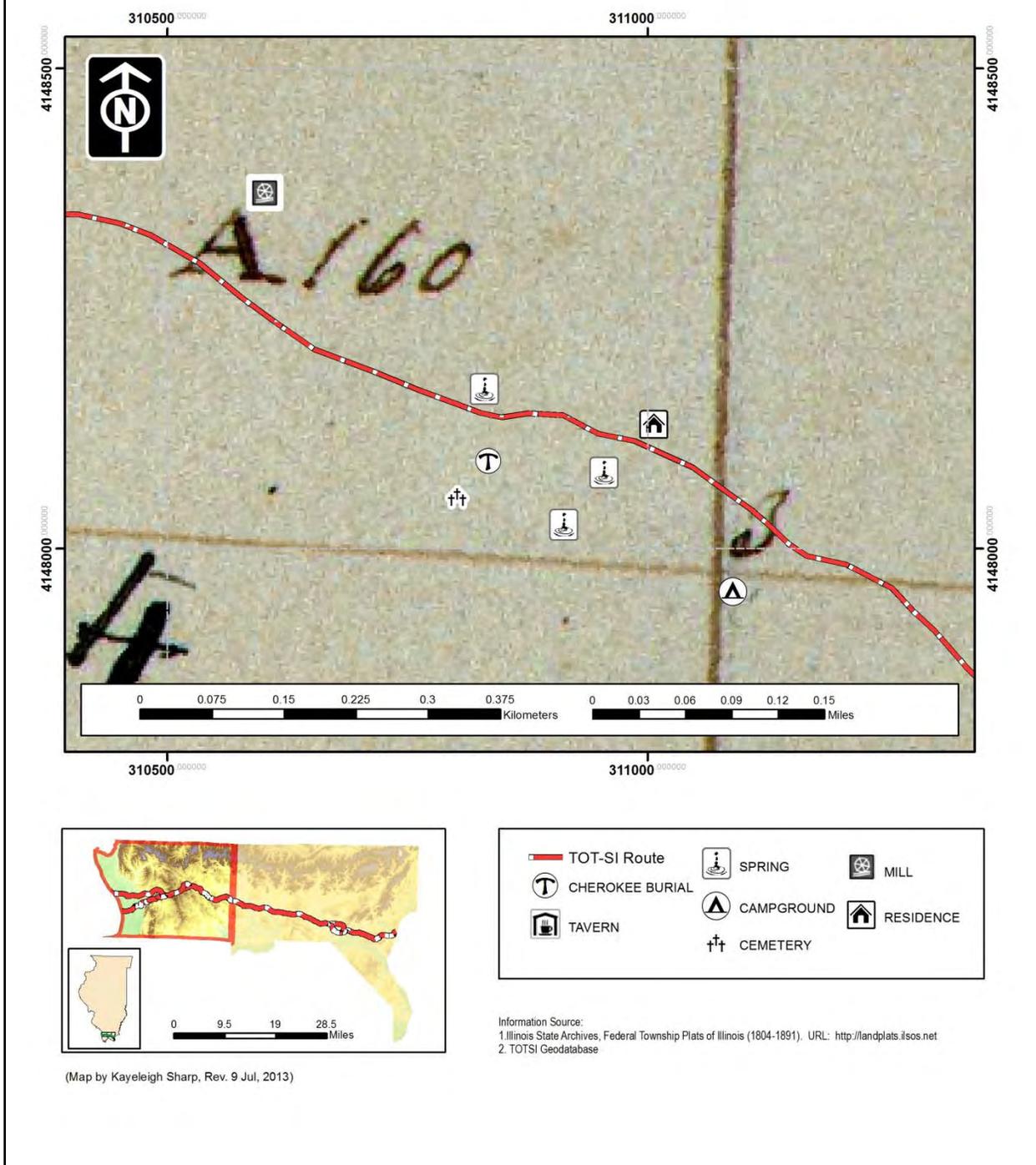
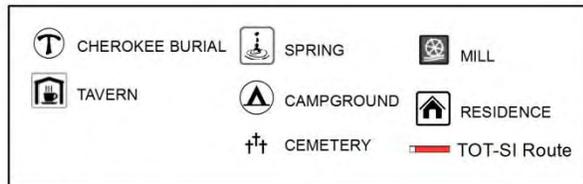
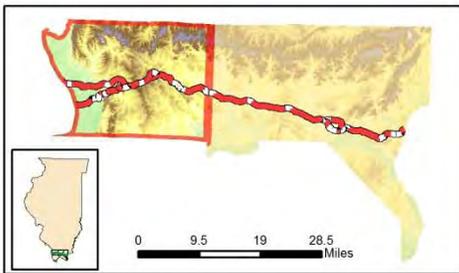
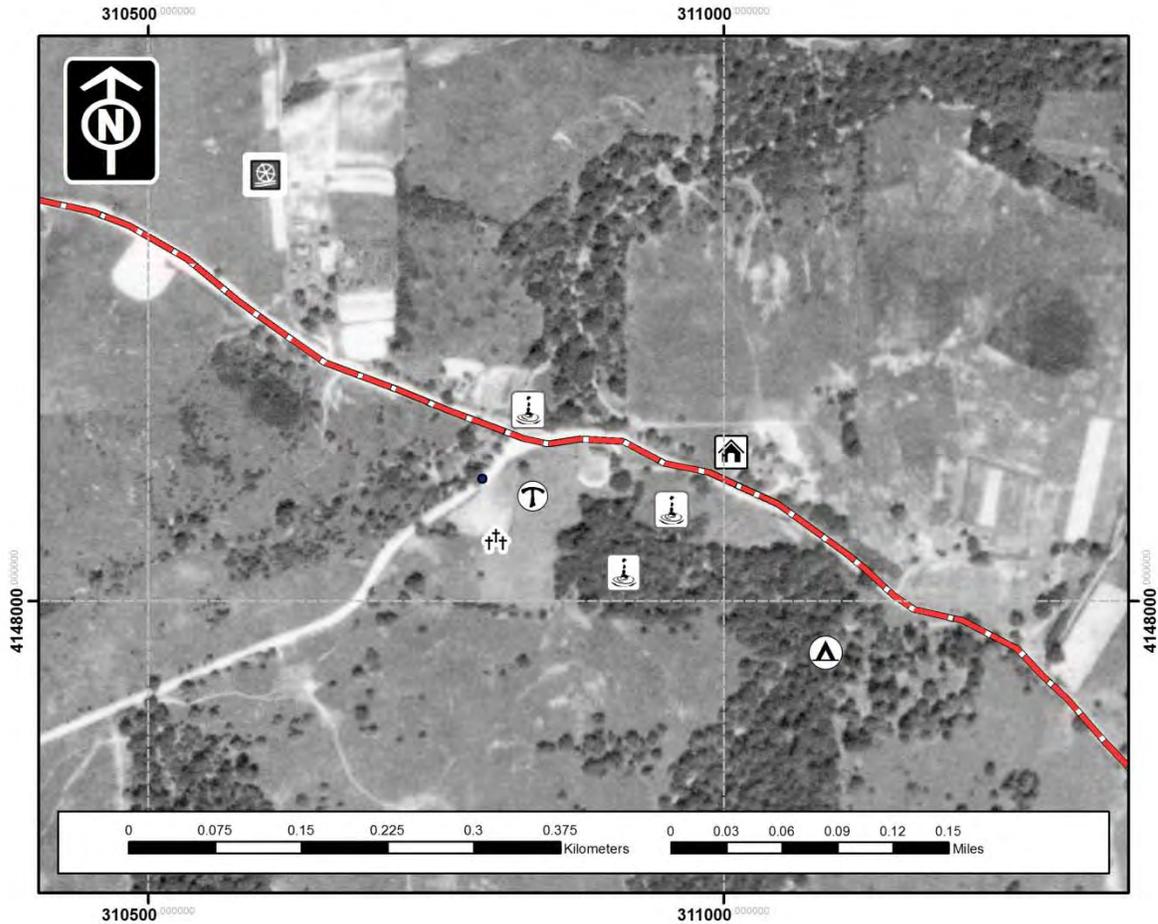


Figure 4-20 1807 GLO Map, Hileman Farm Area, Union County

# 1938 Aerial Photo, Hileman Farm, Union County

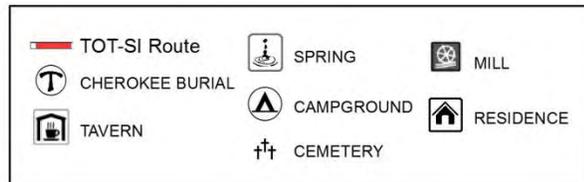
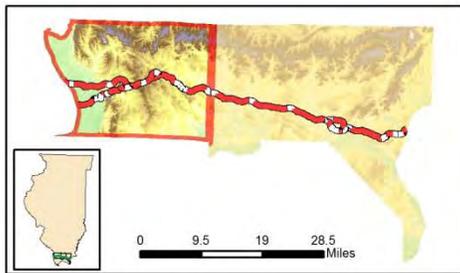


Information Source:  
 1. 1938 Aerial Photography: Historical Aerial Photography for Union and Johnson County, Illinois.  
 MSID Format, Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/ihap/county/johnson.html>  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-21 1938 Aerial Photograph, Hileman Farm, Union County

# 2011 Ortho Map, Hileman Farm Area, Union County

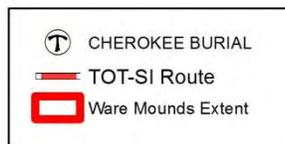
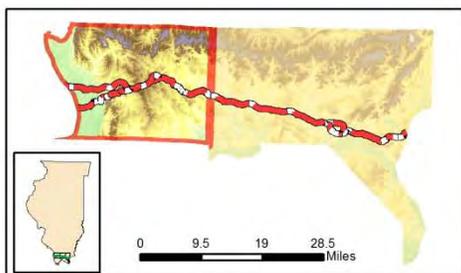
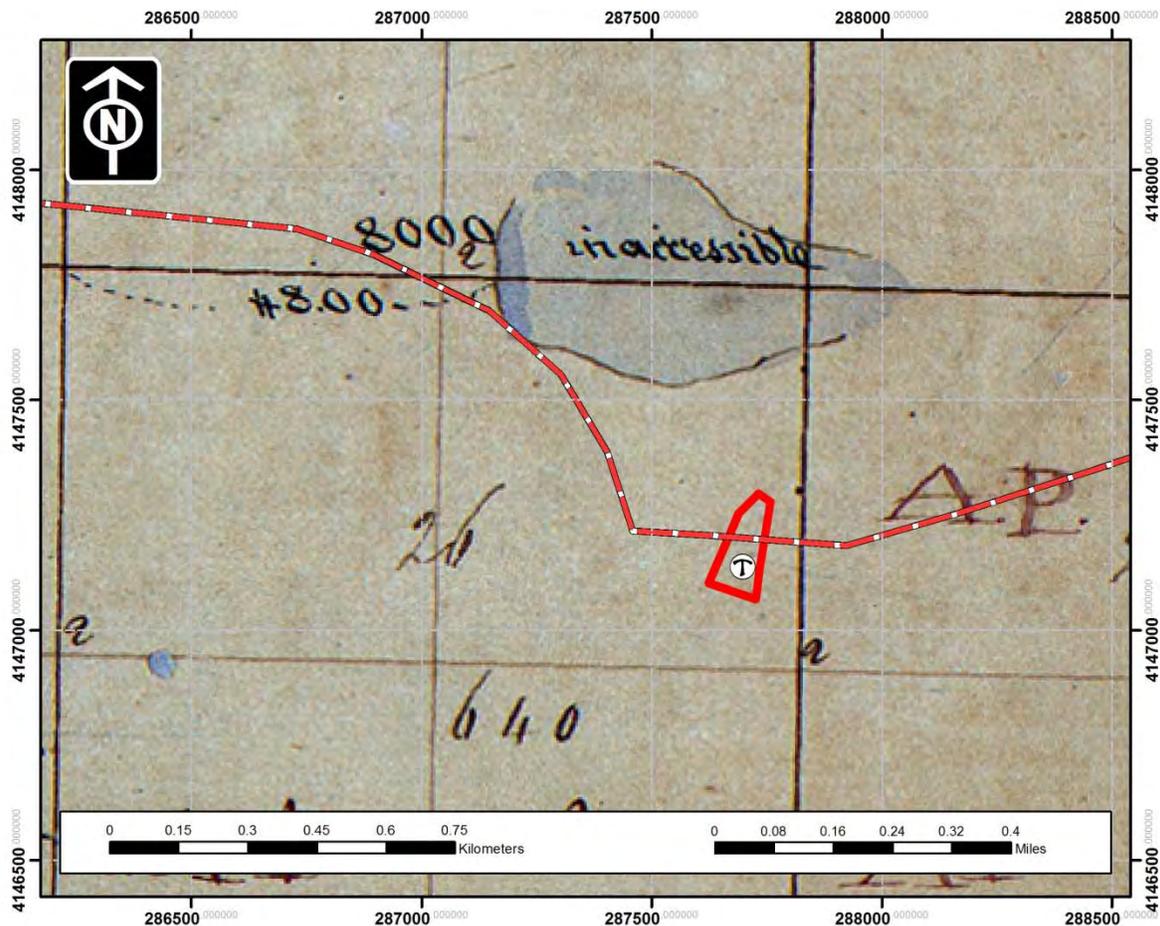


Information Source:  
 1. Union County Ortho Map: NRCS Geospatial Data Gateway, Union County Ortho Photo  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-22 2011 Ortho Map, Hileman Farm Area, Union County

# 1807 GLO Land Plat Map of Ware Site (11U31), Union County

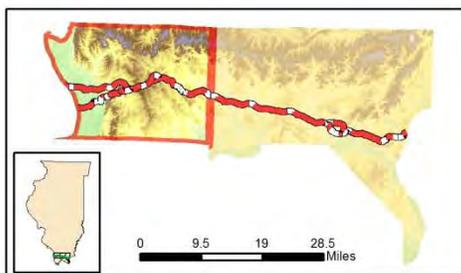
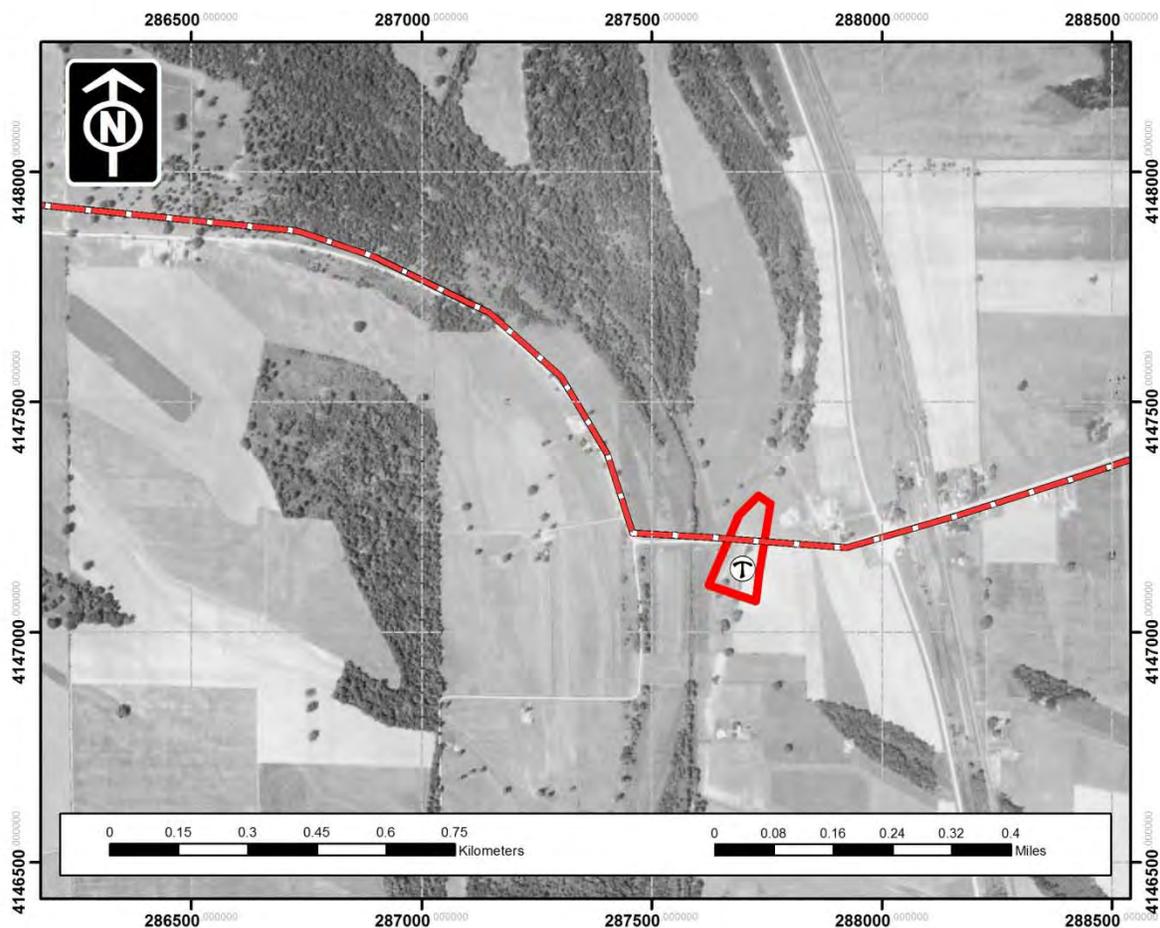


Information Source:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Federal Township Plats of Illinois (1804-1891). URL: <http://landplats.isos.net>  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-23 1807 GLO Map, Ware Site (11U31), Union County

# 1938 Aerial Photograph of Ware Site (11U31), Union County

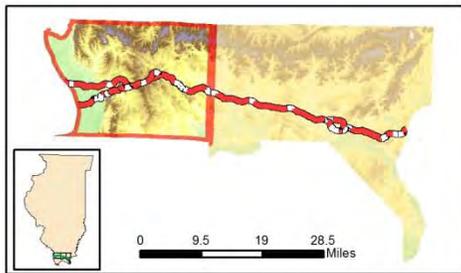


Information Source:  
 1. 1938 Aerial Photography: Historical Aerial Photography for Union and Johnson County, Illinois.  
 MSID Format, Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/ihap/county/johnson.html>  
 2. TOTS1 Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-24 1938 Aerial Photograph, Ware Site (11U31), Union County

# 2011 Ortho Map of Ware Site (11U31), Union County



	CHEROKEE BURIAL
	TOT-SI Route
	Ware Mounds Extent

Information Source:  
 1. Union County Ortho Map: NRCS Geospatial Data Gateway, Union County Ortho Photo  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-25 2011 Ortho Map, Ware Site (11U31), Union County



Figure 4-26 Ware Site, Union County, 2013, View to West



Figure 4-27 Mound With Historic Cemetery, Ware Site, Union County, 2013, View to South

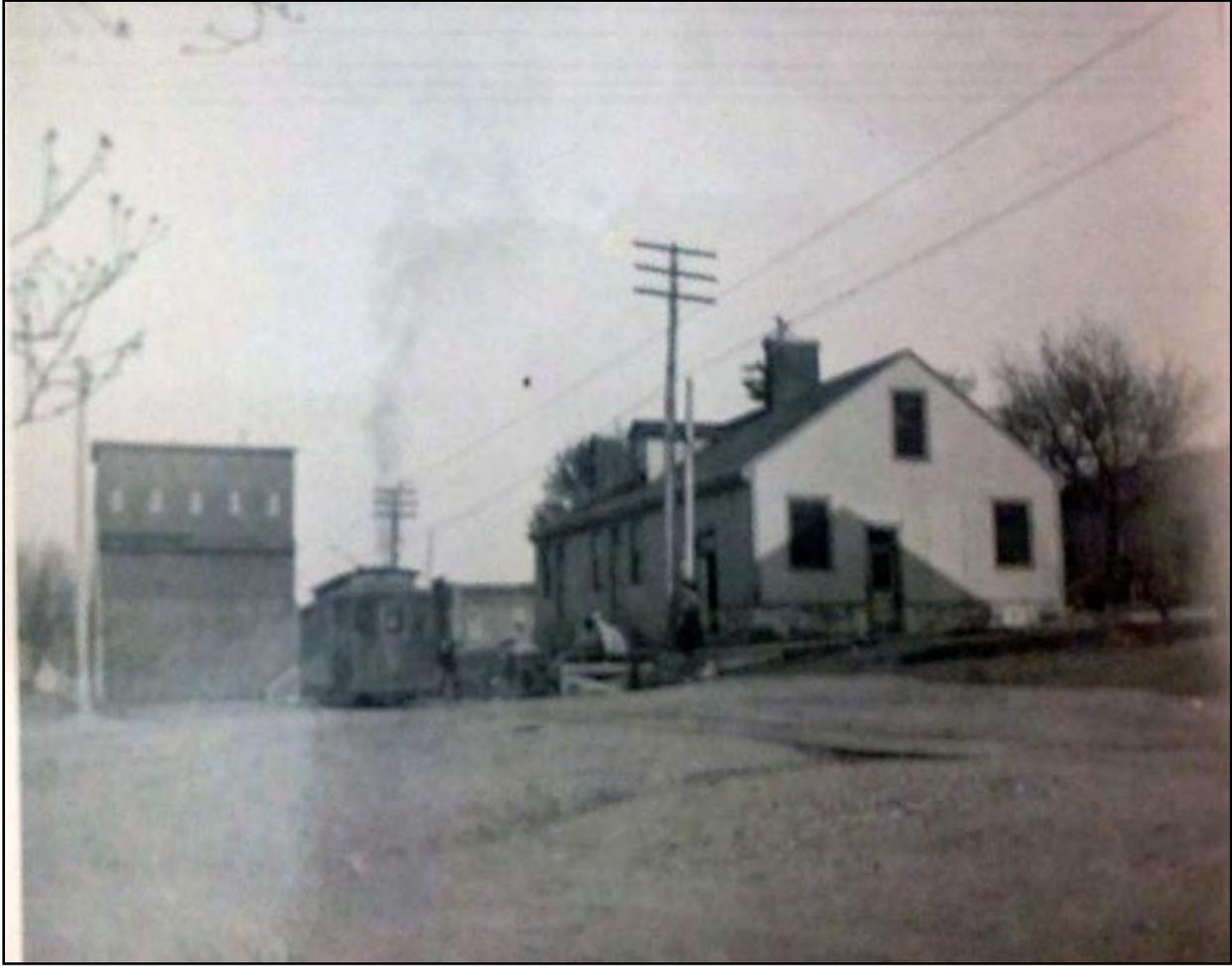


Figure 4-28 Early 1900s Photograph of Davie House, Smith Papers



Figure 4-29 1910 Sanborn Map Showing Location of Davie House and Store, Jonesboro

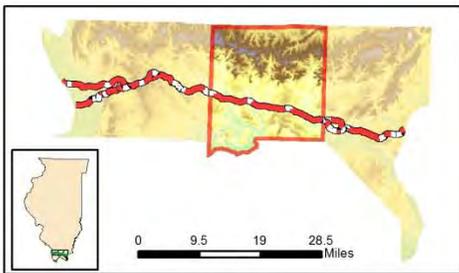
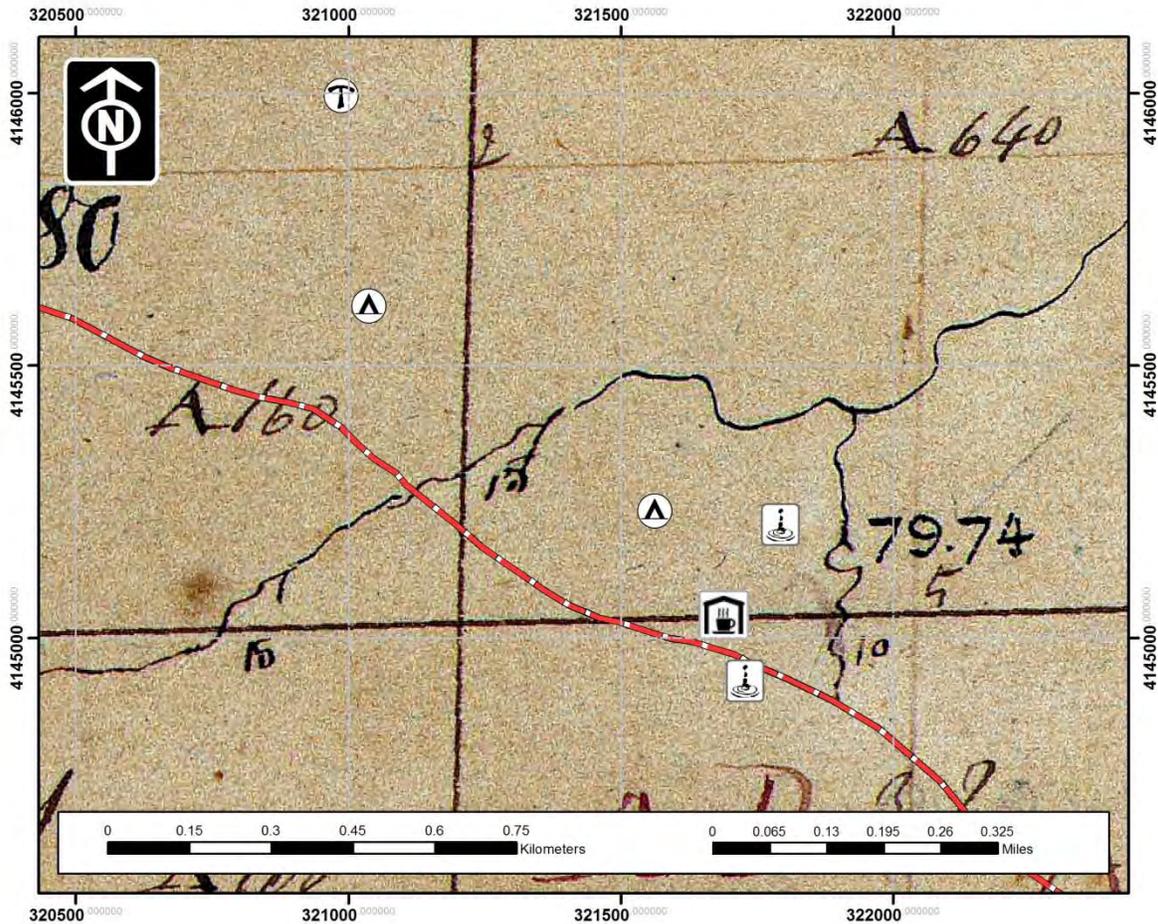


Figure 4-30 Modern (2013) Appearance of Davie House Location



Figure 4-31 Modern (2013) Appearance of Davie Store Location

# 1837 GLO Land Plat with Bridges Tavern, Johnson County



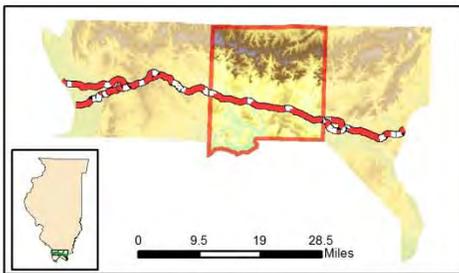
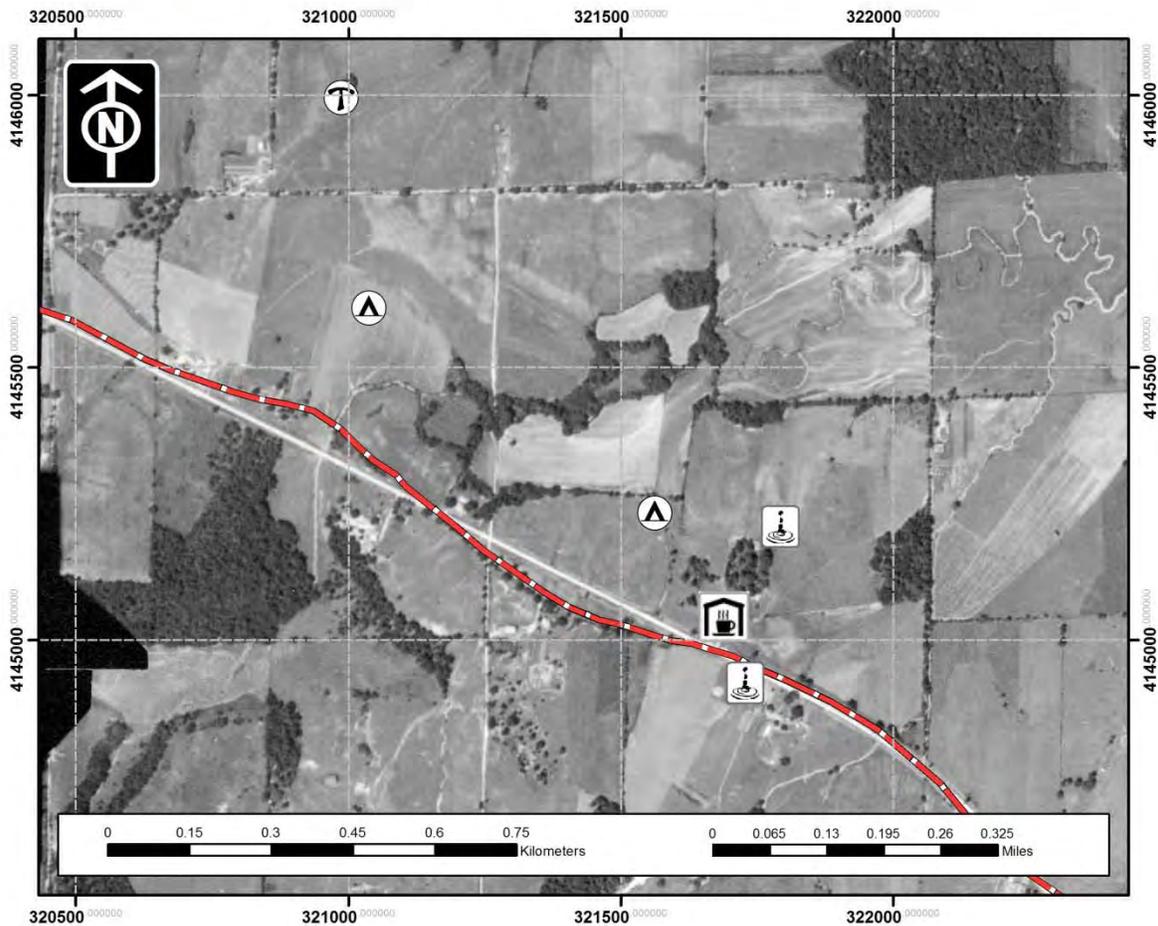
	TOT-SI Route		CHEROKEE BURIAL
	CAMPGROUND		SPRING
	TAVERN		

Information Source:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Federal Township Plats of Illinois (1804-1891). URL: <http://landplats.isos.net>  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-32 1837 GLO Map, Bridges Tavern Area, Johnson County

# 1938 Aerial Photograph of Bridges Tavern, Johnson County



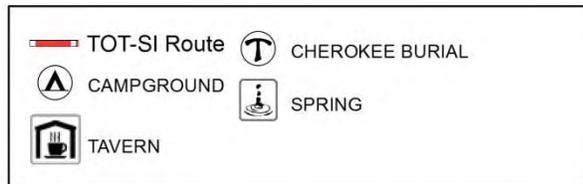
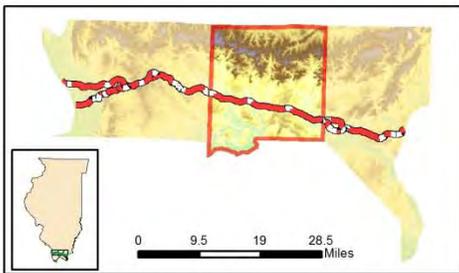
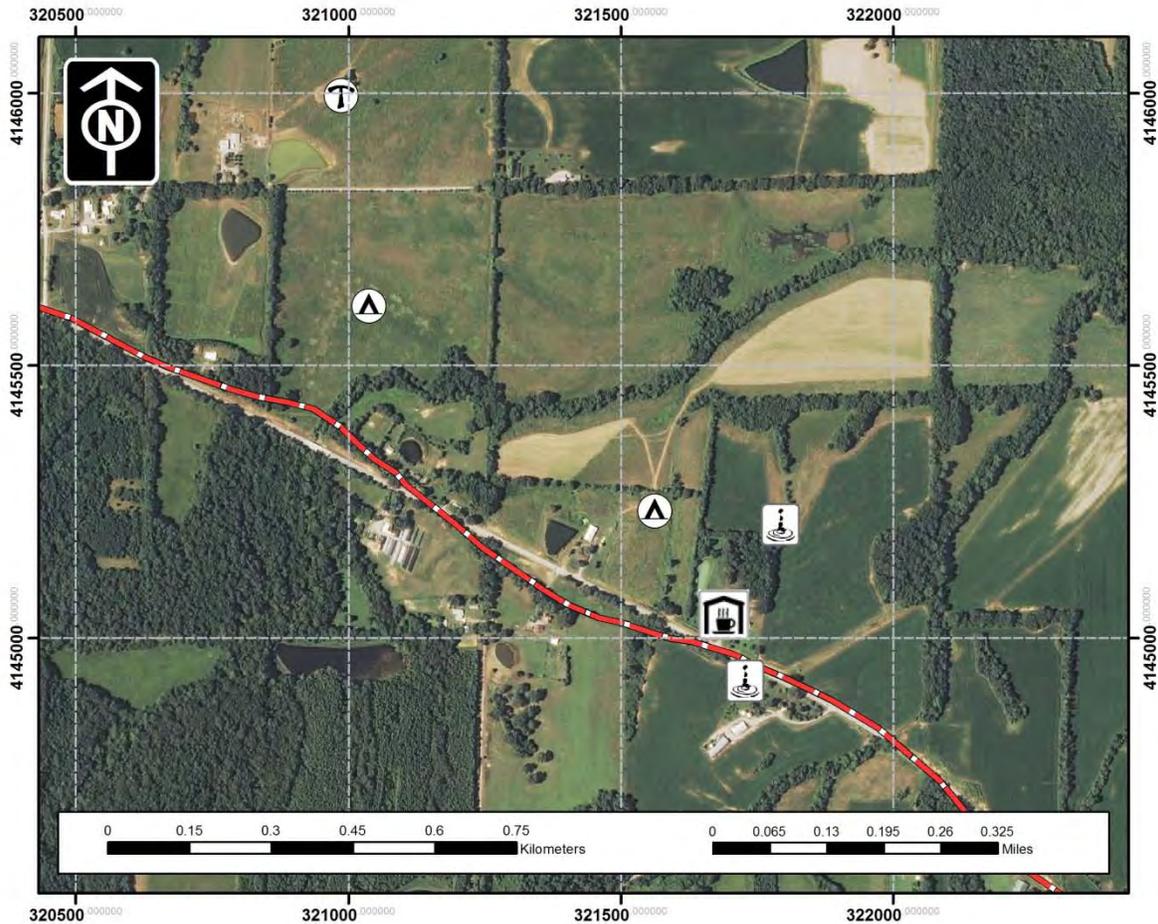
	TOT-SI Route		CHEROKEE BURIAL
	CAMPGROUND		SPRING
	TAVERN		

Information Source:  
 1. 1938 Aerial Photography: Historical Aerial Photography for Union and Johnson County, Illinois.  
 MRSID Format, Illinois Natural Resources Geospatial Data Clearinghouse  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/ihap/county/johnson.html>  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-33 1938 Aerial Photograph of Bridges Tavern Location, Johnson County

# 2011 Ortho Map with Bridges Tavern, Johnson County



Information Source:  
 1. Union County Ortho Map: NRCS Geospatial Data Gateway, Union County Ortho Photo  
 2. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 4-34 2011 Ortho Map, Bridges Tavern Location, Johnson County



Figure 4-35 1917 USGS Map Showing Land Owned by Scott Family in 1930s

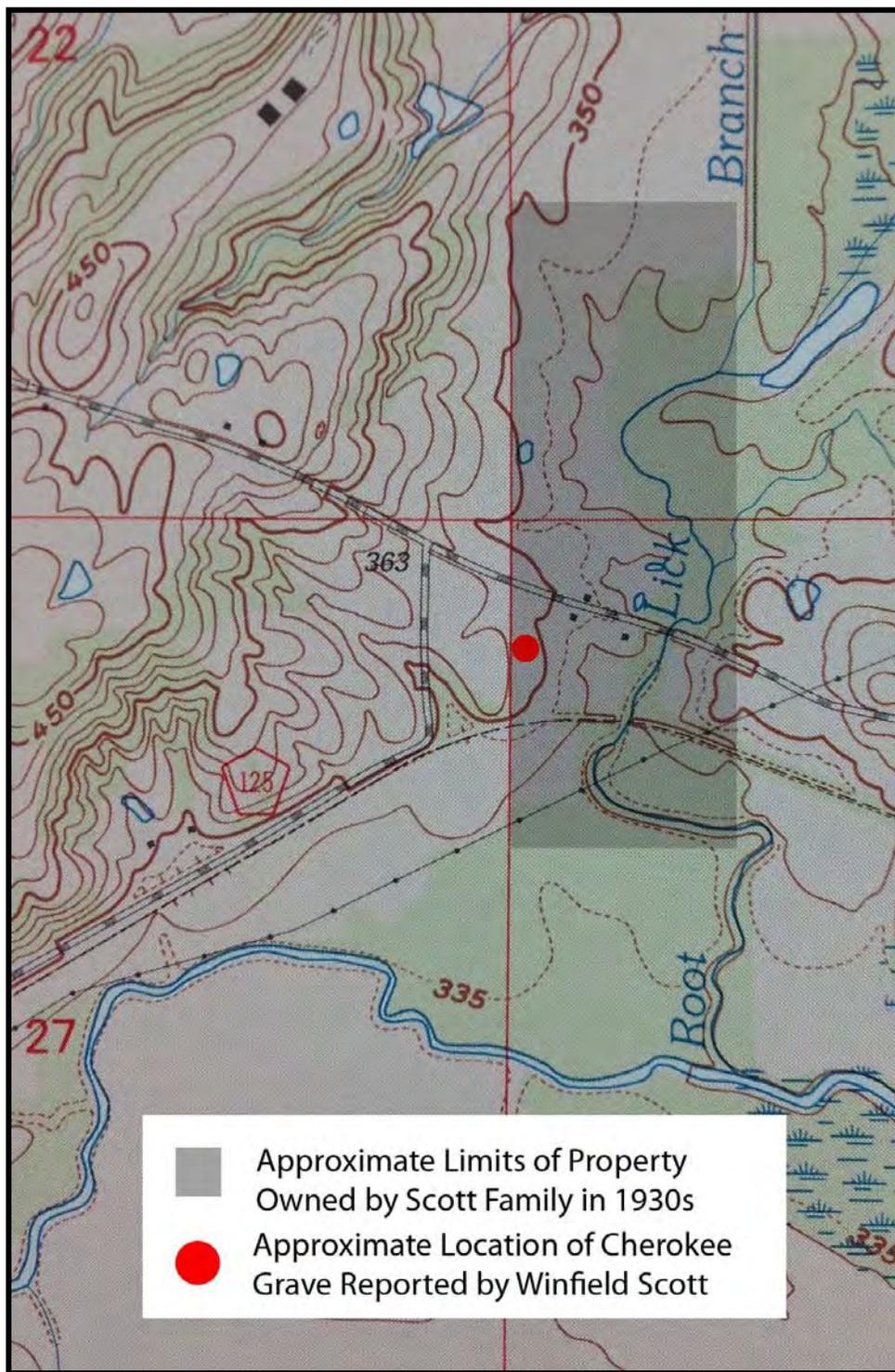


Figure 4-36 Modern USGS Map of Scott Farm Showing Approximate Location of Grave

# Chapter 5 Union County Properties

## Introduction

Union County was established 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). The trail entered the county from Johnson County in Section 25, T12S, R1E. From this point it extended westward to the town of Jonesboro, after which it split into two routes. The northern route extended through the uplands west along Dutch Creek to Dug Hill. After crossing through Dug Hill this section of the trail entered into the Mississippi River floodplain, crossed Clear Creek and passed through the center of the prehistoric Mississippian period (A.D. 1000-1500) Ware Mound Group. It ended about two miles farther west at Willard's Landing or Green's Upper and Lower Ferries, which consisted of two separate ferries located approximately one-half mile apart. These two ferries, the present-day locations of which are now landlocked, were located on the banks of the Mississippi River in the 1830s (Wagner 2003). The southern branch of the trail swung southwest upon leaving Jonesboro, extending through a valley flanked by steep hills (Hamburg Hill and Atwood Ridge) before entering the Mississippi River floodplain. This branch of the trail continued in a southwest direction before ending at Littleton's Old Ferry at the "town" of Hamburg on the Mississippi River.

Information regarding potential Trail of Tears sites in Union County primarily is contained in seven sources: (1) the oral interviews conducted by John Mulcaster, George W. Smith, and others in the early 1930s (Chapter 4); (2) the Union County Commissioner's Court Record for Union County, which contains information regarding ferry, tavern, grocery, store, and other licenses issued in Union County; (3) the 1818-1836 tax records contained at the Union County Courthouse and Illinois Regional Archives Depository, and (4) the original land purchase records for land purchased from the public domain; (5) Forest Service archaeological survey reports and site data for the Hamburg Hill area (Wagner et al. 1992); (6) transcribed Union County courthouse documents published by Union County researcher Darrel Dexter (Dexter 1994, 1995, 1996a-b, 1997, 2000, 2003; Dexter et al. 1985); (7) an early twentieth century publication on mills within the county (Karraker 1947); (8) the Butrick and Cannon Journals, which provide some information regarding the general locations of campgrounds within the county.

The total number of mapped sites in all three southern Illinois counties is 414. The following information concerns only Union County, for which the most complete

datasets were recovered (Tables 5-1 to 5-11). In total, Union county has 230 of the 414 sites that have been mapped for the three counties. We would note that some discrepancies exist in the number of sites included on the primary database tables and maps that appear in this chapter. This is because it was not possible to map all of the relevant data extracted from archival records. For example, in some cases, business licenses were issued to individuals (or partners) who were not property owners in Union county, making it impossible to identify the location of their businesses. In other cases such as vendor licenses, these often were issued to individuals for a general area such as “the road between Vienna and Jonesboro” rather than the property on which the vendor lived, meaning there was no relationship between land ownership and the vendor’s place of business.

### *Taverns*

As noted in Chapter 4, taverns were businesses licensed by the county court that were analogous to a traditional British pub [public house]. The operators of licensed taverns were required to provide food, lodging, and drink to travelers at rates established by the county. At the same time private citizens living along the various roads of the county who lacked a tavern license sometimes took travelers in and provided them with food and shelter (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). These unlicensed or “latchstring” taverns are impossible to identify archaeologically in the absence of written records (such as a traveler’s diary) as they were simply pioneer homesteads that occasionally accommodated travelers if the homeowner was agreeable (Blane 1824; Yoder 1969:17-31).

