

# Running Waters



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and  
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# Running Waters

by  
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and  
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### **An Introduction to the Running Waters Project**

This project was initiated by Chieftains Museum in 2005 as part of the process for Running Waters being included on the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail as a National Park Service Certified Site. The goal of the project was to document the history of Running Waters and to provide a context for the site to aid in its future interpretation. As the original historian assigned to the project, Carey Tilley, stated in his initial proposal, “It is the intention of this project to provide the National Park Service with a better understanding of Running Waters and its physical relation to John Ridge and The Trail of Tears.” Tilley left the project in mid-2006 when he accepted a new position in Oklahoma as executive director of the Cherokee Heritage Center in Park Hill. Georgia Trail of Tears Association Vice-President W. Jeff Bishop then took over and completed the project, at the request of Chieftains Museum in Rome. The research was funded through Challenge Cost Share Agreement between the NPS and Chieftains Museum.

In completing this project, extensive use was made of the following resources:

- Family papers kept by the Rush family in Shannon. Thad Rush graciously allowed full access to these papers and diaries.
- The papers of the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions (ABCFM), on microfilm at the University of Western Carolina Florida in Cullowhee, NC.
- Thurman Wilkins’ *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*.
- Edward E. Dale’s and Gaston Litton’s *Cherokee Cavaliers*.

- T. L. Castelow's 2005 dissertation, *Behold Me and This Great Babylon I Have Built: The Life and Work of Sophia Sawyer, 19<sup>th</sup> Century Missionary and Teacher Among the Cherokees*, from Florida State University.
- The GALILEO Project, "Georgia's Virtual Library," an initiative of the University System of Georgia ([www.galileo.usg.edu](http://www.galileo.usg.edu)).
- The libraries of the University of West Georgia in Carrollton, GA and Georgia State University in Atlanta.
- The Georgia Archives and National Archives at Morrow, GA.
- The Sequoyah Research Center Archives in Little Rock, AR.
- An Internet book search engine, [books.google.com](http://books.google.com).
- The Google Internet search engine, [www.google.com](http://www.google.com).
- The online historical map collection at [alabamamaps.ua.edu](http://alabamamaps.ua.edu).

A site visit was also made in February 23, 2008 by a research team led by Dr. Georgina DeWeese of the Department of Geosciences at the University of West Georgia. This team used the scientific methods of dendrochronology to try to determine the precise year of construction for the Rush house.

It is the hope of the researcher that this study, as the basis for future interpretation, can help others to more fully appreciate the significance of this important and unique piece of American history.

**Forgetting**

*“We can never forget these homes, I know, but an unbending, iron necessity tells us we must leave them.”*

---Major Ridge, Dec. 22, 1835



***The Thad Rush farm, from Ward Mountain Road, facing west.***

Running Waters -- located in what is now Floyd County, Georgia - played a pivotal role in the Cherokee Removal story. Running Waters is where the group that would later be called the “Treaty Party” was formed, where it conducted its business, and where terms of what would become known as the Treaty of New Echota were discussed in open council. Running Waters was also the location of a Ridge-sponsored Cherokee mission school, headed by Sophia Sawyer, who taught a number of Cherokee students between 1835 and 1836, after her school was forced out of New Echota. Running Waters is where Treaty Party leader John Ridge lived, wrote his correspondence, and conducted his business. It is often

said these days that “the Trail of Tears began right here,” but in this case, such a statement wouldn’t be empty hyperbole.

But by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Running Waters and its role in U.S. history had been almost completely erased from public memory. For many years, the Running Waters series of councils that preceded the signing of the Treaty of New Echota were mistakenly thought to have been held at the Major Ridge home, near Rome (Battey, 1994, p. 43). Later, a home near the Rome Bypass was identified as the location of Running Waters – again, in error. It remains so obscure that, even today, otherwise-knowledgeable scholars don’t know how to locate it. One graduate student mistakenly confused it with the old Running Waters town in Chickamauga territory, outside the Georgia border (Castelow, 2005, p. 100).



***A home on Berwin Road, known as the John Hume / F. L. Forster Place, mistakenly identified as the John Ridge home at Running Waters during a DOT road project.***



***RUNNING WATER TOWN – the original Chickamauga town on the Tennessee River -- was “three miles above Nickajack, and twelve below the Suck; here some Shawanese are settled, containing one hundred huts in 1790, and is a common crossing place for the Creeks.” Some scholars have mistaken this town for the home of John Ridge. (Tanner, 1795; American State Papers, Indian Affairs I, 1792, p. 264)***

The Running Waters associated with John Ridge was actually located in what is now Floyd County, just south of modern-day Shannon, on the Calhoun Road. The best description of the Ridge home comes from his son, John Rollin Ridge, writing in 1849 (Ridge, 2005, p. 6):

...I remember it well, -- a large two-story house, on a high-hill, crowned with a fine grove of oak and hickory, a large clear spring at the foot of the hill, and an extensive farm stretching away down into the valley, with a fine orchard on the left. On another hill some 200 yards distant stood the school house, built at my father's expense, for the use of a missionary, Miss Sophie Sawyer, who made her home with our family and taught my father's children and all who chose to come for her instruction. I went to this school until I was ten years of age -- which was in 1837.

The best historical records of day-to-day life at Running Waters in the years just prior to Removal come from the letters written by Sawyer, a missionary school teacher from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). She would often enclose in her letters to the ABCFM the written work of her students, including this letter from Mary Fields, sent June 15, 1835 (ABCFM, Reel 741, frame 542):

... at Mr. Ridges is very cool and pleasant, the trees are thick all around it. It has a smooth plank floor, & a large fire place & five glass windows, two large ones and three are shut with a slide. Two swallows have made a nest in the chimney. Every morning when we wake, the birds are singing sweetly around the school house.

Just over one month after this letter was written, an historic meeting was held at Running Waters – the last official tribal gathering of the Cherokee in Georgia. John Ridge and Rev. John F. Schermerhorn – referred to as “The Devil’s Horn” by some Cherokees (Featherstonhaugh, 1970, p. 241) -- arranged a council to discuss final terms of a Removal treaty. Not more than a hundred had shown up at previous Treaty Party-sponsored councils. But this time it would be different. This time the treasury of the Cherokee Nation was at stake (Wilkins, 1970, p. 261).

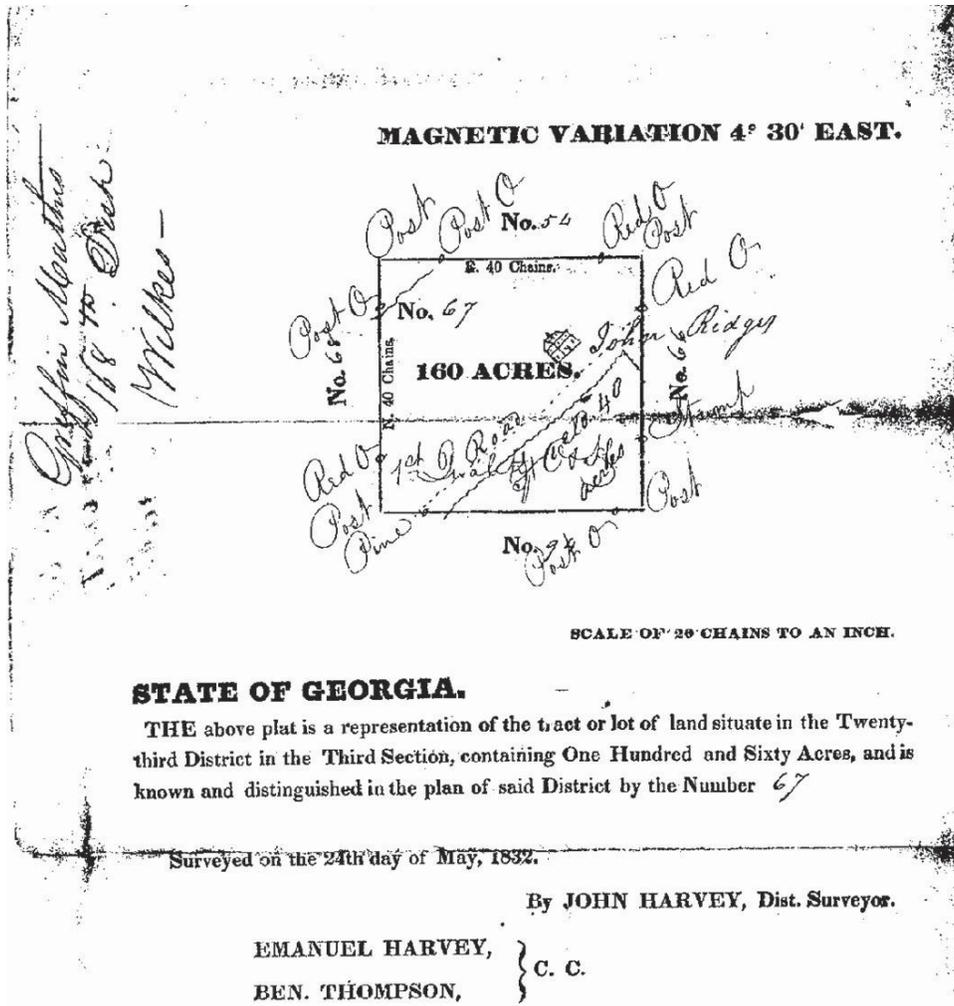
“The Cherokees had, until a few days before, been advised not to attend,” reported Major Benjamin F. Currey, “but when (Chief John) Ross found that the money would be paid to the order of the majority attending, his head men were called together at Red Clay, where I am informed he told them the agents of Government, and the disorganized attached to Ridge, must be put down; and in order to do this, all the men of the nation must rally, and be there to sustain their nation and treasury (Battey, 1994, pp. 43-44; originally published in the records of the 25<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> session, Senate Document 120, [Serial 315]).