At least by the early 1820s, however, licensed tavern operators in Illinois had begun to construct “two-story log buildings for the accommodation of travelers...[that] contained individual rooms such as kitchens, dining rooms, and bedrooms] for specific activities” (Tillson 1919; Wagner and McCorvie 1992:346). These structures often were located along main roads near natural features such as streams, fords, or springs that represented natural stopping places for travelers. Open areas that could accommodate wagons, horses, and other livestock often were located adjacent to the taverns (Wagner and McCorvie 1992:55-56).

Our archival research revealed that at least 36 tavern licenses were issued in Union County between 1818 and 1838 (Table 5-1). Thirty-three of these were issued between 1818 and 1827 with only two having been issued in the late 1830s. Only 21 contained enough information to map their locations, with fifteen of these located in Jonesboro (Figure 5-1). The single mappable tavern located outside of Jonesboro was located adjacent to the road to Willard’s Landing, but this license had been issued in

1820 and may no longer have been in use in the late 1830s. At least two other taverns were located on “Green’s Road”, which may have been a reference to either Green’s Upper or Lower Ferries, which were later located at Willard’s Landing, but again these were early licenses and their locations are unknown.

### *Groceries*

The drop-off in tavern licenses after the mid-1820s appears to be associated with a marked increase in “spirit groceries” (N=12) between 1837 and 1839 and licenses to retail alcohol from a variety of locations (N=86) between 1823 and 1839 (Tables 5-2 and 5-3). Spirit groceries were establishments that were allowed to sell liquor by the drink without providing lodging. Ten of the 12 groceries were mappable, with eight of these located in Jonesboro (Figure 5-2). A man named John Freeman (see Dexter 1996a:144) received a license in 1837 to “licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor at his tavern house on his farm in Mississippi Bottoms” (Table 5-3), suggesting that the county court may have considered taverns and groceries to be essentially the same by the late 1830s.

At least one grocery—that of Matthew Pipkin—appears to have been located to take advantage of the Cherokee emigration. Pipkin received a license in 1837 to open a grocery near his house on the road leading from Vienna to Jonesboro, a location that thousands of Cherokee would pass by in the next two years (Figure 5-2). The phrasing “near his house” suggests that Pipkin may have set up a stand of some kind adjacent to the road rather than selling alcohol out of his house.

The 86 other licenses issued for retail alcohol sales in Union County in the 1820s and 1830s essentially were grocery licenses, although this word was not used in the license (Table 5-3). The majority of these licenses were issued in the 1830s, again suggesting the replacement of tavern licenses by grocery and retail liquor licenses by the 1830s. People were issued licenses that allowed them to sell alcohol in storehouses, dwelling houses, public houses of entertainment, taverns, at stands along roads, “near Ann C. Garrot’s spring”, “on margin of Mississippi” and “at Giles Ferry” (Table 5-3). Fifty-six of these licenses were mappable, with 40 located in Jonesboro (Figure 5-3).

This concentration of grocery licenses within Jonesboro between 1837 and 1840 suggests that the businessmen of Union County intended to profit off the Cherokee emigration by selling liquor from their stores, homes, and stands erected along the road. Businessmen Michael Craven, Augustus Rixleben, Samuel Reed, Winstead Davie, and the company of Hacker & Hodges, for example, all received grocery licenses for their stores in Jonesboro. The only one of these stores whose location is currently known is

that of Winstead Davie, which fronted on the public square in Jonesboro (Figures 4-29 and 4-30). The store operated by Michael Craver, however, also was located on the public square, and it is possible that some of the other stores that received liquor licenses were located there as well (Table 5-3). James Hodges shifted his grocery from his store to a stand near his store from 1837 to 1839. Michael Craver and Samuel Reed also operated groceries out of their homes. Andrew Deardorf also received a license to simply operate a grocery while Nicholas Tripp received one for his tavern in Jonesboro.

Other businessmen such as Elijah Willard, John Hirst, A.W. Kimmel, Bennet, Neely, & Company, and George McGehey received licenses to sell alcohol at their storehouses located on the banks of the Mississippi River. Elijah Willard's storehouse was located at Willard's Ferry, which the majority of the Cherokee used to cross over into Missouri. The locations of the other storehouses are currently unknown but, as storehouses that stored goods that were either being shipped into or out of the county, they almost certainly must have been located at the Willard's Ferry or Hamburg Ferry landings.

Two of the men who received liquor licenses may have been located on the trail east of Jonesboro (Figure 5-3). Gore and Garner received a license to "retail spiritous liquors from a storehouse located near Widow Dean's" in 1837 while a Mr. Craig was licensed to "retail spirituous and entertain travelers" in dwelling house in 1849" (Table 5-3). A Basil Craig purchased the SE1/4, SW1/4, Section 21, T12S, R1W, in January, 1837, which would have placed him on the trail approximately 2.5 miles east of Jonesboro at the time of the Cherokee emigration. Although his license was issued in 1839, it is possible that he was taking in travelers and entertaining them before he actually received the license. It is unclear who the "Garner" of Gore & Garner was but a Garner Young purchased the SE1/4, SW1/4, Section 36, T12S, R1W, in 1836, placing him on the trail close to Basil Craig about a year before the Cherokee emigration. The mention of a "storehouse" in the license, however, raises the possibility that this establishment was located in Jonesboro rather than out in the country.

In addition to grocery licenses, other businessmen received "house of entertainment" licenses that allowed them to take in travelers and charge them for food and lodging based on rates established by the county court (Dexter 1996:2, 2000). These were, in effect, tavern licenses. Businessman Winstead Davie of Jonesboro received one such license in 1838 at the height of the Cherokee emigration. Although his daughter later recalled that a number of Cherokee including the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead, John Ross, and a man named Nowatta stayed as "guests" in their home while passing through Union County (Parks 1984:203), they were more likely paying customers than guests. The location of Winstead Davie's home/house of entertainment, which was

discussed in detail in Chapter 4, now lies beneath a parking lot in Jonesboro (Figure 4-29 and 4-31).

A second Jonesboro innkeeper named George McGhehy also received a license from the county court in December, 1838, that was similar to the one issued to Davie that allowed him to “keep a public house of entertainment and retail liquor by small measure” (Dexter 2000:13; Table 5-3). The location of his business is not known but most likely was in Jonesboro.

Three licenses were issued to the members of the Stokes family in 1838 to sell liquors in “small measure at...[their] stand on [the] road from Jonesboro to Vienna” (Table 5-3). Although these all in reality may be the same license, one was issued to T. Stokes, one to W. Stokes, and one to “Stokes Liquor Stand”. It is unclear where this stand would have been located. Although Matthew and Thomas Stokes in combination bought three tracts in T12S, R1W, in 1837, none of these were located on the Jonesboro to Vienna Road (the Trail of Tears).

The number of unlicensed taverns directly associated with the Trail of Tears (e.g., households along the wagon trails that might have hosted travelers) remains unclear but was probably significant given the large number of Cherokee passing through the county between 1837 and 1839.

#### *Other Businesses*

The fifty-two additional businesses located within Union County in the late 1830s consisted of additional alcohol-related (N=15) and 37 other miscellaneous businesses (Table 5-4, Figure 5-4). The 15 distilleries most likely represented operations that turned surplus corn into whiskey.

Other professions represented in Union County in 1835 included blacksmiths (N=10), retailers (N=1), saddlers (N=5), hide tanners (N=3), shoemakers (N=5), wagon makers (N=3), carpenters (N=4), hatters (N=2) tailors (N=1), storekeepers (N=2), cotton gin operators (N=1) (Table 5-4). Nineteen of these were mappable as to location or provisional location based on land ownership (Figure 5-4).

Businessmen on this list who would have profited most from the Cherokee emigration include the blacksmiths, wagon makers, and saddlers. By the time the Cherokee reached Union County their wagons may have needed repair, their horses may have needed to be reshod, and their leather saddles and animal harness may have

needed to be repaired. The only person on this list, however, for whom an oral history exists regarding having interacted with the Cherokee, is James Morgan, a blacksmith who also operated the Morgan Mill that ground grain for the Cherokee.

The absence of the Willard brothers and Winstead Davie from this list, who had a number of business interests throughout the county, is striking. This suggests that these men sought to profit off the Cherokee emigration by providing non-skilled services such as selling alcohol, providing lodging, grinding grain, and providing ferry transport across the Mississippi rather than by engaging or hiring skilled labor to repair broken or worn-out items for the Cherokee.

### *Mills*

The 1835 state census recorded 26 operating water or grist mills within Union County at that time, which was only two to four years before Cherokee emigration (Table 5-5; Dexter 1996a:). Four additional mills were located through other sources. Three of these mills—Hileman, Morgan, and Willard’s—fall directly on the Trail of Tears (Figure 5-5). All three of these mills have associated oral or written histories stating that they ground flour for the Cherokee. An additional mill—Flaughtown—located off the trail two miles south of Jonesboro also reportedly ground flour (Karraker 1947). No other mills in Union County have either stories or documentation linking them to the Cherokee emigration.

One of these mills—the Hileman mill—located along the Trail of Tears east of Jonesboro near Campground Church was identified by oral informants interviewed by John G. Mulcaster in the 1930s as having “ground 21 bu. of meal per day for the use of these [Cherokee] Indians (see Chapter 4). Two additional mills—the Morgan mill and the steam-powered Willard brothers’ mill—appear to have been put into operation shortly after 1835. The Willard brothers steam-powered mill, which could saw lumber as well as grind grain, may have replaced the ox and horse powered saw mill that they had in 1835 (Table 5-5).

Another mill—the Flaugh or Flaughtown Mill, which was located two miles south of Jonesboro—was claimed by Karraker (1947:13) to have together with the Morgan Mill “furnished the Indians their flour and meal while they were encamped” in Union County. Although the Flaughtown mill was an early mill in Union County, we have found no corroborating documentation to indicate that it furnished supplies to the Cherokee. It is not listed in the 1835 census and it is possible that it ceased operation for a while before being revived in the 1860s. Similarly, we have found no supporting

documentation to support the claim of the daughter of Winstead Davie (Parks 1984) that Davie operated a mill at the time of the Cherokee emigration (see Chapter 4).

The general locations of these mills were mapped based on their association to individual persons mentioned in the census records, which were then queried against the original land purchase records for the county (Figure 5-5). The resulting map shows a relatively uniform distribution of mills across the county, suggesting that most of these mills were local operations that served the needs of settlers within a few miles' radius of their location with several of the mills located adjacent or on the Trail of Tears. In addition, the Flaugh Mill, if it indeed was in operation in the 1830s, was located close enough to Jonesboro that it could have served the needs of people living in or passing through Jonesboro. Oral histories or letters collected by Mulcaster link three of these mills—Hileman, Morgan, and Willard's—with the Cherokee emigration.

The locations of the Willard, Hileman, and Morgan mills have been identified as to the specific land parcel owned by the operators of these mills (Chapter 4). Where these mills were located within these parcels, and whether they survive as archaeological sites, has yet to be determined.

### *Ferries*

Four ferries were present within Union County between 1818 and 1839 (Table 5-6). Two of these (Green's Upper and Lower Ferries) were located at Willard's Landing while one (Littleton's Old Ferry) was located at Hamburg Landing (Wagner 2003). In addition, an interior ferry was located at a very early date (1818) along the Big Muddy River, a river not crossed by the Trail of Tears, in the northern part of the county (Figure 5-6).

Both the Littleton and Green's (Upper and Lower) ferries were used by the Cherokee between 1837 and 1839. Green's Upper and Lower Ferries were located approximately one-half mile apart at Willard's Landing, which represented the terminus of the northern branch of the trail that extended west from Jonesboro. Littleton's Old Ferry, in contrast, was located at the end of the southern branch of the trail that extended in a southwest direction before ending at Hamburg Landing.

The locations of all three ferries were specifically identified as to legal description (township, range, section, partial section) as part of the 2003 archival work conducted for the National Park Service (Wagner 2003). Archival map research as well as a one-day field inspection conducted in July, 2003, revealed that both the Willard's and

Hamburg Landings have been cut off from the Mississippi River and are now located 0.4 km (Willard's) and 0.5 km (Hamburg) east of the east bank of the Mississippi River. The intervening area between the old landing sites and the river now consists of cultivated fields. No remains are present at either site, both of which appear to have been heavily alluviated. As such, it is possible that the remains of the ferry landings and other structures associated with these landings such as storehouses, offices, homes, and other that once existed at these locations now lie buried beneath the Mississippi River floodplain.

### *Cemeteries*

Thirty-two Euro-American cemeteries have been identified to date within the project corridor within Union County through a combination of historical and archaeological research (Dexter 1990; Wagner et al. 1992; Table 5-7). Of these three, including Campground Church, are located adjacent to the main trail in the eastern part of the county before the trail reached Jonesboro; two are located adjacent or within Anna and Jonesboro; three are located along the northern branch of the trail extending west from Jonesboro; and four are located along the southern branch of the trail leading through Hamburg Hill Hollow (Figure 5-7). The remainder of the cemeteries are located elsewhere in the county.

Oral histories collected by John Mulcaster in the 1930s identify two of these cemeteries—Campground Church and Mt. Pleasant—as containing Cherokee graves (Table 5-8, Figure 5-8). The Campground Church cemetery has been previously described in Chapter 4. In regard to the Mt. Pleasant Cemetery, a woman named Ellen Cox wrote an article that appeared in the *Vienna Times* on February 16, 1934, describing a Cherokee camp and cemetery at Mt. Pleasant. In a transcribed version of this article, Mulcaster noted that Ellen Cox had said:

That her Mother when a little girl lived near Mt. Pleasant, Ill. , and was there when the Indians arrived there in 1838 and went into camp...Remembered that there was much sickness among the Indians, that many of them died and were buried in the old Mt. Pleasant Cemetery. That a Chief's daughter died while there and that many of her belongings were placed with her body in the grave, such as moccasins, necklaces, rings, etc. That she [her mother] and her [grand] mother had attended the services at the grave (Mulcaster n.d.i.)

Mrs. Cox's story is given support in that the Mt. Pleasant Cemetery also was known as the Cox Cemetery (also Stokes or Standard Cemetery) and is located on property (Section 26, T12S, R1E) once owned by the Cox family as early as 1820. The cemetery currently contains 13 widely-scattered tombstones ranging in date from 1851 to 1888. Significantly, none are a member of the Cox family and only one is a Stokes, indicating that the cemetery almost certainly contains numerous unmarked graves that have lost their headstones.

Of the remaining cemeteries, at least one on the northern branch of the trail—the Morgan cemetery, which is an extensive cemetery on a sloping ridge that contains the remains of James Morgan who milled grain for the Cherokee camped along Dutch Creek—is old enough and close enough to the Cherokee camp site along Dutch Creek to potentially contain Cherokee graves. However, there is no oral history that states Cherokee were buried in this cemetery.

Three of the four cemeteries located on the southern trail branch are clustered at the mouth of Hamburg Hollow on the ridge located north of the hollow. Two (sites 11U619 and 11U620) contain a combination of marked graves of Euro-American settlers and unmarked stones while one (site 11U308) contains two marked graves and eight unmarked grave depressions. The marked graves in all three cemeteries post-date the Cherokee removal, ranging in age from 1847 to 1880, some ten to forty years after the Cherokee removal (Wagner et al. 1992:118-119; 214-222). Site 11U619, however, contains at least one 10 unmarked stone cobble grave markers; 11U620 contains at least one unmarked stone cobble marker; and 11U308 contains at least eight unmarked grave depressions. As such, the possibility of earlier graves dating back to the 1830s at all three sites cannot be ruled out. At the same time, there is no oral history similar to Campground Church stating that the Cherokee were buried in any of these three cemeteries. A disturbed prehistoric cemetery also is located at site 11U308. However, there again is no oral history to state that the Cherokee were buried in prehistoric mounds in this area.

Instead, the 1930s oral histories (Chapter 4) as well as the B.B. Cannon (1837) and Reverend Daniel Butrick state that the Cherokee who died while passing through Union County were buried in at least four other locations. The oral histories collected by Mulcaster state that the Cherokee who died while passing through Union County were buried in one of three known locations: (1) within the Cherokee campground located on the Morgan (Nimmo) property on Dutch Creek. As noted in Chapter 4, however, Mulcaster collected several oral histories in the 1930s that stated the Cherokee buried their dead in the "Batson Old Field" located along Dutch Creek near the Morgan Mill. The oral history evidence for a campground at this location is convincing and the

possibility that some deceased individuals were buried here should be given credence; (2) in the prehistoric burial mounds located west of Jonesboro at the Ware site (11U31) on the Mississippi River floodplain; (3) and in prehistoric burial mounds located in creek bottoms east of Jonesboro (Mulcaster n.d.d, 1933). Of these, the information collected by Mulcaster regarding the Cherokee having buried people in earthen mounds located east of Jonesboro is so vague that no mounds that exist today can be identified as representing potential Cherokee cemetery areas.

As noted in Chapter 4, however, convincing oral history and archaeological evidence exists in regard to the former existence of a historic period cemetery on top of one of the mounds at the prehistoric Ware Mound group (11U31) on the Mississippi River floodplain. The Trail of Tears ran through the center of this mound group, making it a likely location for the interment of Cherokee who died while traveling along this section of the trail. In addition, Bureau of American Ethnology excavations in 1881 and highway work conducted in 1938 encountered the remains of a historic period cemetery on top of one of the largest mounds at the site. We find the evidence for the existence of a historic period Cherokee cemetery at this location to be convincing although it is uncertain if any of this cemetery still remains.

The Cannon (1978) and Butrick (1998) journals mention the interment of deceased Cherokee at four other locations in Union County. These are (1) at the camp at Hamburg Landing, where a total of six people in the two detachments died and were buried; (2) The camp located approximately 1.5 miles east of Mt. Pleasant, where at least one person in the Taylor detachment that Butrick was part of died on January 7, 1839; (3) the camp located approximately 3 miles east of Jonesboro, where Butrick witnessed the burial of a member of the Hilderbrand detachment on January 22, 1839 (Butrick 1998:25); (4) the burial of a woman from the Hilderbrand detachment on January 24, 1839, at the camp located two miles west of Jonesboro (Butrick 1998:25), which may have been located on the Willard Mill property.

There were two detachments that had men named Hilderbrand (or Hildebrand) associated with them: the Hilderbrand detachment, which was led by Peter Hilderbrand with James Hilderbrand as assistant conductor; and (2) The James Brown detachment, in which Lewis Hilderbrand was the assistant conductor. Butrick (1998:25) specifically identified the deceased individual as being part of the Hilderbrand—not Brown—detachment, suggesting that he was referring to detachment led by Peter Hilderbrand.

## *Campgrounds*

Similar to other early nineteenth century travelers who crossed through southern Illinois in wagons (Bennet 1906; Johnson 1922), the Cherokee camped in fields located adjacent to the road. A significant point to consider is that the presence of any sheltered area (e.g., forested areas or rock overhangs) in association with a water source such as spring or creek and prairie along the Trail of Tears route may have represented a potential campsite for weary travelers. Cultural factors that also influenced the selection of campsites appear to have included the presence of mills and taverns where the Cherokee could obtain flour and other foodstuffs for them and their animals. In the case of mill and tavern operators, as noted in Chapter 4, the economic advantage of selling supplies to over 11,000 Cherokee may have offset any damage they caused to the timber located on or near the tavern or mill owners' properties. Private land owners who had no way to make money off the emigration might have been reluctant to allow thousands of Cherokee to use the timber or other resources located on their land that they themselves might need at some point, similar to what happened to the Taylor party in Pope County (Butrick 1998:8; McCorvie 2010).

We have identified 12 potential camp sites in Union County based on (1) the historical research conducted by John Mulcaster and others in the 1930s (Chapter 4); (2) the Cannon and Butrick journals; (3) archaeological investigations conducted by the USDA Forest Service in the mouth of Hamburg Hill Hollow (Table 5-9, Figure 5-9).

The archival research conducted by John Mulcaster and others has been described in detail in Chapter 4. They located two major campsites—the Dutch Creek campground on the Morgan (Nimmo) farm and the Campground Church campsite—on the basis of oral interviews with descendants of people who had lived along the trail. They were unaware of the existence of the B. B. Cannon and Reverend Daniel Butrick journals and thus did not incorporate the information contained in these journals regarding campground locations into their research.

The B.B. Cannon party, which consisted of 357 people, entered the eastern edge of Union County on November 10, 1837. The Cannon party moved rapidly through Union County, traversing the entire county and reaching Hamburg Landing (Gilbert 1996:56) on the Mississippi River in three days. They occupied only three camps while traveling across the county. They camped their first night on the banks of Cypress Creek, a location that would have placed them approximately five miles east of Jonesboro. This camp may have been located near Campground Church, although this is not certain. They left this camp the next day, passed through Jonesboro, and headed

southwest through Hamburg Hill Hollow before encamping “in the Mississippi River bottom ½ past 3 O’C PM” (Cannon 1978:169). Their camp at Hamburg Hill presumably was located near or on the banks of Clear Creek, which ran in a roughly north-south direction immediately outside the mouth of the hollow in the W1/2, NW1/4, Section 32, T12S, R2W. As Cannon noted, they had traveled 13 miles in seven hours, for a rate of a little less than two miles per hour. The next day his party traveled the approximate three-mile distance to Hamburg Landing in two hours, for a speed rate roughly similar to that of the day before. Their relatively quick passage through Union County and across the boggy Mississippi River floodplain suggests that the trail was frozen almost rock-hard at the time of their journey in early November. They camped at Hamburg Landing for two nights (November 13-14, 1837) before completing their crossing on November 15. One child died and was buried, presumably somewhere near the landing, on November 14, 1837 (Cannon 1978:169).

The relatively easy crossing of the 1837 Cannon party stands in marked contrast to that experienced by a number of 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 more were still en route at various points along the Golconda-Cape Girardeau Trace within southern Illinois according to Reverend Butrick (1998:44). As there were 11 detachments in all, at least four more detachments either must have crossed by December, 1838, or still been somewhere enroute in southern Illinois. The first detachment to reach the Mississippi may have been that led by Reverend Evan 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 [Old Field’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 [Old Field] 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 (or Moses Daniel’s) detachments had crossed while the Wofford detachment was expected to cross on January 13 (Butrick 1998:49-50). The detachments led by George Hicks, Peter Hildebrand, and Richard 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 (Butrick 1998:59).

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 Jones, 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 Butrick and his family) may have crossed at both Willard’s and Hamburg landings. Reverend Butrick 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).

Butrick’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 Butrick 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 Captain H. B. Henegar claimed to have been part of the “the Quartermasters department of the eighth [detachment], called Taylor’s detachment, and assisted Red Adair”. Henegar was with the party when they “stopped twenty miles from the river, at Gore’s encampment” or near present-day Goreville so that parties ahead of them could cross the Mississippi. Henegar also claimed “I had charge of those left on the east side” or Illinois shore after part of the Taylor party crossed the Mississippi River on January 25, 1838. Henegar stated that he was in charge of the stranded party for “over three weeks”, which would cover the period between when the first half of the party crossed on January 25 and the remainder on February 12, 1839. In contrast to Gilbert’s (1996:54) assertion that the Taylor party crossed at Hamburg Landing, Henegar recalled that they crossed at “Green’s Ferry, on the Mississippi” (Henegar 1978:177).

It is unclear where Captain Henegar’s rank comes from, although it does not appear that he was an army officer at the time of the Cherokee Removal. His name does not appear, for example, on lists of U. S. Army officers who served before 1900 (Heitman 1903; Powell 1900). Information contained in the National Archives regarding the Taylor detachment reveals that Henegar was the wagon master of the detachment, not an army officer.

In sum, the 1838-1839 Cherokee emigrants used both branches of the trail located west of Jonesboro—the northern branch that led past the Morgan Mill and through the Ware site to Willard’s Landing, and the southern branch that led through Hamburg Hill Hollow toward Hamburg Landing. As noted in Chapter 4, oral histories collected by Mulcaster in the 1930s indicate that many of the Cherokee camped for an extended period of time on the Dutch Creek floodplain adjacent to the Morgan Mill while they waited to cross the Mississippi River. Mulcaster collected no information regarding the presence of Cherokee encampments on the Mississippi River floodplain itself. However, as described above, there clearly must have been sizable Cherokee campgrounds located near or at Willard’s Landing.

Reverend Butrick provided an account of the passage of his party, which was part of the Taylor detachment, towards Hamburg Landing that parallels that of B.B. Cannon the year before. The Taylor detachment occupied four separate campsites in eastern Union County, the locations of which can be generally determined based on the distances of these camps from Jonesboro as described by Butrick. Upon entering Union County the Taylor detachment appears to have camped from December 28, 1838 to January 7, 1839, at a location 1.5 miles east of the historic Mt. Pleasant community that lacked water. According to Butrick (1998), they had to haul water to this location every

day from approximately one-half mile away. They left this “dry” camp on January 7, 1839, for a location 1.5 miles farther west that had a “plentiful supply of water”, which appears to be a reference to Mt. Pleasant.

The Taylor detachment remained at or near Mt. Pleasant for two weeks, trapped by incessant rains that had turned the roads to mud. Ellen Cox told John Mulcaster that the Cherokee had camped at Mt. Pleasant in 1838, which agrees with our placement of a camp at this location. The camp may have been located on land owned by Abner Cox, who purchased the W1/2, NE1/4 and E1/2, NW1/4 of Section 26, 12S, R1E, from the public domain on August 2, 1820. On December 4, 1838, Cox additionally purchased the E1/2, NE1/4, of Section 21. This 240 acre tract encompassed what later became the small town of Mt. Pleasant with the 1881 county atlas showing that the trail extended through the northwest corner of the tract (Lake and Company 1881).

During this time “a number of Cherokee...[went] drinking at the house of a white man” (Butrick 1998:24). When the Cherokee mounted police unit known as the “Cherokee Light Horse” attempted to break up the drunken party, one of the men fired on them, crippling one of their horses. At least one grocery—that of Matthew Pipkin—was located a short distance east of Mt. Pleasant, suggesting that the Cherokee may have been at Pipkin’s drinking establishment. Pipkin’s grocery was located near his house, suggesting that the Cherokee who had been “drinking at the house of a white man” may indeed have been at Pipkin’s grocery (Table 5-2, Figure 5-2).

The Taylor detachment left the Mt. Pleasant campground on January 21, 1839, traveling 4.5 miles to a new campground that, based on distance, appears to have been at what is now Campground Church. They spent only one night at this location before traveling an additional five miles toward Jonesboro. Here they found fires already burning that had been left for them by one of the detachments (Peter Hilderbrand’s) preceding them. According to Butrick, this camp site was located approximately three miles east of Jonesboro. Although Butrick does not state who owned this property, in 1871 a Jacob Hileman owned an eighty acre tract—the W1/2, NW1/4, Section 21, T12S, R1W—crossed by the trail that was located approximately three miles east of Jonesboro (Lake and Company 1871:17). This tract had first been purchased by Solomon and Allen Penrod in 1818, with the early purchase date suggesting that the tract had some sort of perceived economic value. However, they relinquished it back to the federal government in 1821, most likely because they could not make the required payments. Christian Hileman repurchased the tract on June 7, 1839, at least four months after the end of the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois. However, like a number of other southern Illinois settlers, he may have been living on this tract before he purchased it. If Christian Hileman indeed did have locally recognized rights to this

property at the time of the Cherokee Removal, it raises the possibility that the Taylor detachment may have been moving between campgrounds owned by members of the Hileman family where they knew they were allowed to camp. At least one woman was buried on the Hileman tract by members of the Peter Hilderbrand detachment (Butrick 1998:25).

On January 23, 1839, the Taylor detachment traveled the remaining three miles to Jonesboro, passed through it, and camped two miles beyond. This suggests that similar to the B.B. Cannon party, the Taylor detachment camped near the Willard Mill which was located approximately two miles west of Jonesboro. Although Butrick (1998:57) described Jonesboro as “a pleasant little village...[of a] moral character much better than any we have seen” he may have hurried his party through the town to avoid the numerous liquor dealers concentrated around the town square. A second oral tradition states that the Cherokee also camped at the racetrack or fair grounds area located north of town, which was later to be the site of one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in the 1850s.

Gilbert (1996:9) suggested that the Taylor detachment ultimately split into two groups, one of which took the northern branch of the trail past the Morgan Mill and through the Ware Mound Group to Willard’s Landing, while the other headed southwest toward Hamburg Hill, and it is possible that this split occurred at the Willard Mill camp.

Butrick appears to have accompanied the Hamburg Landing party, traveling seven miles from the campsite near Jonesboro “to the bank of the Mississippi River...where we fixed our tent on the bank of the Great River” on January 25, 1839 (Butrick 1998). In contrast to the Cannon party of 1837, which crossed in two days, Butrick’s party was stopped from crossing the Mississippi River by high water and floating ice for over three weeks. Two men from Cape Girardeau County, Missouri—Judge Obannon and a Mr. Revard—were able to cross over the Mississippi to invite Butrick and his wife to stay with them. The Butricks accepted, suggesting that although the ferry boats were unable to run, it was still possible for small groups to cross the river. Butrick recorded that while they were camped at Hamburg Landing five people—a black man, a Cherokee woman, and three Cherokee children—died and were buried somewhere in the area. The party finally crossed the Mississippi River on February 14, 1839.

Archaeologists working for the USDA Forest Service have recovered a small amount of information regarding the possible existence of Cherokee campsites in the vicinity of the mouth of Hamburg Hollow, which the Cannon party camped near on

January 11, 1837. A 1992 archaeological survey located a large prehistoric Mississippian site (11U316) that also produced a fragment of a Moravian smoking pipe, a pipe type that had been manufactured by Moravian missionaries in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and distributed as presents to various Native American groups including the Cherokee (Polhemus 1977; South 1999). The recovery of a fragment of such a pipe in proximity to the Cannon party site suggested that part of this group might have camped within the mouth of the hollow at site 11U-316. Volunteer excavations at this site in spring, 2013, failed to recover any additional artifacts indicative of a 1830s occupation. Additional investigations are scheduled for the site in 2014 to search for additional historic period artifacts that may be associated with the Cherokee emigration.

Site 11U615 was a small late nineteenth century/early twentieth century homestead also located at the mouth of Hamburg Hollow. The presence of a spring at this site suggests that early nineteenth century travelers journeying along the trail may have stopped at this location to obtain water for themselves and their animals. The spring, 2013, volunteer investigation of this site revealed that it also contained small prehistoric and historic components, suggesting that the spring may have been in use during these periods. The single early nineteenth century artifact recovered from the site consists of a small fragment of a green shell-edge decorated plate, a ceramic type that went out of style in southern Illinois around 1820. Although the recovery of this item indicated that early nineteenth century people indeed were utilizing this spring, there is no way to prove that it is associated with the Cherokee emigration.

### *Residences*

Determining the locations of private residences within Union County occupied at the time of the Cherokee emigration is hindered by several factors. First, as in other parts of southern Illinois, many settlers continued to squat on land long after they could have legally purchased it, because of a combination of lack of competition for land because of the low population of the county and the relatively low value of the land itself. There simply was no economic incentive (in most cases) to buy, especially if your neighbors recognized your right to the land that you were living on, even though you did not legally own it.

A second factor was the wave of land speculation that swept the eastern United States in the mid to late 1830s, with speculators rushing to buy as much land as they could in anticipation of the land continuing to increase in value (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). It is often difficult to determine if land purchased during this period reflects

actual settlement or is simply the action of speculators gambling on a continual increase in land values. The amount of public land sold in Illinois, for example, increased tenfold within two years, from 354,010 acres in 1834 to 3,199,703 in 1836. As noted by Krenkel (1958:47) people in Illinois “everywhere were diverted from sane business operations by the expectation of making a fortune out of speculative deals...Normally conservative businessmen...believed that every plot of ground they might buy could be sold in a few months or a year at fabulous prices”. This mania finally ended with the collapse of the Illinois Internal Improvement program, which was a state-sponsored economic development program designed to attract settlers and businesses to the state through the construction of canals and railroads, and the nation-wide financial panic of 1837.

A third factor was the purchase of economically valuable agricultural land on the Mississippi River floodplain within Union County by the wealthy men of the county such as Winstead Davie who then rented the land out to tenant farmers (Wagner 2003:29-32). In such a case, although it is known that Davie once owned the land, it becomes virtually impossible to identify the tenant who once occupied the land as to name.

In the present case, we combined the 1839 tax record for Union County with the 1835 census and various licenses issued by the county court to determine the probable locations of late 1830s private residences (Table 5-10, Figure 5-10). We were able to identify 72 residences, 38 of which were mappable. Seventeen of the residences were located in Jonesboro, while others were distributed elsewhere along the roads of the county including the Trail of Tears route as well as along the Mississippi River shoreline. Not surprisingly, many of the identifiable residents were businessmen such as August Rixleben, Winstead Davie, and the Willard brothers who also held liquor, ferry, or other licenses issued by the county in the late 1830s, proving that they resided in Union County at that time. One name that does not appear in the 1835 census is that of James Morgan, who by 1838 was operating a mill along Dutch Creek. This suggests that Morgan may have put his mill into operation shortly before the Cherokee emigration in the late 1830s.

### *Springs*

At least 12 springs were identified within the county, several of which are located on or near the Trail of Tears route. These include three springs at Campground Church, which were located on or near the trail; a spring in the town of Jonesboro; and one located at the Lincoln-Douglas debate site (the old Union County Fairground property) north of town (Table 5-11, Figure 5-11). Springs that were located near but off

the trail included two located about 1.5 miles north of Anna that provided the water for the town as well as for a nearby mental hospital (Perrin 1883:364-390). One other spring that possibly was used by the Cherokee is located at archaeological site 11U615 at the mouth of Hamburg Hill Hollow. The Cannon party is believed to have camped on Clear Creek at the mouth of this hollow on November 11, 1837. As such, they probably would have been aware of or sought out spring locations within the hollow for drinking water. Recent (spring, 2013) test excavations conducted at site 11U615 recovered one fragment of a green shell edge plate, a ceramic type that went out of use in southern Illinois ca. 1820 as well as a large white wire-wound necklace bead. This evidence indicates that travelers were using the spring in the early 1800s, but whether the Cherokee discarded the plate fragment when they camped near the spring or by other travelers cannot be established at this time.

Table 5-1 Tavern Licenses, Union County

UNION COUNTY TAVERNS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Collier Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
2	YES	Crise Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
3	YES	Dailey [Bailey] Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
4	YES	Davie Tavern	299385	4147445		Dexter 1996a
5	YES	Frick Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern and to retail spirituous liquor at his dwelling house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
6	YES	Gray Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
7	YES	Hacker S. Tavern	299763	4147391	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
8	YES	Lingle Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
9	YES	Lingle Tavern (P)	296374	4143201	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
10	YES	Meness Tavern	299740	4147445	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
11	YES	Reynolds Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:139
12	YES	Smiley Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
13	YES	Thornton Tavern	299312	4147214	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
14	YES	Tripp Tavern	299126	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in his tavern in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:145
15	YES	Williams Tavern	299408	4147352	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
16	YES	Abernathy Tavern	281619	4153628	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
17	YES	Arendell Tavern	292850	4147692	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
18	YES	Flach Tavern	297231	4144785	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
19	YES	Grammer Tavern	289124	4146205	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
20	YES	Husky Tavern	311850	4151156	Licensed to keep a tavern at the forks of the road one mile west of John Bradshaw's	Dexter 1996a:138
21	YES	Tripp Tavern (P)	295427	4153340		ISA 2012s
22	NO	Adams Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
23	NO	Barringer Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:137
24	NO	Bone Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on Green's Road	Dexter 1996a:136
25	NO	Butcher Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:136
26	NO	Cope Tavern			Licensed o keep a tavern at his house in the lower end of the county	Dexter 1996a:138
27	NO	Davidson Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:137
28	NO	Freeman Tavern			Licensed to retail spirituous and vineous liquor at his tavern house on his farm in Mississippi Bottoms	Dexter 1996a:144
29	NO	Haregrave Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
30	NO	Hunsaker Jno. Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
31	NO	Hunsaker Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
32	NO	Hybarger Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
33	NO	Lamer Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on the road to Brownsville	Dexter 1996a:137
34	NO	Loyd Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on Green's Road	Dexter 1996a:136
35	NO	Pyle Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
36	NO	Shelton Tavern			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on the road from Jonesboro to Elvira	Dexter 1996a:136

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

Table 5-2 Grocery Licenses, Union County

UNION COUNTY GROCERIES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Deardorf Grocery (P)	299342	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors by drawn drink or in small measure at his pleasure in grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:144
2	YES	Deardorf Liquor	299342	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors by drawn drink or in small measure at his pleasure in grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:144
3	YES	Johathon Woolsey & Co Grocery	299342	4147348	Licensed to keep grocery at his stand near James L. Hodge 's store in Jonesboro 6 Jun 1839	Dexter 1996a:145
4	YES	Lisenbee Grocery	299342	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor and keep a grocery on the corner house known as Jones or bank property in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:142
5	YES	Lisenbee Liquor	299342	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor and keep a grocery on the corner house known as Jones or bank property in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:142
6	YES	Tripp & Co Grocery	299342	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:145
7	YES	Woolsey & Co Grocery	299342	4147348	Licensed to keep grocery at his stand near James L. Hodges store in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:145
8	YES	Woolsey & Co Liquor	299184	4147441	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor by drawn drink or small measure at grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a: 144
9	YES	Matthew Pipkin & Co Grocery	309632	4149400	Licensed to keep grocery on farm near dwelling house of Matthew Pipkin on road from Jonesboro to Vienna	Dexter 1996a:145
10	YES	Reed William Grocery (P)	308773	4153179	"at his grocery in Saratoga"	Dexter 1996a:2
11	NO	Post Augustus Grocery (P)			"at Peru"	Dexter 2003
12	NO	Hirst Grocery			Licensed to keep grocery in storehouse on his farm on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:145

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

Table 5-3 Liquor Licenses, Union County

UNION COUNTY LIQUOR						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	C & A Frick Liquor (P)	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:142
2	YES	Collier Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor and entertain travelers at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
3	YES	Craver Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor from his dwelling house in Jonesboro and on the public square	Dexter 1996a:140
4	YES	Davie & Reed Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
5	YES	Davie Entertainment	299670	4147345	Licensed to operate a house of entertainment at his home	Dexter 1996a
6	YES	Davie Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in his storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:139
7	YES	Field & Whiteaker Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at their storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140
8	YES	Frick J Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to keep a tavern and to retail spirituous liquor at his dwelling house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
9	YES	Gasperson Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to sell spirituous liquors at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
10	YES	Gorden & Co. Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:142
11	YES	Hacker & Hodges Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors by small measure in storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
12	YES	Hunsaker J. Esq. Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in the S. Reed House in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
13	YES	Kafus F. Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140-41
14	YES	Lyerly Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor and entertain travelers in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
15	YES	M.P. Bainbridge & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
16	YES	Mcintosh & Davie Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at their storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140
17	YES	Reed & Hacker Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140
18	YES	Reed & Hodges Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
19	YES	Rexlaben & Brooks Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor and entertain travelers in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:139
20	YES	Rexlaben Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
21	YES	Russell & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor from storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
22	YES	S. & J. Reed Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to sell spirituous liquor in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
23	YES	Samuel Reed & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	licensed to retail spirituous liquor in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140
24	YES	Smith Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:139
25	YES	T.C. James & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors from storehouse of Augustus Rixleben in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
26	YES	Tripp & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:145
27	YES	W. Davie & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
28	YES	Willard & Reed Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:139
29	YES	Willard W & W Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in a storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
30	YES	Willis Willard & Co Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in Jonesboro. Renewed in 1830 to retail spirituous liquors from their storehouse or lumber house	Dexter 1996a:140

UNION COUNTY LIQUOR						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
31	YES	Witeaker Liquor	299670	4147345	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at Jonesboro for three months	Dexter 1996a:140
32	YES	C & A Frick Liquor	299469	4147348	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:142
33	YES	Craver Liquor (P)	299670	4147345	Jonesboro?	Dexter 1996a: 140
34	YES	Hacker & Co Liquor	299323	4147283	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor	Dexter 1996a:141
35	YES	Hacker Liquor	299338	4147449	Licensed to retail spirituous and vineous liquors	Dexter 1996a:143
36	YES	Hodges Liquor	299450	4147283	Licensed to retail spirituous and vineous liquors	Dexter 1996a
37	YES	Mcintosh Liquor	299666	4147445	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at their storehouse in Jonesborough	Dexter 1996a:140
38	YES	Tripp Liquor	299535	4147352	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in his tavern in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:145
39	YES	Tripp Liquor (P)	299705	4147399	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in grocery in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a
40	YES	Whiteaker Liquor	299130	4147441	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at Jonesboro for three months 1829	Dexter 1996a:140
41	YES	Bennett, Neeley & Co Liquor	285175	4150360	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors by small measure at storehouse on margin of Mississippi	Dexter 1996a:144
42	YES	Craig Liquor	303132	4148389	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in dwelling house and entertain travelers	Dexter 1996a:145
43	YES	Deans & Gorden Liquor	318357	4143130	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at storehouse at John Deans'	Dexter 1996a:142
44	YES	Eaton Liquor	288909	4152700	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors and entertain travelers at his dwelling house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
45	YES	Eaton Liquor (P)	285580	4150350	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors and entertain travelers at his dwelling house in Union County	Dexter 1996v.2; ISA 2012b
46	YES	Frick Liquor (P)	298032	4144370	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors	Dexter 1996v.2; ISA 2012b
47	YES	Gore & Garner Liquor	317620	4146810	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors from storehouse near Widow Deans	Dexter 1996a:143
48	YES	Jones Liquor	318596	4152050	Licensed t retail spirituous liquor in his dwelling house in Union County for 6 months	Dexter 2003:31
49	YES	McGhehey Liquor	288282	4145000	Licensed to keep public house of entertainment and retail liquor	Dexter 1996a:145
50	YES	Paine Liquor	299842	4145657	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor and entertain travelers at his residence 1/4 mile from Jonesboro on the rad to Unity	Dexter 1996a:144
51	YES	Pipkin Matthew Liquor	309632	4149400	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor	Dexter 1996a:142
52	YES	Reed W. H. Liquor	314950	4139527	near Ann C. Garrot's spring	Dexter 1996a:145
53	YES	Stokes Liquor (P)	316169	4153320	Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at his stand on the road leading from Jonesborough to Vienna	Dexter 1996a
54	YES	Stokes Liquor Stand	311601	4148920	Licensed to retail spirituous and vineous liquor in small measure at his stand on road from Jonesboro to Vienna	ISA 2012b
55	YES	Willard E. Liquor	284722	4148310	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors by small measure in storehouse on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:143-44
56	YES	Willard & McGhehy Liquor (P)	284722	4148310	Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors by small measure in storehouse on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:144
57	NO	A.W. Kimmel & Clodfeller Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in storehouse on east bank of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:143
58	NO	Berry Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at Peru	Dexter 1996a:145
59	NO	Brooks Liquor				Dexter 1996a:139
60	NO	Freeman Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor at his tavern house on his farm in Mississippi Bottoms	Dexter 1996a:144
61	NO	Gore Liquor				Dexter 200323 ISA
62	NO	Hacker & Davie Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors	Dexter 1996a:142
63	NO	Henderson & Co Liquor			Licensed to sell spirituous liquors	Dexter 1996a:138
64	NO	Hodges L Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors	Dexter 1996a:144
65	NO	Jones Liquor (P)			Licensed t retail spirituous liquor in his dwelling house in Union County for 6 months	Dexter 1996a:141

UNION COUNTY LIQUOR						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
66	NO	Lingle Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor and entertain travelers in his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
67	NO	Mcgehey Entertainment			Licensed to operate a house of entertainment at his home	Anderson 2000
68	NO	Ozburn Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at Sheffield in Union County	Dexter 1996a:144
69	NO	Pierce Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor at his dwelling house and still house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:141
70	NO	Pipkin Mark Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in his dwelling house near John McGinnis	Dexter 1996a:141
71	NO	Post Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at storehouse near John Fisher	Dexter 1996a:142
72	NO	Reed J & Co Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors	Dexter 1996a:144
73	NO	Reed J. Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors at Giles' ferry	Dexter 1996a:142
74	NO	Reed James & W.H. Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous at the storehouse on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:142
75	NO	Reed Liquor			At store in Peru, storehouse on Jacob Garrott's farm, storehouse near Ann C. Garrott's spring	Dexter 1996a:143
76	NO	Reed S. & J. Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors in the S. Reed House in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141 Dexter 2003:48
77	NO	Reed S. Liquor			Licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise in S. Reed's house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140-1, Dexter 2003:48
78	NO	Reed W. H. Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquors from store in Peru, renewed in 1838 for storehouse on Jacob Garrott's farm, renewed in 1838 for storehouse near Ann C. Garrott's spring, IN 1839, licensed to retail spirituous liquors near Ann C. Garrot's spring	Dexter 1996a:143,145
79	NO	Riddle Liquor			Licensed to sell spirituous liquors at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:138
80	NO	Rixleben Liquor			Storehouse of Rixleben	Dexter 1996a:143
81	NO	Russell Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor from storehouse in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
82	NO	Slaughter & McClintock Liquor			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor in storehouse on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:143
83	NO	Stokes T. Liquor			licensed to retail spirituous liquors at his stand on the road leading from Jonesboro to Vienna	Dexter 1996a:144
84	NO	Stokes W. Liquor			licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor in small measure at his stand on road from Jonesboro to Vienna	Dexter 1996a:144
85	NO	Tope Liquor			Licensed to entertain travelers, retail spirituous liquor on the road from Jonesboro to Brownsville	Dexter 1996a:138
86	NO	Whiteaker Liquor (P)			Licensed to retail spirituous liquor, Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:140

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

Table 5-4 Other Businesses, Union County

UNION COUNTY OTHER						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Cruse Carpenter	297330	4148450	carpenter	Dexter 1996:5; 2003:11
2	YES	Cruse Carpenter (P)	297721	4148040	carpenter	Dexter 2003:11
3	YES	Cruse Distillery	294348	4147935	one distillery	Dexter 1996c:7
4	YES	Cruse Smithy	298255	4137480	blacksmith	Dexter 1996c:5
5	YES	Cruse Smithy (P)	298245	4137070	blacksmith	Dexter 1996c:5
6	YES	Fink Tannery	306635	4143090	tan yards	Anderson 2000
7	YES	Hargrave Smithy	296836	4145200	blacksmith	Dexter 1996c:5; 2003:29
8	YES	T. & E. Sams Retail	296836	4145200	Licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:164
9	YES	Hartline Distillery	300605	4154680	one distillery	Dexter 1996c:5
10	YES	Hartline Distillery (P)	298625	4150850	distillery	Dexter 1996c:5
11	YES	Hileman Distillery	294338	4142840	one distillery	Dexter 1996c:8; 2003:26
12	YES	Hileman Distillery (P)	288869	4136480	distillery	Dexter 1996c
13	YES	Houser Distillery	289889	4154410	one distillery	Dexter 1996c:15
14	YES	Keller Distillery	313265	4150560	distillery	Dexter 1996c:10
15	YES	Keller Distillery (P)	313010	4140830	distillery	Dexter 1996a
16	YES	Masters Wagonmaker	297590	4155860	wagon maker	Dexter 1996:6
17	YES	Miller Thrashing/Tanning	298029	4143960	one thrashing machine and one tanyard	Dexter 1996:5
18	YES	Morgan Smithy	293044	4147853	blacksmith	Dexter 1996:13; 2003:37
19	YES	Zimmerman Distillery	303840	4159335	one distillery	Dexter 1996:15; 2003:61
20	NO	Baltzell Shoemaker/Saddler			Shoemakers & saddlers	Anderson 2000
21	NO	Brown Smithy			blacksmith	Dexter 1996:6
22	NO	Butcher Smithy			blacksmith	Dexter 1996a:136; 1996:6, 8
23	NO	Carakar Smithy			blacksmith, one horse and ox grist mill	Dexter 1996:9; Anderson 2000
24	NO	Corgan Distillery			distillery	Anderson 2000
25	NO	Crite Wagon Maker			wagon maker	Anderson 2000
26	NO	Davie Circus			licensed to peddle German elastic tablecloths manufactured at Chicago. License of performance of a traveling museum, slight of hand, tumbling and wire walking company exhibition in J Reed's storehouse	Dexter 1996a:164-65
27	NO	Davolt Hattery			hatter	Anderson 2000
28	NO	Degroat Distillery/Smithy			distillery/blacksmith	Anderson 2000
29	NO	Eddleman Smithy			blacksmith	Anderson 2000
30	NO	Fink Tanyard			one tanyard	Anderson 2000
31	NO	Frick Carding			one wool carding machine	Anderson 2000
32	NO	Godwin Distillery			one distillery	Anderson 2000
33	NO	Hargrave Smithy/Thrashing			blacksmith, one thrashing machine	Anderson 2000
34	NO	Hartline Cotton Gin			one cotton gin	Anderson 2000
35	NO	Hodges Hattery			hatter	Anderson 2000
36	NO	Kaley Tailor			tailor	Anderson 2000
37	NO	Lamer Distillery			distillery	Anderson 2000
38	NO	Lentz Jn Distillery			one distillery	Anderson 2000
39	NO	Lentz Senr Distillery			one distillery	Anderson 2000
40	NO	Mcintosh & Davie			storehouse in Jonesboro, Benjamin, Hosea, John or Thomas	Dexter 1996a:140
41	NO	Mckinney, Jefferson			licensed to retail goods, wares and	Dexter 1996a:162

UNION COUNTY OTHER						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
					merchandise	
42	NO	Meissenheimer Distillery			distillery	Anderson 2000
43	NO	Messrs. Thomas C. James & Co. Retail			storehouse of Rixleben	Dexter 1996a
44	NO	Nimmo Shoemaker/Saddler			Shoemakers & saddlers	Anderson 2000
45	NO	Pipkin Shoemaker/Saddlery			Shoemakers & saddlers	Anderson 2000
46	NO	Rentleman Tanyard			tanyard	Anderson 2000
47	NO	Rhinehart Cabinet Maker			cabinet maker, carpenter	Anderson 2000
48	NO	Rhinehart Carpenter			cabinet maker, carpenter	Anderson 2000
49	NO	Rhodes Smithy			blacksmith	Anderson 2000
50	NO	Spence Shoemakers/Saddler			Shoemakers & saddlers	Anderson 2000
51	NO	Thomas Shoemaker/Saddler			Shoemakers & saddlers	Anderson 2000
52	NO	Walker Smithy			blacksmith	Anderson 2000

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

Table 5-5 Mills, Union County

UNION COUNTY MILLS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Water Valley Mill	312167	4153448	Located on Bradshaw Creek, in operation as early as 1830	Karraker 1947; Lake 1881
2	YES	Cruse Mill	294348	4147935	one water grist mill and one distillery	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996:2, 7
3	YES	Willard Mill	296779	4150034	1835 census lists Elijah Willard as having a horse and ox saw mill belonging to Elijah Willard. This was converted to steam in the late 1830s. Anna Willard stated that this mill ground grain for the Cherokee and that it was located on what was the Nicolaides farm in the 1930s.	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996:5
4	YES	Hargrave Mill	296836	4145200	blacksmith, one water grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 5; 1947 Dexter 2003:4, 29; Karraker 1947; ISA.
5	YES	G. Hileman Grist Mill	310400	4148120	one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:10; Karraker 1947
6	YES	Hartline Mill	300605	4154680	one horse and ox grist mill and one distillery	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 5; ISA
7	YES	Penrod Mill	313459	4142430	one water grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 10; Dexter 2003:46; Karraker 1947
8	YES	Brown Mill	287736	4139340	one horse or ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 6; Dexter 2003:7; ISA
9	YES	Lingle Mill	304619	4143530	one water grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 4; Dexter 2003:36
10	YES	Albright Mill	307041	4143070	1835 Census: one horse and ox grist mill. Located on Big Strings creek near Mill creek	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 7; Dexter 2003:2; Karraker 1947; ISA
11	YES	Vancil Mill	296833	4154654	one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:14; Karraker 1947 ISA
12	YES	Houser Mill	289889	4154410	one horse and ox grist mill and one distillery	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:2, 15; ISA 2012b
13	YES	Stevenson Mill	307822	4153117	A grist and saw mill dating from 1845-1860 located on the Cache River near Saratoga	Karraker 1947; Lake 1881
14	YES	Morgan Mill	292792	4148020	This was a water-powered mill on Dutch Creek operated by James Morgan that is identified as having supplied flour to the Cherokee. Morgan also was a blacksmith.	Karraker 1947; Mulcaster Papers
15	YES	Zimmerman Mill	303840	4159335	one horse and ox grist mill and one distillery	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996:2, 15; Dexter 2003:61
16	YES	Flaughtown Mill	299216	4144779	Karraker (1947) notes that this water mill ground grain for the Cherokee, it is located two miles south of the trail	Karraker 1947
17	YES	Smith G. Mill	297142	4140760	one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:15
18	NO	Cauble Mill			one horse or ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:4
19	NO	Carakar Mill			blacksmith, one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:9
20	NO	Patterson Mill			one horse or ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:3
21	NO	Gavin Mill			one water saw mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:8
22	NO	Verble Mill			one water grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:9
23	NO	Stokes Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:11

UNION COUNTY MILLS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
24	NO	Wiggs Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:11
25	NO	Ivy Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:12
26	NO	Gregroy Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:14
27	NO	Edwards Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:15
28	NO	Rorex Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:16
29	NO	Beggs Mill			one horse and ox grist mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:10
30	NO	H. Hileman Water Mill			one water saw mill	Anderson 2000; Dexter 1996c:7

Table 5-6 Ferries, Union County

UNION COUNTY FERRIES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Willard's Landing	283976	4147674	Known ferry location based on archival data and surveys carried out in 2003	Wagner and McCorvie 2003
2	YES	Green's Upper Ferry	282988	4148794	Giles ferry, Green's Upper Ferry, S1/2 section 21, S-part of 20, and S-part of NW 1/4 section 21.	Dexter 1996a:142; ISA
3	YES	Green's Lower Ferry	283407	4148182	S1/2 section 21 several of the men operating ferries went to some expense and spent considerable effort in clearing out roads leading to their places.	Wagner and McCorvie 2003
4	YES	Hamburg Landing	286411	4143082	Known ferry location based on archival data and surveys carried out in 2003	Wagner and McCorvie 2003
5	YES	Littleton's Old Ferry	286479	4142904	at Hamburg Landing, ferry across Mississippi River from west half section 11, township 13 south, range 3 west, 4 parcels in 13S3W were owned by Littletons between 1816 and 1837 (ISA 2012), Abner Field Jr. and Jacob Lyttleton (Littleton) were licensed to keep a ferry across Mississippi	Dexter 1996a:154; Wagner 2003
6	NO	Harris's Ferry			Ferry across Big Muddy River near mouth, ferry across Bid Muddy River near mouth 8 Jul 1818, \$100 bond with Abner Field security	Dexter 1996a:154

Table 5-7 Euro-American Cemeteries, Union County

UNION COUNTY EURO-AMERICAN CEMETERIES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	11U308 (Cotner Cemetery)	291979	4145764	Cemetery with two stone markers, 1847-1863 range, that overlooks Trail of Tears route through Hamburg Hill Hollow.	Wagner et al. 1992:116-119
2	YES	11U619 (Grammer Cemetery)	291913	4145658	Cemetery with six stone markers (1866-1885 range), and 10 unmarked field stones that overlooks Trail of Tears route through Hamburg Hill Hollow	Wagner et al. 1992:217-219
3	YES	11U620 (Massey-Cox Cemetery)	291953	4145901	Cemetery with three stone markers (1871-1880 range) and additional unmarked stones located adjacent to Trail of Tears route through Hamburg Hill hollow	Wagner et al. 1992:220-222
4	YES	Big Bay Cemetery	305866	4143420	No archival note	ISGS 2012
5	YES	Campground Church Cemetery	310803	4148054	Henson's ground penetrating radar discovered possible unmarked graves known to Sandy Boaz to be Cherokee while Euro-American cemetery spans multiple phases of use	Boaz 2013; Henson 2010
6	YES	Goddard Cemetery	318295	4151802	No archival note	Hucke 2010
7	YES	Grieb Cemetery	299091	4143888	No archival note	Hucke 2010
8	YES	Hall Cemetery	314612	4155357	No archival note	Hucke 2010
9	YES	Hamburg Hill Cemetery	292800	4146635	Small cemetery with two nineteenth century markers overlooking east entrance to Hamburg Hill Hollow and the Trail of Tears	Field Observation
10	YES	Hinkle Cemetery	311920	4138869	Located two miles east of Dongola, just north of Dongola-Cypress Road. Located in SE1/4, SW1/4, Section 17, T13S, R1E	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
11	YES	Johns Church Cemetery	301209	4139780	No archival note	ISGS 2012
12	YES	Jonesboro Cemetery	299071	4146770	Located south of Jonesboro on Rt. 127	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013
13	YES	Karaker Cemetery	306131	4152456	No archival note	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013
14	YES	Keller Cemetery	313104	4156416	No archival note	Hucke 2010
15	YES	Kelley Cemetery	307117	4155428	No archival note	Hucke 2010
16	YES	Kimmel (Old Dunkard)	297392	4150382	Located west of Jonesboro.	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
17	YES	Kimmel Family Cemetery	301583	4141360	No archival note	Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
18	YES	Kollehner Cemetery	297832	4143222	Located in NW1/4, SW1/4, Section 1, T13S, R2W	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
19	YES	McGinnis Cemetery	314163	4146087	Located east of Anna	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
20	YES	Mission Chapel Cemetery	302119	4139758	Located on Mission Chapel Lane between Dongola and Route 127 on St. John's Road. Just east of St. John's Cemetery north side of road.	ISGS 2012
21	YES	Morgan Cemetery	293472	4147984	Extensive cemetery of Morgan Family who ground grain for the Cherokee. Located on a sloping ridge spur overlooking the Trail of Tears in SW1/4, SW1/4, Section 21, T12S, R2W.	Newell 2013
22	YES	Mount Tabor Cemetery	296238	4156526	No archival note	Hucke 2010
23	YES	Mt. Zion Cumberland Presbyterian	317275	4142235	Located in SE1/4, NE1/4, Section 32, T13S, R1E	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
24	YES	Rallo Cemetery	289436	4151748	No archival note	Hucke 2010
25	YES	Road Branch Cemetery	293538	4145612	No archival note	ISGS 2012
26	YES	Saint Joseph Rich	301556	4156050	No archival note	Hucke 2010
27	YES	Saratoga Cemetery	308774	4153301	3620 New Saratoga Road off Lick Creek Rd.	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013
28	YES	Sitter Cemetery	310166	4153176	Located in the SE1/4, NW1/4, Section 6, T12S, R1E	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013
29	YES	Trinity (Williams) Cemetery	307369	4150278	Located four miles northeast of Anna in the SE1/4, NE1/4, Section 14, T12S, R1W	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013, ISGS 2012
30	YES	Union Cemetery	304476	4140341	No archival note	Hucke 2010

UNION COUNTY EURO-AMERICAN CEMETERIES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
31	YES	Wall Cemetery	312971	4154511	Located in the NE1/4, SW1/4, Section 32, T11S, R1E.	Hucke 2010, Newell 2013
32	YES	Williams Cemetery	307445	4153114	Located near New Saratoga Road and Cache Creek, between Saratoga and Anna	Huke 2010, Newell 2013

Table 5-8 Cherokee Burial Areas, Union County

UNION COUNTY CHEROKEE BURIALS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Taylor Camp	318200	4146398	A member of the Taylor detachment was buried at this location on January 7, 1839	Butrick n.d.
2	YES	Campground Church	310835	4148092	Oral histories collected by Mulcaster indicate that numerous Cherokee were buried at this location	Boaz 2013; Henson 2010
3	YES	Hamburg Landing	285994	4142217	At least six Cherokee were buried at this location between 1837-1839	Butrick n.d.; Cannon 1978
4	YES	Hileman Campground	302830	4148610	A Cherokee may have been buried at this location on January 24, 1839	Butrick 1998
5	YES	Morgan Mill/Dutch Creek Campground	292969	4147827	Identified as a cemetery on the basis of oral histories collected from family descendants	Mulcaster n.d.
6	YES	Old Mt. Pleasant Cemetery (Cox/Stokes/Standard)	316894	4146279	Ellen Cox, whose family owned the property at the time of the Cherokee Removal, told John Mulcaster that "many" Cherokee were buried in this cemetery	Cox 1934
7	YES	Ware Mound Group	287856	4146907	Oral history supported by archaeological data indicate that Cherokee were buried in the top of a prehistoric mound at this site.	Mulcaster n.d.; Milner 1993
8	YES	Willard's Mill	296779	4150034	A Cherokee woman may have been buried at this location on January 24, 1839	Mulcaster n.d.b.; Ogle and Company 1908; Hixson 193-a,b,c)

Table 5-9 Campgrounds, Union County

UNION COUNTY CAMPGROUNDS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Taylor Camp	318200	4146398	The Taylor party camped 1.5 mi east of Mt. Pleasant from December 28, 1838 to January 7, 1839	Butrick 1998
2	YES	Mt. Pleasant	316876	4146767	The Taylor detachment may have camped here from January 7-14, 1838, on land owned by the Cox family that later became Mt. Pleasant.	Butrick 1998
3	YES	Cypress Creek	315227	4145449	The Cannon party camped on this creek on November 10, 1837	Cannon 1978
4	YES	Hileman	302830	4148610	This location may be at or near where the Taylor detachment camped	Butrick 1998
5	YES	Campground Church	310500	4147992	Oral histories dating back to the 1930s identify this location as a campground	Boaz 2013; Henson 2010
6	YES	Lincoln-Douglas Debate Site	299267	4148115	Oral history that the Cherokee camped near the spring at this location on the old Union County Fairground property.	Oral interview collected by Mary McCorvie from local informants
7	YES	Willard's Mill	296779	4150034	Anna Willard stated in the 1930s that there was a campground located near her father's mill on Dutch Creek "on the Nicolaides farm" of the 1930s	Mulcaster n.d.b.; Ogle and Company 1908; Hixson 193-a,b,c) Mulcaster n.d.b.; Ogle and Company 1908; Hixson 193-a,b,c)
8	YES	Morgan Mill/Dutch Creek	292080	4148022	Oral histories collected from family descendants indicate that the Cherokee camped in the "Batson old field" at this location	Mulcaster n.d.
9	YES	Willard's Landing	284722	4148307	Cherokee detachments almost certainly camped at this location while waiting their turn to cross the Mississippi River. Specific references, however, have not yet been found.	Wagner et al. 2003
10	YES	11U621	291920	4145595	This is a prehistoric Mississippian (AD 1000-1500) site that also has produced an early 1800s Moravian pipe, it is located near where the Cannon party are believed to have camped at Clear Creek in 1837.	Wagner et al. 1992:222-225
11	YES	Clear Creek	291066	4145342	The Cannon party are believed to have camped along Clear Creek at the mouth of Hamburg Hollow on November 12, 1837	Cannon 1978
12	YES	Hamburg Landing	285682	4142326	Both the Cannon and Taylor detachments camped at this location in 1837 and 1838	Butrick 1998; Cannon 1978

Table 5-10 Residences, Union County

UNION COUNTY RESIDENCES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Collier Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
2	YES	Craver Residence (P)	299338	4147389	Licensed to retail spirituous liquor from his dwelling house in Jonesboro and on the public square	Dexter 1996a:140
3	YES	Crise Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro,	Dexter 1996a:137
4	YES	Dailey [Bailey] Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
5	YES	Frick Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern and to retail spirituous liquor at his dwelling house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:141
6	YES	Gasperson Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to sell spirituous liquors at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:138
7	YES	Hacker S. Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
8	YES	Lingle P. Residence (P)	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro,	Dexter 1996:4 Dexter 2003:36 Dexter 1996c:2
9	YES	Meness Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
10	YES	Reed S. Residence	299338	4147389	James J. Hunsaker Esq. was licensed to retail spirituous liquors in the S. Reed House in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:143
11	YES	Rixleben Residence	299338	4147389	Messrs. Thomas C James & Co were licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise in storehouse of Augustus Rixleben and Messrs. T. C. James & Co were licensed to retail spirituous liquors from storehouse of Augustus Rixleben in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:163
12	YES	Shelton Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on the road from Jonesboro to Elvira	Dexter 1996a:136
13	YES	Smiley Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
14	YES	Thornton Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:137
15	YES	Willard E Residence (P)	299338	4147389	Lived in Jonesboro	Perrin 1883:91
16	YES	Williams Residence	299338	4147389	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Jonesboro	Dexter 1996a:136
17	YES	Winstead Davie Residence	299338	4147389	On Market Street in Jonesboro	Chapter 4, this report
18	YES	Willis Willard Residence	299338	4147389	Jonesboro	Perrine 1883:91
19	YES	Charles Willard Residence	299338	4147389	Jonesboro	Perrine 1883:91
20	YES	Albright Residence	307041	4143073	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996:7 Karraker 1947; Dexter 2003:2 Dexter 1996c:2; ISA
21	YES	Bradshaw Residence	313634	4151266	Husky john was licensed to keep a tavern at the forks of the road one mile west of John Bradshaw's	Dexter 1996a:138
22	YES	Brown Residence (P)	287721	4138940	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996:6; ISA; Dexter 1996:2; Dexter 2003:7
23	YES	Caraker Residence	308342	4156545	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996:9
24	YES	Davidson Residence	304062	4137441	Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in union county,	Dexter 1996a:137
25	YES	Fink Residence	306635	4143086	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996c:8 ISA 2012b
26	YES	Garrott or Garrot Residence	314950	4139527	Storehouse on Jacob Garrott's farm	Dexter 1996a:143
27	YES	Hartline Residence (P)1	298625	4150846	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996c:5; Dexter 2003; ISA 2012b

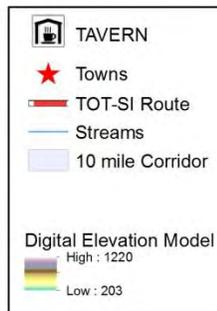
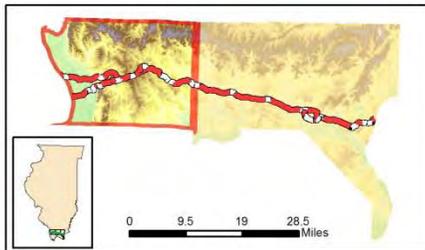
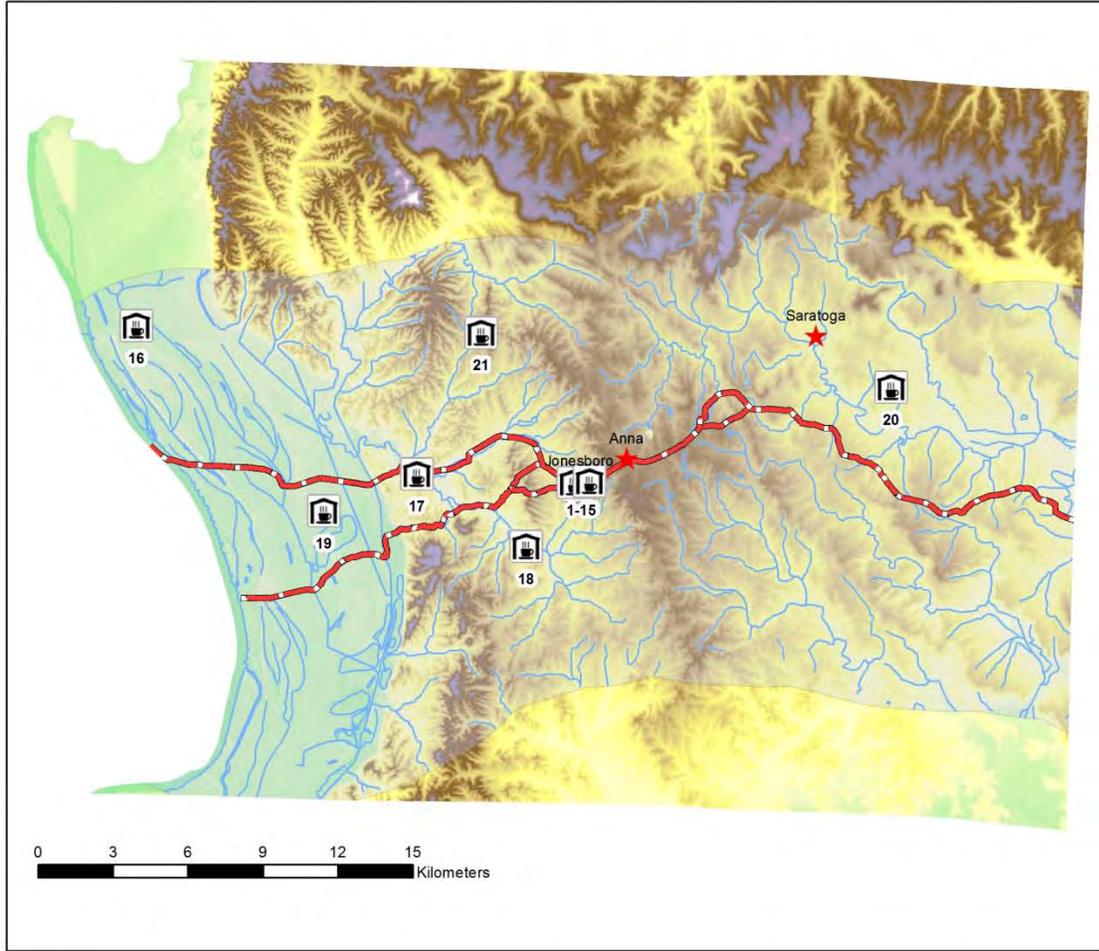
UNION COUNTY RESIDENCES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
28	YES	Hartline Residence (P)2	298625	4150846	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996b:5; Dexter 2003; ISA 2012b
29	YES	Hileman G. Homestead	310401	4148201	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Sandy Boaz; Henson 2010
30	YES	Hileman Homestead	310400	4148120	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996b:5; ISA 2012b
31	YES	Hileman Residence (P)	288869	4136478	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996b:5; ISA 2012b
32	YES	Houser Residence	289889	4154414	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996b:15; ISA 2012b
33	YES	Keller Residence (P)	313265	4150559	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996b:15; ISA 2012b
34	YES	Morgan Farm	293044	4147853	Multiple accounts of Trail of Tears period activity	Mulcaster Papers
35	YES	Penrod Residence (P)	313714	4152160	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996:10 Karraker 1947 Dexter 1996c:46
36	YES	Smith Residence	297142	4140762	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996:15 ISA
37	YES	Tobler Farm	312966	4146759	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Lake 1881
38	YES	Zimmerman Residence (P)	303960	4159099	Reconstruction based on 1835 census and <i>Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales</i> database	Dexter 1996c=b:61 Dexter 1996c:2,15
39	NO	Abernathy Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
40	NO	Adams Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
41	NO	Arendell Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
42	NO	Barringer Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:137
43	NO	Bone Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on Green's Road	Dexter 1996a:136
44	NO	Butcher Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:136
45	NO	Cope Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in the lower end of the county	Dexter 1996a:138
46	NO	Deans Residence			Messrs. Gore & Garner were licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise near Widow Deans Deans & Gorden were licensed to retail spirituous liquors at storehouse at John Deans'	Dexter 1996a:142
47	NO	Eaton Residence			Licensed to retail spirituous liquors and entertain travelers at his dwelling house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
48	NO	Fisher Residence			Augustus Post was licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise in Union County near John Fishers and Rixleben & Post were licensed to retail goods, wares and merchandise near John Fisher's	Dexter 1996a:162
49	NO	Flach Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
50	NO	Freeman Residence			Licensed to retail spirituous and vinous liquor at his tavern house on his farm in Mississippi Bottoms	Dexter 1996a:144
51	NO	Garrott Residence (P)			"Storehouse on James Garrott's farm" (1838)	Dexter 1996a:143
52	NO	Grammer Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
53	NO	Hargrave Residence (P)			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
54	NO	Hirst Residence			Licensed to keep grocery in storehouse on his farm on margin of Mississippi River	Dexter 1996a:145
55	NO	Hunsaker Jno. Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
56	NO	Hunsaker Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137

UNION COUNTY RESIDENCES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
57	NO	Hunsaker Residence (P)			House in Union Co., possibly Abraham or Jacob Jr.	Dexter 1996a:136
58	NO	Hybarger Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house	Dexter 1996a:137
59	NO	Jones Residence			Licensed t retail spirituuous liquor in his dwelling house in Union County for 6 months	Dexter 1996a:141
60	NO	Lamer Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on the road to Brownsville	Dexter 1996a:137
61	NO	Lingle J. Residence			Licensed to retail spirituuous liquor and entertain travelers in his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:139
62	NO	Loyd Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house on Green's Road	Dexter 1996a:136
63	NO	Loyd Residence (P)			House on Green's Road	Dexter 1996a:136
64	NO	McGinnis Residence			Mark Pipkin was licensed to retail spirituuous liquor in his dwelling house near John McGinnis	Dexter 1996a:141
65	NO	Pierce Residence			Licensed to retail spirituuous liquor at his dwelling house and still house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:141
66	NO	Pipkin Mark Residence			Licensed to retail spirituuous liquor in his dwelling house near John McGinnis	Dexter 1996a:141
67	NO	Pipkin Matthew Residence			Licensed to keep grocery on farm near dwelling house of Matthew Pippin on road from Jonesboro to Vienna	Dexter 1996a:145
68	NO	Pipkin Residence (P)			"On farm near dwelling house of Matthew Pipkin on road from Jonesboro to Vienna"	Dexter 1996a ; ISA 2012b
69	NO	Pyle Residence			Licensed to keep a tavern at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:136
70	NO	Pyle Residence (P)			House in Union Co.	Dexter 1996a:136
71	NO	Riddle Residence			Licensed to sell spirituuous liquors at his house in Union County	Dexter 1996a:138
72	NO	Shelton Residence (P)			House on the road from Jonesboro to Elvira	Dexter 1996a:136

Table 5-11 Springs, Union County

UNION COUNTY SPRINGS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Campground Church Spring 1	310911	4148018	Spring associated with the Cherokee campground at Campground Church	Boaz 2013; Sharp et al. 2012
2	YES	Campground Church Spring 2	310913	4148025	Spring associated with the Cherokee campground at Campground Church	Boaz 2013; Sharp et al. 2012
3	YES	Campground Church Spring 3	311185	4147970	Spring associated with the Cherokee campground at Campground Church	Boaz 2013; Sharp et al. 2012
4	YES	Garrot Spring	314950	4139527	William H. Reed was licensed to retail spirituous liquors near Ann C. Garrot's spring	Dexter 1996a:145
5	YES	GLO 1807 Spring	304387	4146828	GLO plat map shows a spring in the SW 1/4, NW 1/4, Section 27, T12S, R1W	GLO 1807 Plat Map
6	YES	Jonesboro Spring	299361	4147617	Springs at the town of Jonesboro	Perrin 1883:358
7	YES	Lincoln Douglas Debate site	299267	4148115	Spring located on old Union County Fairground property, which oral history identifies as a possible Cherokee camp site	Mary McCorvy, pers comm. 2013
8	YES	Saratoga Spring	308673	4153108	"At Western Saratoga, in this county, there is a mineral spring...It is located in the northeast corner of section 1, township 12 south, range 1 west..."(Worthen 1868:55); also at "Western Saratoga a mineral spring in the Chester limestone" (Worthen 1882:499)	Worthen 1868:55; Worthen 1882:499
9	YES	Seminary Fork Spring	295306	4158073	Near Seminary fork of Clear Creek, SW quarter of Section 22, T11S, R2W, "a strong spring boils up..." Worthen 1882:499.	Worthen 1868:55; Worthen 1882:499
10	YES	Site 11U615	292325	4145691	Located by archaeological survey in 1992. March, 2013, excavations near the spring recovered a fragment of a ca. 1800-1820 plate.	Wagner et al. 1992:200-205
11	YES	Anna Spring	302372	4150660	"a spring issuing from a cave... about one and a half miles north of Anna, forms the water supply for Anna"	Perrin 1883:364
12	YES	Southern Hospital Spring	301226	4148266	"drinking water is obtained from...the big spring one-fourth mile" from what is now the Anna Mental Hospital	Perrin 1883:390

# Tavern Locations, Union County



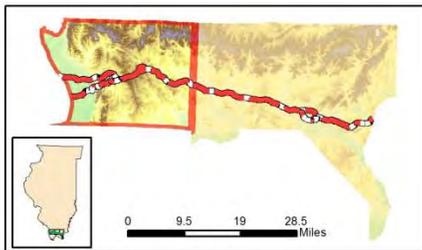
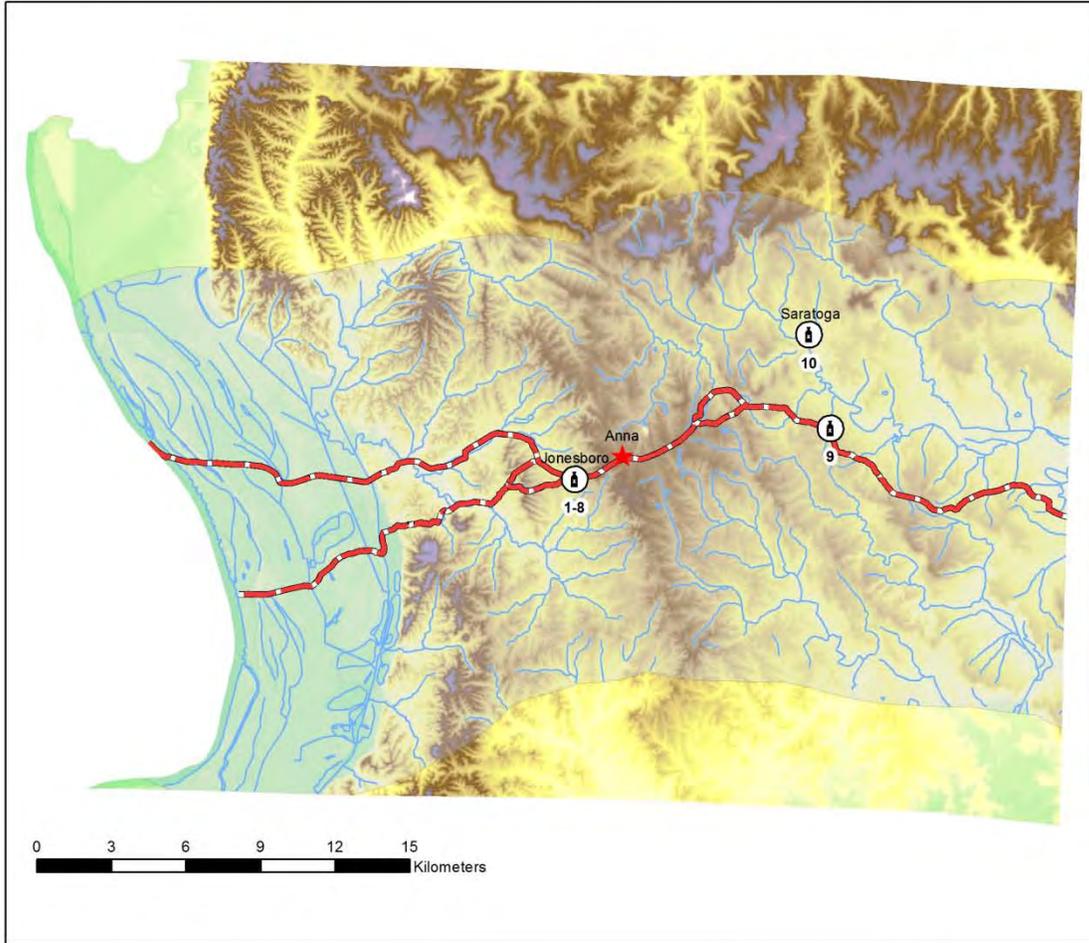
Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.isas.gov/isa/pubdomsch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-base.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILCounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILCounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase

(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

Figure 5-1 Tavern Locations, Union County

# Grocery Locations, Union County



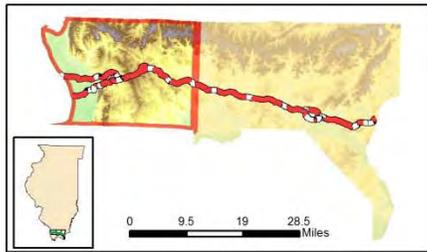
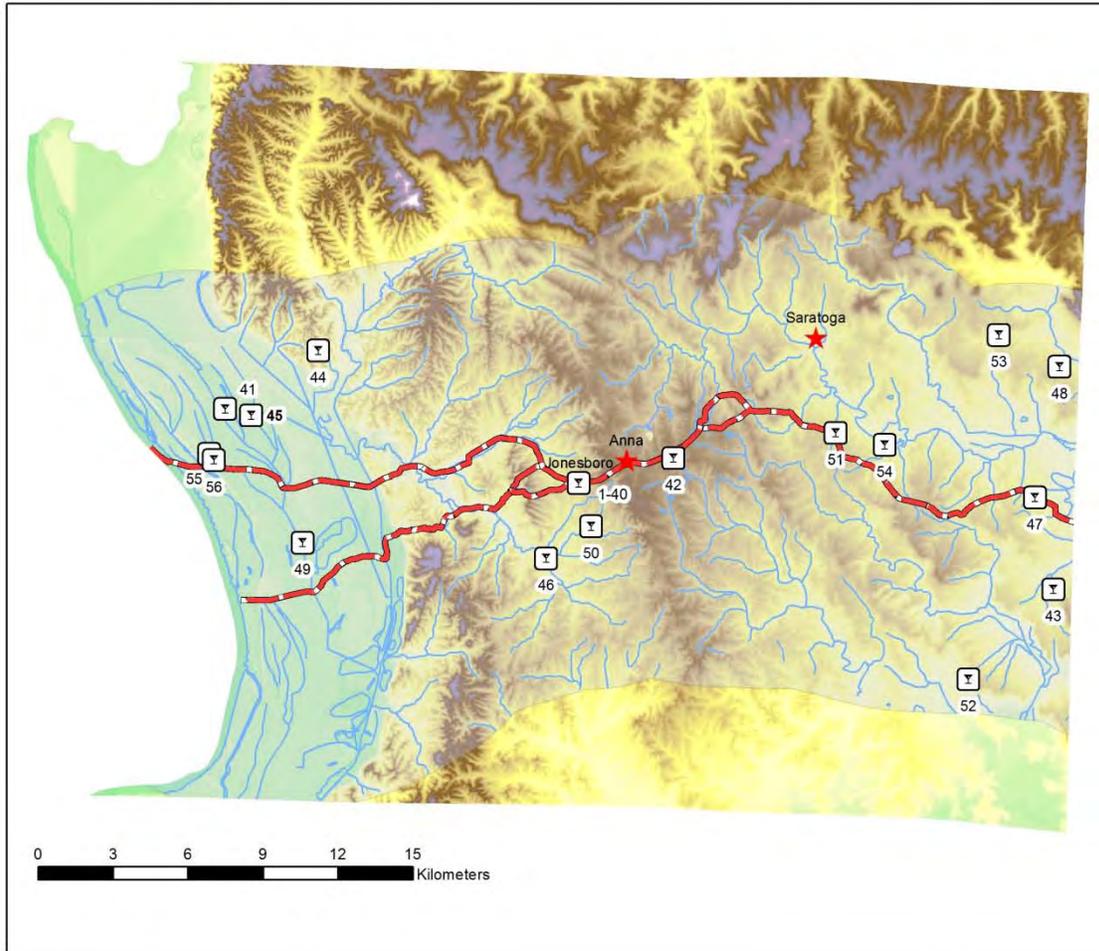
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



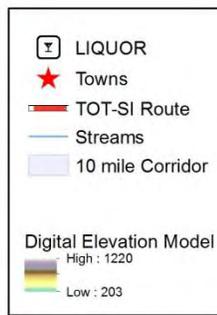
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-base.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
 URL: <http://www.geocommunicator.gov/>  
 GeoComm/isis\_home/home/PLSS\_download\_ilcounty.htm  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-2 Grocery Locations, Union County

# Liquor Locations, Union County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

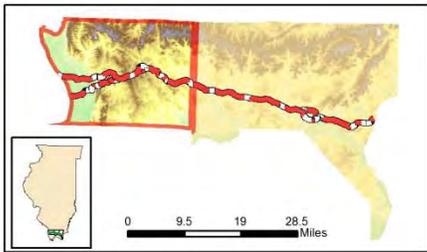
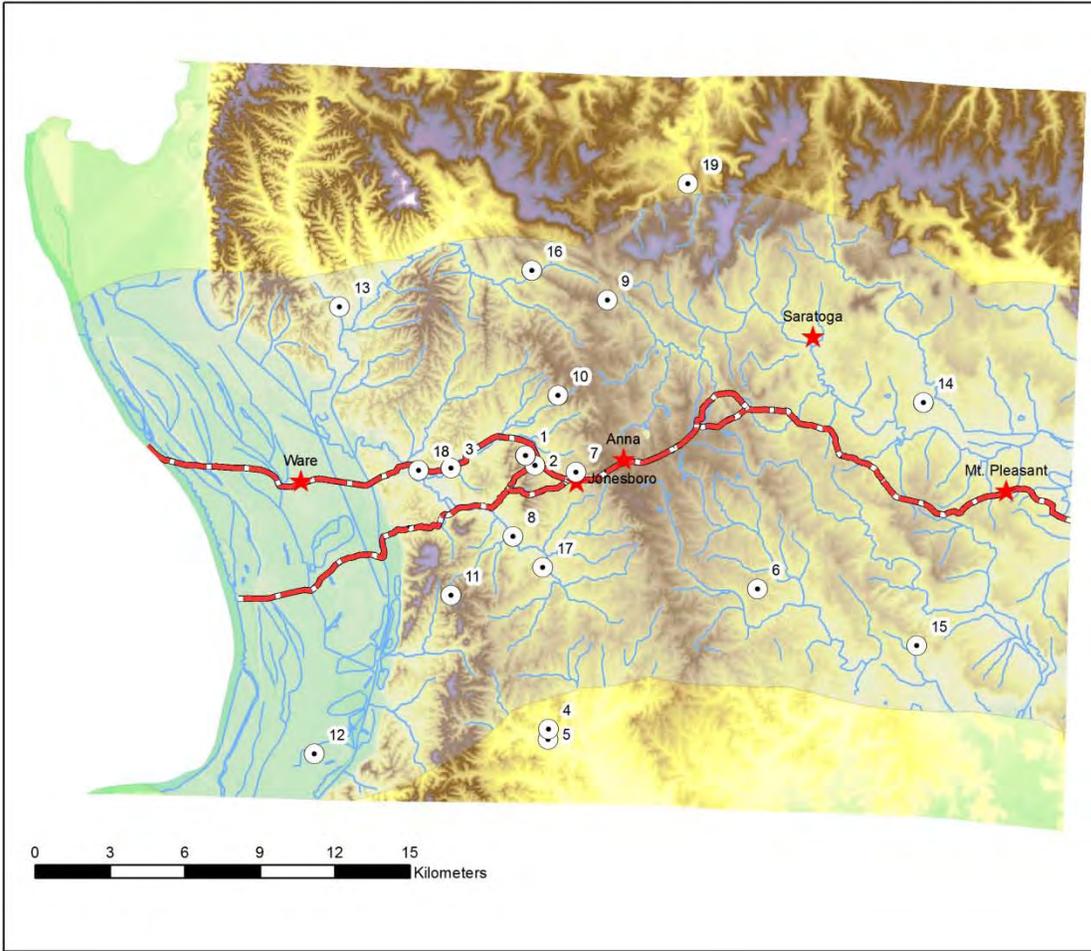


Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-base.html>
4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-3 Liquor Licenses, Union County

# Other Business Locations, Union County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

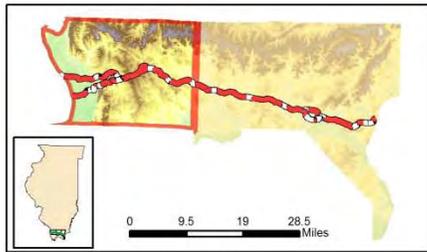
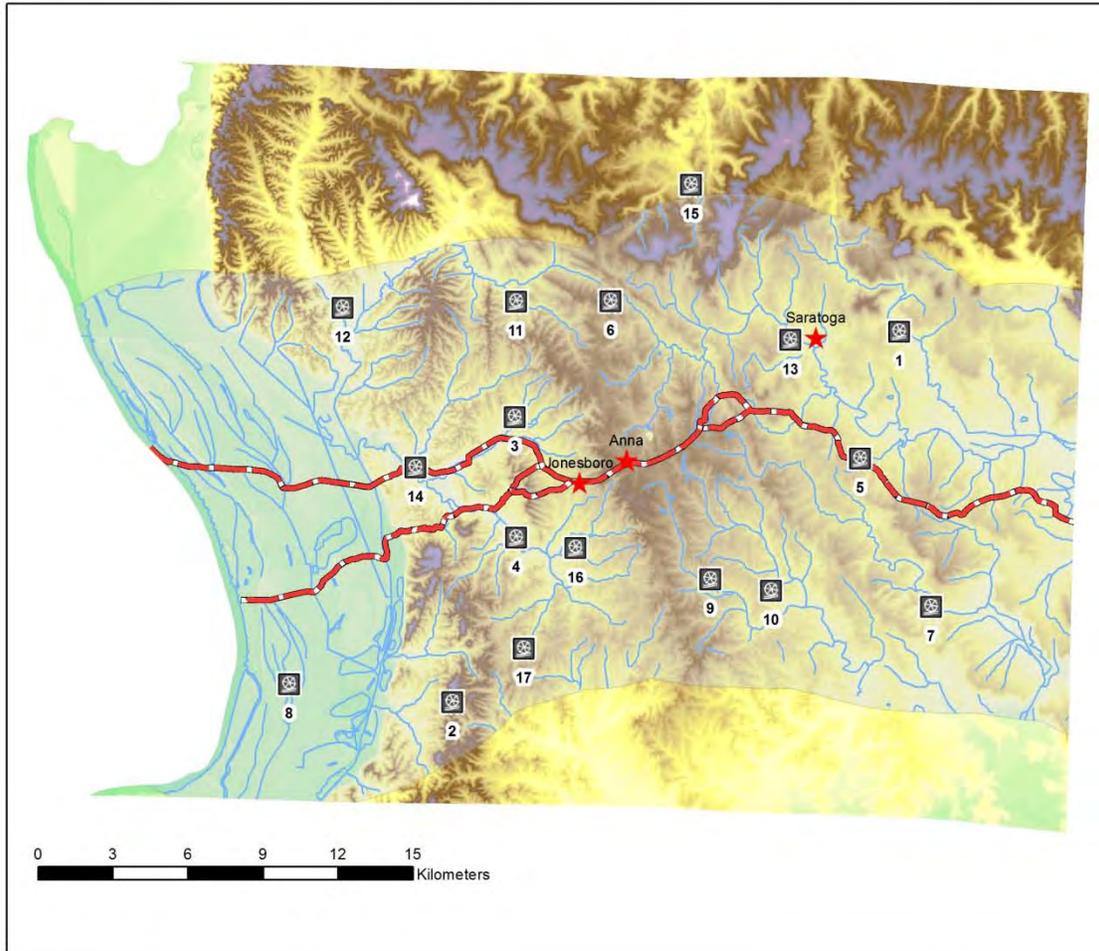
- MAPPED\_SITES
- ★ Towns
- TOT-SI Route
- Streams
- 10 mile Corridor
- MAPPED\_SITES
- Digital Elevation Model
  - High : 1220
  - Low : 203



Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-4 Other Businesses, Union County

# Mill Locations, Union County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

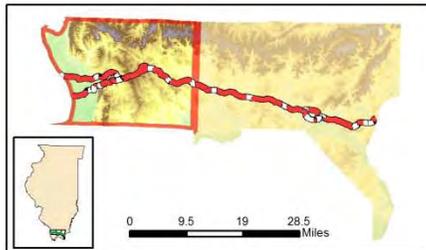
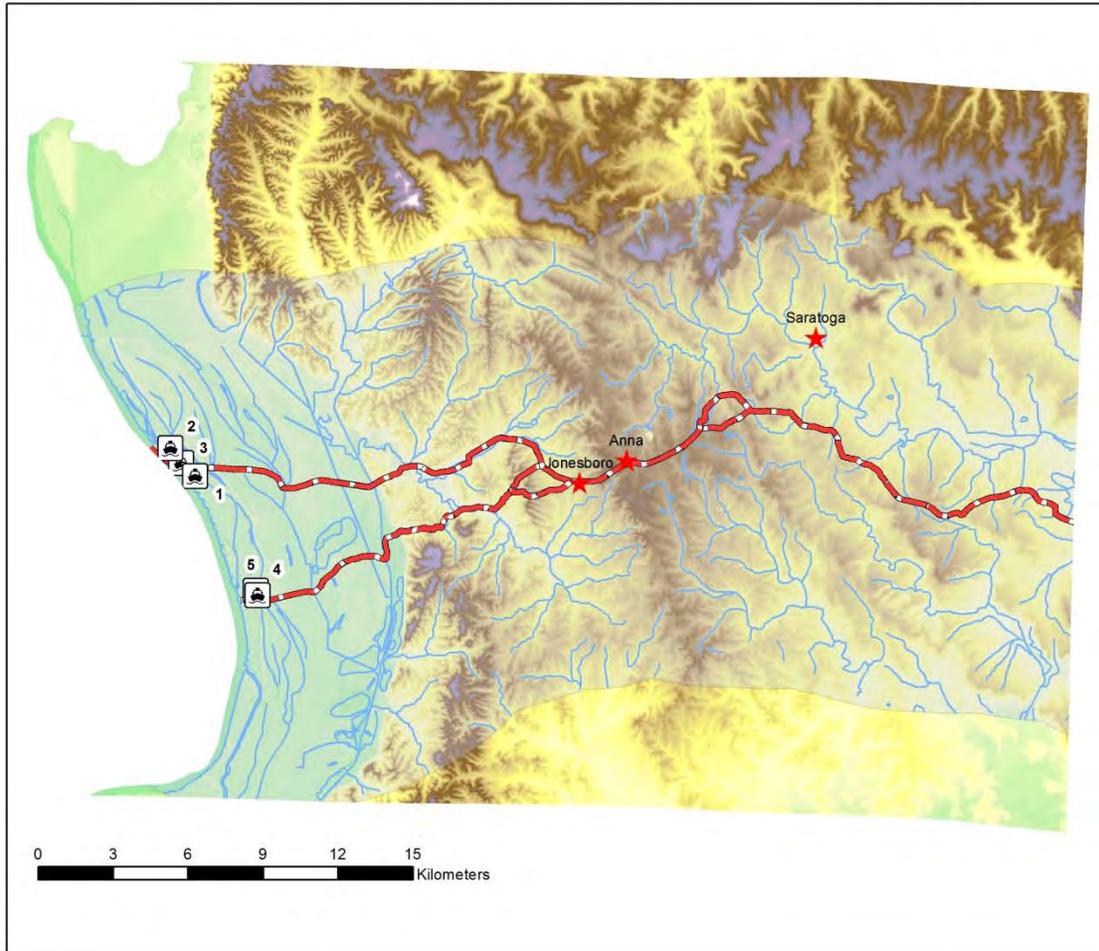
	MILL
	Towns
	TOT-SI Route
	Streams
	10 mile Corridor
<b>Digital Elevation Model</b>	
	High : 1220
	Low : 203



- Information Sources:
1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
  2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>
  3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>
  4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
  5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-5 Mill Locations, Union County

# Ferry Locations, Union County



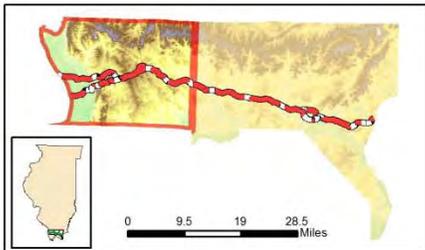
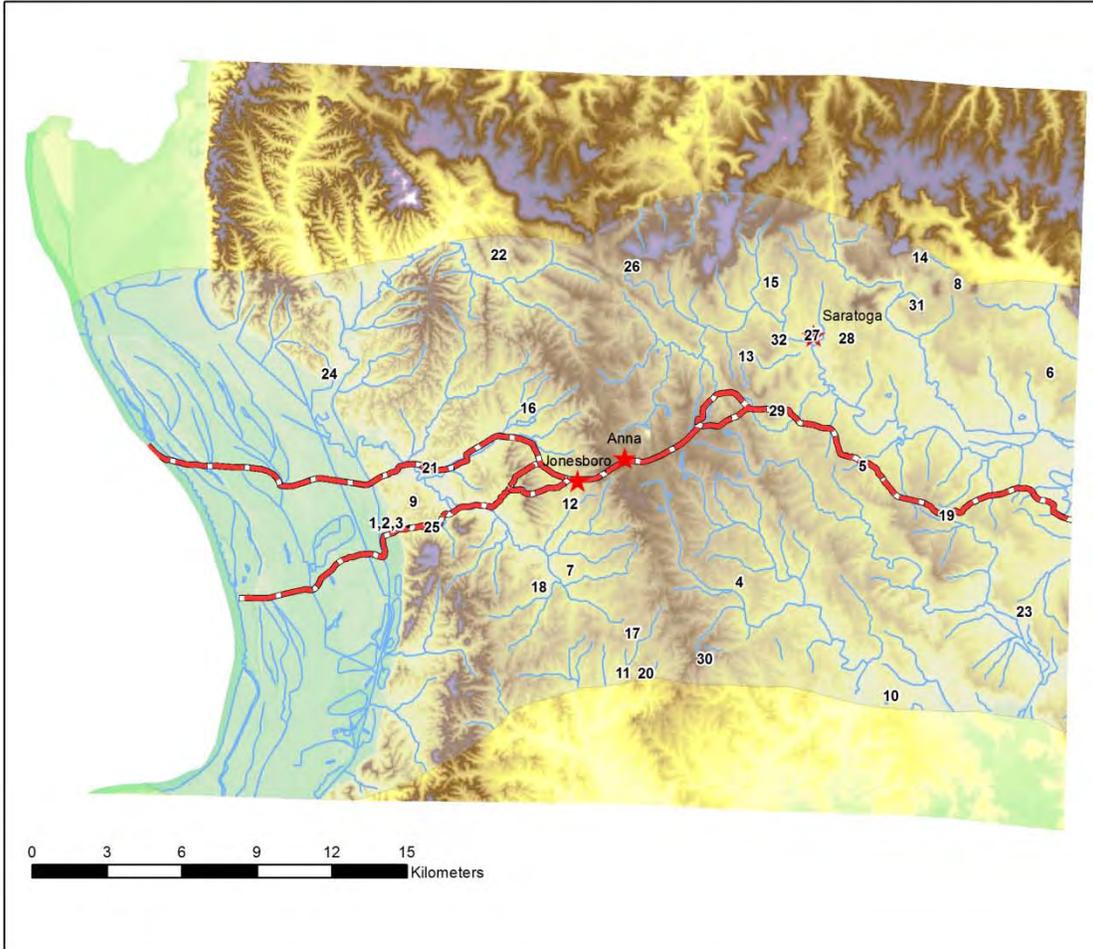
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



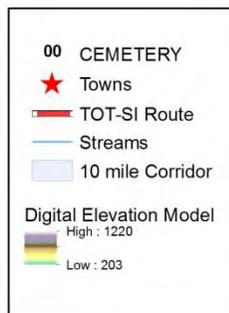
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-6 Ferry Locations, Union County

# Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Union County



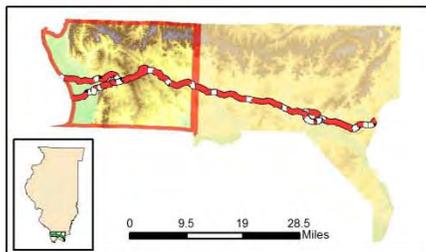
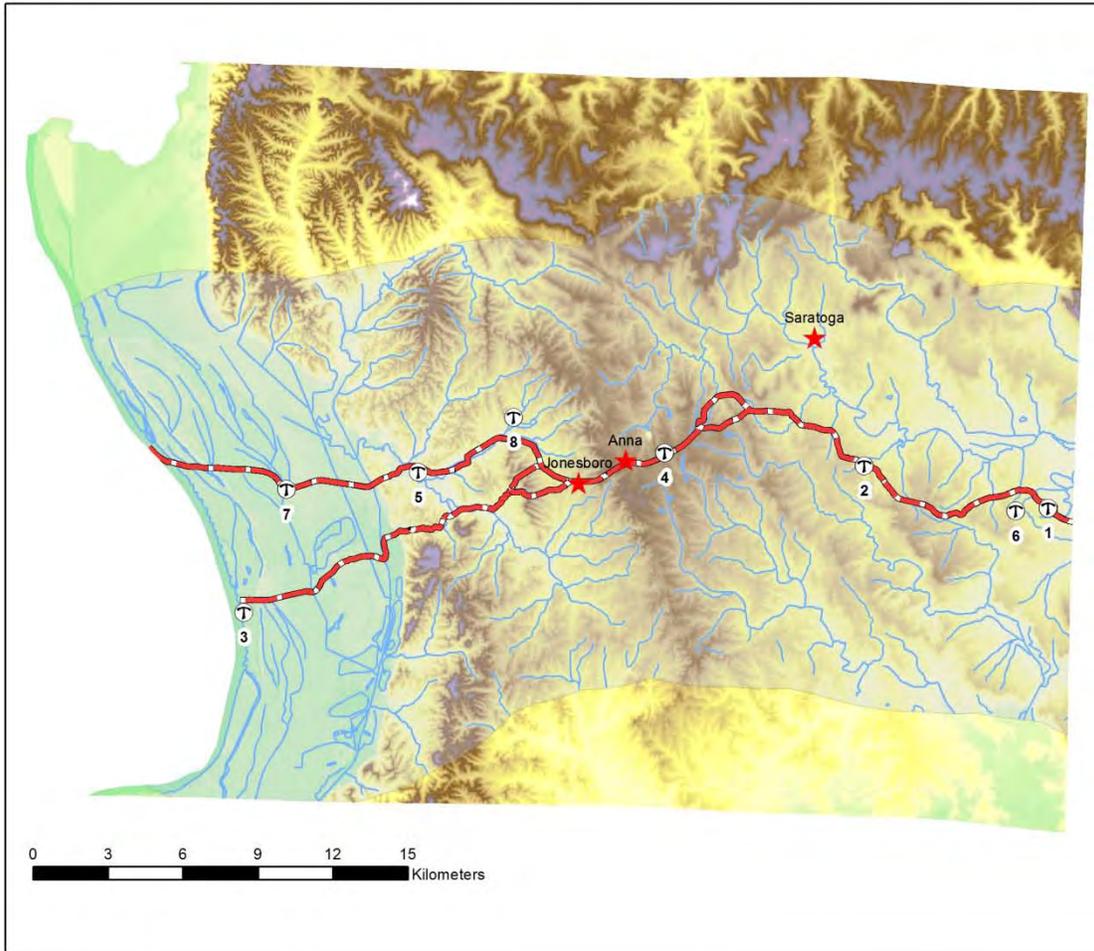
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-7 Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Union County

# Cherokee Burial Locations, Union County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

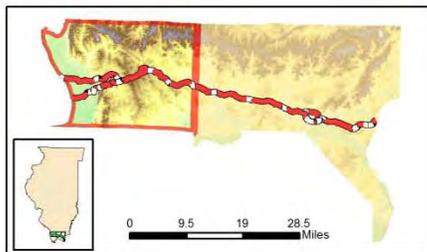
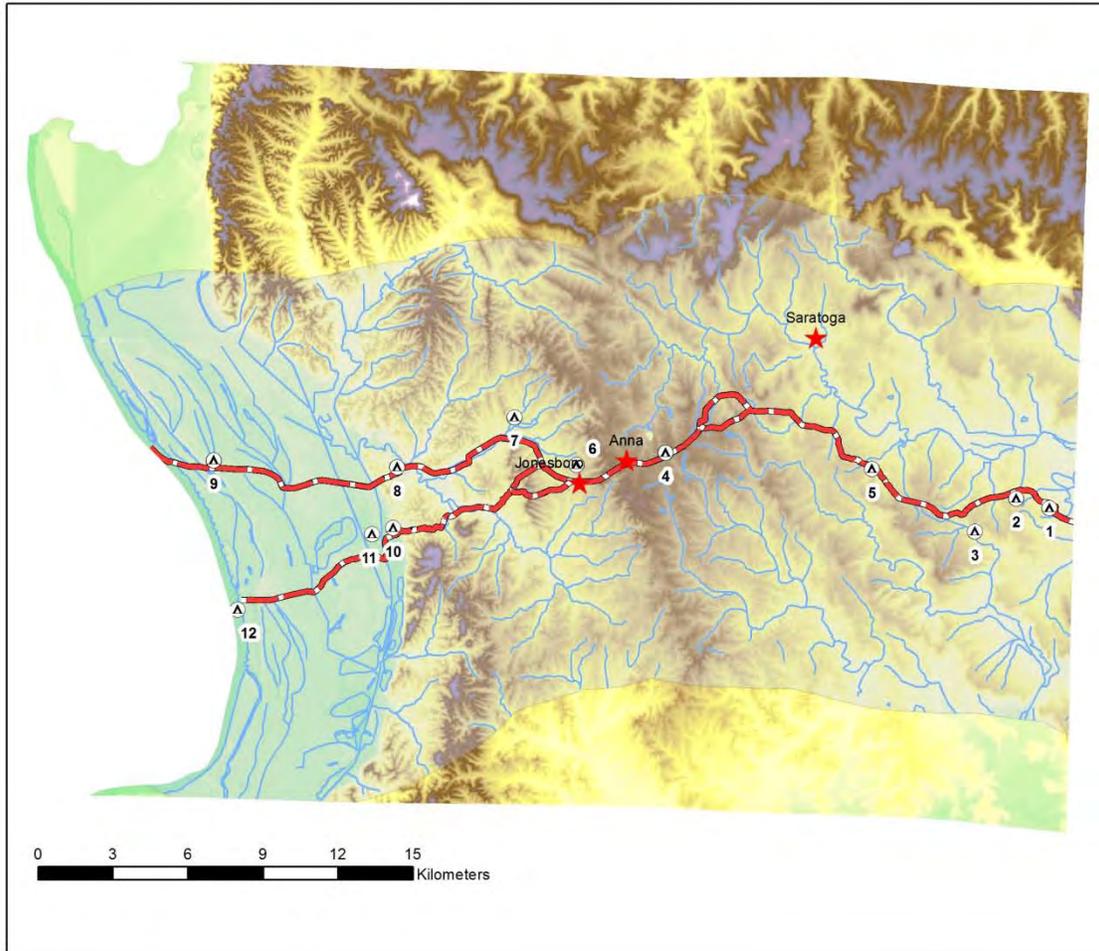
	CHEROKEE
	Towns
	TOT-SI Route
	Streams
	10 mile Corridor
<b>Digital Elevation Model</b>	
	High : 1220
	Low : 203



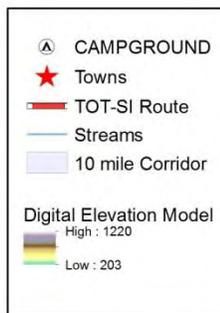
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-8 Cherokee Burial Locations, Union County

# Campground Locations, Union County



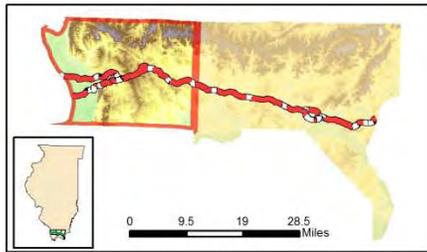
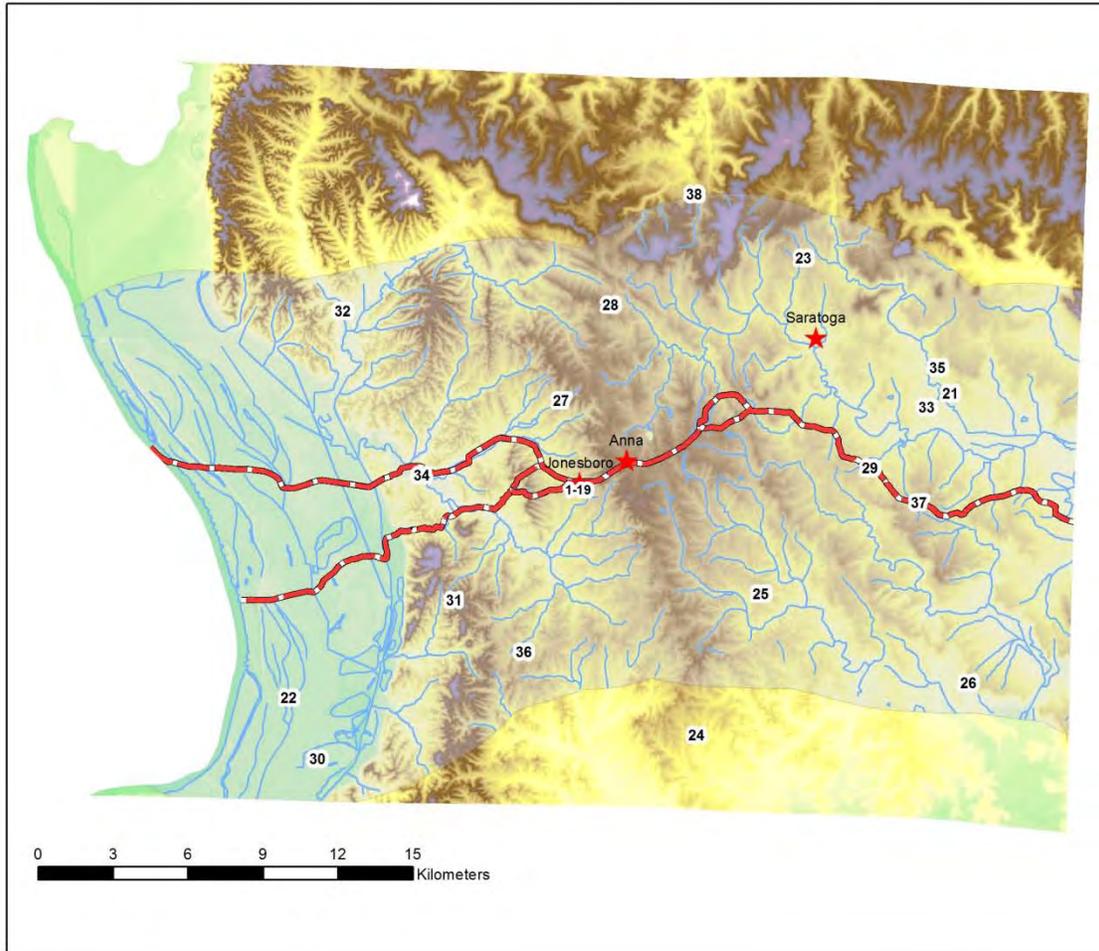
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



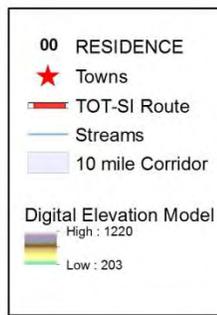
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-9 Campground Locations, Union County

# Residence Locations, Union County



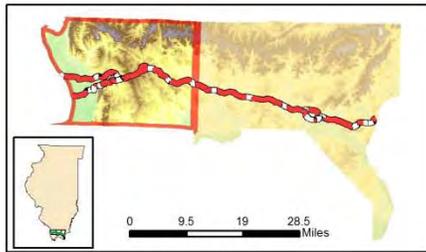
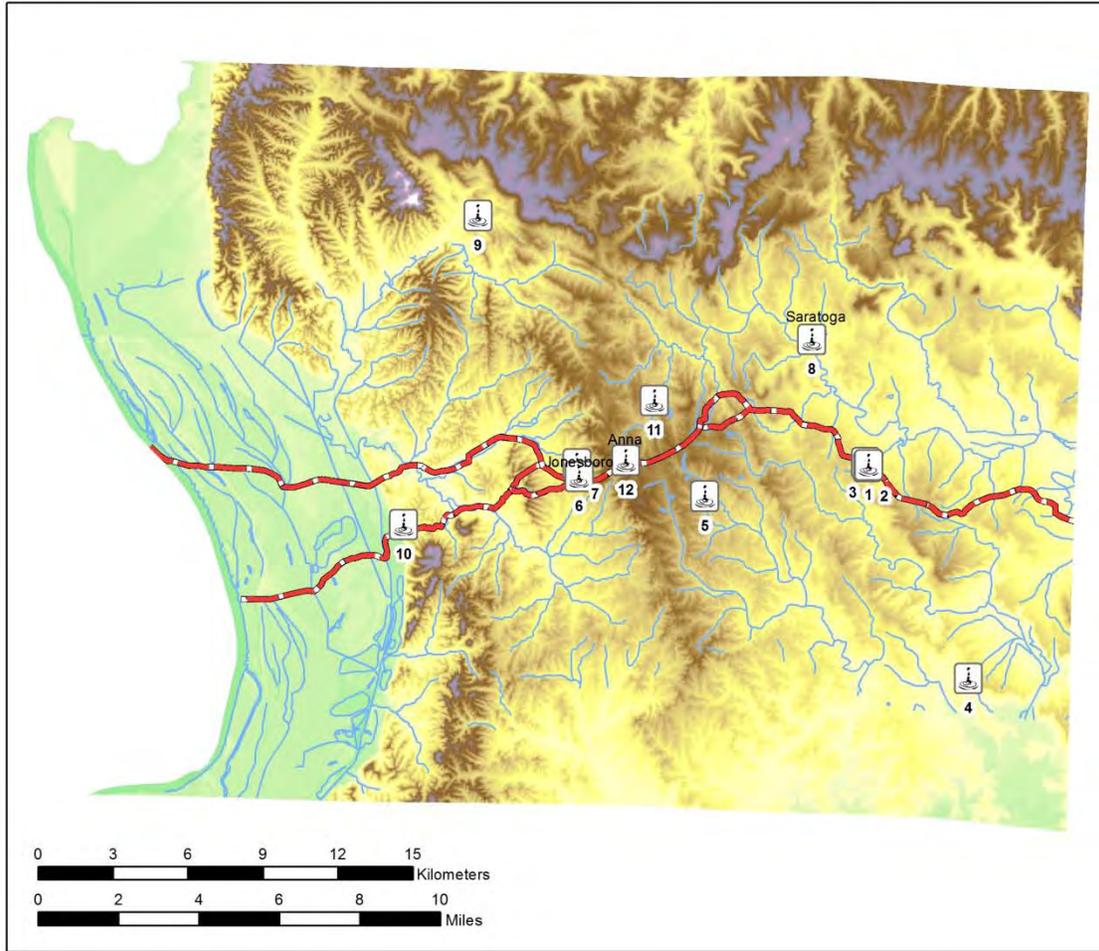
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



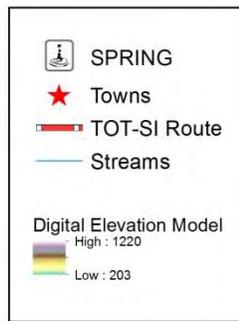
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-10 Residence Locations, Union County

# Spring Locations, Union County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilso.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-geo/q.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/insd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and last sec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 5-11 Spring Locations, Union County

# Chapter 6 Johnson County Properties

## Introduction

Johnson County was established out of the southwestern portion of Randolph County in 1812, encompassing all or parts of eight present-day southern Illinois counties at its formation (Anonymous 1989:24-25). By the time of the Cherokee Removal the county had assumed its modern shape with the exception of containing small portions of Massac and Pulaski counties along its southern border.

The trail entered Johnson County in Section 24, T13S, R4E. From there, it ran in a general northwestern direction as it headed toward the town of Vienna in the center of the county. The trail continued its northwestern incline after passing through or around Vienna, exiting the county in Section 30, T12S, R2E, after having passed over the Cache River.

Research into the locations of potential Trail of Tears sites in Johnson County is hampered by the destruction of the late 1830s county commissioner's court, tax, and other records for Johnson County over the years. As such, the information regarding the locations of Trail of Tears sites within Johnson County is limited to the following sources: (1) the oral interviews conducted by John Mulcaster, George W. Smith, and others in the early 1930s (Chapter 4); (2) an excellent summary of the Trail of Tears-related sites in Johnson County by the Johnson County Genealogical Survey that included field checks of possible site locations to determine the numbers and types of sites associated with the Cherokee Removal within the county (Hacker et al. 2010); (3) the original land purchase records for land purchased from the public domain within the county; (4) the Butrick and Cannon Journals, which provide some information regarding the general locations of campgrounds within the county.

Seventy-three sites were located through these sources (Tables 6-1 to 6-7). As noted above, the small number of mapped sites within the county is due to the destruction of early Johnson County courthouse records. As a result, there is no way to check for tavern or business licenses mentioned by Chapman (1925) similar to what was done for Union County in Chapter 5.

## *Taverns*

Chapman (1925) recorded over 20 taverns as having operated at various times in Johnson County between 1813 and the early 1820s. Among these were ten in Vienna operated by Isaac Wilcox (1818); Randolph Casey and Ivey Reynolds (1819); and Samuel Chapman (1820); Robert Little (1823); Abraham Hendry (1825); and James Hawkins and Jesse Morris (1827). Some of these taverns or hotels may represent the same business at different points in time with different operators rather than there being 10 competing taverns.

In most cases the court records consulted by Chapman contained little or no information regarding the locations of these taverns. David Shearer and William Lawrence, for example, were described in very general terms as having operated taverns on “Big Bay” Creek and “somewhere on the Cache” River in 1816, respectively. Vienna contained at least four of these taverns, reflecting its role as the only sizable community located along Golconda to Jonesboro Road during the 1820s (Chapman 1925:250, 251, 252, 283, 293, 300, 354, 357, 429). Chapman provided no information about taverns within the county after 1824 due to the destruction of the county records from this period.

Only two Trail of Tears-related tavern sites (Bridges and McCorkle) have been identified within Johnson County to date (Table 6-1, Figure 6-1). The research of John G. Mulcaster in regard to the Bridges Tavern has been presented in detail in Chapter 4. The tavern site is located in the SW1/4, SW1/4, Section 29, T11S, R3E. John Bridges is variously reported to have built a tavern at this location in 1818 or 1820. Although other land purchase records indicate that Bridges indeed was present within the county in 1818, he did not purchase the tract containing the tavern at that time. Like many other southern Illinois settlers, he appears to have occupied or “squatted” on the tract without ever actually purchasing it for decades. Not until Bradford Bridges purchased the tract in 1854 did it legally pass into the possession of the Bridges family.

A sizable number of families had settled around the Bridges property by the late 1830s. A gazetteer published in 1837, for example, noted that the “Bridges settlement ten miles west from Vienna, contains some tolerably good land...” and supported approximately 60 families (Peck 1837:164). By the late 1830s the Bridges Tavern complex appears to have consisted of the tavern itself, a spring, mill, campground, and possibly a store (Hornbuckle 1934; Mulcaster 1933; Mounds Independent 1934). A 1932 photograph of the tavern contained in Hacker et al. (2010:37) as well as two additional photographs taken in 1934 (Figures 4-8 and 4-9) reveals that the tavern was a large two-

story structure with chimneys at the gable ends. This type of structure was typical of licensed taverns located on major roads within Illinois in the early to mid-nineteenth century (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). The tavern, which reportedly was occupied as late as 1938, burned in 1940 although the associated log “store” still exists (Hacker et al. 2010:35-38).

A 1932 photograph of the McCorkle Home (Figure 6-8) contained in the George W. Smith papers reveals that it was a large two-story log structure with chimneys at the gable ends that was very similar in appearance to the Bridges Tavern (Figure 4-7). Although Hacker et al. (2010:13) do not identify the McCorkle home as a tavern, its appearance is typical of early to mid-nineteenth century southern Illinois taverns (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). Other associated natural and cultural features included a campground, possibly a mill, and a creek for water. The house was still standing as late as 1936 but was destroyed at some point following that date (Hacker et al. 2010:16).

Hacker et al. (2010:16) state that a review of the Johnson County Land Entry Books show that Joseph McCorkle purchased the 320-acre tract (the NW1/4, Section 2, and the SE1/4 Section 3, T13S, R3E) that contains the site in the spring of 1818. However, the original land purchase files maintained by the Illinois State Archives indicate that McCorkle purchased only one of these tracts—the NW1/4, Section 2—from the public domain on April 23, 1818. Elizabeth Mounts purchased the other tract—the SE1/4, Section 3—on May 22, 1818. If McCorkle did enter this property on May 22, 1818, he must have bought this tract from Elizabeth Mounts the same day she purchased it from the public domain.

### *Groceries and Other Retail Businesses*

Chapman (1925) provides no information regarding the number or locations of “spirit” groceries within Johnson County in the 1830s. Such establishments were almost certainly present in Johnson County based on their presence in both Union and Pope counties at approximately the same time. However, the destruction of the county court records from the Trail of Tears era makes it impossible to determine how many “groceries” there were, where they were located, and who owned them.

Peck (1837) noted that there were three stores in Vienna in 1837. Chapman (1925:298) suggested that these might have been those of Isaac Wilcox, who opened a store in 1818; the firm of (P.L.) Ward and Ensminger, 1833; and Field and Dunn, who had a business in Vienna in 1836. As such, all three of these could have supplied goods to the Cherokee as they passed through Vienna. In addition, Chapman (1925:332)

described John Bridges, the founder of the Bridges settlement in western Johnson County, as having “followed farming and also kept a general store and became quite wealthy for the time”. This may be a reference to the Way Side store located at the Bridges Tavern site that reportedly sold goods to the Cherokee and other travelers.

### *Mills*

Chapman’s *History of Johnson County, Illinois* mentions six mills as having been present in Johnson County between 1816 and 1839. In most cases she described the locations of these mills in only very general terms. Brazel’s mill, for example, was described as being located “somewhere west of Vienna in the 20s” while Whiteker’s Mill (established ca. 1816) was thought to be located “somewhere between Elvira and the Mississippi River” (Chapman 1925:53-54). Mills that could possibly have been located on the Trail of Tears route include one operated by Price on McCorkle Creek in 1823; one operated by a man named Huse “on [the] Cache on the new road from Vienna to Jonesboro in 1828”; and a mill operated by “Laughlin...on Big Bay in 1839, which was first run by water power” (Chapman 1925:53-54).

We are confident at present of the general locations of only two of these mills—McCorkle and Bridges (Figure 6-2, Table 6-2). Hacker et al. (2010:13) believe that the Price mill may have been what later became the McCorkle mill. Although Hacker et al. (2010) do not mention the presence of a mill at the Bridges site, the 1934 Trail of Tears tour led by Professor Smith and John Mulcaster visited the Bridges site where they saw “the site of the old water mill and some of the mill stones” (Mounds Independent 1934).

L. S. Beggs also conveyed a story to Mulcaster that had been told him by Gus Bridges, who as a boy had seen the Cherokee travel through southern Illinois. According to Beggs when Bridges “was a small boy he had been to the old ‘Water Mill’ located on Dutchman Creek, and that he had seen a few of the Indians pass through” (Beggs 1934). Hacker et. al (2010) suggested that this might have been the Brazel Mill that was mentioned by Chapman in her 1925 book.

### *Cemeteries*

Forty-two Euro-American cemeteries located within the ten-mile corridor paralleling the Trail of Tears were recorded for Johnson County, using information contained on USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle maps and Hucke’s (2010) Graveyards.com website (Table 6-3, Figure 6-3). Although these sources provided precise locational data for these cemeteries, the dates that the cemeteries were established remain unknown. At

least five of these, however, are located on or near the trail and as such represent potential locations where the Cherokee could have buried their dead. However, there is no oral history in regard to the interment of Cherokee burials within Euro-American cemeteries for Johnson County.

Two possible Cherokee burial areas have been identified within the county on the basis of the information collected by Mulcaster in the 1930s, the more recent research of Hacker et al. (2010), and the Butrick (1998) journal (Table 6-4, Figure 6-4). On the 1934 Trail of Tears tour the group was shown an area in Johnson County where “in a clump of trees in the field was the Indian burying ground”. The location was further identified as being “About a mile from Bridge’s Tavern and off the concrete road about 1/8 of a mile, around the corner of Pleasant Grove church” (Hornbuckle 1934). Hacker et al. (2010:44), who refer to this cemetery as the “Indian cemetery”, provide specific locational data for it.

The Butrick journal indicates that two members of the detachment he was with also died and was buried while crossing Johnson County. On January 1, 1839, a white teamster working for Mr. Taylor, the leader of the detachment, became deranged and died at the house of Mr. John Gore, an early settler in the area. He was buried in the Cherokee campsite, which, if Hacker et al. (2010) are correct, was located on Dutchman Creek. On January 7<sup>th</sup> another individual—a blind Cherokee man named Archy—died and was buried at the same campsite.

### *Campgrounds*

At least nine campgrounds have been identified in Johnson County on the basis of oral history and information contained in the Cannon and Butrick journals (Table 6-5, Figure 6-5). John Mulcaster collected oral histories in the 1930s that indicated a campground was located near the Bridges Tavern site. On the 1934 tour of Trail of Tears sites this campground was identified as being located “at a spot about one mile from the Tavern, and not far from Pleasant Grove church” (Mounds Independent 1934).

Hacker et al. (2010) identified the general locations of this and five other camps—Bay Creek, McCorkle Creek, Dutch Creek, Hezekiah West, and Buckrun Creek—on the basis of oral history, archival research, and correlations with the Cannon and Butrick journals. The quality of the locational information varies. In regard to Bay Creek, for example, the authors note, “the exact camping area is not known” (Hacker et al. 2010:6). The Buckrun and Dutchman Creek camp site (the latter of which is described by Hacker et al. (2010:25) as being “west of Vienna by two or three miles”) similarly appear to be

identifiable only as to general location. The McCorkle, Bridges, and West campsites, in contrast, are identified as being on lands owned by early settlers that can be identified as to legal description on the basis of nineteenth century land entries.

Hacker et al. (2010:46-47) also attempted to correlate these locations with specific campsites mentioned in the Butrick journal on the basis of mileage. For example, they argue that on December 22, 1838, the party that Butrick was in was near the Bay Creek camp site; on December 26 they were at the McCorkle encampment; on December 27 at Dutchman Creek; and on January 7-8 they camped at Buckrun Creek before leaving the county.

One campground site not discussed in Hacker et al. is the 1837 Cannon party camp on Cache Creek. Cannon camped there overnight on November 10, 1837. The location of this camp is known only in general terms.

### *Residences*

By 1839, a total of 142 land parcels had been purchased from the public domain in Johnson County. However, it is unclear how many of these actually were occupied. The reason for this is that a land boom swept the eastern United States from 1834 to 1836 as land prices increased dramatically due to speculation. Even in interior counties such as Johnson County that had few overt economic advantages, individuals rushed to purchase as much land as they could afford in anticipation of getting rich overnight. Within Illinois, the amount of public land sold increased almost tenfold within two years, from 354,010 acres in 1834 to 3,199,703 in 1836 (Wagner and McCorvie 1992:311). This era of land speculation ended when the economic crisis known as the Panic of 1837 ensued, with land prices following back to or below their original prices. Because of the widespread speculation, however, it is difficult to determine if purchasers during the 1834-1836 period were actually living on the property they bought or merely speculating.

We were able to confirm only six parcels in Johnson County that were possibly occupied in the late 1830s on the basis of information contained in Hacker et al. (2010) and the Butrick (1998) journal. These include parcels occupied by the Bridges and McCormick families, who also ran taverns, as well as ones occupied by Gore, Elkins, and Rose families (Table 6-6; Figure 6-6). An oral history exists that Pleasant Rose “witnessed the Cherokee passing by” (Hacker et al. 2010:10). Members of the Elkins family also reportedly sold food to the Cherokee as well as visiting their camps (Elkins

1925). The Elkins family appears to have lived about 0.5 mi north of the trail in the SW1/4, Section 27, T12S, R2E that was purchased by John Elkin in 1818.

We attempted to determine the locations of the residences of two other individuals mentioned by Butrick as living within Johnson County—a Mr. Gore and an unnamed wagon maker. Gore took in an ill teamster into his home who subsequently died, while Butrick, his wife, and others spent the night with a wagon maker who repaired their broken wagon.

Mr. Gore may have been either John or Walton Gore, both of whom had purchased land adjacent to Dutchman Creek prior to 1820. Walton Gore purchased the NE1/4, Section 36, T12S, R2E, in 1818, which would have been located two miles northwest of Vienna and east of Dutchman Creek. The trail ran either through or very close to the southern boundary of this tract.