The Cherokees at the Running Waters council meeting numbered in the thousands, comprising what was said to be the largest council gathering yet on record. “The number could not by any previous measures or meetings have been anticipated,” said Currey. “They came, some starving, some half clad, some armed, and scarcely any with provisions for more than one or two days.”

Although the community surrounding what became the Rush family plantation soon forgot about the significance of the property, apparently its new owners never did. John P. Rush recorded in his unpublished autobiography, *History of My Life* (see APPENDIX J):

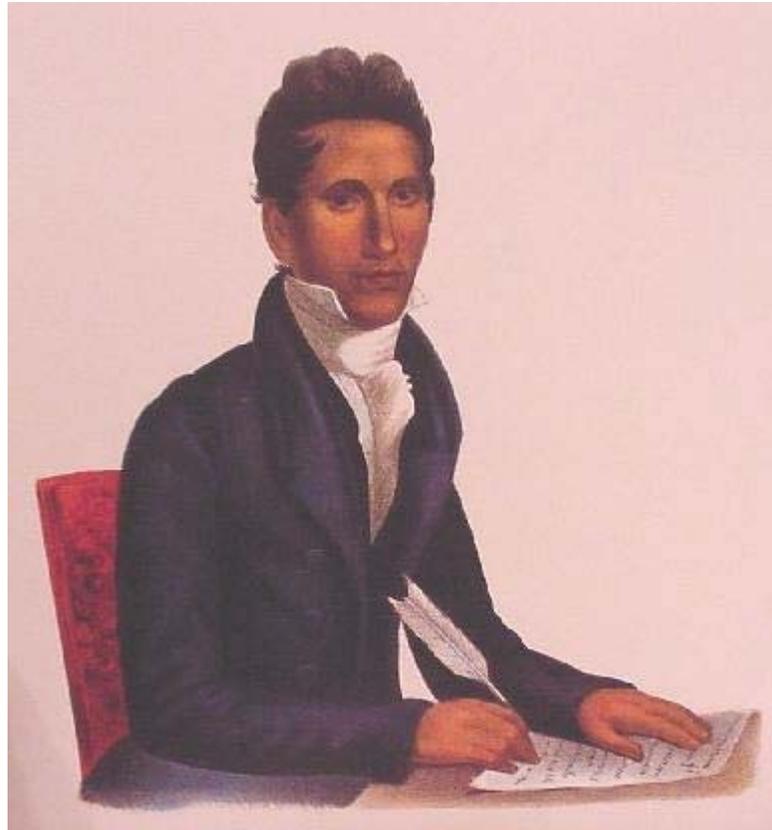
The first three years of my life were spent with my parents in the home of my Grandfather Rush, on the Calhoun road seven miles north of Rome. This place had been the home of the Indian Chief John Ridge prior to the Cherokee removal, 1835-7. My grandfather had occupied the Indian house when he first settled there, and my father was born in that house.

There can be no mistaking the fact that the property currently owned by Thad Rush is indeed the John Ridge property. The original plat for the lot, located at what is currently the intersection of Ward Mountain Road and Calhoun Road just southwest of Shannon, plainly marks it (Plat of Land Lot 67, surveyed May 24, 1832 by John Harvey, in land records of the Surveyor General Department; also published in Shadburn, 2001, p. 136).



The purpose of this paper is to give, then, a starting point from which this nationally historically significant property may be interpreted. Although the site is privately-owned, Thad Rush has stated that he is open to having a wayside exhibit placed somewhere on the property -- perhaps at the roadside. This will require further discussion with the property owners and, of course, a source of funding.

**John Ridge and the Treaty Party**



*Herman S. Gold reported in a journal on May 22, 1830: "We started on the first Monday in May, to-day we went to Major Ridges, their farm and their house presents a fine appearance, the house is an elegant painted mansion with poarches upon each side as the fashion of the country is, we saw in the house likeness of John Ridge, Esq. Accurately painted, hanging in a large frame in the position of writing which was his principal business." (<http://www.scvcamp469-nbf.com/Cherokee.htm>)*

John Ridge was the son of Major Ridge, a prominent and wealthy leader of the Cherokees and for many years the speaker of the national government. The elder Ridge, born on the Hiawasse River in Tennessee (Wilkins, 1970, p. 3), lived and fought as a young adult among the

Chickamauga band of Cherokee near Lookout Mountain (Wilkins, 1970, pp. 15-17). Later he settled at Pine Log (Wilkins, 1970, p. 16) and Oothcaloga (Wilkins, 1970, p. 30), making a small fortune by farming cotton and other crops, and he eventually built a large estate on the Oostanaula River, in what is present-day Rome, Georgia. He operated a ferry across the river and had extensive fields and holdings on both sides of the Oostanaula (Wilkins, 1970, pp. 181-183).

John Ridge was born at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century into a home of wealth, privilege, and opportunity. He was sent to missionary schools from a young age to learn to read and write English.

In the Nov., 1810 diaries of the Moravians at Spring Place, the missionaries reported, “Early in the morning on the 12th until late at night we had Indian visitors. The Ridge and his wife, who brought their son John for school (McClinton, 2007, p. 391).”

The next month The Ridge dropped in to check up on his son’s progress. “On the 21st we received a visit from our friend The Ridge ... His young son John told him positively that he did not want to go home. The father then gave him some good advice and added that it was his intention to leave him here quite a long time (McClinton, 2007, p. 398).”

In February, 1811, John Ridge told the missionaries, “I have not been here long at all and am just beginning to learn. My school time will be short enough. Why should I want to leave then? (McClinton, 2007, p. 414).

Eventually he attended the ABCFM Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, where he met and married Sarah Northrop, the daughter of the school steward, John Northrop. Their mixed-race romance caused such a scandal that it – compounded by the subsequent marriage of Elias Boudinot and Harriet Ruggles Gold – eventually contributed to the closure of the school (Gaul, 2005, p. 8; Wilkins, 1970, p. 152). An 1824 newspaper editorial called the union a “disgrace” and lamented that the 16-year-old Northrop had been “taken into the wilderness among savages.”

Although Ridge had been a sickly child, with a chronic hip condition (Wilkins, 1970, p. 144), by 1832 a New York newspaper described him this way (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Volume LXI, February 6, 1832; reprinted in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* Feb 18, 1832):

J. Ridge rather tall and slender in his person, erect, with a profusion of black hair, a shade less swarthy, and with less pronounced cheekbones than our western Indians. His voice is full and melodious, his elocution fluent, and without the least observable tincture of foreign accent or Indian. Even his metaphors are rarely drawn from the forest, and he had little or none of that vehement action that characterizes the orators of uncivilized tribes.

Major Ridge, by the late 1820s, began positioning his son to become a leader in the Cherokee Nation. The two Ridges helped the Creek

Indians negotiate a removal treaty with the U.S. government (Wilkins, 1970, 153-180). Alexander McCoy lost his post as clerk of the National Council when he requested that his improvements at New Echota be evaluated by an emigration agent, and John Ridge was selected to replace him (Wilkins, 1970, p. 201). When Ridge first took office, both he and his father were of one mind with Principal Chief John Ross when it came to the tribe's determination to remain in the East. As the new clerk, one of the first laws he wrote into the books spelled out exactly what the penalty would be for any Cherokee who agreed to treat with the U.S. to give up any additional Cherokee land (Wilkins, 1970, pp. 201-202):

Whereas a Law has been in existence for many years, but not committed to writing, that if any citizen or citizens of this nation should treat and dispose of any lands belonging to this nation without special permission from the national authorities, he or they shall suffer death; -- therefore, resolved, by the Committee and Council, in General Council convened, that any person or persons who shall, contrary to the will and consent of the legislative council of this nation in general council convened, enter into a treaty with any commissioner or commissioners of the United States, or any officers instructed for the purpose, and agree to sell or dispose of any part or portion of the national lands defined in the constitution of this nation, he or they so offending, upon conviction before any of the circuit judges of the Supreme Court, shall suffer death, and any of the circuit judges aforesaid are authorized to call a court for the trial of any such person or persons so transgressing. Be it further resolved, that any person or persons, who shall violate the provisions of this act, and shall refuse, by resistance, to appear at the place designated for trial, or abscond, are hereby declared to be outlaws; and any person or persons, citizens of this nation, may kill him or them so offending, in any manner most convenient, within the limits of this nation, and shall not be held accountable for the same.

Even though Ridge is now most often remembered for his leadership of the Treaty Party, which orchestrated the Treaty of New Echota and led to Cherokee Removal in 1838, it was a slow transformation. For many years he and his father were on good terms with Ross, and it's likely that Ross moved from Rossville to Head of Coosa in 1827 specifically to be nearer to Ridge (Wilkins, 1970, p. 198).

In 1829 Georgia extended its laws over the Cherokee Nation within its territory, declared Cherokee laws void, and made it illegal for a Cherokee to testify against a white man in court. Georgia argued that it had the legal and moral standing to do this due to the federal government's failure to follow through on promises contained in the Compact of 1802, an agreement between the state and the U.S. in which Georgia agreed to give up its claim to lands that eventually became the states of Mississippi and Alabama in exchange for the U.S. extinguishing all native claims to land within the remaining Georgia territory as soon as it was practical to do so. The discovery of gold in the bounds of the Cherokee Nation, coupled with the ascendancy of the staunchly pro-Removal Andrew Jackson to the presidency, and the Cherokee Nation's brazen adoption of a formal constitution, presented Georgia with the motivation to press the U.S. to finally make good on its 25-year-old pledge (for a detailed overview of these events, see Woodward, 1963; McLoughlin, 1986; and Malone, 1956).