John W. Gore, in contrast, owned three tracts, one of which (SE1/4, Section 35, T12S, R2E) contained the Carlton Springs and a section of the trail. Gore also owned the SW1/4, Section 31, T12S, R3E, which also contained a section of the trail. Finally, Gore also owned the NE1/4, Section 32, T12S, R2E, which was located west of the Cache River but also contained a section of the trail. Gore is reported to have lived on the parcel containing the spring (Hacker et al. 2010), suggesting that this is where the sick teamster was taken to and subsequently died. He was interred in the Dutch Creek campground that was located within or adjacent to the land owned by Gore.

Although the 1840 federal census contains listings for individuals involved in “manufacturing and trade” in Johnson County, it does not contain a specific listing for a profession such as “wagon maker”. The wagon maker with whom the Butricks stayed, however, apparently lived about one mile east of John Gore who is believed to have lived at Carlton Spring. Two men—William Stafford and Hardeman (also Hardway or Hardaway) Young – owned and lived in the SW1/4 of Section 36, east of the land owned by Gore, in 1840. Stafford lived in the SE1/4 of the SW1/4, Section 36, while Hardeman Young lived in the NE1/4 or SW1/4 of the SW1/4 of Section 36 (ISA 2012). We suspect that William Stafford, who was between 60 and 70 years old in 1840, may have been the “awful spectacle” of a drunken workman that Butrick and his wife stayed with on December 25, 1838, but cannot prove it at this point. Therefore we have not listed him on Table 6-6.

## *Springs*

Nine springs are recorded in various sources for Johnson County within the study corridor (Table 6-7, Figure 6-7). As with Union and Pope counties, there are probably more springs within the study corridor that are known on a local level but for which no published information is available. Two springs—one at Vienna and one located west of West Vienna known as Carlton Springs—were located directly on the trail. In addition, Carlton Springs, which Hacker et al. (2010:26-27) describe as a formerly “abundantly flowing spring” is located “just 50 to 100 feet [north]...of the remains of the old trail” adjacent to the Dutchman Creek campground site. The location of this spring directly on the trail strongly suggests that the Cherokee and other travelers moving along the trail indeed used it. Both Carlton and Bridges contain at least two springs.

Table 6-1 Tavern Locations, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY TAVERNS					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Bridges Tavern	321729	4145025	Hacker et al. 2010:35-43
2	YES	McCorkle Tavern	334807	4142500	ISA, Hacker 2010:13-16

Table 6-2 Mill Locations, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY MILLS					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Dutchman Creek Mill (Brazel's Mill)	328048	4144260	Hacker et al. 2010:22-24
2	YES	McCorkle Mill (P)	333507	4141672	ISA, Hacker 2010:13-16
3	YES	McCorkle Mill (P)	334737	4141078	Mary Chapman in Hacker 2010:13-16

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

Table 6-3 Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY EURO-AMERICAN CEMETERIES					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Allen Cemetery	320502	4149971	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
2	YES	Bridges Cemetery	327069	4141938	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
3	YES	Bryce/Concord Cemetery	340241	4145129	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
4	YES	Central Cemetery	341375	4134964	Hucke 2010
5	YES	Clymore Cemetery	343507	4135756	Hucke 2010
6	YES	Ebenezer Cemetery	344801	4133882	Hucke 2010
7	YES	Fain Cemetery	324620	4140078	Hucke 2010
8	YES	File Cemetery	326684	4142316	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
9	YES	Francis Cemetery	328534	4142617	Hucke 2010
10	YES	Harrett Cemetery	336840	4147230	Hucke 2010
11	YES	Holt Cemetery	335323	4138873	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
12	YES	Jenkins Cemetery	324163	4148752	Hucke 2010
13	YES	Johnson Cemetery	336936	4142110	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
14	YES	Kerley Cemetery	347341	4142190	Hucke 2010
15	YES	Kirkland/Island Cemetery	345666	4140710	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
16	YES	Ledbetter Cemetery	339321	4144622	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
17	YES	McClanahan Cemetery	346743	4139056	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
18	YES	Mccorkle Cemetery	335270	4142451	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
19	YES	Morgan Cemetery	337553	4134636	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
20	YES	Mount Zion Cemetery	326583	4149287	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
21	YES	Mt Pisgah Cemetery	320829	4141176	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
22	YES	Murrie Cemetery	342182	4143766	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
23	YES	Nelson Cemetery	347661	4139502	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
24	YES	Odd Fellows Cemetery	343076	4148158	Hucke 2010
25	YES	Oliver Cemetery	329889	4145118	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
26	YES	Peterson Cemetery	326258	4151391	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
27	YES	Renfro Cemetery	342406	4136116	Hucke 2010
28	YES	Rock Springs Cemetery	346896	4147222	ISGS 2012
29	YES	Rose Hill Cemetery	332129	4141588	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
30	YES	Scoggins Cemetery	336097	4136946	Hucke 2010
31	YES	Shiloh Cemetery	338746	4135199	Hucke 2010
32	YES	Simpson Cemetery	327726	4148739	Hucke 2010
33	YES	Stanton Cemetery	330026	4138548	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
34	YES	Stewart Cemetery	330875	4146454	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
35	YES	Sutliff Cemetery	330627	4139060	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
36	YES	Unnamed Cemetery 1	342655	4140072	ISGS 2012
37	YES	Unnamed Cemetery 2	347814	4143226	ISGS 2012
38	YES	Utley Cemetery	329705	4138523	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
39	YES	Vienna Cemetery	331885	4144091	Hucke 2010; ISGS 2012
40	YES	Whiteside Cemetery	337703	4147367	Hucke 2010
41	YES	Wildcat Cemetery	331112	4137508	Hucke 2010
42	YES	Wymore Cemetery	338497	4136314	Hucke 2010

Table 6-4 Cherokee Burial Areas, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY CHEROKEE BURIALS					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Beggs Cherokee Cemetery	321039	4146250	Hacker et al. 2010:44
2	YES	Dutchman Creek Campground	327940	4144599	Butrick 1998

Table 6-5 Campground Locations, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY CAMPGROUNDS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Bay Creek Site Campground	345405	4138848	Both Cannon and Butrick's information give indications that this was a camping area	Hacker et al. 2010:6
2	YES	Bridges Campground	321542	4145857	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at Bridges Tavern on January 1, 1839	Hacker et al. 2010:35-43
3	YES	Buckrun Creek Campground	321037	4145609	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at near this location on January 7-8, 1839	Hacker et al. 2010:43
4	YES	Bay Creek Campground (P)*	348495	4139801	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at this location on December 22, 1838	Butrick 1998
5	YES	West Vienna Campground (P)*	325806	4144868	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at this location on December 25, 1838	Butrick 1998
6	YES	Cache Creek Campground (P)*	330552	4142516	The Cannon party camped at or near this location on November 10, 1837	Cannon 1978
7	YES	Dutchman Creek Campground	327940	4144599	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at this location on December 27, 1838	Hacker et al. 2010:22-24
8	YES	Hezekiah West Campground	322872	4134030	Oral histories indicate that some Cherokee camped at this location, which is off the main trail.	Hacker et al. 2010:30
9	YES	McCorkle Creek Campground	331601	4143206	The Taylor (Butrick) party camped near or at this location on December 26, 1838	Hacker 2010:13-16

\*P=provisional or multiple possible locations

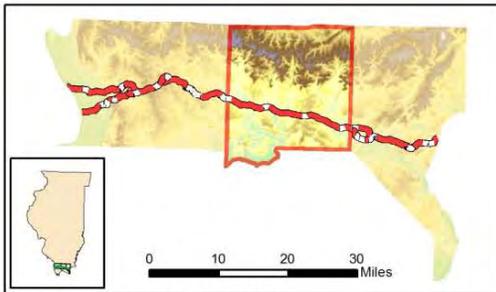
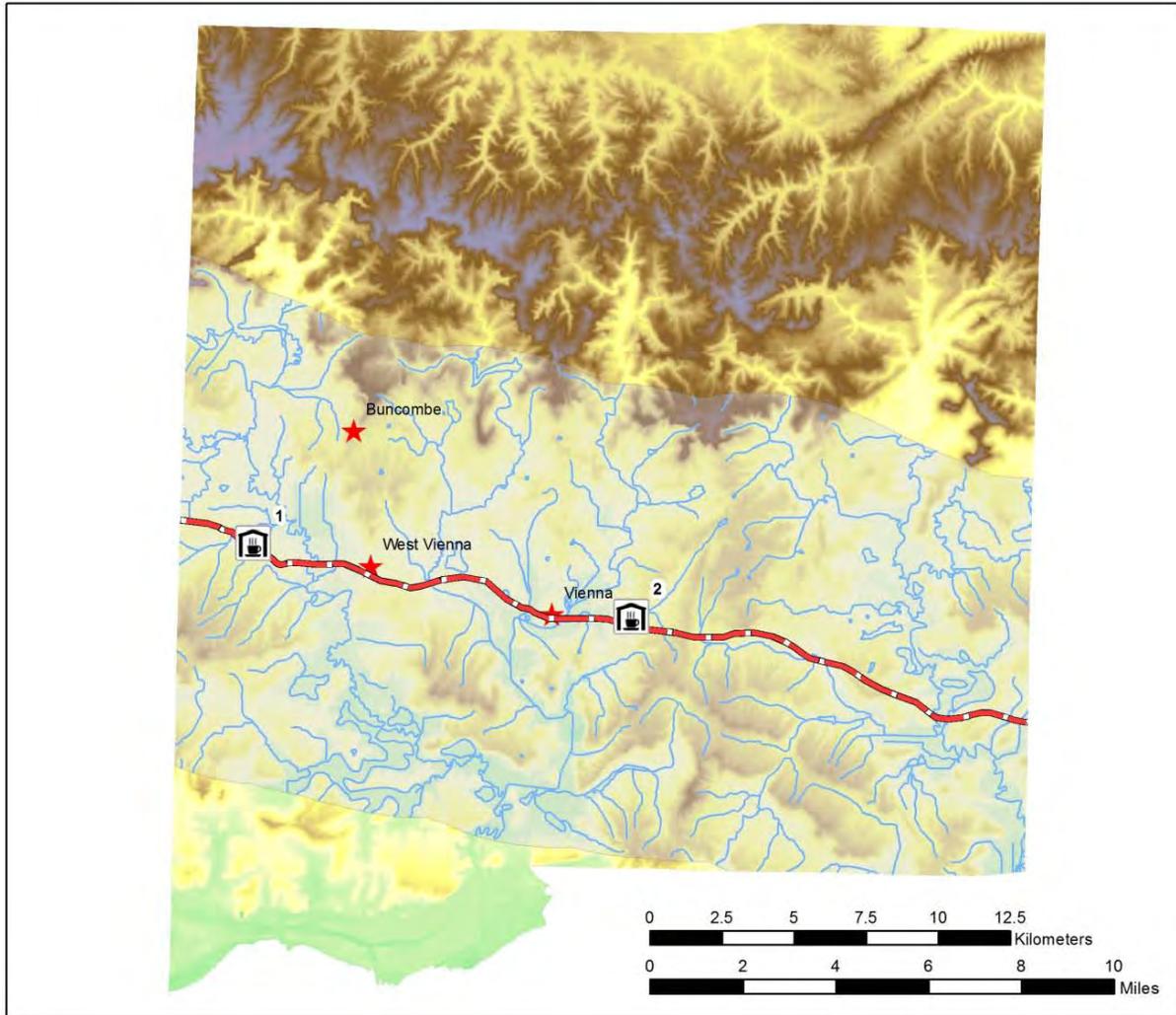
Table 6-6 Residences, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY RESIDENCES					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Bridges Site	321722	4145458	Hacker et al. 2010:35-43
2	YES	John W. Gore Residence	322457	4144594	Hacker et al. 2010:23
3	YES	John W. Gore Residence (P)	327242	4143973	Hacker et al. 2010:23
4	YES	McCorkle Residence	334742	4141805	Hacker 2010:13-16
5	YES	P.W. Rose Site	340744	4141916	Hacker et al. 2010
6	YES	William Elkins Residence	325001	4145486	Hacker et al. 2010:22-23

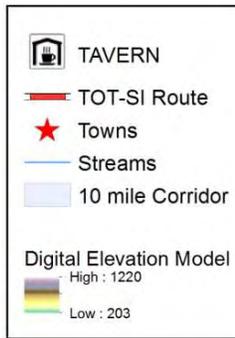
Table 6-7 Springs, Johnson County

JOHNSON COUNTY SPRINGS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Bridges Covered Spring	321867	4144754	No archival note	ISGS 2012
2	YES	Bridges Site Spring	321820	4145647	Another spring north of the Bridges Wayside store where travelers and Cherokee got water	Hacker et al. 2010:41
3	YES	Carlton Spring	331205	4142434	Back in wooded area, short distance from Hwy, 146 and 146 loop	Hacker et al. 2010:25-27.
4	YES	Carlton Spring (?)	323579	4139948	Another Carlton spring, no additional archival note	ISGS 2012
5	YES	Casey Spring	337120	4145855	No archival note	ISGS 2012
6	YES	Little Bay Creek Spring	34870	4144686	Described as being a known "watering hole" located 0.5 mile west of the Pope County line on a small branch of Little Bay creek.	Worthen 1882:353
7	YES	Reynoldsburg Spring	343461	4154471	Described as being northeast of Reynoldsburg on a branch of Cedar Creek	Worthen 1882:353
8	YES	Rock Springs (?)	346390	4147612	No archival note	ISGS 2012
9	YES	Shoemaker Spring	336295	4148663	No archival note	ISGS 2012

# Tavern Locations, Johnson County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

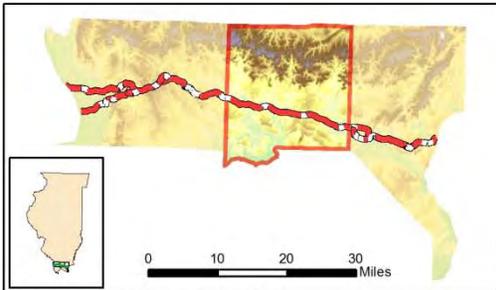
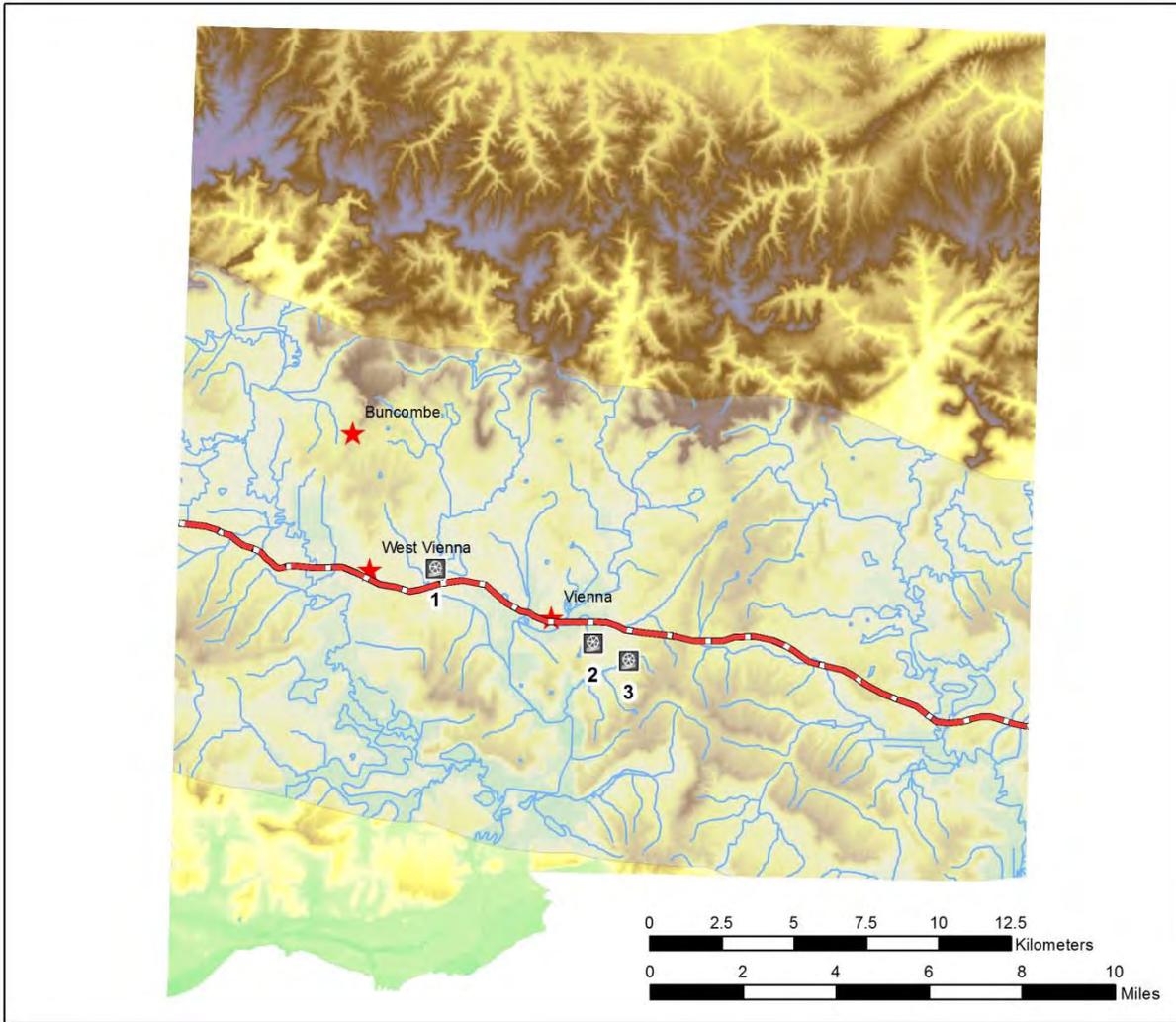


**Information Sources:**

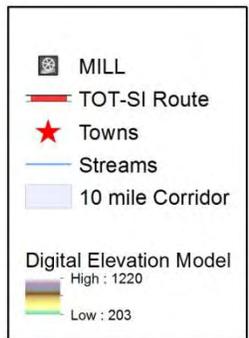
1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-1 Tavern Locations, Johnson County

# Mill Locations, Johnson County



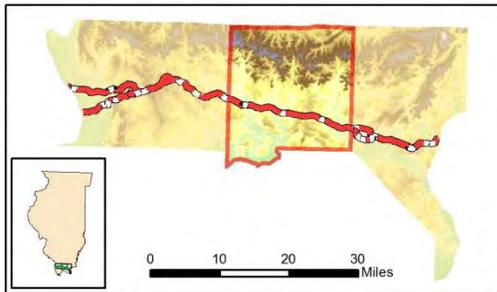
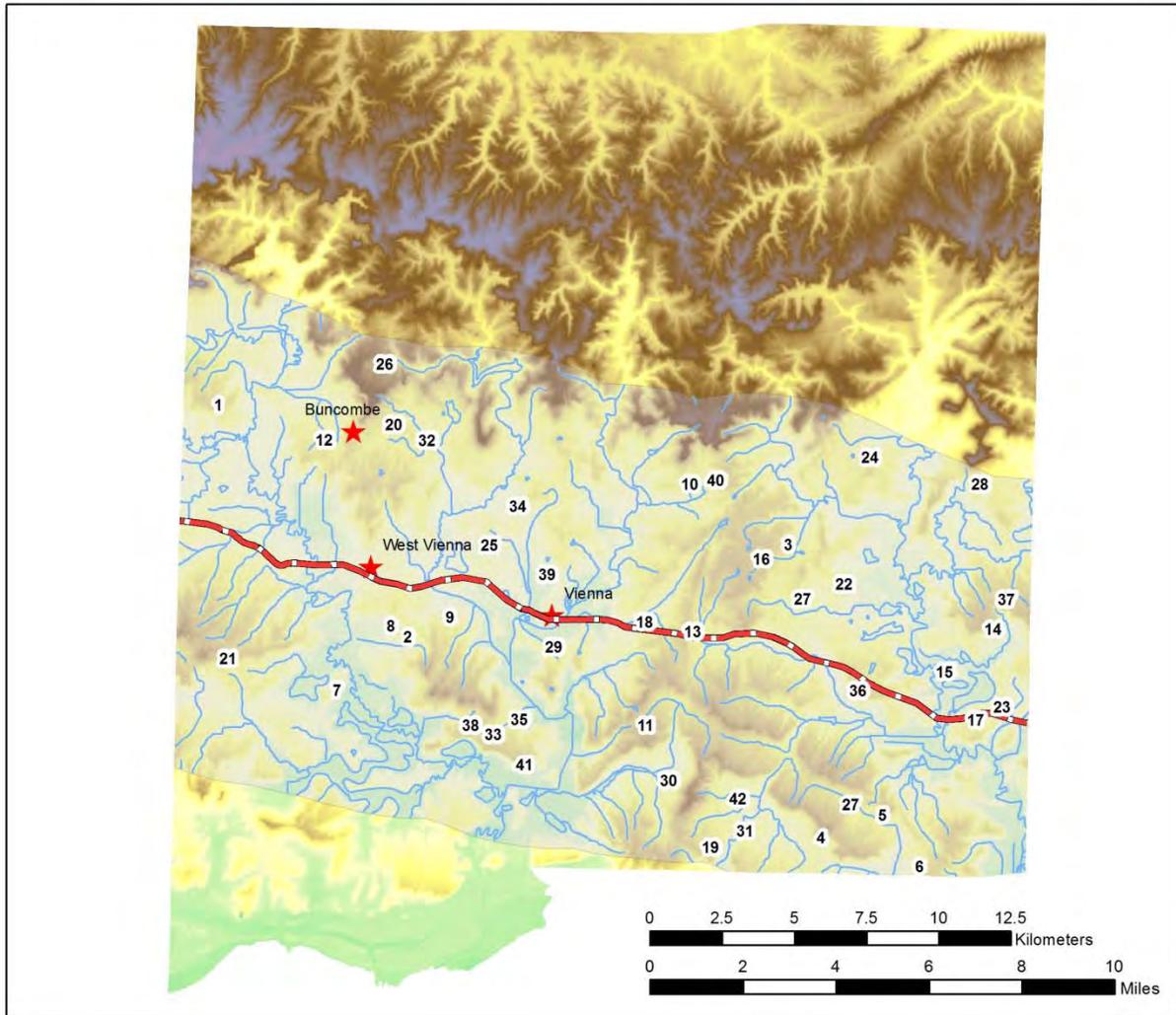
(Map by Kayleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



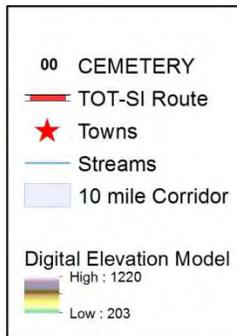
- Information Sources:
1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
  2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
  3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>
  4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
  5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-2 Mill Locations, Johnson County

# Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Johnson County



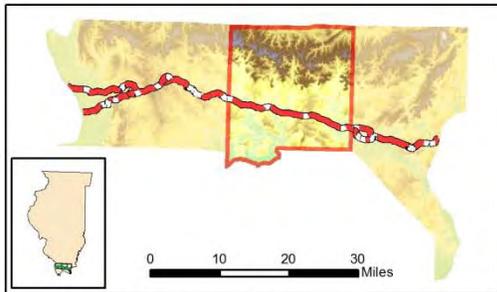
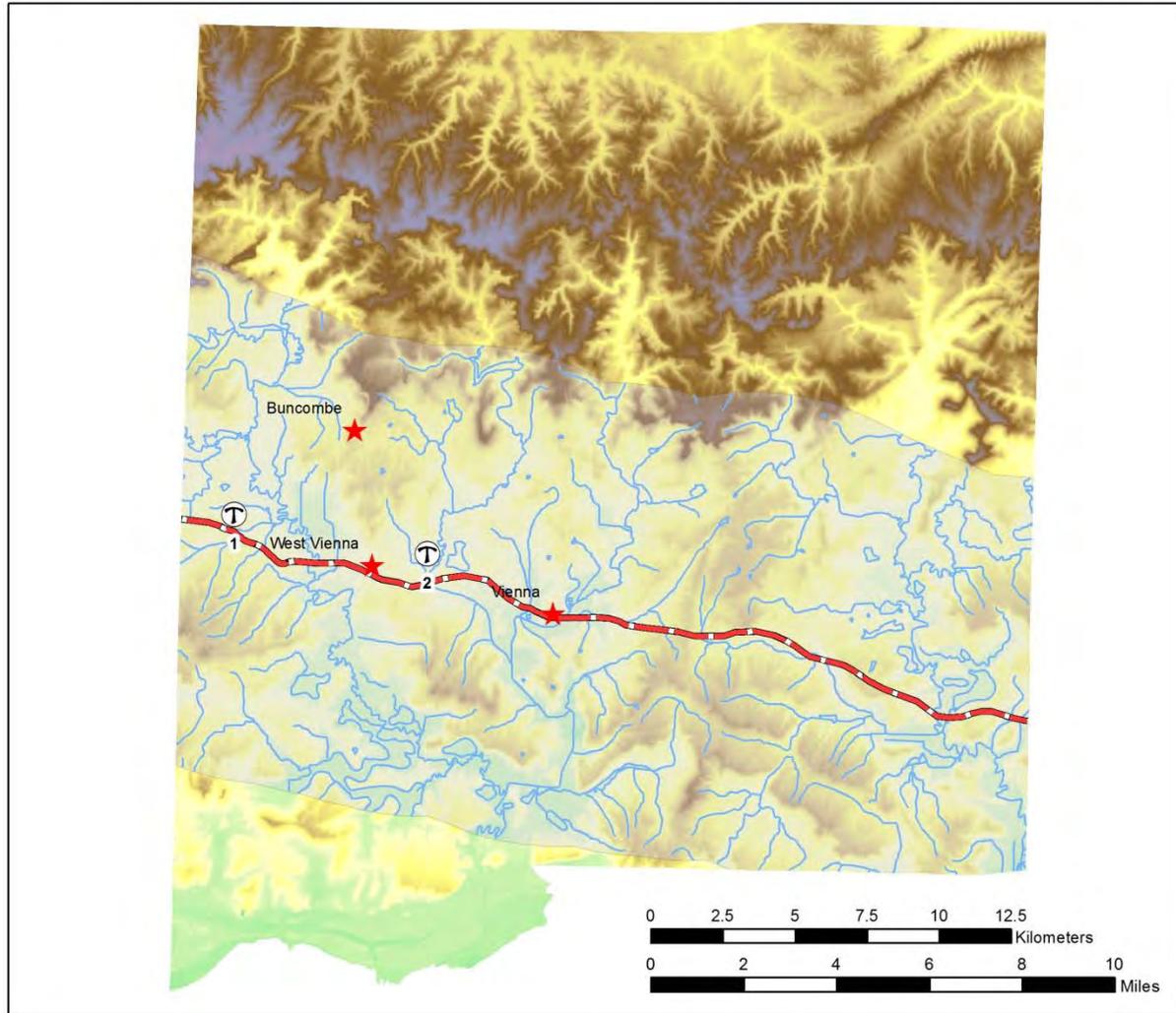
(Map by Kayaleigh Sharp, Rev. 11 Jul, 2013)



- Information Sources:
1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
  2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
  3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
  4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
  5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-3 Cemetery Locations, Johnson County

# Cherokee Burial Locations, Johnson County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

CHEROKEE  
 Towns  
 TOT-SI Route  
 Streams  
 10 mile Corridor

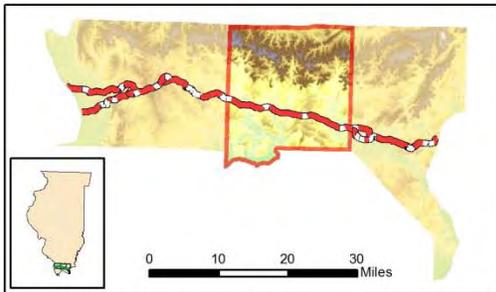
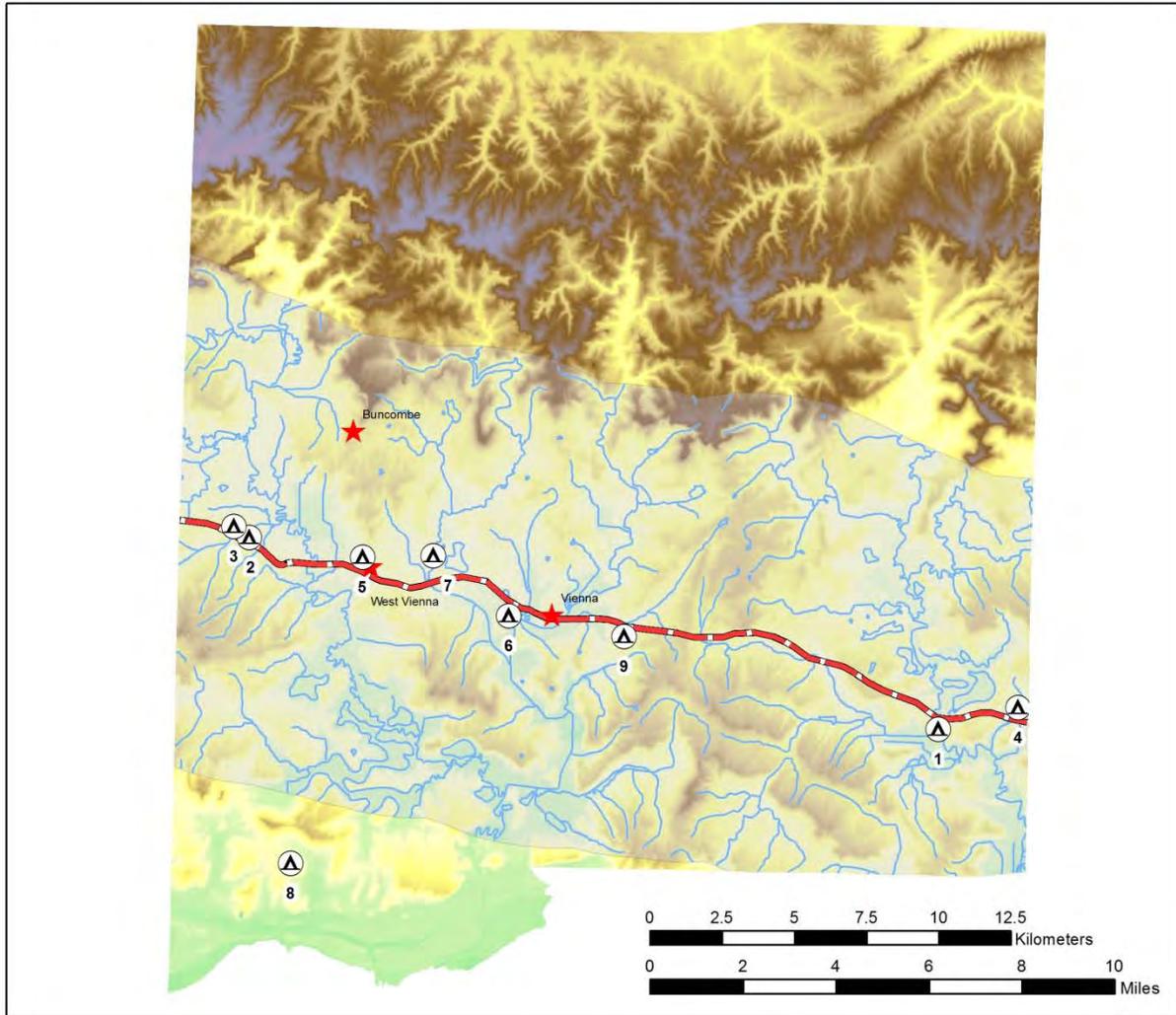
**Digital Elevation Model**  
 High : 1220  
  
 Low : 203



- Information Sources:
1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
  2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
  3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>
  4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
  5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-4 Cherokee Burial Locations, Johnson County

# Campground Locations, Johnson County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

CAMPGROUND  
 Towns  
 TOT-SI Route  
 Streams  
 10 mile Corridor

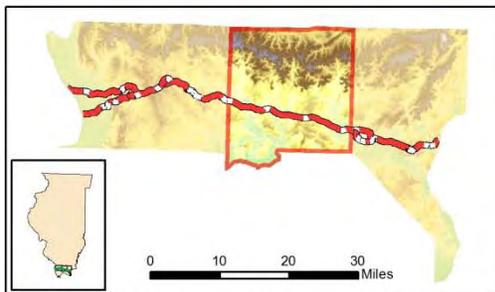
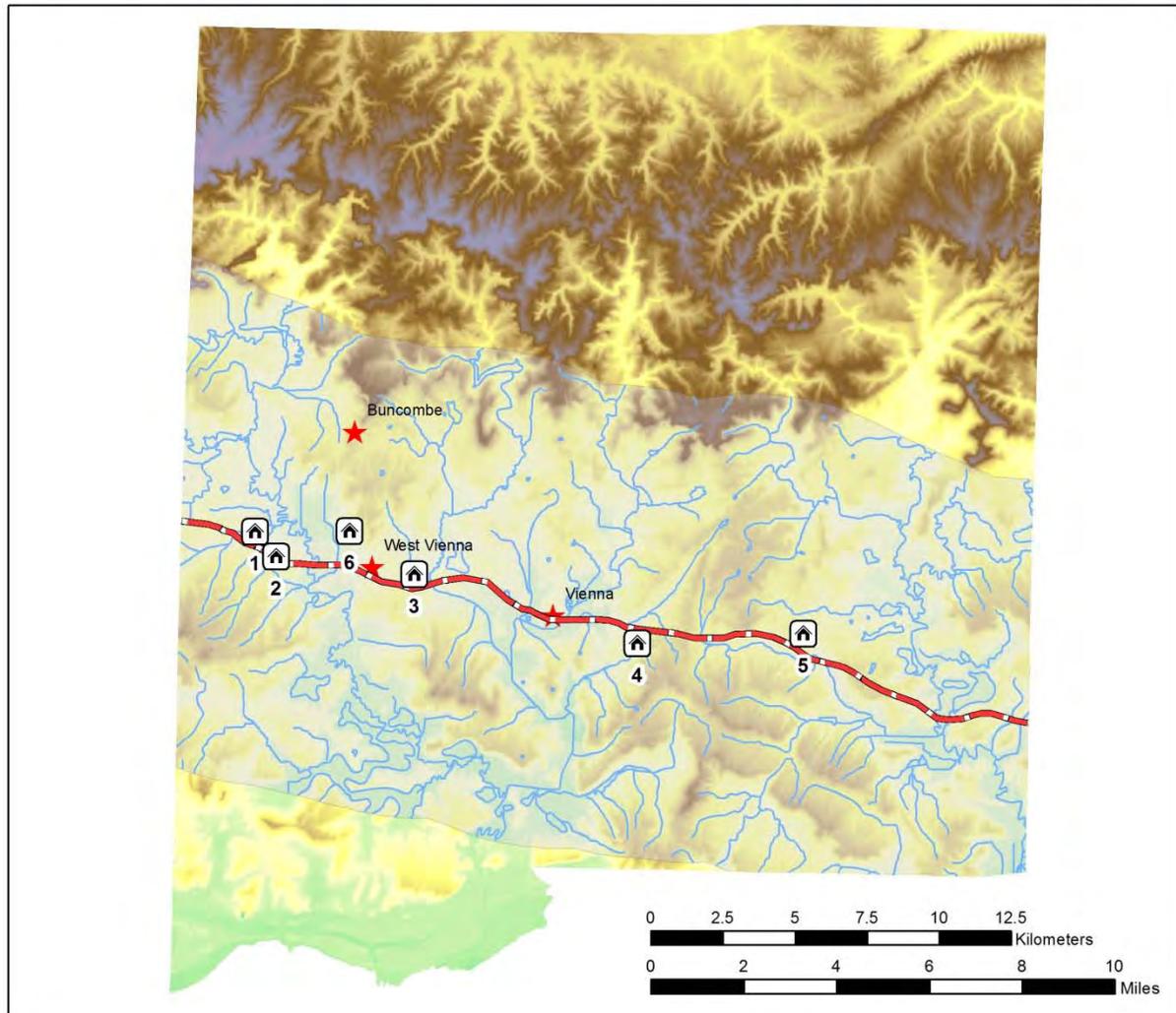
**Digital Elevation Model**  
 High : 1220  
  
 Low : 203



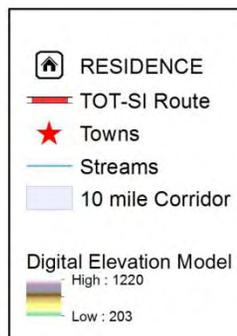
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLS township, first and ladesc.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-5 Campground Locations, Johnson County

# Residence Locations, Johnson County



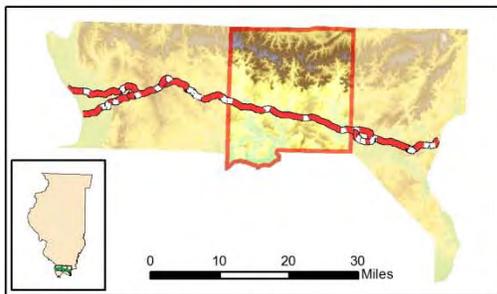
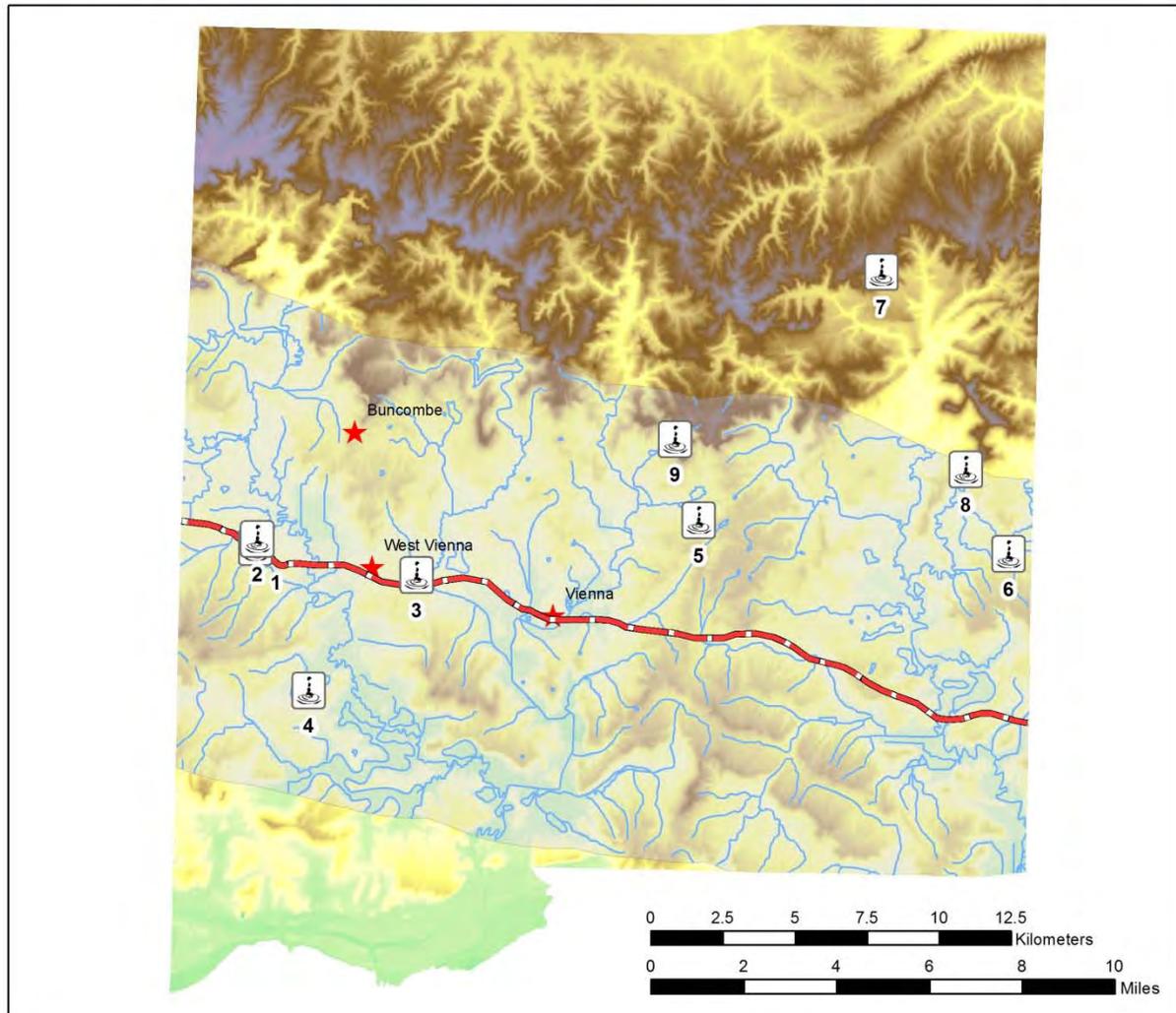
(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



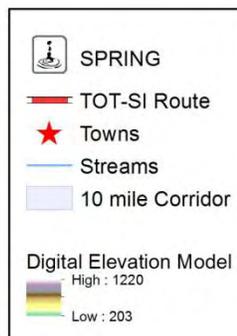
Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-6 Residence Locations, Johnson County

# Spring Locations, Johnson County



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)



Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.isos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model (DEM), Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsd/home/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase

Figure 6-7 Spring Locations, Johnson County



Figure 6-8 1932 Photograph of McCorkle House, Johnson County (Smith Papers)

# Chapter 7 Pope County Properties

## Introduction

Pope County was created in 1816 out of the eastern portion of Johnson County and the southeastern part of Gallatin County. When created Pope County contained parts of present-day Johnson, Hardin, Saline, and Massac counties, with the county not assuming its present-day shape until 1843 (Anonymous 1989:59).

The trail in Pope County originated at Berry's Ferry at Golconda on the Ohio River. From there it swung southwest for about six miles, then turned northwest towards Dixon Springs at the western edge of the county. On the way it passed through the town of Old Brownfield, crossed Root Branch Lick, and extended to Allen Springs. At Allen Springs the trail appears to have branched, with some parties continuing to head northwest toward Dixon Springs (Thompson 1951:291) and others turning south, then west, to head toward a hard-bottom crossing on Sugar Creek and on to what is now the Crabb-Abbott Farm (Anonymous n.d.; Spakousky 2009) before heading north again.

111 of the the 414 mapped sites recorded by the project are located in Pope County. Much of this information was drawn from archival sources in the Pope County Courthouse; a 1949 publication by local southern Illinois historian John Allen called *Pope County Notes*, in which Allen discusses the locations of many early early facilities such as taverns, roads, and towns in general terms; the Butrick and Cannon journals; and previous research in regard to the Trail of Tears within the county (McCorvie 2010). Much of the information was identifiable to only a general (section, township, and range) location although some more specific locations were identified.

### *Taverns and Groceries*

Missionary Daniel Butrick was appalled at the bad language and large number of groceries he encountered in Golconda on December 17, 1838, complaining "we had scarcely landed when we were met with volleys of oaths from every quarter...on going up from the boat into the village, called Golconda, it seemed to be made up highly of groceries" (Butrick 1998).