But Ridge was of one mind with Ross that the Cherokees should do everything within their power to remain in their ancestral lands. Ridge and Elias Boudinot went on a speaking tour of the northern states to gain sympathy for their cause. Ridge kept Ross apprised of their situation in a letter written from Philadelphia on Jan. 12, 1831 (Woodward, 1963, pp. 169-170):

Sir . . . Ere this, you must already be advised of the journey I have undertaken to some of the large cities in company of Mr. Boudinot, with a design to draw from the people the expression of public sentiment on the crises of Cherokee affairs . . . and it affords me pleasure to state that the prospects of a great and vigorous expression of indignation from this city, against the cruelties of Georgia and the policy of the United States is now flattering. It will be made either by a public meeting or signatures . . . at their residences, by men appointed for that purpose. Mr. Boudinot's objects are also more understood and measures [are] in . . . progress to afford our Nation the relief so much desired.

In one of his speeches, Ridge eloquently “fired the blood” and “rouse(d) the indignation” of the listeners when he told them, “You asked us to throw off the hunter and warrior state: We did so – you asked us to form a republican government: We did so – adopting your own as a model. You asked us to cultivate the earth, and learn the mechanic arts: We did so. You asked us to learn to read: We did so. You asked us to cast away our idols, and worship your God: We did so.” In spite of all of this, he said, Georgians flagrantly violated the U.S. treaties with the Cherokees and abused the Cherokee people (Wilkins, 1970, p. 227).

The Cherokees weren't solely dependent on a PR campaign. They also took to the courts. An 1831 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court did not go their way. John Ridge and a Cherokee delegation met with President Andrew Jackson soon afterwards, in July of 1831 (Wilkins, 1970, p. 216).

I'm particularly glad to see you at this time, I knew that your claims before the Supreme Court would not be supported. The court has sustained my views in regard to your nation. I blame you for suffering the lawyers to fleece you - they want your money, and will make you promises even after this. I have been a lawyer myself long enough to know how lawyer's will talk to obtain their clients money.

The Cherokee delegates told Jackson that he couldn't blame them for their efforts to maintain their rights. Jackson replied:

Oh no, I don't blame you for that. I only blame you for suffering the lawyers to fleece you. - I am a friend of the Cherokees, they fought with me in the war and freely shed their blood with the blood of my soldiers in defending the United States and how could I be otherwise than their friends?

“You can live on your lands in Georgia if you choose,” said Jackson, “but I cannot interfere with the laws of that state to protect you.”

The Cherokees continued to press their case in the courts. The next year, 1832, they won the victory they had sought, with the Supreme Court's decision in *Worcester v. Georgia*: “The Cherokee Nation, then, is

a distinct community, occupying its own territory ... in which the laws of Georgia can have no right to enter but with assent of the Cherokees ... The Act of the state of Georgia ... is consequently void.” (Wilkins, 1970, p. 228).

The Cherokee Nation erupted in jubilant celebration, but Ridge’s response was measured in an April 6, 1832 letter to his cousin, Stand Watie (Dale, 1939, pp. 7-10):

Washington City  
April 6th, 1832

Mr. Stand Watie  
Dear Cousin,

Your favor of the 23 ult. has reached here and it is truly acceptable and I now hasten to answer it. That it has been a day of rejoicing with patriots of our Country on hearing of the glorious decision of the Supreme Court, I can readily perceive and congratulate them upon the momentous event. But you are aware and ought to advise our people that the contest is not over and that time is to settle the matter either for us and all the friends of the Judiciary or against us all! We have gained a high standing and consideration in the interests and best affections of the community from which we can never be removed. But Sir, the Chicken Snake General Jackson has time to crawl and hide in the luxuriant grass of his nefarious hypocrisy until his responsibility is fastened upon by an execution of the Supreme Court at their next session. Then we shall see how strong the links are to the chain that connect the states to the Federal Union. Upon this subject the Union pauses and stands still to look upon the crisis our intellectual warfare has brought them and the Cherokee question as it now stands is the greatest that has ever presented itself to the consideration of the American People. Upon the shoulders of this body politic, if there was a proper head, the friends of the permanency of the general government could look upon this decision undismayed as to the results of the menacing attitude which the foolish Georgians have assumed.

Now before the explained laws are carried into effect, it will, I fear, first be necessary to cut down this Snake’s head and throw it down in the dust. From the newspaper editorial remarks, you will be afforded the opportunity to see the operations of this affair and the length of the rope that Georgia has to browse upon the rights of the Cherokee Nation. The remarks I have thought called for on this occasion, that we as a whole and individually, may not sleep upon our post, but as good soldiers watch thoroughly every avenue through which the enemy may approach.

The Secretary of War is exceedingly anxious to close a treaty with our Nation upon the basis that will secure to us the sovereignty and fee of and over the soil west of the Mississippi and money enough to make every friend to his country rich with the addition of a perpetual annuity for the support of public institutions. I feel disgusted at an administration who have trampled our rights under foot to offer new pledges from their rotten hearts. He says that Jack Walker and James Stark have informed him that there is a majority in favor of a treaty on the Tennessee side of the Cherokee Nation and that they believe they are also in the majority in the limits of North Carolina of this description. The Secretary says that if so, they will treat with them or any of the other bands who shall prove to be in the majority there. I told him that it was false and granting for the sake of argument that the Government succeeded in making a treaty with a fraction or faction of our Nation, he knew very well that it would never be ratified by the Senate constituted as it was, as we assuredly would protest against it and defeat it.

In view of these facts, have I not said well when I said you should be on your guard? As to the Arkansas delegation they can never do hurt and their greatest hope is to cling fast to our friendship and to reunite with us. If the time ever should happen to come when we thought best to make a treaty, we should do so. This is their language. Rest assured, dear Cousin, that we have the advantage and let this question result which way it may. As I have said before, we shall live to tread on the necks of traitors. It may well yet be a fearful time for them if they have hearts for reflection to know that they have only been false and done mischief to themselves....

From the strain of this letter, you will perceive that it is not for publication. “United we stand, divided we fall.” Since the decision of the

Supreme Court, I have felt greatly revived – a new man and I feel independent. I am hoping you all do too. How much of gratitude do we owe to the good men Mr. Worcester and Dr. Butler. You did not mention my son, Rollin. Present my best respects to Mrs. W. and Mrs. B. and Miss Sawyer. I shall, you know, always be glad to hear from you.

Ere this reaches you, you will have heard of the foolish Creek

Treaty.

Yours, ect.

John Ridge

But when it became apparent to Ridge that Georgia planned to ignore the Supreme Court's decision, and that Jackson had no plans to send in U.S. troops to intercede on behalf of the tribe against the state of Georgia, he began to press for Ross either to consent to negotiate a treaty for Removal, or to agree to hold new elections, which had been suspended in the wake of Georgia's disruption of the Cherokee government operations within its boundaries. A treaty seemed to Ridge to be the only answer to the constant depredations inflicted on the Cherokees by the white Georgians. President Jackson advised Ridge to "go home and advise his people that their only hope of relief was in abandoning their country and removing to the West." (Wilkins, 1970, p. 229).

Still, Ridge would not formally break with Ross until over two years later, in the fall of 1834. During those two years Ridge continued to hope that he could sway the Ross-led government from within. He affirmed his formal, public anti-Removal stance to the *National Intelligencer* while, simultaneously, Georgia Congressman Daniel Newnan told the press that Ridge's Washington "Cherokee Delegation have at last consented to recommend to their people to make a treaty with the government..." (Wilkins, 1970, p. 231).

Chief Ross considered Ridge's new stance a betrayal and he nailed Newnan's letter, which had been printed in a number of newspapers, to a tree for all to see (Wilkins, 1970, p. 236). Elisha W. Chester said "this was used to induce the population to believe (the delegation) had been bribed, and that they had entered into some arrangement with the Government, without any authority." Thus Ridge was instantly discredited in the eyes of many Cherokees.

Eventually tensions boiled to the point that assassinations began to occur, and both the lives of Ross and the Ridges were threatened. When a Cherokee Council was called at Red Clay, Tennessee in August, 1834, many were furious at a treaty Andrew Ross – John Ross' brother -- had tried to negotiate in Washington. Major Ridge was known by this time to be pro-Treaty, and he had accompanied Ross to Washington, so he was attacked by Tom Foreman, a Cherokee sheriff. His angry words were recorded by John Ridge (Wilkins, 1970, p. 252):

Major Ridge had gone around the nation with the Chiefs & made speeches telling the people to love their land & in his earnestness (had) stamped the ground. The ground was yet sunk where he stamped & now he was talking another way.

One Indian rose and shouted, “Let’s kill them!” John Walker, Jr., a pro-Treaty advocate, was indeed assassinated on his way home from the council meeting by someone hiding in a tree. The Ridges, hearing of this incident, took the long way home (Wilkins, 1970, p. 253). Suddenly the Ridges and Ross began to imagine assassins were lurking everywhere (Moulton, 1985, p. 302):

To John Ridge

Sept 12<sup>th</sup> 1834

I have this day received your letter of the 10th inst. by your father, who came over to converse with me on the subject of some reports which have been circulated, concerning a pre concerted plan, said to have originated from himself and friends to have me assassinated, especially the one you mentioned as having been spoken of, that is the hiring of Seewakee to commit the act. As to the rumors of threats you say have been made against your life thro' the influence of [Thomas] Woodward, I have never before heard of them; you say further that reports have also been taken to you of evil designs against yourself & friends by me. With the utmost sincerity and truth, I do assure you, that whatever may be the character of those reports, they are false.

Jno Ross

In this midst of all of this, Elijah Hicks presented a petition requesting that the Ridges be impeached “for maintaining opinions and a policy to terminate the existence of the Cherokee community on the lands of (their) fathers.” The Cherokee National Council found them guilty and voted to oust them from office (Wilkins, 1970, p. 253).

Seeing all his efforts blocked and his credibility with the Cherokee government in tatters, Ridge decided the time had come to take matters into his own hands; he, Elias Boudinot, and others in favor of a Removal Treaty held their own council at Ridge’s home at Running Waters in November, 1834.

Cherokee Agent Ben Currey reported to the Georgia governor, Wilson Lumpkin, on Nov. 27, 1834 (Woodward, 1963, p. 178):

Sir - I am now at John Ridge's where a council is to be held on the 27 inst in order to organize a party favorably disposed to Cherokee removal. An election of chiefs in favor of transplanting the tribe will be held . . . and a delegation is to be appointed to go to the city - Washington - to memorialize Congress. . . .