The poor view that Daniel Butrick held of Golconda contrasts markedly with his favorable description of Jonesboro in Union County, which he described "as a pleasant little village, and its moral character much better than that of any [other] we have seen

in the state” (Butrick 1998). Actually, as noted in Chapter 5, Jonesboro contained numerous taverns and groceries with additional liquor-selling establishments scattered along the roads east and west of the town. Butrick was clearly upset by the bad language he heard in Golconda, which was a Ohio River port full of rough boatmen, and this may have given him a negative view of the town as a whole.

Twelve alcohol-related licenses were issued in Pope County between 1837 and 1839 (Table 7-1). Similar to Union County, tavern and grocery licenses appear to have been getting conflated in the Pope County Commissioner’s Record by the late 1830s. For example, Pryor and Tanner were issued a license “to keep a tavern at their grocery in Golconda” in 1839, indicating that the two terms essentially meant the same thing in the eyes of the county court. In the same vein, the firm of Arrington and Jones received both a tavern and grocery license in 1838, which could indicate that they were running a grocery at a location separate from their tavern (such as a store) or that, again, the county court viewed the two terms as being synonymous (Table 7-1).

At least six of these liquor-selling establishments were located in Golconda, while others were scattered along the roads of the county (Figure 7-1). A man named Hogg, for example, was licensed to operate a tavern “at his residence on Saline Road”. Absalom Sisk’s tavern similarly may have been located outside of Golconda as Sisk had purchased land along the Ohio River at the mouth of Alcorn Creek, some 11 miles below Golconda in 1837.

Blair’s Tavern may have been operated by Samuel or Robert Blair, both of whom purchased property along the trail approximately 3.5 miles west of Golconda in 1838 and 1839. Robert purchased the NE1/4, SW1/4, Section 26, T13S, R6E, on December 22, 1838, while Samuel Blair purchased the SW1/4, SW1/4 of the same section on January 11, 1839. The northern edge of Robert Blair’s property would have been located directly on the trail, suggesting that this may have been the location of the Blair tavern. This location also is only .5 miles east of where McCorvie (2010) believes the Butrick party found the first public land that they could camp on after being evicted from their initial camp site outside of Golconda on December 21, 1838. Interestingly, Robert Blair purchased the NE1/4, SW1/4, Section 26 only one day after the Taylor party is believed to have camped nearby. The proximity of the two dates suggests that the two events are related, with Robert Blair possibly purchasing this land to profit off the Cherokee emigration by operating a tavern along the route. Like many southern Illinois settlers, Robert Blair may have been squatting on this parcel for a number of years before actually deciding to buy it.

### *Other Businesses*

Review of the Pope County Commissioner's Records contained in the Pope County Courthouse in Golconda revealed they contained little information regarding other licensed businesses in Pope County. Several men received peddler, vendor, or retail licenses, while another was licensed to operate a carriage shop (Table 7-2).

Southern Illinois historian John Allen (1949) provided a small amount of additional information regarding the locations of blacksmith and wagon shops in Pope county, all of which were located in Golconda (Figure 7-2). However, he also noted that similar establishments were spread across the county in the early nineteenth century:

Some of the early blacksmiths and wagon shops operating in Pope County were those of Willie Story, John Willis, John H. Baugher, and Daniel Sanders, who operated shops in Golconda. Harris Leonard also operated a carriage shop there. Jess Reynolds had a shop at Bay City, and J . B. Russel had one at Glendale. Numerous other shops were scattered over Pope County at a very early date (Allen 1949:56).

### *Mills*

Twenty-one mill locations were recorded for Pope County (Table 7-3). Information regarding these mill locations came from the General Land Office (GLO) plat map (N=1), John Allen's *Pope County Notes* (N=14), the Pope County Commissioner's Records (N=4), and the 1876 *Atlas of Illinois* (N=2). The GLO mill location as shown on the plat map represents a potential mill site that was identified by the surveyor. However, the map may never actually have been completed. We were able to determine the general locations of 14 of these mills as to section, township, and range (Table 7-3). However, only seven of the mills fall within our ten-mile wide Trail of Tears corridor (Figure 7-3).

Three mills appear to have been located directly on or near the trail near Old Brownfield. Allen shows a sawmill on a map of Pope County as being located along Root Lick Branch, which is near where a deceased Cherokee was buried on the Scott farm, but does not identify the mill as to owner (Allen 1949). In the text, however, he notes that a man named Bagly operated both a sawmill and gristmill in this area, suggesting that the sawmill on the map is the Bagly sawmill, "but it is not known by what power it was operated" (Allen 1949:91). Both a sawmill and gristmill are shown in this same approximate area on the 1876 *Atlas of Illinois* (Warner and Beers 1876). The

atlas shows the grist mill as being located in the NE1/4, Section 26, T13S, R5E, while the saw mill was in the NW1/4, Section 23 in the same township. The maps in the 1876 *Atlas of Illinois* are done to a very small scale and it is possible that these mills were not located precisely where they are shown on the map. Both are located adjacent to the tract owned by the Scott family in the 1930s that contained a Cherokee burial. This raises the possibility that the mills actually may have been operated by Isaac Scott or that Scott took over the operation of the mills from Bagly or another early mill operator at some point. Another mill located near Old Brownfield close to Rt. 146 is Green's Mill (1820) that Allen (1949:87) identifies as being located in the NE1/4, Section 36, T13S, R5E, on Bay Creek.

### *Ferries*

The earliest reported ferry in Pope County was that of James Lusk that was established at Golconda in 1798 (Allen 1949:20). Over the next forty years additional ferries opened at various locations such as Bay City and New Liberty in the southeastern corner of the county (Table 7-4).

By the late 1830s there appears to have been two ferries at Golconda, one located on the Kentucky shore and one in Illinois (Figure 7-4). At the time of the Cherokee emigration a man named Thomas Berry held the license for the Kentucky shore while Golconda resident Daniel Field held the license for the Illinois shore (Table 7-4). Fields had been resident at Golconda since at least 1815, when he made the second land purchase in the community (Allen 1949:15). In addition to Field, there were six other licensed ferry operators—Barker, Ender, Hind, Blair, Clark, and Smith—located at various points in the county along the Ohio River. Clark's Ferry was located one mile south of Bay City in Pope County (Allen 1949:15). It is unclear where the remainder of these ferries were located although some probably represent successor ferries to those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In this same vein Allen (1949:21) noted, the ferries in Pope County "sometimes changed names and were often short-lived".

Although Field may have had a ferry license for Golconda at the time of the Cherokee emigration, only Berry—the Kentucky operator—is mentioned as having ferried the Cherokee across the Ohio River (Cannon 1978). Mulcaster also identified Berry as having been the person who ferried the Cherokee across the river, with the 1934 Trail of Tears tour party crossing over the Ohio River to visit his house on the Kentucky side, which was still standing at that time (Figure 7-10). The absence of any mention of Daniel Field in the various accounts of the Cherokee emigration suggest that the Cherokee may have contracted ahead of time with Berry—not Field, for some

reason—to ferry them across the river. Butrick (1998), however, is silent as to who ferried the Taylor party across in 1838, and it is possible that further research will reveal that Field did indeed ferry part of the Cherokee across the river.

### *Euro-American Cemeteries*

Thirty-nine Euro-American cemeteries are presently recorded within the ten-mile wide corridor (Table 7-5). However, a local cemetery researcher working in that area estimates that there are at least 80 cemeteries, including small farm cemeteries, located along Rt. 146 alone from the Johnson County line to Golconda (Crisp n.d.).

Nine of the currently known cemeteries are located on the trail route between Golconda and Dixon Springs (Figure 7-5). As noted below, one of these—Old Brownfield—has an associated oral tradition that Cherokee burials are contained within it. Of the remaining cemeteries, Bethany (1837), Hodge (1832), and Prospect (1830) have interments in them that date back to the Trail of Tears era; Hazel/Dixon Springs is close (1854); and Cox (1899) and Gregory (1915) may be later cemeteries. Information is incomplete for Henley and Compton. Even cemeteries such as Gregory, however, where the earliest interment dates to 1915, have the potential to contain earlier graves that date back to the early 1800s that have lost their headstones over time. Old Brownfield, as noted above, however, is currently the only cemetery that we know of that has an oral tradition stating Cherokee burials are contained within the cemetery. Hazel/Dixon Springs might have had a similar tradition at one time, if it represents the Cherokee cemetery located next to a hard road at Dixon Springs that was pointed out during the 1934 Trail of Tears bus tour.

### *Cherokee Burial Areas*

Information has been recovered regarding four locations, two specific and two general, where the Cherokee reportedly buried people who died along the way (Table 7-6, Figure 7-6). The cemetery that is known only to general location is located within the camp located one mile from Golconda that was occupied by the Cannon party for a single night after crossing the Ohio River on November 7, 1837. Cannon recorded that they buried a single individual at this camp site on November 8, 1837, before moving on to a new camp on Big Bay Creek later the same day. This camp site may have been utilized by other Cherokee emigrant parties as well, suggesting it may contain additional burials. Possible evidence for this is that when the Taylor party crossed the next year on December 16, 1838, Daniel Butrick related that they first “went on to the place designated for camping about a mile and a half from the river” (Butrick 1998). The

stated distance between this camp and the one utilized by Cannon the year before suggests that arrangements had been made in advance for the Cherokee to camp at specific locations. By this time, however, the land owner was no longer willing to allow the Cherokee to camp on his land and told them to move on.

The second cemetery whose location is only generally known was located at Dixon Springs. Its location was pointed out by either George W. Smith or John Mulcaster as part of the 1934 Trail of Tears tour through southern Illinois. A newspaper article printed shortly after the tour noted that the “group went to Dixon Springs *where there is a large burial ground*; this is close to the hard road; the trail follows very close all the way” (Anonymous 1934, emphasis added). The exact location of this cemetery has been lost. Although Mulcaster and Smith must have had more information regarding it, a search of their papers at SIUC recovered no additional data concerning this cemetery.

The two Cherokee burial areas that are known to specific location include the Old Brownfield Euro-American cemetery as well as a single grave located along the trail on the old Isaac Burns Scott Farm. According to Joe Crabb of the Illinois Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association, a strong oral tradition exists in Pope County regarding the interment of deceased Cherokee in what is now the Old Brownfield cemetery (McCorvie 2010). Old Brownfield, which is located directly on the trail, contains some very early interments and this story could be true.

The second cemetery whose location is specifically known is located along the trail on the old Scott farm on Root Lick Branch southwest of Allen Springs (see Table 7-6, Figure 7-6). The history of this grave has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. According to Winfield Scott, who lived on the property as a young man, a single Cherokee grave was located on their property “1/8 mile west of the [U.S. 146 Hwy.] bridge and 1/8 mile south of the old road [the Trail of Tears]...We respected this grave as long as I worked on the farm” (Scott 1935). Tax records that show an Isaac Scott owned the property immediately west of the grave location in 1837 support Winfield Scott’s story. In addition, an oral tradition exists in Pope County to the effect that Isaac Scott’s son, Theopolis Scott, remembered seeing “Cherokee [as they] marched pass his home in a nearly endless procession of weary travelers...they lived on Root Lick Branch near Allen Springs” (McCorvie 2010:9).

### *Campgrounds*

The Butrick and Cannon journals mention at least four campgrounds as being located within Pope County (Table 7-7, Figure 7-7). The first camp occupied by the

Cannon party after entering Illinois was described by Cannon as being located one mile from the river. As noted above in the cemetery section, this could very well be the same camp that the Taylor party described as being 1.5 miles from the river and from which they were forced to move from by the land owner. After burying a child in the morning at the camp near the river, Cannon pushed on quickly, covering 15 miles the same day before reaching the next camp at Big Bay creek on the evening of November 8, 1837. If he did cover this distance, it would have carried him past Dixon Springs to Bay Creek in Johnson County.

The 1838 Taylor party also attempted to camp 1.5 miles from the Ohio, suggesting that it may have been attempting to reoccupy the same camp used by Cannon in 1837. This time, however, the land owner was not agreeable and told them to move on. After being evicted from the campground near the Ohio River the Taylor party pushed on for only about another mile until they reached the first public land on the trail west of Golconda (Butrick 1998). McCorvie (2010) believes this tract would have been located in the W1/2, Section 27, T13S, R6E, approximately 2.5 miles from the river (Figure 7-6). This property is located adjacent to Gregory Cemetery, which again suggests the possible association of a Cherokee campground with a later historic Euro-American cemetery.

From this point, the party pushed on six miles the next day which would have placed them in the vicinity of Old Brownfield, where one or more mills were located that could have provided them with flour, as well as the Scott property on Root Lick Branch. The oral tradition of the Scott family that a Cherokee was buried on their property, which is supported by the known existence of this grave into the early 1900s (Scott 1935), further suggests that a camp was located in the vicinity of Old Brownfield. Scott also noted that abundant "water holes" existed on the Scott Farm until the property was drained in the late 1800s or early 1900s, which together with the creek would have supplied water for the Cherokee.

The next day (December 21, 1838) the Taylor party pushed on an additional six miles which took them to a spot that Butrick described as a "very pleasant spot, to remain until Monday" (Butrick 1998). We suspect, but cannot prove, that this was Dixon Springs, an area of great natural beauty that became a mineral resort in the late nineteenth century, and a state park in the twentieth century (Wagner and Butler 2000). Dixon Springs, with its numerous springs, was located directly on the trail and would have represented a natural stopping place. Here the Taylor party remained for two days, departing on December 24, 1838, before leaving Pope County for Johnson County. As noted in the cemetery section, Mulcaster believed in the 1930s that there was a

cemetery located adjacent to Dixon Springs, which most likely was associated with this campground.

### *Residences*

Southern Illinois historian John Allen, who intensely researched the history of Pope County in the 1940s and 1950s, identified at least 30 residences within the ten-mile wide corridor that he believed were occupied prior to 1840 (Table 7-8, Figure 7-8). Two additional residences are mentioned in the Pope County Court Records where licenses were issued to two men to operate taverns out of their homes. In addition, local Trail of Tears researcher Joe Crabb identified the homes of two other men—Theopolis Scott and John Farmer—that he believed were occupied during the Cherokee Removal on the basis of oral history.

The residences listed by Allen were established between 1815 and 1836 with a mean establishment date of 1821. Pope County was one of the earliest ports of entry into southern Illinois, and the early mean establishment dates for residences within the county reflects its importance as an Ohio River port during that time period. All six of the residences that Allen believed were established in the 1830s were established in 1836, which was the height of the land speculation boom in the eastern United States. As such, despite what Allen thought, it is unknown if these purchases represented land speculation or actual settlement.

Of the two early residences reported by Trail of Tears researcher Joe Crabb—John Farmer and Theopolis Scott—members of both families indeed were present and living along the Trail of Tears in Pope County in the 1830s. Original purchase records indicate that John Farmer purchased the SE1/4, SW1/4, Section 22, T13S, R5E on December 12, 1836. This location is immediately west of the recorded location of Allen Springs on the USGS map, and it is possible that it did in fact contain part of the springs. It also contains part of the trail route and, as such, the Cherokee would have crossed through Farmer's property in 1837 and 1838, meaning the oral history in regard to his having watched the Cherokee emigration across southern Illinois is most likely true.

As noted in Chapter 4, Isaac Burns Scott (the father of Theopolis Scott) paid taxes on land located in the SE1/4, SE1/4, Section 22 and the NE1/4, NE1/4, Section 27, T13S, R5E along the trail in 1837 (Anonymous 1837). Later plat maps indicate that members of this family continued to live along the trail into the early twentieth century (Hixson 193-d). In addition, as noted above in the section on cemeteries and in Chapter 4 as well,

Winfield Scott provided George Washington Smith with detailed information regarding the specific location of a Cherokee grave on the Scott family property. So there is a strong connection between the Scott family and the Cherokee emigration through southern Illinois, and the story that a member of the family witnessed the Cherokee passing by is most likely true. However, this person was most likely Isaac Burns Scott or one of his older children such as Robert, who was born in 1827, not Theopolis Scott. The reason for this is that federal census records indicate that Theopolis Scott was born in 1836, meaning that he would have been only two years old or possibly even younger at the time of the Cherokee Removal. As such, it is unlikely that he had any personal recollections regarding the passage of the Cherokee through southern Illinois. He may, however, have passed on stories regarding this event told to him by older family members that through time became identified as something that happened to him personally rather than to his father or his older brother.

### *Springs*

Pope County contains at least 10 known springs (Table 7-9). While this may seem like a small number, included among this number are two of the major springs—Dixon and Bell Smith Springs—of southern Illinois. Dixon Springs, which was a major stopping and camping point for people traveling along the road from Golconda to Jonesboro, became a popular tourist destination during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century because of its great natural beauty. It is now a state park while Bell Smith Springs—which is not on the trail—has been designated a National Natural Landmark by the National Park Service.

Two of the Pope County springs—Allen and Dixon—fall directly on the trail (Figure 7-9). This is not surprising as the trail route probably developed through time to take advantage of natural resources such as these that would have been needed by travelers. As noted above and elsewhere, there also is oral history that places the Cherokee as having passed by, and most likely camped at, both Dixon Springs and Allen Springs.

Table 7-1 Tavern and Grocery Licenses, Pope County

POPE COUNTY TAVERNS AND GROCERIES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Arrington Grocery	368313	4136386	In Golconda, James or Thomas, grocery and liquor license	Anonymous n.d.a:212
2	YES	Arrington Tavern			In Golconda, James or Thomas, tavern, grocery and liquor license	Anonymous n.d.a:212
3	YES	Kimberlein Tavern	368333	4136772	John Kimberlein (?) is permitted to keep a tavern for one year in Golconda.	Anonymous n.d.a:106
4	YES	Pryor & Bozman Grocery	368313	4136386	Location unknown, probably Golconda	Anonymous n.d.a:212
5	YES	Pryor & Tanner Tavern	368358	4136512	Pryor and Tanner are permitted to keep a tavern at their grocery in Golconda.	Anonymous n.d.a:109
6	YES	Watkins Tavern	368492	4136645	March 7 - 1839 - Daniel Watkins is permitted to keep a tavern in Golconda/	Anonymous n.d.a:106
7	YES	Blair Tavern	364774	4135080		ISA 2012a
8	NO	Absalom (?) Sisk Tavern			Believed to have been located at mouth of Alcorn Creek, 11 miles below Golconda	Anonymous n.d.a:188
9	NO	Brown Tavern			Issued a license to keep a tavern at residence	Anonymous n.d.a:186
10	NO	Hogg Tavern			Tavern at his residence on Saline road	Anonymous n.d.a:212
11	NO	Pryor & Bozman Tavern/Grocery	368313	4136386	Most likely located in Golconda, where Pryor had previously had an earlier license.	Anonymous n.d.a:212
12	NO	Reed Tavern			Location unknown	Anonymous n.d.a:188

Table 7-2 Other Businesses, Pope County

POPE COUNTY OTHER BUSINESSES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Baughner Wagoner/Smithy	368313	4136386	Blacksmiths and wagon shops operating in Pope County in Golconda	Allen 1949:56
2	YES	Hodge Vending	368313	4136386	Vendor at Golconda	Anonymous n.d.a:212
3	YES	Leonard Carriage Shop	368313	4136386	Carriage shop in Golconda	Allen 1949:56
4	YES	Roper Vendor	368313	4136386	Vendor at Golconda	Anonymous n.d.a:212; ISA 2012
5	YES	Sanders Wagoner/Smithy	368313	4136386	Blacksmiths and wagon shops operating in Pope County in Golconda	Allen 1949:56
6	YES	Story Wagoner/Smithy	368313	4136386	Blacksmiths and wagon shops operating in Pope County in Golconda	Allen 1949:56
7	YES	Willis Wagoner/Smithy	368313	4136386	Blacksmiths and wagon shops operating in Pope County in Golconda	Allen 1949:56
8	YES	Reed Retail	368313	4136386	Retail store	Anonymous n.d.a:188
9	YES	Russell Carriage Shop	352428	4146058	Carriage shop at Glendale	Allen 1949:56
10	NO	Bryns Peddler			Peddler	Anonymous n.d.a:122
11	NO	Reynolds Carriage Shop			A carriage shop at Bay City	Anonymous n.d.a:196

Table 7-3 Pope County Mills

POPE COUNTY MILLS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Bagly Mill	357081	4137859	This sawmill and gristmill was located about two miles northwest of Brownfield, but it is not known by what power it was operated. According to tradition it was at one time operated by a man named Bagly	Allen 1949:40
2	YES	Cowan Mill Seat	368313	4136386	On August 22, 1818,, a jury was appointed to view a mill seat for William Cowan on Lusk Creek.	Allen 1949:40
3	YES	Green's Mill	357616	4134218	Located 1 mi SW of old Brownfield in the NE 1/4, Section 36, T13S, R5E, this mill would have been very close to the trail.	Allen 1949:87
4	YES	Grist Mill	355764	4135526	A grist mill is shown at this location on the 1876 Atlas of Illinois on land located near that of the Isaac Scott property	Warner and Beers 1876
5	YES	Porter's Ford Mill	362371	4142215	A watermill located near Porter's Ford across Lusk Creek, about three miles north of Waltersburg.	Allen 1949:41
6	YES	Pritch Dam/Mill Seat	363800	4138804	A writ of <i>Ad quod damnum</i> was issued for this mill seat by the count court.	Anonymous n.d.a:207
7	YES	Saw Mill	355797	4137454	A saw mill is shown at this location on the 1876 Atlas of Illinois on land located near that of the Isaac Scott property	Warner and Beers 1876
8	NO	Big Creek Mill			A jury was appointed In 1821, to view a mill seat on Big Creek in Section 22, T11S, R8E, for Spysars Singleton.	Allen 1949:40
9	NO	Chipp's Mill			A man named Chipp's operated a mill on Grand Pierre in 1825, but its location is not indicated by the county records.	Allen 1949:40-41
10	NO	Drumm Mill			A man named William Drumm operated a water-powered undershot mill on Grand Pierre Creek in the vicinity of present-day Herod. This mill was later moved to Gibbon's Creek, south of Herod.	Allen 1949:41
11	NO	Eddyville @ Frieze Hill			This was a small horse-powered belt mill operated by Eddie Fulgham that was located on Frieze Hill.	Allen 1949:41
12	NO	Lusk's Ferry Road Mill			This early mill was located on Lusk Creek about one and one half miles west of Raum, where the old roadway from Lusk's Ferry to Frankfort crossed the stream.	Allen 1949:41
13	NO	Mason Mill			James Mason operated a steam mill that ground both meal and flour mill at Eddytown, at the lower pond on the east side of the present roadway. Tom Cullom later moved it into Eddyville.	Allen 1949:41
14	NO	Smith Mill			On July 4, 1821, a man named Smith had a mill on Big Creek, "near where Simon Armstrong now lives."	Allen 1949:40
15	NO	Thompson B Dam/Mill Seat			A writ of <i>Ad quod damnum</i> was issued for this mill seat which was located in the NW 1/4, NE 1/4, Section 12, T14S, R5E.	Anonymous n.d.a:189
16	NO	Thompson Mill			The county court issued a writ of <i>ad quod damnum</i> , for this mill, which was located in the SW1/4, Section 22, T12S, R7E.	Anonymous n.d.a:188
17	NO	Thompson T Dam/Mill			A writ of <i>Ad quod damnum</i> was issued for this mill seat which was located in the SW 1/4, Section 22, T12S, R7E.	Anonymous n.d.a:188-189
18	NO	Twitchell's Mill			This mill, which was in operation by 1825, later moved to Hardin County.	Allen 1949:41
19	NO	Vineyard Mill				ISA 2012a
20	NO	Wilson Mill			This watermill, which was located a mile or so southwest of Lusk, was established by Columbus Wilson. It was later owned by Riley Barker and Nelson Conley	Allen 1949:41
21	NO	Peters Mill			Ransom Peters applied for a mill license in June, 1817. This mill is mentioned again on August 22, 1818, when a jury was appointed to view a mill seat for Peters on a "fork of Lusk Creek."	Allen 1949:40

Table 7-4 Ferries and Fords, Pope County

POPE COUNTY FERRIES AND FORDS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAM	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Berry's Ferry	368523	4136852	The Taylor party of Cherokee crossed the Ohio River on December 15, 1838	Butrick 1998
2	YES	Sugar Creek Ford	350304	4136499	Local Trail of Tears researcher Joe Crabb identified this as a hard bottom crossing that formed part of the Trail of Tears route	Crabb 2013
3	YES	Lusk/Ferguson's Ferry	368523	4136852	James Lusk established this ferry at Golconda in 1798. Following his death his widow Sarah married Thomas Ferguson in 1805 after which it became known as Ferguson's Ferry. Abner Field operated this ferry by 1839. This had become Field's Ferry by March 5, 1839, when it was taxed 10 dollars	Anonymous n.d.a:88
4	NO	Barker's Ferry (?)			March 5 1839 court records note that Daniel Fields ferry at Golconda was taxed 10 dollars as were those of Barker's, Enders and Hinds, Blair's, Clark's, Smith's ferries (locations not specified)	Anonymous n.d.a:88, 201
5	NO	Blair's Ferry			March 5 1839 county court records note that Blair's ferry was taxed 10 dollars (locations not specified).	Anonymous n.d.a:88
6	NO	Clark's Ferry			Clark's Ferry was taxed 10 dollars on March 5, 1839. Allen (1949:21) noted it "operated from the south side of Bayou Creek on the Kentucky shore to a point about three-fourths of a mile south of Bay City"	Anonymous n.d.a:88, 162, 179; Allen 1949:21
7	NO	Enders' Ferry			Enders ferry was taxed 10 dollars on March 5 1839 (location not specified).	Allen 1949:20
8	NO	Hinds' Ferry			Hinds Ferry was taxed 10 dollars on March 5, 1839 (location not specified)	Allen 1949:20; Hanna 2013:13
9	NO	Simpson's Ferry			Ebneezer Simpson kept still another ferry at New Liberty.	Allen 1949:12-13, 15, 20
10	NO	Smith's Ferry			Also ordered that Barker's, Enders and Hinds, Blair's, Clark's, Smith's ferries (locations not specified) be taxed (all page 88)	Allen 1949:20

Table 7-5 Euro-American Cemeteries, Pope County

POPE COUNTY EURO-AMERICAN CEMETERIES					
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	REF
1	YES	Antioch Cemetery	359091	4127566	Hucke 2010
2	YES	Baker Cemetery	362232	4133357	Hucke 2010
3	YES	Bethany Cemetery	362105	4134332	Hucke 2010
4	YES	Bradford Cemetery	363520	4128872	Hucke 2010
5	YES	Brown Cemetery	346109	4141354	Hucke 2010
6	YES	Brownfield Cemetery	357498	4134587	Hucke 2010
7	YES	Compton Cemetery	363295	4134858	Hucke 2010
8	YES	Cosby Cemetery	368272	4142878	Hucke 2010
9	YES	Cox Cemetery	353609	4137188	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
10	YES	Densch Cemetery	361870	4137624	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
11	YES	Ellis Cemetery	360108	4141810	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
12	YES	Fields Cemetery	346321	4136357	Hucke 2010
13	YES	Floyd Cemetery	368001	4139100	Hucke 2010
14	YES	Foote Cemetery	366667	4134118	Hucke 2010
15	YES	Foreman Cemetery	363022	4131436	Hucke 2010
16	YES	Glendale Cemetery	340632	4141231	Hucke 2010
17	YES	Golconda City Cemetery	368120	4136595	Hucke 2010
18	YES	Golconda IOOF [Independent Order of Odd Fellows] Cemetery	368352	4135571	Hucke 2010
19	YES	Gregory Cemetery	363463	4135458	Hucke 2010
20	YES	Hemphill Cemetery	363637	4131026	Hucke 2010
21	YES	Henley Cemetery	341331	4137203	Hucke 2010
22	YES	Hodge Cemetery	361600	4134433	Hucke 2010
23	YES	Independence Cemetery	361506	4126349	Hucke 2010
24	YES	Kool Cemetery	361448	4137735	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
25	YES	Macedonia Cemetery	354412	4133028	Hucke 2010
26	YES	Mount Olive Cemetery	340871	4133171	Hucke 2010
27	YES	Mount Zion Cemetery	357454	4140821	Hucke 2010
28	YES	Old Brownfield Cemetery	358834	4135938	Hucke 2010
29	YES	Palestine Cemetery	366080	4142457	Hucke 2010
30	YES	Prospect Cemetery	361701	4134274	Hucke 2010
31	YES	Ragsdale Cemetery	351788	4142721	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
32	YES	Roland Cemetery	351864	4140035	ISGS 2012, Hucke 2010
33	YES	Roper Cemetery	364230	4131108	Hucke 2010
34	YES	Sassafras Cemetery	355793	4134076	Hucke 2010
35	YES	Shedville Cemetery	356495	4137170	Hucke 2010
36	YES	Thompson Cemetery	346306	4140220	Hucke 2010
37	YES	Waltersburg Cemetery	360416	4138628	Hucke 2010
38	YES	Williams Cemetery	364742	4130285	Hucke 2010
39	YES	Hazel/Dixon Springs Cemetery	351503	4138324	Hucke 2010

Table 7-6 Cherokee Burial Locations, Pope County

POPE COUNTY CHEROKEE BURIALS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Dixon Springs Cherokee Cemetery	351503	4138324	A 1934 newspaper article notes that the location of a Cherokee cemetery was pointed out next to a paved road at Dixon Springs during the 1934 Trail of Tears tour	Anonymous 1934a
2	YES	Old Brownfield Cherokee Cemetery	358834	4135938	A cemetery located in the NW1/4, Section 30, T13S, R6E where Cherokee burials were interred within a Euro-American cemetery according to local folklore.	McCorvie 2010
3	YES	Scott Cherokee Cemetery	355315	4136275	Isaac Scott lived on the Trail of Tears in southeast of Allen Springs. His grandson (Winfield Scott) gave George W. Smith information regarding the specific location of a Cherokee grave on their farm in Pope County.	G.W. Smith Papers
4	YES	Cannon Party, 11/8/1837 Child burial	363997	4135888	The Cannon journal notes that they "buried a child of Seabolts, overtook the party, halted and encamped at Big Bay Creek" on November 8, 1837.	Cannon 1978

Table 7-7 Campgrounds, Pope County

POPE COUNTY CAMPGROUNDS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Cannon Camp, November 7, 1837	366004	4135535	Commenced ferrying at ½ past 5 o'clock A.M., moved the Party as it crossed one mile out and encamped. Completed crossing 4 o'clock P.M., all safely, Issued corn & fodder, corn meal & bacon, 1 mile to day. (NA#75 BIA C-533 Special Case 249)	Cannon 1978
2	YES	Butrick December 15, 1838 camp	363424	4135450	This camp, which was located on the first public land available for camping 2.5 miles from the Ohio River, is believed to have been located near or in the W/12, Section 27, T13S, R6E where Gregory Cemetery is now located	Butrick 1998
3	YES	Butrick camp, December 19, 1838	359176	4135951	This camp was located 8.5 miles from Golconda in the vicinity of Old Brownfield.	Butrick 1998
4	YES	Butrick Camp, December 21, 1838	352073	4138002	This camp, which was located 14.5 miles from the Ohio River, may have been located at Dixon Springs	Butrick 1998

Table 7-8 Residence Locations, Pope County

POPE COUNTY RESIDENCES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	Source for Residence being Present	REF
1	YES	Alexander Residence (P)	354244	4142420	In 1818, Samuel Alexander settled in Section 3, near Bozarth, and William Wilson bought land a mile or so northwest of the springs.	Allen 1949:13
2	YES	Allcorn Residence (P)	368516	4137299	On November 3, 1815, James Allcorn filed claim to land in Section 19, a mile or so southwest of Brownfield. Moving East to West, Golconda is in 13S7E while Waltersburg is 13S6E	Allen 1949:14
3	YES	Belford Residence (P)	369015	4142142	Belford bought land about four miles north of Golconda in 1818	Allen 1949:15
4	YES	Bozarth Residence (P)	354244	4142420	Isaac Bozarth bought land in Section 3 near Dixon Springs in 1817	Allen 1949:13
5	YES	Cogswell Residence (P)	367186	4137282	In July 1818, James Cogswell purchased land in Sec 24 near Golconda	Allen 1949:14
6	YES	Cowen Residence (P)	363726	4130749	On October 13, 1817, William Cowan entered land in Section 10, about a mile southwest of Homberg	Allen 1949:14
7	YES	Crawford Residence (P)	368209	4134289	John Crawford located in Section 31, near Brownfield, in May of 1818	Allen 1949:14
8	YES	Croncher Residence (P)	362091	4130789	William Croncher's property was located in Section 9, just south of Homberg, on May 11, 1818.	Allen 1949:14
9	YES	Crosby Residence (P)	369015	4142142	Joe Crosby settled in Section 6, just west of Rawlings, on June 10, 1836	Allen 1949:15
10	YES	Dyer Residence (P)	363693	4129112	William Dyer entered land in Section 15, between Bay City and Homberg, on June 3, 1817.	Allen 1949:14
11	YES	Farmer Residence	353877	4137060	Local TOT informant Joe Crabb in says in TOT Pope County pamphlet that at this location John Farmer watched the Cherokee march by for countless days	Crabb 2012, 2013
12	YES	Ferguson Residence (P)	368516	4137299	Hamlet Ferguson bought land just southwest of Hamletsburg in 1818	Allen 1949:15
13	YES	Fields Residence (P)	368971	4140524	Daniel Fields, who later operated a ferry at Golconda, bought land three miles north of that town in 1815	Allen 1949:15
14	YES	Green Residence (P)	354071	4132672	On may 20 1825 James Green entered land in Section 3, 2 miles north and west of temple hill	Allen 1949:13
15	YES	Griffith Residence (P)	366885	4132412	Griffith bought land near Bay City in the southeast part of Pope County in 1822	Allen 1949:14
16	YES	Hayes Residence (P)	357274	4132535	Located in Temple Hill Area in 1822	Allen 1949:13
17	YES	Hickman Residence (P)	362091	4130789	Hickman bought land near Bay City in the southeast part of the county in 1818	Allen 1949:14
18	YES	Kidd Residence (P)	368516	4137299	Kidd received a military land claim in the town of Golconda that he transferred to Robert Morisson in 1805.	Allen 1949:11
19	YES	Kincaid Residence (P)	363747	4132394	John Kincaid bought land near Bay City in 1836	Allen 1949:14
20	YES	Melton B Residence (P)	369015	4142142	Settled west of Rawlings in 1836	Allen 1949:15
21	YES	Melton R Residence (P)	369015	4142142	Settled west of Rawlings in 1836	Allen 1949:15
22	YES	Modglin Residence (P)	369015	4142142	Settled west of Rawlings in 1836	Allen 1949:15
23	YES	Pitalo Residence (P)	360682	4138974	In October of 1818, James Pittalo (or Pittulo) entered land in Section 17, near Waltersburg.	Allen 1949:14
24	YES	Rawlings Residence (P)	370636	4142128	Rawlings bought land north of Golconda in 1836	Allen 1949:15
25	YES	Scott Residence	355090	4136492	Local TOT researcher Joe Crabb identifies this as the Scott home on Root Lick Branch where Theopolis Scott allegedly watched the Cherokee pass by as a boy, an oral tradition still told by family members	Anonymous n.d. a, Crabb 2012, 2013
26	YES	Scott R Residence (P)	363693	4129112	Robert Scott entered this land near Bay Creek in 1815	Allen 1949:14
27	YES	Sheperd	365381	4132358	Samuel Tanner and William T. Shepherd entered land in Section 2, about	Allen 1949:14

POPE COUNTY RESIDENCES						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	Source for Residence being Present	REF
		Residence (P)			Two miles east of Homberg, in 1817	
28	YES	Shufflebarger Residence (P)	365619	4142181	Isaac Shufflebarger came to Section 2, about four miles northwest of Golconda, in March 1822.	Allen 1949:14
29	YES	Tanner Residence (P)	365381	4132358	Samuel Tanner and William T. Shepherd entered land in Section 2, about two miles east of Homberg, in 1817	Allen 1949:14
30	YES	Waters G Residence (P)	372167	4142367	Waters entered land near Glendale in 1817	Allen 1949:15
31	YES	Wilson J Residence (P)	352615	4142465	In 1817 Justin Wilson bought land two miles north of Dixon Springs on the road from Lusk's ferry to Vienna and Jonesboro (the Trail of Tears)	Allen 1949:13
32	NO	Brown Residence (P)			Brown was issued a license to keep a tavern at his residence, location unknown.	Anonymous n.d.a:186
33	NO	Hogg Residence (P)			Hogg was issued a license to keep a tavern at his home on the Saline Road	Anonymous n.d.a:191
34	NO	Wilson W Residence (P)			William Wilson bought land northeast of Dixon Springs in 1817 that was possibly located on the Trail of Tears	Allen 1949:13

Table 7-9 Springs, Pope County

POPE COUNTY SPRINGS						
ARC_ID	ON_MAP	SIT_NAME	X_CTR	Y_CTR	NOTES	REF
1	YES	Allen Springs	353263	4136605	These are located about 1 mile southeast of Dixon Springs in SW 1/4, Section 22, T13S, R5E, along the Trail of Tours route	USGS map
2	YES	Dixon Springs 1	354201	4140752	Dixon springs is located directly on the trail at the extreme western edge of the county. Numerous springs, rock shelters, and open areas that could have been used as camp sites are located in the vicinity of the springs.	Engelman 1866:493; Allen 1949:72; ISA 2012a
3	YES	Dixon Springs 2	352253	4139074	See above	Engelman 1866:493; Allen 1949:72
4	YES	Dixon Springs 3	352162	4138754	See above	Engelman 1866:493; Allen 1949:72
5	YES	Dixon Springs 4	352292	4138718	See above	Engelman 1866:493; Allen 1949:72
6	YES	Dixon Springs 5	352321	4138775	See above	Engelman 1866:493; Allen 1949:72
7	YES	Gullett Spring	368971	4140524	This spring is one located some two miles north of Golconda, placing it off the direct line of the trail	Allen 1949:61
8	NO	Bell Smith's Spring	348552	417995	Bell Smith's Spring reportedly was named for Bell Smith who lived nearby and who at one time owned the land on which the spring is located. However, one of the three original purchasers of the tract containing the spring was named D. Beal and the hollow that opens into where Bell Smith's Spring is found, is known as Beal's Hollow. This site does not appear on the map as it lies outside the Trail of Tears 10 mile corridor.	Allen 1949:12,61; ISA 2012a
9	NO	Little Creek Spring			Geologist Henry Engelman reported this spring as being located Little Creek on Mr. John A. Wasson's property in the 1860s.	Engelman 1866:493; ISA 2012a
10	NO	Miller's Branch Spring			Geologist Henry Engelman reported this spring as being located at the head of Millers branch of Little Saline creek in the 1860s.	Engelman 1866:493

# Tavern and Grocery Locations, Pope County



TAVERN/GROCERY

**Route**

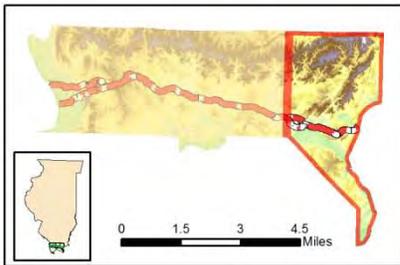
- Unconfirmed in Surveys
- Trail of Tears
- Towns
- Streams
- 10 mile Corridor

**Digital Elevation Model**

- High : 1220
- Low : 203

Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTS! Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

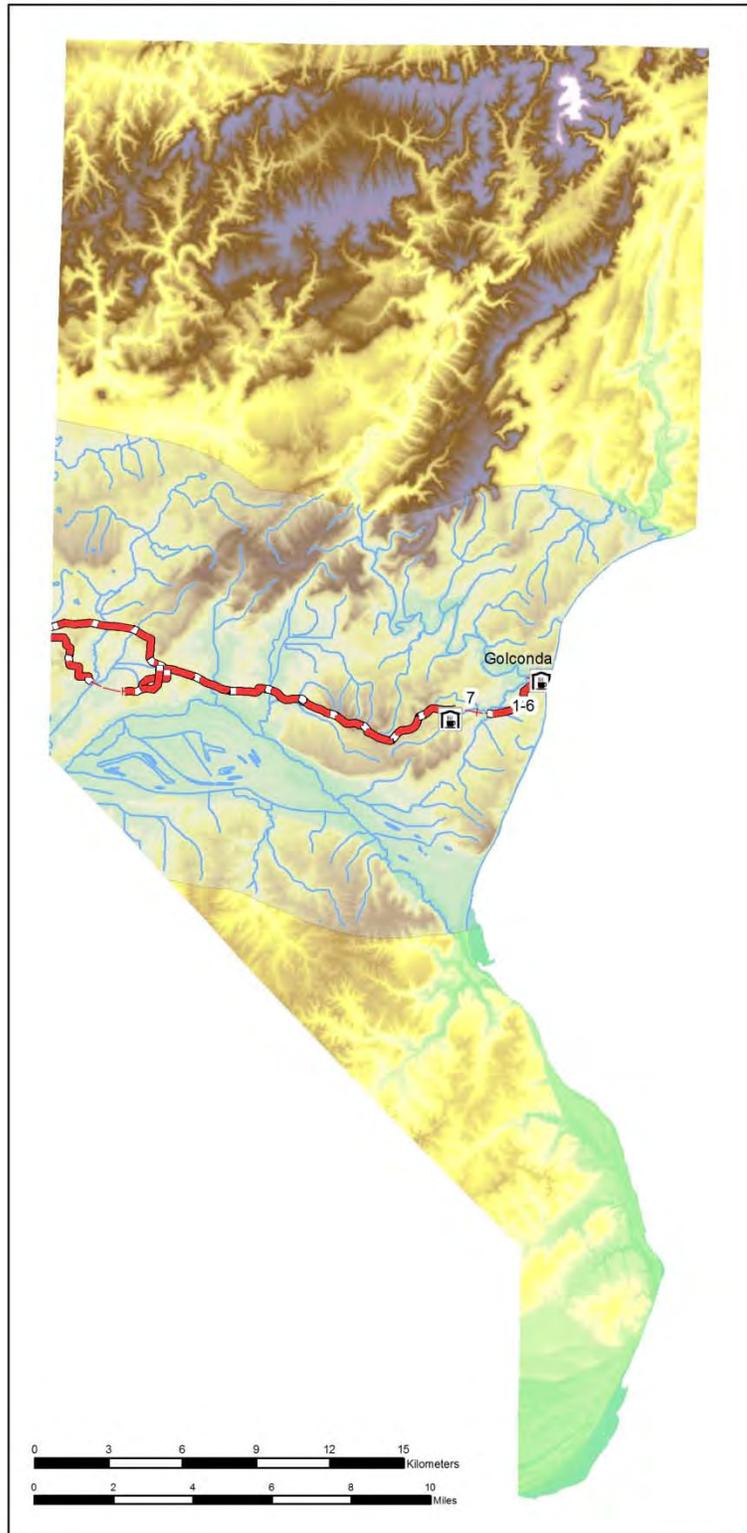


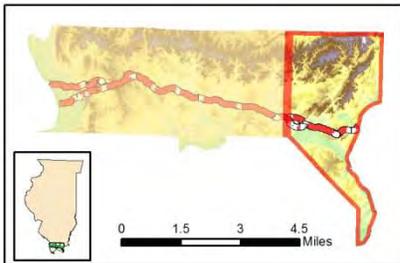
Figure 7-1 Tavern and Grocery Locations, Pope County