The party about to be organized will require money. Their expenses will not fall short of three thousand dollars in the contemplated visit . . . They desire me to say that one season more will give them the ascendancy over all opposition, provided they receive a hearty support from the states and Gener'l Government and request that you address the President and Sec. of War urging the importance of having a fund to be franchised through the draft of the Superintendent to carry on the cause successfully which appears to be gaining formidable support.

This was the news the Georgia governor had been waiting for. A split in the ranks would provide the perfect opportunity for the federal government to negotiate a treaty with a credible party. Lumpkin answered Currey on Dec. 13, 1834, “. . . assure Boundinot, Ridge and their friends

of state protection under any circumstances. I shall feel it my imperative duty to pay due regard to the situation and afford them every security which our laws will justify or authorize.” (Woodward, 1963, p. 176).

But Ridge and his new party did not wait for the governor’s response. The council meeting at Running Waters was held Nov. 28, 1834, “on behalf of those members of the Cherokee tribe ... who are desirous of removing west of the Mississippi.” (See APPENDIX A – 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Document No. 91, *MEMORIAL OF A COUNCIL HELD AT RUNNING WATERS*).

... In the full time of this successful improvement (of Cherokee civilization) all... hopes of happiness have been blasted, in consequence of the extension, by force, of the jurisdiction of the States ....

In the midst of the painful feeling which the destruction of our Government creates in our bosoms, we also perceive, the same melancholy fate has attended the other aboriginal tribes. On this side of the Mississippi scarcely a solitary council fire blazes under the heavens.

It is well known that our applications to the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court, to interpose the United States authority in our behalf, have all proved fruitless, as well as that the decisions of the Supreme Court in behalf of individuals claiming the right of protection under the Cherokee laws and treaties, have been disregarded by the State of Georgia...

... now, our earliest friends have told us that it is in vain to hope for the restoration of our rights.

In view of all these circumstances, we have been compelled to the hard case of choosing an alternative... In the decision we have made on this subject, we have taken the unhappy condition of our people, as individuals, into consideration. It is not to be disguised that there are in existence two parties among our people, whose policies are the antipodes of each other. Since the suppression of our Government, no elections have been held among us... The party who hold the councils at Red Clay have kept themselves in perpetual office by a resolution enacted of themselves. They are willing to take an individual standing in the States, and become citizens. Heretofore, as you will perceive, in looking at the treaty of 1819, the leaders of this party have already received valuable reservations in fee simple.

They hold their councils in the chartered limits of Tennessee. The party which we represent are not in favor of taking reservations of land, and abandoning the political existence of the nation...

When we reflect upon the character of our people in general, their ignorance, weakness, and total incapacity to contend in competition with the white man for wealth, science, and fame; and when we reflect on the fearful odds against which we have to run our career, laws expressly made to discredit us as men, with no legal rights to the soil, and all the unrelenting prejudices against our language and color in full force, we must believe that the scheme of amalgamation with our oppressors is too horrid for a serious contemplation. ...If then, it is the opinion of Congress that the tide of white population and State jurisdiction, which is pressing upon us, cannot be restrained, it would be the greatest act of humanity to devise immediate measures to remove our people upon as liberal terms as the General Government can afford...

signed by Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot,  
and approximately 50 others.

Ridge then immediately traveled to Washington, with the new Running Waters Memorial in hand, to present to the friends he had cultivated in the U.S. Congress as a member of the National Council. According to the Jan. 27, 1835 edition of *The Federal Union*, “that part of Cherokee delegation favorable to emigration arrived in city and took lodging at Fuller’s Hotel. Led by Col. John Ridge, head of delegation, and Archilla Smith.” (*The Federal Union*, Jan. 27, 1835, Vol. 5, #30).

On Monday, Jan. 19, the Running Waters Memorial was placed into the hands of Congressman E. Everett, who presented it to the House (See APPENDIX B – The Running Waters Memorial Presented to Congress, as Recorded in *Gales & Seaton's Register*, Jan. 19, 1835):

...I hold in my hand, and have been requested to present to the House, a paper, purporting to be the memorial of chiefs and head-men of the Cherokee tribe of Indians, assembled at Running Waters, in that part of the Cherokee country which lies in the State of Georgia, towards the close of the month of November. This council was organized, on behalf of that portion of the Cherokee tribe of Indians who are unwilling, on any terms, to submit to the jurisdiction of the States in which they live, and are desirous of removing, under the protection and by the aid of the United States, to the country in possession of that portion of their tribe which has crossed the Mississippi...

Of how large a portion of the whole tribe the council may represent the opinions, I am not informed.

The memorial, I am satisfactorily assured, is the production of John Ridge, a distinguished member of the Cherokee tribe, and one of the delegates now present in this city from the council at Running Waters. It is at his request, and that of his associates, Elias Boudinot and Archille Smith, that I now present this memorial to the House...