# Other Businesses, Pope County



OTHER  
**Route**  
 Unconfirmed in Surveys  
 Trail of Tears  
 Towns  
 Streams  
 10 mile Corridor  
**Digital Elevation Model**  
 High : 1220  
 Low : 203

Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives,  
 Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

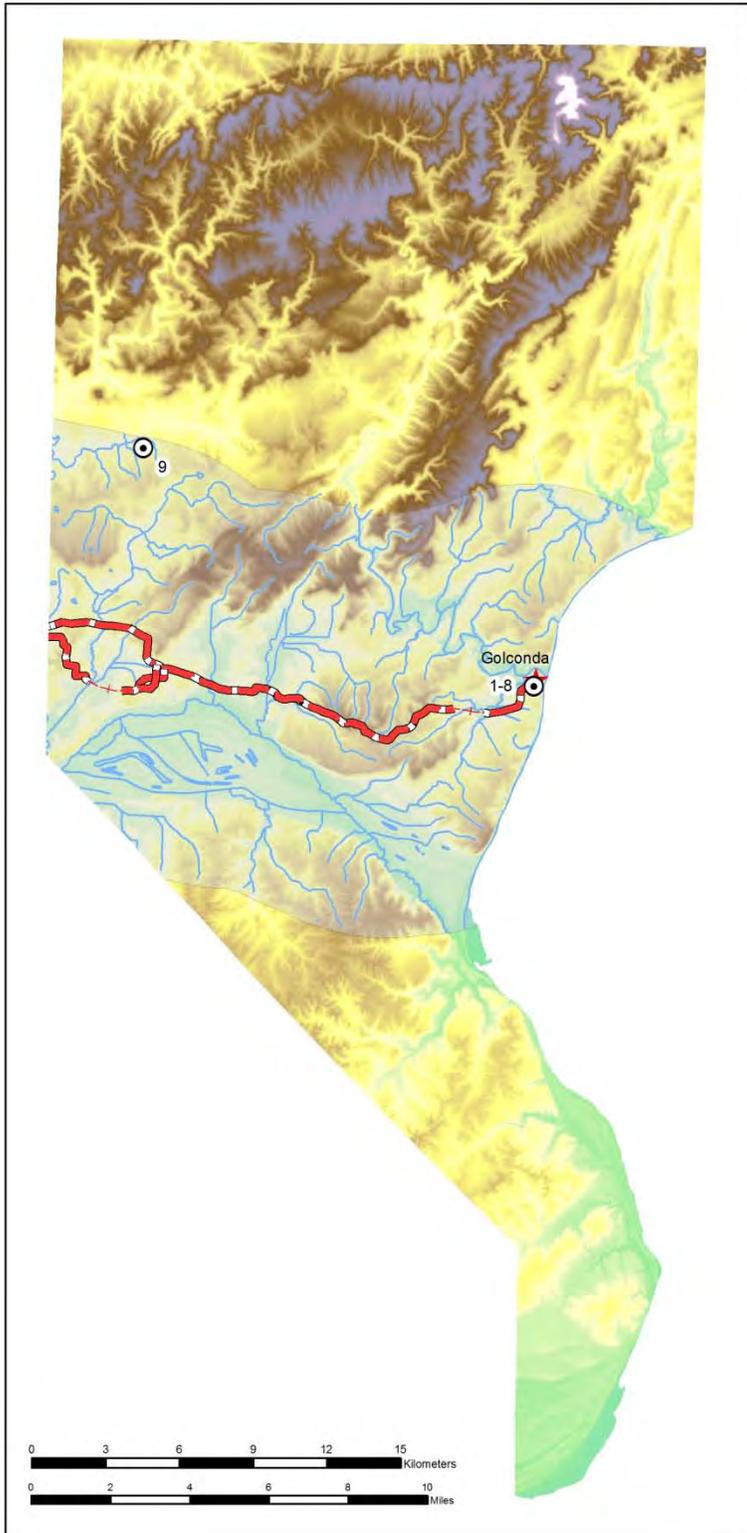


Figure 7-2 Other Businesses, Pope County

# Mill Locations, Pope County



MILL

**Route**

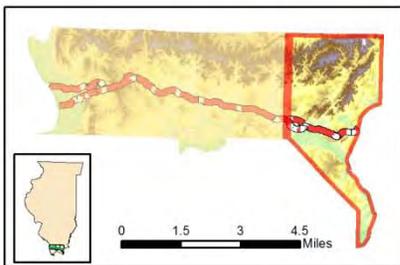
- Unconfirmed in Surveys
- Trail of Tears
- Towns
- Streams
- 10 mile Corridor

**Digital Elevation Model**

- High : 1220
- Low : 203

Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

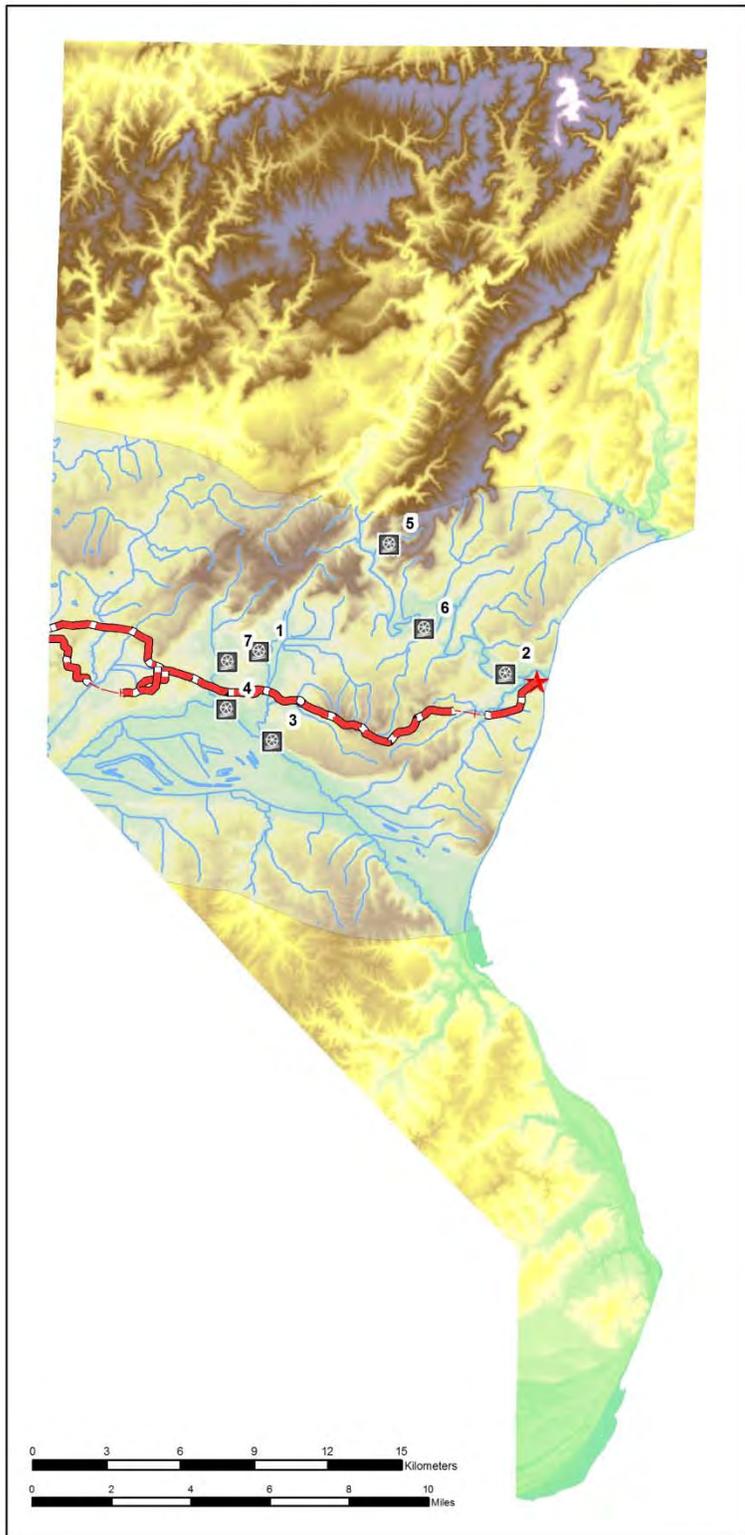


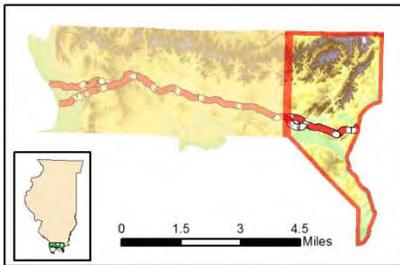
Figure 7-3 Mill Locations, Pope County

# Pope County Ferries and Fords



 FORD  
 FERRY  
**Route**  
 Unconfirmed in Surveys  
 Trail of Tears  
 Towns  
 Streams  
 10 mile Corridor  
**Digital Elevation Model**  
 High : 1220  
 Low : 203

Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesc.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTSI Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

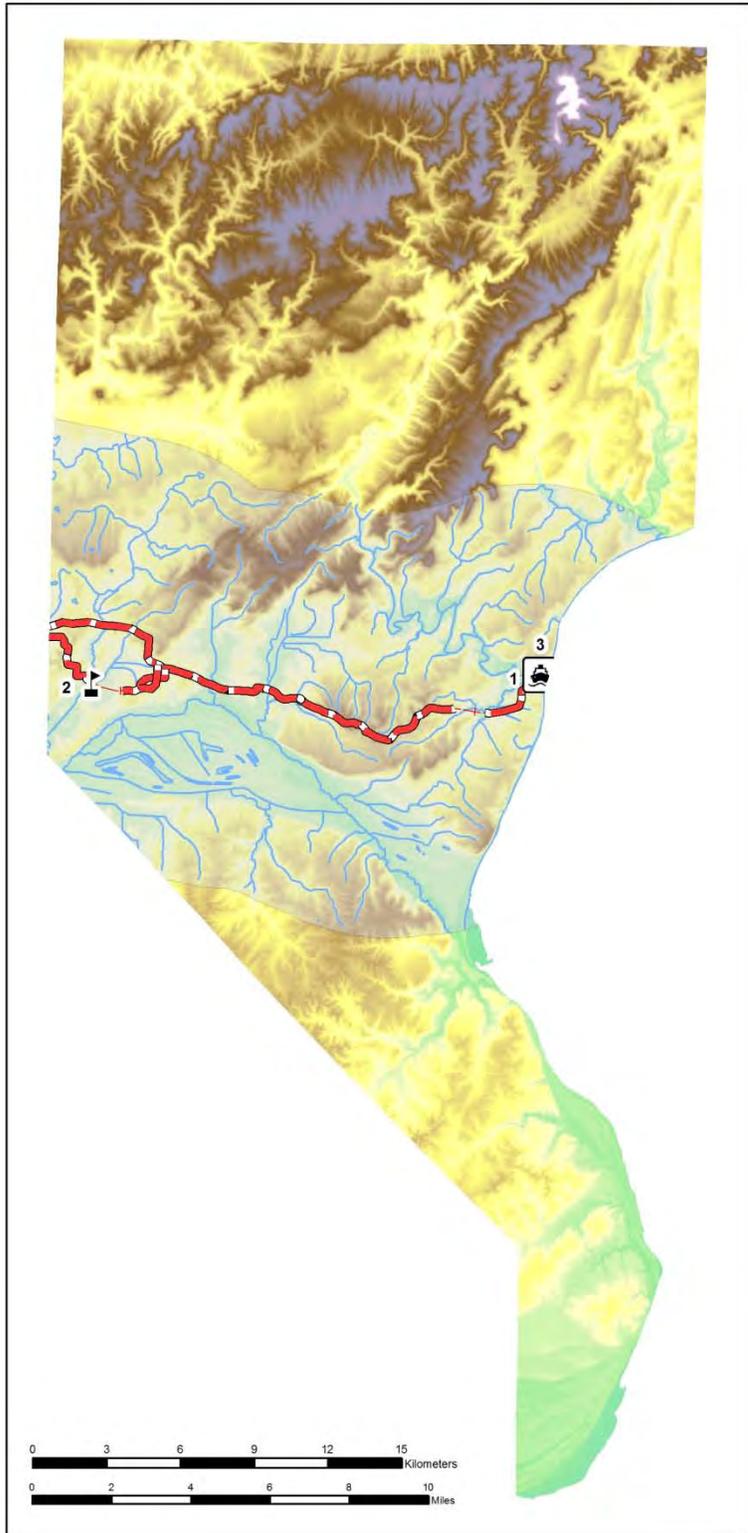


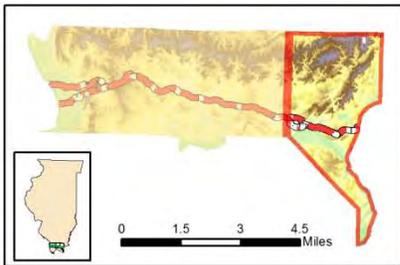
Figure 7-4 Pope County Ferries and Fords

# Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Pope County



00	CEMETERY
<b>Route</b>	
	Unconfirmed in Surveys
	Trail of Tears
	Towns
	Streams
	10 mile Corridor
<b>Digital Elevation Model</b>	
	High : 1220
	Low : 203

Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives,  
 Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTS! Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

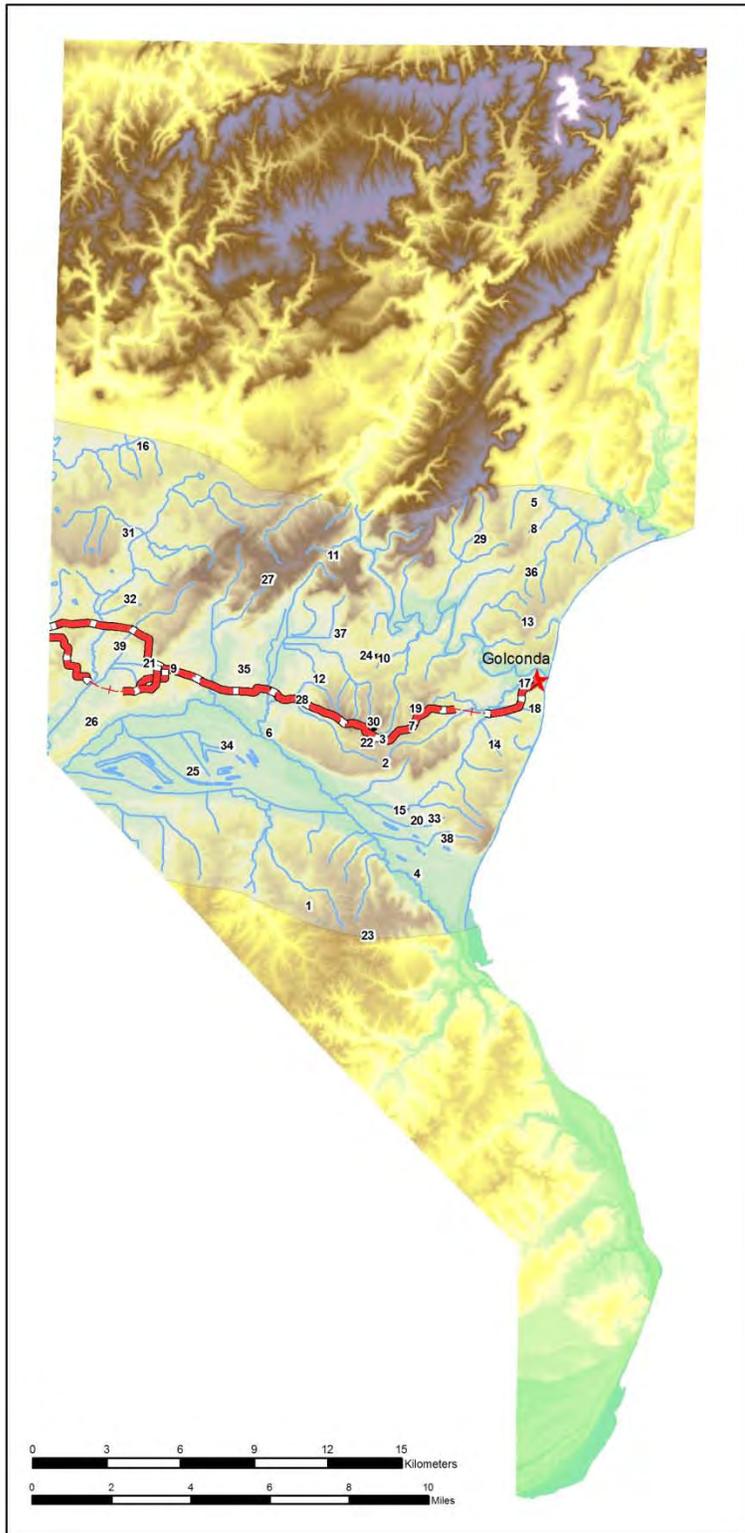


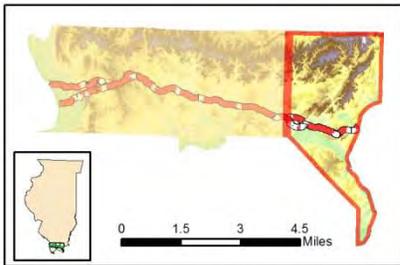
Figure 7-5 Euro-American Cemetery Locations, Pope County

# Cherokee Burial Locations, Pope County



CHEROKEE BURIAL  
**Route**  
 Unconfirmed in Surveys  
 Trail of Tears  
 Towns  
 Streams  
 10 mile Corridor  
**Digital Elevation Model**  
 High : 1220  
  
 Low : 203

Information Sources:  
 1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
 URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>  
 2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>  
 3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
 URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>  
 4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
 URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)  
 5. TOTS! Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

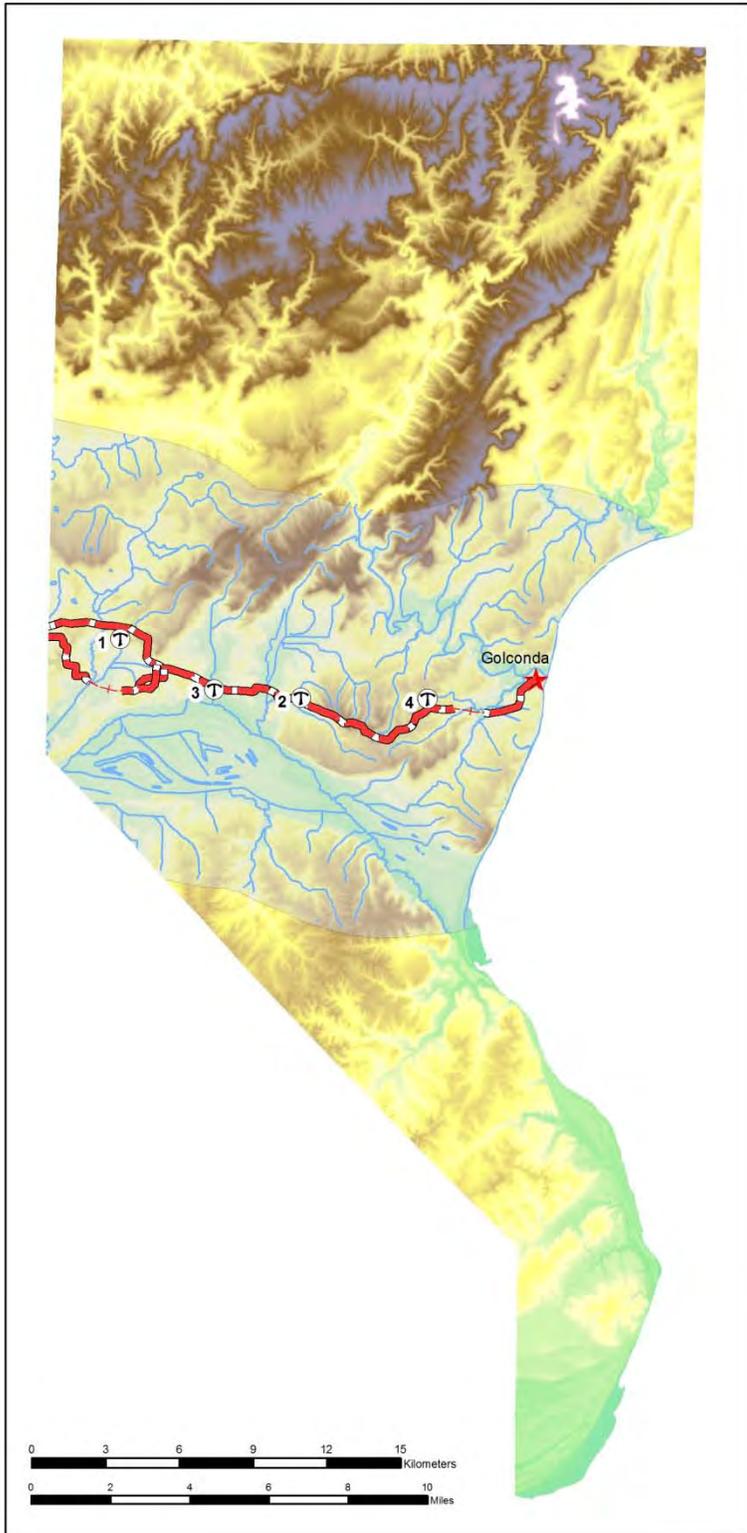


Figure 7-6 Cherokee Burial Locations, Pope County

# Campground Locations, Pope County



**Route**

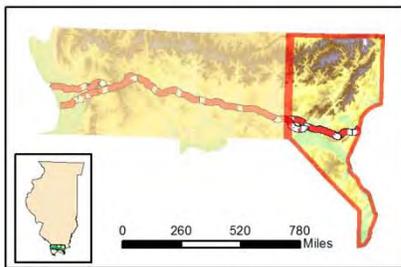
- Unconfirmed in Surveys
- Confirmed Trail of Tears
- CAMPGROUND
- Towns
- Streams
- 10 mile Corridor

**Digital Elevation Model**

- High : 1220
- Low : 203

Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTS! Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

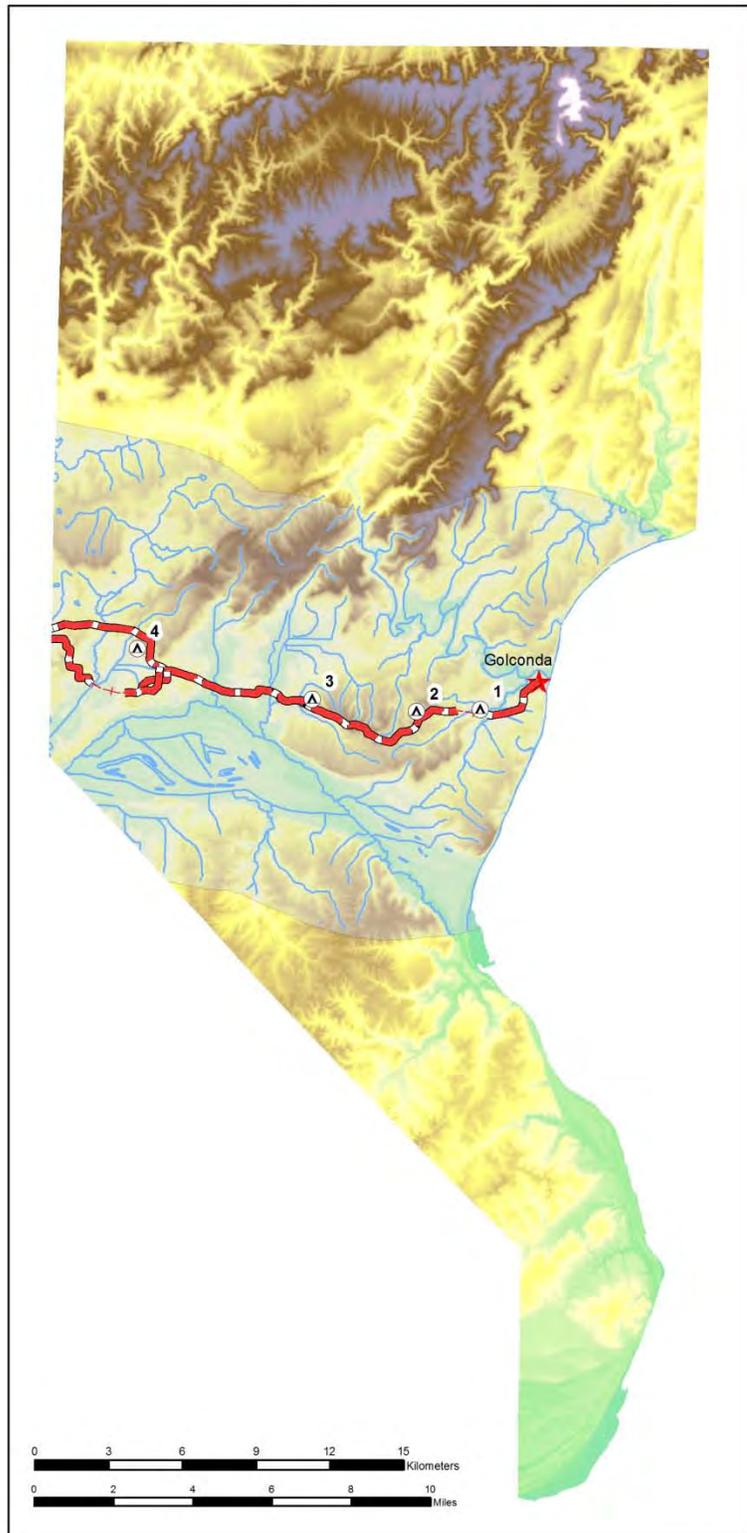


Figure 7-7 Campground Locations, Pope County

# Residence Locations, Pope County



00 RESIDENCE

**Route**

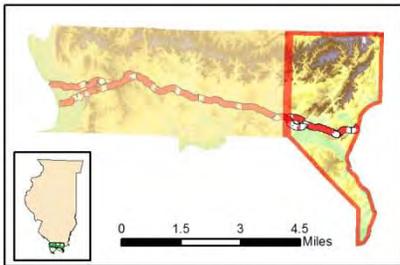
- Unconfirmed in Surveys
- Trail of Tears
- Towns
- Streams
- 10 mile Corridor

**Digital Elevation Model**

- High : 1220
- Low : 203

Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTSI Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

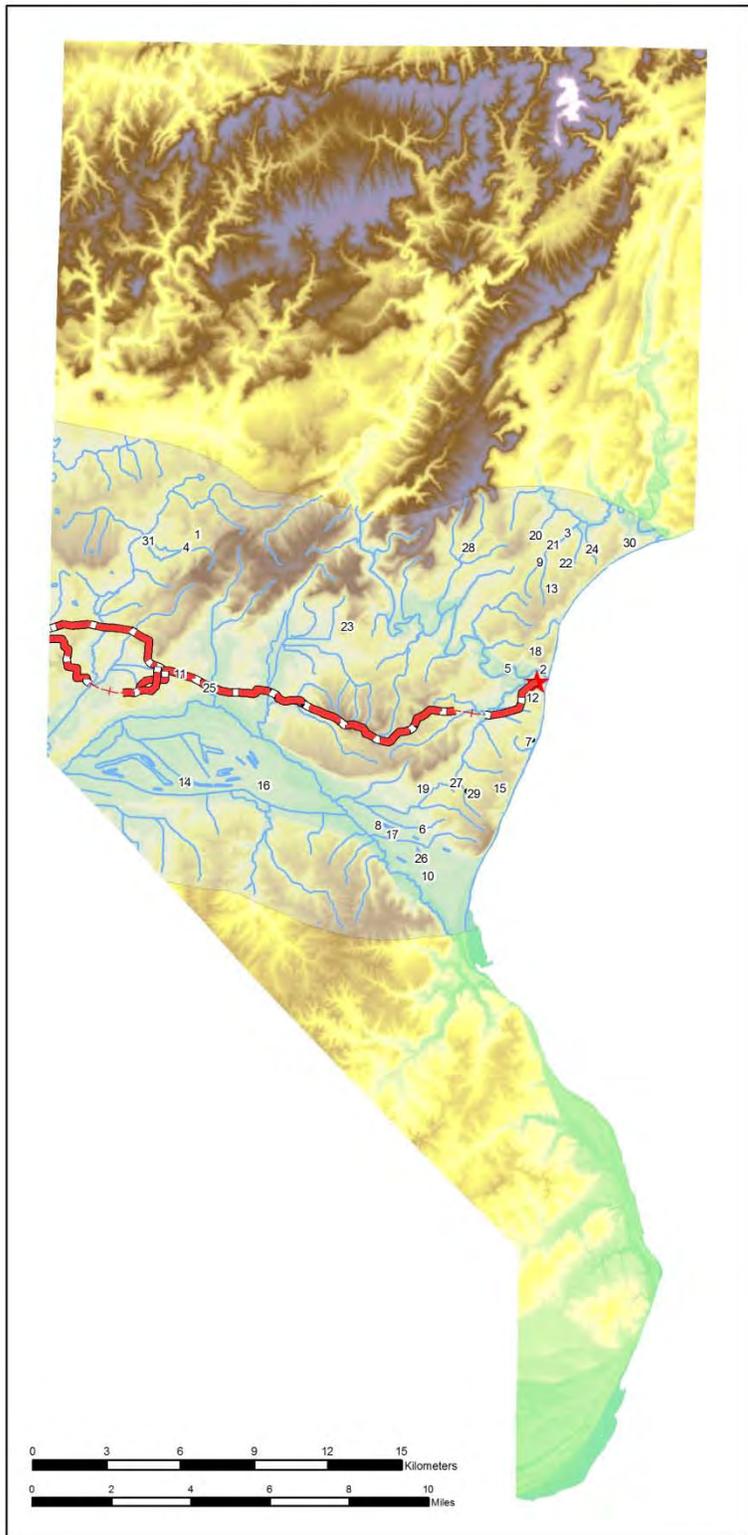


Figure 7-8 Residence Locations, Pope County

# Spring Locations, Pope County



 **SPRING**

**Route**

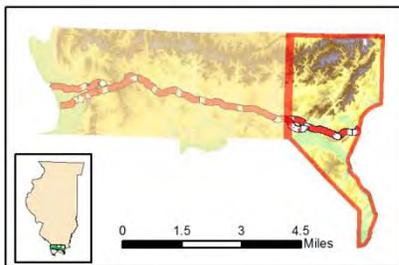
-  Unconfirmed in Surveys
-  Trail of Tears
-  Towns
-  Streams
-  10 mile Corridor

**Digital Elevation Model**

-  High : 1220
-  Low : 203

Information Sources:

1. Illinois State Archives, Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales  
URL: <http://www.ilsos.gov/isa/pubdomsrch.jsp>
2. 30-Meter Digital Elevation Model, Illinois.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-geolq.html>
3. Illinois PLSS county, state and land section.  
URL: <http://www.isgs.uiuc.edu/nsdihome/webdocs/st-basem.html>
4. PLSS township, first and ladesec.  
URL: [http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis\\_home/home/PLSS\\_download\\_ILcounty.htm](http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/isis_home/home/PLSS_download_ILcounty.htm)
5. TOTS! Geodatabase



(Map by Kayeleigh Sharp, Rev. 9 Jul, 2013)

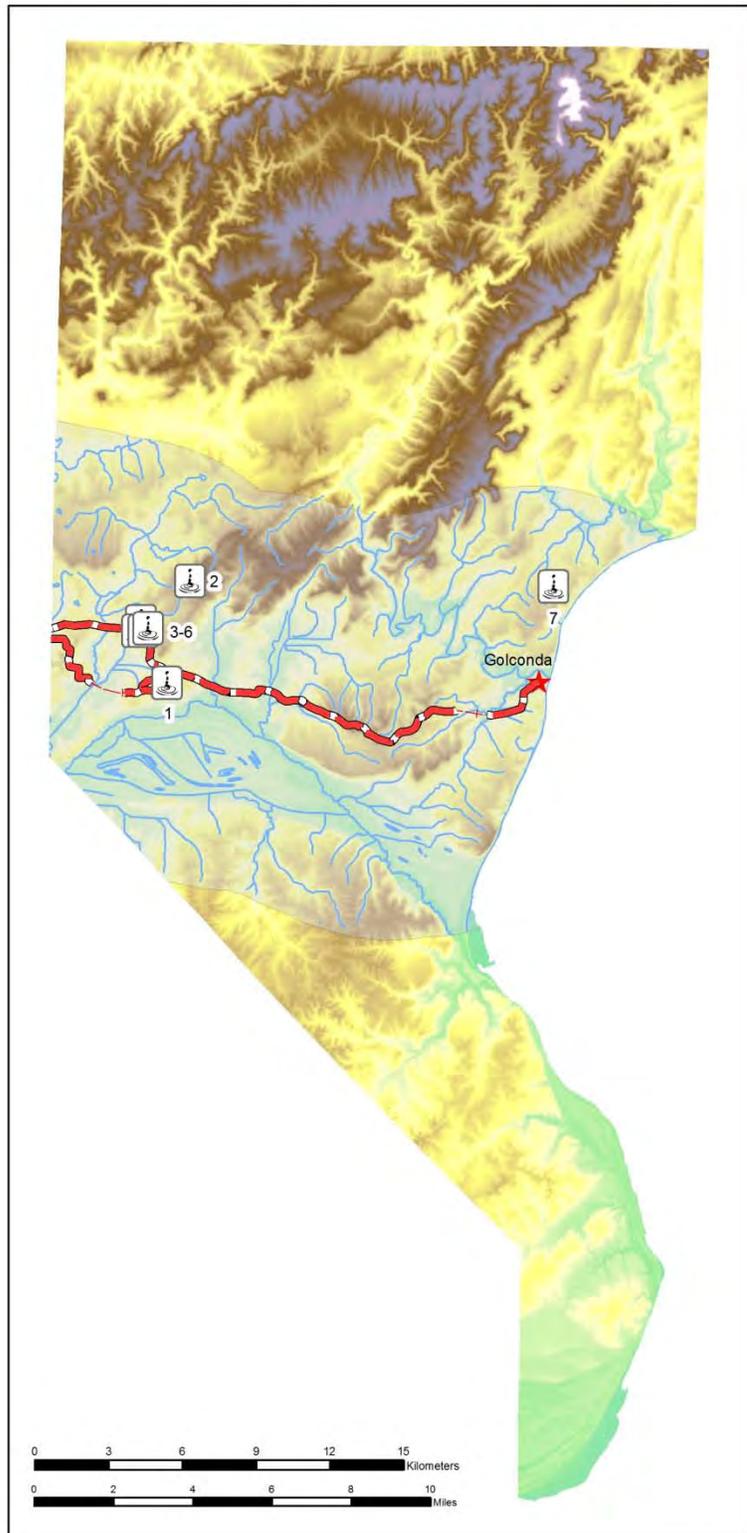


Figure 7-9 Spring Locations, Pope County



Figure 7-10 1930s Photograph of Berry House, Kentucky (Smith n.d.a.)

## Chapter 8 Results and Recommendations

### Introduction

The goal of this project was to create a planning document for the Illinois section of the Cherokee Trail of Tears. This document was, among other things, to (1) summarize the numbers and types of cultural resources other than trail segments potentially associated with the Cherokee Trail of Tears route through southern Illinois including structures, camp grounds, cemeteries and other facilities; (2) provide information regarding the locations (general or specific) of these resources; (3) summarize the historical and/or archaeological information for each of these sites; and (4) evaluate the potential of the various sites for future historical, archaeological, or interpretive work.

The first two goals have been met in Chapters 4-7. Through research into a variety of resources including previous historical and archaeological investigations, courthouse records, original land purchase records, and archival collections housed at various institutions, we identified 358 properties in Union County; 73 in Johnson County; and 145 in Pope County dating to the early nineteenth century that could potentially be associated with the Cherokee Trail of Tears (Tables 5-1 to 5-11; 6-1 to 6-7; 7-1 to 7-9). Of these, sufficient information existed for 230 sites in Union County; 73 in Johnson; and 111 in Pope for their locations to be mapped, even if only in general terms (Figures 5-1 to 5-11; 6-1 to 6-7; 7-1 to 7-9).

However, because a property *potentially* existed during 1837-1839 does not mean that it necessarily *was* visited or patronized by the Cherokee. An example would be the numerous stores, taverns, and liquor selling establishments that operated in Union County during the late 1830s. Of all the taverns, groceries, and “houses of entertainment” that existed in this county, we feel confident at this time in linking only three of these establishments—the Winstead Davie home in Jonesboro and the two grocery-like liquor-selling stands operated by Matthew Pipkin and the Stokes family along the trail between Vienna and Jonesboro—with the Cherokee Trail of Tears. In the first instance the linkage is based on the recollection of Davie’s daughter that Cherokee stayed at their home (Parks 1984:203) as well as newspaper articles from the early twentieth century stating the same thing (Mounds Independent 1934). In the case of the Stokes and Pipkin establishments, the linkage is based on these men being residents of the county, holding liquor licenses in the late 1830s, and owning land along sections of the trail that the Cherokee are known to have used.

A similar situation exists in regard to the other two counties. Because of the destruction of the 1830s Johnson County records, for example, we feel confident in linking only two taverns located along the trail—Bridges and McCorkle—with the Cherokee emigration. Although the Cherokee may have stopped at other establishments and homes along the trail, the destruction of the county commissioner’s court and tax records for this period makes it almost impossible to determine which of the purchased tracts located along the trail were actually occupied, especially given the rampant land speculation of the late 1830s. Pope County is better than Johnson County in this regard, but it is still extremely difficult to determine which of the properties that had been purchased from the public domain by the late 1830s were actually occupied. The two exceptions include the Scott and Farmer properties. In these two cases, the oral traditions that members of the Scott and Farmer families witnessed the Cherokee passing by is supported by land or tax records that indicate members of these families indeed were living along the trail in the late 1830s.

Because of this, in the following section, we restrict our comments and recommendations to thirty-eight properties that we believe have a high potential to be associated with the Cherokee Trail of Tears. For each property we summarize by county the type of property, locational information (general or specific), the archaeological or historical data for the property in question, and the research and/or interpretive potentials of the various properties. We rank the research and interpretive potentials of the property using the following three grades: high, low, and unknown. The first two are self-explanatory, while a ranking of “unknown” means that not enough information exists at present to evaluate the property in question. An example would be the Willard Mill site west of Anna. Although we know the physical location of the tract containing this mill, we do not know where the mill itself was located within that property or whether the property has been disturbed to the extent that the mill site no longer possesses any interpretive or research potential.

## **Union County**

We have identified 16 properties in Union County that have sufficient historical or archaeological information to link them with the Cherokee Trail of Tears (Table 8-1). Nine of these can be identified as to specific location while the locations of the others are only generally known.

Properties identified as to specific location include (1) the James Morgan Mill complex on Dutch Creek, which had an associated residence, Cherokee campground, and Cherokee cemetery; (2) Campground Church, which is very similar to the Morgan

property in terms of the resources it contains with the addition of springs; (3) the Old Mt. Pleasant cemetery, which has a Cherokee burial area and associated campground; (4) the Winstead Davie home and store site in Jonesboro at which wealthier Cherokee reportedly stayed while passing through Union County; (5) Hamburg Landing, which had an associated ferry, campground, and Cherokee cemetery; (6) Willard's Landing, which had a ferry, stores, liquor selling establishments, and a campground; (7) the Lincoln Douglas Debate site or old Union County Fairground property in Jonesboro, which has a spring and oral tradition that it was used as a camp site; (8) site 11U621, a prehistoric Mississippian village (A.D. 1000-1500) located along the Trail of Tears route in Hamburg Hill Hollow that also has produced a Moravian-made smoking pipe fragment dating to the Trail of Tears era. The recorded location of this site is very close to where the Cannon party is believed to have camped along Clear Creek, meaning that this site could have been used as a camping spot by part of that or other emigrant Cherokee parties traveling to Hamburg Landing; (9) the prehistoric Mississippian period Ware Mound Group (11U31) which is bisected by the Trail of Tears with earthen mounds located immediately north and south of the trail. Archaeological investigations at this site in the early 1880s and highway work in 1938 revealed a historic period cemetery on top of the largest mound at this site (which still exists), supporting the identification of this site by John G. Mulcaster as a Cherokee burial area on the basis of oral histories that he collected in Union County in the 1930s.

The sites that at present can only be identified as to general location include four campgrounds (Hileman, Taylor, Clear Creek, and Cypress Creek), two of which also contain Cherokee burials, whose locations are only generally known based on mileage information contained in the Butrick and Cannon journals. We have been unable to locate any local oral or written histories that provide more specific information regarding the locations of these campgrounds.

The other three properties that at present have been identified as to general location include the Willard Brothers Mill, which appears to have had an associated campground and cemetery, and the combination liquor-selling establishments and residences operated by Matthew Pipkin and the Stokes family along the Trail of Tears route in the eastern part of the county. We do have legal descriptions for the tracts containing these sites, but it is unknown at present where the various properties were located within these tracts.

### *Interpretive Potential*

The interpretive potential of these sites varies. We have rated nine of the sites as having high interpretive value (see Table 8.1). These include seven sites that are located in towns or along roads that are readily accessible as well as two (Willard's and Hamburg Landings) that are not. Both of the landing sites are now located west of the Mississippi River levee and are accessible only by farm roads or walking. However, it would be possible to place interpretive signs along Route 3 where the two branches of the trail cross that road on their way to the landing sites, explaining about the ferries that the Cherokee used at these locations to cross the Mississippi River. In regard to the northern branch of the trail, which crosses through the Ware Mound Group, the interpretation also could discuss the historic cemetery once contained in the largest mound at that site.

Other properties that have very high interpretive value include the Campground Church and James Morgan Farm/Dutch Creek sites. Both of these appear to have been major stopping points that contained a variety of resources including mills, residences, campgrounds, and cemeteries. Other sites that we believe have high interpretive value include the Mt. Pleasant cemetery and campground, Winstead Davie home, Willard Brother's mill and campground, and Lincoln Douglas Debate site campground. We rank the Lincoln Douglas Debate site, which is a highly visited location owned by the US Forest Service, as having high interpretive value in that it currently contains statues and interpretive plaques related to the Lincoln-Douglas debate. As such, it also could be used as a location to interpret the Trail of Tears, which passes right by the site, as well as the role of Winstead Davie, the Willard Brothers, and Jonesboro in the Cherokee emigration.

Sites that we rank as having low interpretive value include those that are inaccessible to the public (Clear Creek and site 11U621) or that have limited association with the Trail of Tears such as the Matthew Pipkin and Stokes sites. We have ranked three other sites (the Hileman, Taylor, and Cypress Creek campgrounds) as having unknown interpretive value due to the fact that the precise locations of these campgrounds remain unknown at present.

### *Research Potential*

The potential for future research (archaeological, historical, and remote sensing) at these locations also varies. We have ranked the sites as having high (N=8), low (N=5), and unknown (N=3) potential for future research (Table 8-1).

The two sites with the highest research potential, based on our present knowledge, are the James Morgan Farm/Dutch Creek and Campground Church sites. Both of these sites contain a variety of resources including campgrounds, mills, residences, and cemeteries that potentially could be located by archaeological investigations. The Morgan Farm in particular has a very high potential for producing significant, previously unknown information regarding both the Cherokee and the Euro-American settlers they interacted with during their passage through Union County in 1837-1839. This site at present consists almost entirely of cultivated fields except for the Moran (Nimmo) Mound that has a modern home on top of it. As such, it should be possible to identify the locations of the Morgan mill, residence, and Cherokee campgrounds through archaeological survey. Campgrounds in particular are notoriously difficult to locate because of the limited activities that occurred at such locations and the short time they were occupied. The fields believed to contain the Cherokee camp sites at the Morgan site, however, are entirely cultivated, meaning it should be possible to locate through pedestrian archaeological survey even very light artifact scatters associated with the Cherokee camp sites that normally could not be located if the property was in pasture or forested. Assuming the campgrounds, mill, and residence can be located through archaeological survey, further investigation of these properties may be warranted. These could take the form of controlled surface collections and test investigations as well as the use of remote sensing techniques such as resistivity, magnetometer, and ground penetrating radar to locate subsurface features including graves.

We also believe that remote sensing techniques have the potential to produce additional information regarding four additional Trail of Tears related properties—the Ware Mound Group, Willard’s Landing, Hamburg Landing, and the old Mt. Pleasant Cemetery—in Union County. Previous investigations in the largest mound at the Ware Mound Group in the 1880s and 1938 revealed that it contained a historic cemetery. It is unknown how much, if any, of this cemetery still remains. The mound containing the cemetery is currently contained in an agricultural field. Remote sensing could provide a nonintrusive method of investigating this mound to determine if any historic graves, which could be recognized by their rectangular shape as well as the presence of metal clothing items such as buttons and buckles, still exist within the mound without having to disturb the mound through excavation. Remote sensing operations similar to those conducted at the Campground Church Cemetery (Henson 2010) also could provide information regarding the number and types of unmarked graves in that cemetery, some of which are reported to have been Cherokee (Cox 1934).

Both Willard's Landing and Hamburg Landing are now located approximately 0.4-0.75 km and 0.5-0.7 km, respectively, east of the Mississippi River shoreline due to the steady deposition of alluvium along the Illinois shoreline throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The locations of both landings were determined in 2003 based on their legal descriptions. Above ground remains, however, no longer exist at either site. Hamburg Landing is entirely contained within an agricultural field while Willard's Landing is located both within a wooded area and agricultural fields (Wagner 2003:58-59). The locations of the two landings are outside the existing levee and both sites were covered by major Mississippi River floods in 1973, 1993, and 2011. It is unknown how deep the remains of the buildings, ferry landings, campgrounds, and cemeteries once contained at these locations are buried beneath the ground. Remote sensing could provide a rapid way of determining the number, extent, and types of subsurface features at these two important Trail of Tears properties.

We also recommend site 11U621, which is a prehistoric site that potentially contains a Cherokee camp site associated with the Cannon party Clear Creek campground, as having high research potential. Limited archaeological investigations by the US Forest Service at this site in spring, 2013, however, failed to recover any Trail of Tears-era artifacts in addition to the Moravian pipe fragment that had been recovered by a previous archaeological survey. Additional investigation of this site is tentatively scheduled for spring, 2014.

The five sites ranked as having low potential include the Stokes and Pipkin sites, the Clear Creek campground (the location of which is only vaguely known), and the Davie house and store, which are currently located beneath a paved parking lot and bank building, respectively. The Lincoln Douglas Debate campground site, the location of which has been heavily modified over the years, also is ranked as having low research potential. The three sites ranked as having unknown research potential consist of the three campgrounds—Hileman, Taylor, and Cypress Creek—whose exact locations are not known at present.

Table 8-1 Trail of Tears Properties, Union County

Property Name	Property Type	General Location	Location Accuracy	Interpretive Potential	Research Potential	Source
Campground Church	Mill/Camp/Res/Cem/Spring	East of Jonesboro	Specific	High	High	MP, Henson 2010
Winstead Davie	Residence/Store	Jonesboro	Specific	High	Low	ISA, UCCR, MP, SP
Morgan Farm/Dutch Creek	Mill/Res/Camp/Cem/Black	West of Jonesboro	Specific	High	High	ISA, UCCR, MP, DARS
Willard's Landing	Ferry/Camp/Store/Liquor	Willard's Landing	Specific	High	High	ISA, UCCR, MP
Hamburg Landing	Ferry/Campground/cemetery	Hamburg Landing	Specific	High	High	ISA, UCCR
Willard's Mill	Mill/Campground/cemetery	Two miles west Of Jonesboro	General	High	High	Goodman 1932
Matthew Pipkin	Residence/Grocery/Liquor	East of Jonesboro	General	Low	Low	ISA, UCCR
Stokes Family	Residence/Liquor License	East of Jonesboro	General	Low	Low	ISA, UCCR
Clear Creek	Campground	Mouth of Hamburg Hollow	General	Low	Low	Cannon 1978
Site 11U621	Campground	Mouth of Hamburg Hollow	Specific	Low	High	Wagner et al. 1992
Ware Mound Group (11U31)	Cemetery	West of town Of Ware	Specific	High	High	Milner 1993
Old Mt. Pleasant Cemetery	Campground/Cemetery	Mt. Pleasant	Specific	High	High	Cox 1934
Hileman (?) Campground	Campground/Cemetery	Three miles E. of Jonesboro	General	Unknown	Unknown	Butrick 1998
Taylor Campground	Campground/Cemetery	1.5 miles E. of Mt. Pleasant	General	Unknown	Unknown	Butrick 1998
Cypress Creek	Campground	Five miles E. of Jonesboro	General	Unknown	Unknown	Cannon 1978
Lincoln Douglas Debate Site	Campground/Spring	North Edge of Jonesboro	Specific	High	Low	McCorvie 2013

Cem=cemetery  
 Camp=campground  
 Black=blacksmith  
 Liquor=Liquor License  
 ISA=Illinois State Archives  
 MP=Mulcaster Papers  
 UCCR=Union County Commissioner's Court Record  
 SP=Smith Papers

## Johnson County

Twelve sites were identified within Johnson County (Table 8-2). The low number of sites reflects the loss of the Johnson County Commissioner's Court Records from the 1830s, which makes it impossible to search for tavern licenses or the appointment by the county of mill site viewers whose job it was to report on whether construction of a mill at a certain location would hurt property owners located down stream from the proposed mill.

Four of the sites can be identified to specific location while the locations of the other eight are only generally known (Table 8-2). Sites identifiable as to specific location include the Bridges and McCorkle taverns, the Beggs or Indian Cemetery, and the Hezekiah West residence. Three of these have been known since the 1930s (Mulcaster n.d., Smith n.d.) while the Hezekiah West property is a relatively new addition (Hacker et al. 2010).

The eight properties that can only be identified to general location at the moment include five campgrounds—Buckrun, Bay, Dutchman, and Cache Creeks as well as West Vienna—and the Rose, Gore, and Elkins residences. In the case of the three residences, we know the legal descriptions of the tracts owned by the Rose, Gore, and Elkins families but the locations of their homes within these tracts has not yet been identified.

### *Interpretive Potential*

We rank four of the sites as having high interpretive potential while the other eight are ranked as low. The Bridges site, which is the most complex of the sites, possessing a tavern, store, mill, and other facilities, has the most well-documented association with the Cherokee emigration (Hacker et al. 2010; Hornbuckle 1934; Mounds Independent 1934). This site stands above any of the other Johnson County sites in terms of its ability to convey information regarding the Cherokee Trail of Tears. We also recommend the McCorkle site, although its location has been heavily modified for use as a golf course, as having a high potential to convey information regarding the Cherokee emigration due to its current public use.

The other two sites that we rank as having high interpretive potential are the Beggs or Indian Cemetery site and (if it can be located) the John Gore residence. Both have the potential to tell the story of how Cherokee and other members of the emigrant

party became sick and died during the journey due to illness and physical stress and had to be buried far from their original homelands.

We rank the campground sites and the three other private residences—West, Elkins, and Rose—as having low interpretive potential. The primary reason for ranking the camp sites as having low interpretive potential is that their locations are only generally known. If additional information is uncovered that allows them to be located more precisely, this evaluation could change. The residence sites are ranked low in terms of interpretive value due to the limited interaction that the residents of these sites had with the Cherokee based on our current knowledge.

### *Research Potential*

The sites with the highest research potential are the Bridges Tavern, Beggs Cemetery, and West, Gore, Rose, and Elkins residences (Table 8-2). The Bridges Tavern site is very similar in complexity to the Morgan Mill site in Union County. Cultural properties at this site include a tavern, mill, store, and spring with a Cherokee cemetery and campground in close proximity. Archaeological investigations at this site have the potential to identify the locations and subsurface features associated with both the tavern and mill at this site as well as recover artifacts dating to the Trail of Tears-era. In particular, archaeological investigation of the “wayside store” at this site has the potential to recover definitive information regarding whether this structure dates to the Trail of Tears period. Log structures such as the “store” often contained interior pit cellars that were filled with refuse when they fell into disuse. Excavation of test units both inside and outside of the store could reveal if it is surrounded by early nineteenth century refuse or if early nineteenth century features and artifacts are contained within the store interior. If they are, this would support the interpretation of the store as being an early nineteenth century structure that was in use in the late 1830s.

Of the other five high research potential sites, use of non-intrusive methods of investigation could provide information regarding whether the number and locations of unmarked graves at the Beggs or Indian Cemetery site are similar to what has been done at the Campground Church site in Union County (Henson 2010). Similar to that site, however, it will not be possible to determine whether the located graves are Cherokee or Euro-American without excavation, which is unlikely unless the graves are threatened in some manner. We also recommend all four residence sites—West, Gore, Rose, and Elkins—as having the potential to provide information regarding the homes, daily lives, and possessions of Euro-American settlers who lived along the trail and interacted with the Cherokee as they passed by. The Gore residence, where a teamster

associated with one of the parties was taken when he fell ill and subsequently died, has the strongest association of the four residences with the Cherokee emigration. Archaeological survey should be conducted to determine the locations of these residences and, if they survive, test investigations could be conducted to assess their integrity as well as to recover artifact samples.

The sites ranked as having the lowest research potential at the moment include five of the campsites as well as the McCorkle Tavern site (Table 8-2). As noted for Union County, camp sites occupied for relatively brief periods of time might be virtually impossible to locate due to the low amount of material discarded at such locations, especially if they are now contained in woods or brush. This evaluation could change if more definitive information is recovered regarding the locations of these camps, which would then make it possible to use techniques such as remote sensing or metal detecting to locate features or artifact samples.

The recommendation of the McCorkle property as having low research value is based on the photographs of this property contained in Hacker et al. (2010) which show that the location has been changed into a golf course. As such, it no longer has the potential to provide the same level of detailed information regarding the Cherokee emigration as do more intact tavern complex sites such as the Bridges site or the Morgan Farm site in Union County. This recommendation could change if sections of the McCorkle property containing early nineteenth deposits, structural remains, or subsurface features are found to still be relatively intact.

Table 8-2 Trail of Tears Properties, Johnson County

Property Name	Property Type	General Location	Location Accuracy	Research Potential	Interpretive Potential	Source
Bridges Site	Tav/res/mill store/spring	2.5 mi W. of Vienna	Specific	High	High	Hacker et al. 2010, MP, DARS
McCorkle Site	Tave/res/mill/camp	1.5 mi E. of Vienna	Specific	High	Low	Hacker et al. 2010, MP,SP
Beggs Cemetery	Campground/Cemetery	3.0 mi W. of Vienna	Specific	High	High	Hacker et al. 2010, MP
Buckrun Creek	Campground	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	Low	Hacker et al. 2010
Bay Creek	Campground	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	Low	Hacker et al. 2010
West Vienna	Campground	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	Low	Hacker et al. 2010
Hezekiah West	Residence/Campground/Spring	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	Specific	Low	High	Hacker et al. 2010
Dutchman Creek	Campground/Cemetery	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	Low	Hacker et al. 2010
Cache Creek	Campground	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	Low	Hacker et al. 2010
P.W. Rose	Residence	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	High	Hacker et al. 2010, ISA
John Gore	Residence	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	High	High	Hacker et al. 2010, ISA
William Elkins	Residence	2.75 mi W. of Vienna	General	Low	High	Hacker et al. 2010, ISA

Tav= tavern                      MP=Mulcaster Papers                      DARS=Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook  
 Res=residence                      SP=Smith Papers  
 Camp=campground                      ISA=Illinois State Archives

## Pope County

Ten sites were identified within Pope County (Table 8-3). Four of these can be identified as to specific location while the locations of the other six are only generally known. The low number of sites is associated to some degree how rapidly the only two Cherokee parties—Cannon and Taylor (Butrick)—for which we have detailed journals moved through the county. The 1837 Cannon party spent only one night in the county before reaching Big Bay Creek in Johnson County the next day (Cannon 1978). The Butrick party moved slower, but still were out of the county within eight days (Butrick 1998).

The four properties that can be identified as to specific locations include the two ferries (Field's and Berry's) that operated between Golconda and Kentucky shore, both of which would have docked at the Golconda river front. These ferries also would have landing areas on the Kentucky shore as well. The other properties that can be identified to specific location are the Old Brownfield cemetery, which oral history (Crabb 2013) identifies as containing Cherokee burials, and Dixon Springs, which John G. Mulcaster and Professor Smith identified as containing a Cherokee campground with an associated cemetery.

The sites that presently can be identified as to general location include B. B. Cannon's November 7, 1837, campground and the campgrounds occupied by the Taylor (Butrick) party on December 15 and 19, 1838; the Farmer and Scott residences; and the Samuel or Robert Blair tavern (Table 8-3). In the case of the Farmer, Scott, and Blair properties, we know the locations of the properties owned by these men but do not know where their residences were located within those properties. There is a specific location for a Cherokee burial, however, within the former Scott property that Winfield Scott relayed to George Washington Smith in a 1935 letter (Scott 1935).

### *Interpretive Potential*

We rated the Pope County sites as having high (N=4) and low (N=6) interpretive potential. The properties recommended as having high interpretive potential are the ferry sites in Golconda, the Old Brownfield cemetery, and Dixon Springs State Park. Both Golconda and Dixon Springs State Park are high visibility areas that could be used to interpret the history of the Cherokee emigration through Pope County. Golconda could be used to interpret the story of the arrival of the Cherokee in Pope County by ferry, while Dixon Springs could be used to interpret the story of how the Cherokee traveled and camped. Similar to Campground Church in Union County, the Old

Brownfield Cemetery could be used to tell the story of how many Cherokee became sick and died along the trail, being buried in what either already were or later became some of the Euro-American cemeteries of the county.

We recommend the remaining sites—the Blair, Scott, and Farmer residences—and the November 17, 1837, and December 15 and 19, 1838 campgrounds as having low interpretive potential. This is primarily due to the current lack of specific information regarding these properties. If further historical or archeological research succeeds in locating additional information regarding these properties that allow them to be more precisely located, their interpretive potential may change.

### *Research Potential*

The potential for future research (archaeological, historical, and remote sensing) in regard to the Pope County sites is difficult to evaluate, with the primary problem being a relative lack of detailed historic research. However, based on the current information, we have ranked six of the sites as having high research potential; one as low potential; and three as unknown (Table 5-8). The six sites ranked as having high potential include (1) the Daniel Field Ferry at Golconda; (2) the Samuel or Robert Blair residence and tavern site; (3) the Old Brownfield Cemetery; (4) the Isaac Burns Scott residence, campground (?), and cemetery site; (5) the John Farmer residence; and (6) the Thomas Berry Ferry.

We would recommend that additional detailed archival research be conducted into the Berry and Daniel Field ferries. It is unclear at the moment if these are the same ferry at different points in time or if they were competing ferries. This question can be answered by conducting research into the county commissioner's court and other public records housed at the Pope County Courthouse. Wagner (2003:14-28), for example, was able to recover detailed information regarding the various ferries in Union County and their owners by conducting exactly this same type of research at the Union County courthouse. We would expect that the same type of information could be obtained regarding the ferries in Pope County through similar research at the Pope County Courthouse in Golconda.

Thompson (1951:297) identified Thomas Berry as running the ferry that "originally was the Lusk Ferry" but also noted Berry lived on the Kentucky shore, where he "built an imposing two-story brick structure...that is still standing". Thompson's account is at least partially contradicted by an old photograph in the Smith Papers that identifies a single story log home as having been the Berry house (Figure 7-10). Berry's

name also does not appear in John Allen's *Pope County Notes* (1949), which is the only detailed study of the early history of the county. Examination of the Pope County Commissioner Court Records as part of the current study reveal that Field was not taxed in 1837 for operating a ferry but was taxed ten dollars on March 5, 1839, for operating one at Golconda. The inference is that Thomas Berry gave up his ferry license following the end of the Cherokee emigration, but this needs to be confirmed by additional detailed research similar to that which was conducted for the Union County ferries (Wagner 2003).

We also would recommend that additional historical and archaeological research be conducted into determining the location of the Samuel or Robert Blair Tavern. The eastern edge of the tract owned by Robert Blair is located only .5 mi east of where McCorvie (2010) believed the Taylor party camped on the first public land they found along the trail on December 18, 1838, after being evicted from their original camp site near Golconda. However, the tract owned by Robert Blair *was* still public land on December 18, 1838, with Blair not entering it until the day (December 19, 1838) the Taylor party departed for their next camp site. As noted in Chapter 7, the proximity of the two dates suggests that the two events are related in some fashion, and it may be that the arrival of the Taylor party on what Blair may have considered to be his land prompted him to actually purchase it the next day. As such, his property might not only contain his tavern/residence but the remains of a Cherokee camp site as well.

We also recommend the John Farmer and Isaac Burns Scott properties as having high research potential. Both are located at or very near Allen Springs, a logical camping spot for people traveling along the trail. Both also have oral histories linking them to the Cherokee emigration. The Scott property in particular appears to have had many of the characteristics of the Morgan Farm and Campground Church sites in Union County including a water source, a cemetery, and—at least by the 1870s—grist and saw mills being located near or on the property (Warner and Beers 1876). Allen (1949) also shows a mill as being located on Root Lick Branch, which runs through the former Scott property. The presence of at least one purported Cherokee burial on the property, the location of which is known with a high degree of accuracy (Figure 4-26), raises the possibility that other Cherokee individuals may be buried in the same location. In addition, both the Cannon and Taylor (Butrick) parties appear to have buried deceased individuals within the various campgrounds they occupied, raising the possibility that the individual buried on the Scott property is buried within a former campground site (Butrick 1998, Cannon 1978). As such, we would recommend that an archaeological survey be conducted of the area surrounding the purported grave location in an attempt to relocate the grave as well as other 1830s sites that may be located in the same area.

We also recommend the Old Brownfield cemetery as having high research potential. Similar to the Campground Church cemetery in Union County investigated by Henson (2010), use of remote sensing techniques at the Old Brownfield cemetery might locate additional graves, some of which may be associated with the Cherokee emigration. The presence of one or more Cherokee graves at this location also raises the possibility that a campground is located nearby. The distance of the Old Brownfield Cemetery from the Ohio River—8.5 miles—is identical to that of the camp occupied by the Taylor (Butrick) party on December 19, 1838. Allen (1949:87) also shows a mill as being located near Old Brownfield, which he identifies as having been in operation since 1820. Similar to the Scott property, there appears to be a clustering of a mill, campground, and cemetery at Old Brownfield. Additional oral interviews, historic research, and archaeological survey may succeed in identifying the locations of these features more precisely.

Table 8-3 Trail of Tears Properties, Pope County

Property Name	Property Types	General Location	Location Accuracy	Interpretive Potential	Research Potential	Source
Samuel/Robert Blair	Tavern/Residence	2.5 mi from Ohio River	General	Low	High	PCCCR, ISA
Old Brownfield	Cemetery	8.5 mi from Ohio River	Specific	High	High	McCorvie 2013
Dixon Springs	Camp/Cem/Spring	Dixon Springs	Specific	High	Low	MP Butrick 1998
Isaac Scott	Res/Camp/Cem	E. of Allen Springs	General	Low	High	ISA SP Oral History
John Farmer	Res/Spring	Allen Springs	General	Low	High	ISA Oral History
Cannon 11/7/1837	Camp/Cemetery	1.0 mi from Ohio River	General	Low	Unknown	Cannon 1978
Butrick 12/15/1838	Campground	2.5 mi from Ohio River	General	Low	Unknown	Butrick 1998
Butrick 12/19/1838	Campground	8.5 mi from Ohio River	General	Low	Unknown	Butrick 1998
Thomas Berry	Ferry	Golconda	General	High	High	Cannon 1978
Abner Field	Ferry	Golconda	General	High	High	ISA PCCR

Cem=cemetery  
Camp=campground

ISA=Illinois State Archives  
MP=Mulcaster Papers

SP=Smith Papers  
PCCR=Union County Commissioner's Court Record

## References

Adams, Jane

1994 *The Transformation of Rural Life, Southern Illinois, 1890-1900*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Allen, John W.

1949 *Pope County Notes. vol. American Libraries*. Carbondale, Museum of Natural and Social Sciences, Southern Illinois University, Internet Archive.

n.d.a *Series 2: Counties in Illinois, Box 14: Counties in Illinois, General Information; Johnson, Folder 17: Johnson County, Pleasant Grove, John W. Allen Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, III.*

Anderson, Andy

2000 *Illinois Census Records Online, Union Co., Illinois: 1835 State Census*. In [Http://Us-Census.Org/Pub/UsGenweb/Census/Il/Union/1835/](http://US-Census.Org/Pub/UsGenweb/Census/Il/Union/1835/), edited by C. Online. USGenWeb Census Project ®, MICROFILM: LDS#0964132

Angle, Paul

1933a November 28, 1933, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1933 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1933b December 16, 1933, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1933 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1933a December 23, 1933, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1933 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1934a January 3, 1934, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1934 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1935 December 18, 1935, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1935 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1936a March 10, 1936, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1936 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1936b March 11, 1936, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1936 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1936c March 17, 1936, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1936 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1936d April 4, 1936, Letter to John G. Mulcaster. *1936 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

Annable, Edward L.

n.d. *Pope County, Illinois: Forgotten Records*.

Anonymous

1837a *A List of Lands Lying in Pope County and the State of Illinois, and Subject to Taxation in Agreeably to the Provision of an Act to Provide for Raising a Revenue Approved, July 1827, for the Treasury of Pope County*. Document on File, Pope County Courthouse, Golconda, Illinois.

1926 *Declaration for Pension*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

1933 *Chapter Holds Meeting*. November 14, 1933, unidentified newspaper clipping contained in the 1933 *Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook*, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1934a *Plan Celebration of Migration of Indian Tribes*. January 4, 1934, unidentified newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 *Daughters of the American Revolution*, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1934b *Historical News*. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 26:475-476.

1934c *Retracing of the Old Cherokee Trail*. November, 1934, Newspaper Clipping from the *Egyptian Republican*, Herrin, Illinois, Contained in the 1934 *Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook*, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1935a *November Meeting DAR Monday Afternoon*. November 9, 1935, unidentified newspaper clipping contained in the 1935 *Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook*, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1935b *DAR Hears of Indian Treck (sic) to Oklahoma*. November 12, 1935, unidentified newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1938a *Celebration of Cherokee Centennnial*. Broadside B-193, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

1938b *Historical News*. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*.

1954 *100 Years of Progress: The Centennial History of Anna, Illinois*. Missouriian Printing & Stationery Company, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

1899 *Origin and Evolution of Illinois Counties*. Secretary of State's Office, Springfield.

n.d.a *Pope County Illinois Court Record Book B, 1831-1838*.

n.d.b *The Trail of Tears Across Pope County, Illinois (Brochure)*. Illinois Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association.

Beauman, Guy

1899 *Map of Union County, Illinois*. Vienna, Illinois.

Beggs, Stan

1933a *November 19, 1933, Personal Interview with John G. Mulcaster*. John G. Mulcaster Papers Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

1933b *November 28, 1933, Letter to John G. Mulcaster*. John G. Mulcaster Papers Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

1934 *February 4, 1934, Letter to John G. Mulcaster*. John G. Mulcaster Papers Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Bennet, James

1906 *Overland Journey to California*. Times Print, New Harmony, Indiana.

Blane, William

1824 *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822 and 1823*. Negro Universities Press, New York.

Boaz, Sandy

2013 *Personal Communications on February 25 and July 8, 2012.*

Boyd, Gregory H.

2010 *Family Maps of Union County, Illinois.* Arphax Publishing, Norman, Oklahoma.

Burr, David H.

1841 *Pope County, Burr's Postal Map*, edited by H. O. Representatives.

Bushyhead, Rev. Jesse

1839 *Cherokees. American Baptist Magazine* 19:178.

Butrick, Rev. Daniel S.

1998 *The Journal of Rev. Daniel S. Butrick, May 19, 1838 – April 1, 1839: Cherokee Removal, Monograph One.* Trail of Tears Association, Park Hill, Oklahoma.

Cannon, B. B.

1978 *An Overland Journey to the West (October–December 1837).* *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3:3:166-173.

Carbondale Herald

1934 November 16, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 *Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook*, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Chapman, Mrs. P. T.

1925 *A History of Johnson County Illinois.* Press of the Herrin News, Herrin, Illinois.

Cox, Ellen

1934 *Typed Transcript of Letter to John Mulcaster, February 16, 1934.* John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

1935 *July 10, 1935 Letter to John G. Mulcaster.* John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Crabb, Joe

2012 *Personal Communication to Kayeleigh Sharp, August 4, 2012.*

2013 *Personal Communication to Kayeleigh Sharp, Mar 4 and July 8, 2012.*

Crisp, C. A.

n.d. Pope County, Illinois Cemeteries: A Graveyard Obsession, Recording the Cemeteries of Pope County, Illinois. Web. 5 June 2013.  
<<http://cemeterygirl.org/>>.

Dexter, Darrel

1994 *A House Divided: Union County Illinois, 1861-1865*. Reppert Publications, Anna, Illinois.

1995 *Union County Illinois Probate Records 1818-1845*. Reppert Publications, Anna, Illinois.

1996a *Early Courthouse Records, 1818-1938, Union County, Illinois, Genealogical Information, Vol. 2*. The Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois, Carterville, Illinois.

1996b *Union County Illinois Probate Records 1818-1855*. The Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois, Carterville, Illinois.

1996c 1835 State Census, Union County. *The Saga of Southern Illinois* XXIII(3):3-16.

1997 *Early Courthouse Records, 1820-1918, Union County, Illinois, Genealogical Information, Vol. 3*. The Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois, Carterville, Illinois.

2000 Exodus Across Southern Illinois. *Saga of Southern Illinois* 27:2:2-23.0

2003 *Early Courthouse Records 1839-1918. Union County, Illinois, Genealogical Information, Vol. 4*. The Genealogy Society of Southern Illinois, Carterville, Illinois..

Dexter, Darrel, Rachel Mary Hunt Orr, Tullyne Johns Oliver, and Rachel Klymore Klein

1985 *Early Courthouse Records 1818-1846, Union County, Illinois, Genealogical Information, Vol. 1*. McDowell Publications, Utica, Kentucky.

Egyptian Republican

1934 November, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Eldorado Daily Journal

- 1932 *Memories of Mary A. Goodman, daughter of Willis and Francis Webb Willard.* September 10, 1932, Eldorado Daily Journal Newspaper, Eldorado, Illinois.
- 1935 *Historian Will Retrace Famous Trail.* January 4, 1935, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Elkins, Joseph

- 1925 *A Century in Egypt.* R.C. Hill Printing, Marion, Il.

Engelman, Henry

- 1866 *Pope County North of Big Bay River.* In *Geological Survey of Illinois, Volume I; Geology*, edited by A. H. Worthen, pp. 457-495. vol. I. Western Engraving Company, Chicago.

ESRI

- 2012 *Geodatabase: Overview.* ESRI. Web. 9 Jan 2012  
< <http://www.esri.com/software/arcgis/geodatabase> >

Ferguson, Gillum

- 2012 *Illinois in the War of 1812.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Foreman, Grant

- 1932 *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.* *The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume 2.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Frailey, Karen and John Burde

- 2008 *Annotated Bibliography, Trail of Tears National Historic Trail in Illinois.* Department of Forestry, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Gilbert, Joan

- 1996 *The Trail of Tears Across Missouri.* University of Missouri Press, Columbia and London.

Golconda Herald Enterprise

- 1933 *Proposed Centennial Brings Story of Historical Place.* December 21, 1933, newspaper clipping contained in the 1933 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1934a *Distinguished Guests Coming to Golconda*. November 20, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1934b *Cherokee Indian Pilgrimage Trail Again Followed*. November 22, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Hacker, Gary, Ed Annable, Jon Musgrave, John Schwegman, and Dr. Charles Ruffner  
2010 *The Trail of Tears in Johnson County, Illinois*. Johnson County Genealogical and Historical Society.

Hanna, J.E.Y.

2013 Pope County Historical Reminiscences. In *From "History of Massac County" by O. J. Page Published 1900, Transcribed by Debbie Woolard from Microfilm Borrowed from Illinois State Library, Microfilm #977.3 Illi 8 Reel 54 No. 212 Thru 215*.

Henson, Harvey

2010 *Geophysical Investigation at Camp Ground Cemetery and Church near Anna, Illinois, April 2010*. Department of Geology, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Hauberg, John R.

1934 *September 15, 1934, Letter to George Washington Smith*. George Washington Smith Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Henegar, Captain H.B.

1978 *Recollections of the Cherokee Removal*. *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3:3:177-179.

Hines, Wilma Green

1936 *July 5, 1936, Letter to George Washington Smith*. George Washington Smith Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Hixson, W.W.

193-a *Plat Book of Union County, Illinois*. Rockford, Illinois.

193-b *Plat Book of Union County, Illinois*. Rockford, Illinois.

193-c *Plat Book of Union County, Illinois*. Rockford, Illinois.

193-d *Plat Book of Pope County, Illinois*. Rockford, Illinois.

Hornbuckle, Mrs. Clyde A.

1934 *D.A.R. Group Retraces Old Indian Trail*. November 26, 1934, newspaper clipping from the *Cairo Citizen* contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Hucke, Matt

2010 *Graveyards of Illinois*. Web. 3 Apr. 2013 < <http://graveyards.com/graveyards/> >.

ISA (Illinois State Archives)

2012a *Federal Township Plats of Illinois (1804-1891)*, edited by Jesse White, Illinois Secretary of State and State Archivist. Web. 17 Jun 2012. < <http://landplats.ilsos.net/> >.

2012b *Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales*, edited by Jesse White, Illinois Secretary of State and State Archivist. Web. 17 Jun 2012. < <http://cyberdriveillinois.com/> >.

ISGS

2012 7.5-Minute Quadrangles in Illinois. Illinois State Geological Survey, Prairie Research Institute, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Web. 9 Aug 2012. < <http://www.isgs.illinois.edu/maps-data-pub/quads/all-quads.shtml> >.

Johnson, Charles

1918 *Illinois in the Fifties*. Flanigan-Pearson Company, Champaign, Illinois.

Jones, Rev. Evan

1839 *Cherokees*. *American Baptist Magazine* 19:89.

Jonesboro Gazette

1911 *Fire on the Square, Davie Buildings Burned to the Ground*. Newspaper Article Dated January 13, 1911. Jonesboro, Illinois.

1934 *The Cherokee Trail*. November 16, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

Karraker, I. O.

1947 *Flaughtown and Other Union County Water Mills*. Southern Illinois Historical Society, May 9, 1947. Unpublished Manuscript in the Possession of Mark Wagner.

Knight, Frances and Brian M. Butler

1995 Archaeological Survey on the Mississippi River Floodplain, Union County Conservation Area, Illinois: Results of the 1994 Southern Illinois University at Carbondale Field School Survey. *Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale Technical Report 1995-3*. Carbondale, Illinois.

Krenkel, John H.

1958 *Illinois Internal Improvements 1818-1848*. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Lake, D.J.

1881 *An Atlas of Union County, Illinois*. D. J. Lake and Company, Philadelphia.

Leonard, Lulu

1940 *History of Union County*. Publisher and Place of Publication Unknown.

Mattern, Luann

2012 Luann Mattern to Mark J. Wagner, Personal Communication, June 22, 2012.

McCorvie, Mary

2010 *The Cherokee Trail of Tears Across Southern Illinois*. Paper presented at the Roots and Branches Conference, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Meyer, Douglas K.

1976 Southern Illinois Migration Fields: The Shawnee Hills in 1850. *The Professional Geographer*, May issue, pp. 151-160.

Middleton, James D.

1882 *Report of Work Done in August 1882*. NAA, 2400, Box 2, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Milner, George A.

1993 Settlement Amidst Swamps. *Illinois Archaeology* 1&2:5:374-380.

Milner, George A. and Sissel Schroeder

1991 The Guy Smith Site and Stone-Box Graves: New Perspectives from Old Collections. *Illinois Archeology* 4:1:49-73.

Mooney, James

1900 *Myths of the Cherokee*. Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 1. Washington.

## Mounds Independent

1934 *Cherokee Indian Trail In Illinois Retraced*. November 20, 1934, newspaper clipping contained in the 1934 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1935a *Historian Will Retrace Famous Trail*. January 10, 1935, newspaper clipping contained in the 1935 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

1935b *Egyptian Chapter DAR*. November 8, 1935, newspaper clipping contained in the 1935 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.

## Moyer, William Nelson

n.d. *Celebration of Cherokee Centennial*. Document on file, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois, and George W. Smith Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

## Mulcaster, John G.

n.d.a *The Cherokee Removal and its Historical Background: The Modern Version*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

n.d.b *The History of the Cherokee Indians*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

n.d.c. *An Early Pioneer of Southern Illinois* (CHECK). Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

n.d.d *The Cherokee Removal in 1838 and its Proposed Commemoration in 1938 in Illinois*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

n.d.e. *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians in 1838*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

- n.d.f. *Notes*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- n.d.g. *Indians*. Unpublished manuscript, John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- n.d.h. *No. 46*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- n.d.i. *Transcription of a Newspaper Article by Ellen Cox, Vienna, Ill., Times, November 30, 1933*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 1916 *Pension Application*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 1933a *Indian Treck (sic) Across Egypt Fatal to 4,000*. December 11, 1933, newspaper clipping contained in the 1933 Daughters of the American Revolution Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.
- 1933b November 26, 1933 Letter to Paul Angle. *1933 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.
- 1933c August 17, 1933, Chamber of Commerce Letter. *1933 Letter Book M-N, Paul Angle Papers*. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.
- 1933d *August 4, 1933, letter to Grant Foreman*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 1933e *Proposed Centennial Brings Story of Historical Place*. December 21, 1933, Newspaper Clipping from the *Golconda Herald Enterprise* Contained in the 1933 Daughters of the American Scrapbook, Cairo Public Library, Cairo, Illinois.
- 1934 *February 11, 1934, Letter to Ellen Cox*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 1935 *The Quadroon Girl of Southern Illinois*. In *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 28:214-217.

1992 *Comprehensive Management and Land Use Plan, Trail of Tears National Historic Trail.* United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center. Denver, Colorado.

Nimmo, Myrtle

n.d. *The Morgan Farm.* Undated Handwritten Letter Contained in the John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Ogle and Company

1908 *Standard Atlas of Union County, Illinois.* George A. Ogle & Co., Chicago.

Parks, George E.

1984 *History of Union County, Volume 1.* Published by George E. Parks, Anna, Illinois.

Parrish, Bess

1933 *Bess Parrish to John G. Mulcaster, September 11, 1933.* Letter Contained in the John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Peck, John Mason

1837 *A Gazetteer of Illinois in Three Parts.* Grigg and Elliot, Philadelphia.

Perrin, William Henry

1883 *History of Alexander, Union, and Pulaski Counties.* O.L. Baskins & Company, Chicago.

Perrine, T.M.

1873 *Mounds Near Anna, Union County, Illinois.* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1872, pp. 418-419, Washington, D.C.

1874 *Antiquities of Union County, Illinois.* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1873, pp. 410-411.

Polhemus, Richard

1977 *Archaeological Investigation of the Tellico Blockhouse Site. The University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations Number 26, TVA Reports in Anthropology Number 16.* Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Rauch, Mabel Thompson

1950 Along the Trail of Tears. *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 43:298-301.

Reynolds, John

1879 *My Own Times*. Fergus Printing Company, Chicago.

Rockford Map Publishers

1951 *Farm Plat Book and Business Guide, Union County, Illinois*. Rockford Map Publishers, Rockford, Illinois.

Saint Louis Post Dispatch

1935 *Trail Finders*. Illinois Supplement to the St. Louis Post Dispatch. St. Louis, Missouri.

Sanborn Map Company

1910 *Jonesboro, Illinois*. Sanborn Map Company, New York.

Schuh, Mary

1933 *Mary Schuh to John G. Mulcaster, September 11, 1933*. Letter Contained in the John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Schwegman, John E.

1973 *Comprehensive Plan for the Nature Preserves System, Part 2: The Natural Divisions of Illinois*. Illinois Nature Preserves Commission, Rockford, Illinois.

Scott, Winfield

1935 *December 9, 1935, Letter to George W. Smith*. Smith Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Sharp, Kayeleigh, E. Devenport, T. Gibson, T. Hefner and J. Larson

2012 *Trail of Tears Thermal Spring Survey: Camp Ground Site Vicinity, Union Co., Illinois*. Short-term survey and mapping project for GEOG 433-533, Spring Semester, 2012, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Carbondale, IL.

Sistler, Ruth Ann

1992 *Commissioners Records, Johnson County, Illinois, July 15, 1813-1817, Volume A*. Johnson County Genealogical and Historical Society.

Smith, George Washington

- 1912 *History of Southern Illinois*. The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago and New York.
- 1936 July 26, 1936 Letter to R. E. Hieronymus. George Washington Smith Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
- 1938 Just 100 Years Ago Indians Were Driven Across Southern Illinois. *Herrin Daily Journal*, August 30, 1938. Herrin, Illinois.
- n.d.a Organized Society, Miscellaneous Correspondence. In *Selected Papers of George W. Smith, Special Collections Research Center*, edited by SCRC. vol. Box: 17-13-F1 / 5. Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Carbondale.
- n.d.b Organized Society, Miscellaneous Correspondence: Folder 3: Correspondence: 1904, Jan. 1 - 1938, Dec. 26, Cherokee Trail of Tears 1933-1936. In *Selected Papers of George W. Smith, Special Collections Research Center*, edited by SCRC. vol. Box: 17-13-F1 / 5. Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Carbondale.
- Sneed, Glenn
- 1977 *Ghost Towns of Southern Illinois*. Royalton, Illinois.
- South, Stanley
- 1999 *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia: Excavating Eighteenth Century Betabara and Moravian Pottery*. Kulwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Spakousky, Christina
- 2009 Original Trail of Tears Section to be Restored. *Daily Egyptian Newspaper*, October 12, 2009, Page 6.
- Stephens, Jean
- 1994 *Archaeological Survey of the Proposed Headquarters and Office Facility Tract, Union County Conservation Area, Illinois*. Illinois Historic Preservation Agency Archaeological Short Survey Report Form packet on file with the Illinois Department of Natural Resources and the Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Thomas, Cyrus
- 1894 *Report of the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.,

Thompson, Scerial

1951 The Cherokee Across Egypt. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 44:4:299-304.

Tillson, Christiana Holmes

1919 *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*. Lakeside Press, Chicago.

Treece, John H.

n.d. *Undated Typed Interview*. John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Union County Deed Book

n.d.a *Deed Book A1*. Document on File, County Clerk's Office, Union County Courthouse, Jonesboro.

n.d.b *Deed Book E5*. Document on File, County Clerk's Office, Union County Courthouse, Jonesboro.

n.d.c *Deed Book C3*. Document on File, County Clerk's Office, Union County Courthouse, Jonesboro.

Union County Deed Index Book

n.d. *Union County Deed Index Book 1*. Microfilm Roll on File, Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Union County Grantor Book 1818-1856

n.d. *Union County Grantor Book 1818-1856*. Document on File, County Clerk's Office, Union County Courthouse, Jonesboro.

Union County Land Entry Book

n.d. *Land Entry Book 1*. Document on File, County Clerk's Office, Union County Courthouse, Jonesboro.

Wagner, Mark J. and Brian M. Butler

2000 Archaeological Investigations at Dixon Springs State Park: The Hills Branch Rock Shelter, Pope County, Illinois. *Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Technical Report 00-2*. Carbondale, Illinois.

Wagner, Mark J.

1995 *Archaeological Testing, 11-U-683, at the Proposed Headquarters and Office Facility Tract, Union County Conservation Area, Illinois*. Illinois Historic Preservation Agency Archaeological Survey Short Report Form Packet on File With the Illinois Department of Natural Resources and the Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Wagner, Mark J., Charles Foor, Tracey Sandefur, Jane K. Johnston, and Steve Titus

1992 *An Archaeological Survey of 9,938 Acres of the Shawnee National Forest, 1991*. American Resources Group, Ltd., Cultural Resources Management Report No. 172. Carbondale, Illinois.

Wagner, Mark J. and Mary R. McCorvie

1992 *The Old Landmark*. Center for American Archaeology, Kampsville, Illinois.

2003 *Archival and Historical Investigations for the Cherokee Trail of Tears in Southern Illinois*. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Technical Report 03-2. Carbondale, Illinois.

2010 *A Prophet Has Arisen: The Archaeology of Nativism Among the Nineteenth-Century Algonquin Peoples of Illinois*. In *Across the Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, AD 1400-1900*, edited by Mark D. Mitchell and Laura L. Scheiber, pp. 107-127. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

2011 *The Rhoads Site: A Late Eighteenth-Century/Early Nineteenth-Century Kickapoo Village on the Central Illinois Prairie*. *Studies in Archaeology No. 5, Illinois State Archaeological Survey*. University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Warner and Beers

1876 *Atlas of Illinois*. Union Atlas Company, Chicago.

Wiggins, Frances

1934 *Typed June 5, 1934 Interview*. Contained in the John G. Mulcaster Papers, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Worthen, Amos

1866 *Geological Survey of Illinois, Volume I*. Published by the Authority of the Legislature of Illinois. State Journal Press, Springfield.

1868 *Union County*. In *Geological Survey of Illinois, Volume III: Geology and Palaeontology*, edited by A. H. Worthen, pp. 32-57. Western Engraving Company, Chicago.

Yoder, Paton

1969 *Taverns and Travelers: Inns of the Early Midwest*. Indiana University Press,  
Bloomington, Indiana.