I have stated to them that a part of these objects are such as, in the usual mode in which the policy of removal has been pursued, would naturally be first provided for by a treaty between the United States and persons authorized to contract on the part of the tribe. They consider, however, that, in the present unhappy state of the tribe, divided as it is by parties warmly opposed to each other on the subject of emigration, it may be at present difficult, if not impossible, to conclude a treaty generally satisfactory. It is also the opinion of the memorialists that, in the present disorganized state of their people, it may be difficult for the Government to recognize parties, with which it could advantageously act in the negotiation of a treaty. On this subject I do not profess to be able to judge. I have not the means of forming a confident opinion, and I do not wish to take any part in the divisions which may exist between the different portions of the tribe...

For myself, sir, I certainly never expected to present a memorial in this House in favor of the removal of Indians; but I as little expected to be requested by Indians to do so...

John Ross also had a delegation in Washington, but Ross “failed before the Senate, before the Secretary of War, & before the President,” Ridge said in a letter written in Washington on Mar. 10, 1835 (Dale, 1939, pp. 12-13):

My Dear & Respected Chiefs,

I have delayed this long in writing to you in the consequence of the hard struggles I had to make against John Ross & his party. At the outset they told Congress that our people had decided that they would choose to be citizens of the U. States [rather] than to remove. We contradicted this & he has failed to get an answer from Congress. From various indications we ascertained that he was going to act falsely to his people & sell the Nation either by getting Reservations of land or taking the whole in money on pretense of going out of the limits of the U. States. We protested against this & we have succeeded to get a treaty made to be sent home for the ratification of the people. It is very liberal in its terms — an equal measure is given to all. The poor Indian enjoys the same rights as the rich — there is no distinction. We are allowed our own laws in the west. Subsistence for one year, \$25. for each soul for transportation, fair valuation for ferries & Improvements, \$150 for each individual, more than forty thousand dollars perpetual annuity in the west, & a large sum of money to pay for the losses of the Cherokees against the white people. In fact — we get four millions & a half in money to meet all expenses & large addition in land to that already possessed by our brethren in the west. John Ross and his party tried hard to treat & get the whole in money & go as they said out of the limits of the U. States, but they have failed. Jackson said that he would not trust them with the money of the people. The

Indians here under his care wish that he would refer the whole to the people. Ross has failed before the Senate, before the Secretary of War, & before the President. He tried hard to cheat you & his people but he has been prevented. In a day or two he goes home no doubt to tell lies. But we will bring all his papers & the people shall see him as he is.

We have thought proper to send two of our delegates to go to Arkansas that Jolly may send four of his Chiefs & attend our great Council. General Jackson will send a just man, a minister of the Gospel from New York with his party, it is to be referred to every man in the Nation.

The Congress has allowed money enough to pay the expenses of our Councils while the people are signing this treaty if they approve it. We are all well. I shall go to the North & see my wife's parents & in great haste will return to you. Stand, stay. All will be right. The U. States will never have any thing more to do with John Ross. Thus it becomes of selfish men. Maj. Currey will have five hundred copies printed by order of the President of this treaty for the use of the people. He will give you the Particulars before I could. I shall write to our friends Charles Vann & George Chambers.

I am yr. Friend  
John Ridge

If Ross hoped to marginalize Ridge, claiming that he had no authority to speak for the Cherokee Nation as a whole, those hopes were dealt a serious blow when President Jackson issued a decree to the entire Cherokee tribe east of the Mississippi on Mar. 16, 1835 that seemed to validate Ridge's position (Andrew Jackson, "To the Cherokee Tribe of Indians East of the Mississippi River," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, [www.galileo.peachnet.edu](http://www.galileo.peachnet.edu): University of Georgia):

MY FRIENDS:

. . . I have no motive, my friends, to deceive you. I am sincerely desirous to promote your welfare. Listen to me, therefore, while I tell you that you cannot remain where you now are. Circumstances that cannot be controlled, and which are beyond the reach of human laws, render it impossible that you can flourish in the midst of a civilized community. You have but one remedy within your reach. And that is, to remove to the West and join your countrymen, who are already established there. And the sooner you do this, the sooner you will commence your career of improvement and prosperity.

A number of your brethren, who have been delegated by that portion of your people favorable to emigration, have repaired to this place, in the hope of being able to make some arrangement, which would be acceptable to the government of the United States, and which would meet your approbation. They do not claim the right of making any arrangement which would be binding upon you; but have expressly stated, that whatever they did would be utterly void unless submitted to and approved by you. . . The choice now is before you. May the Great Spirit teach you how to choose. The fate of your women and children, the fate of your people, to the remotest generation, depend upon the issue. Deceive yourselves no longer. Do not cherish the belief that you can ever resume your former political situation, while you continue in your present residence. As certain as the sun shines to guide you in your path, so certain is it that you cannot drive back the laws of Georgia from among you. Every year will increase your difficulties. Look at the condition of the Creeks. See the collisions which are taking place with them. See how their young men are committing depredations upon the property of our citizens, and are shedding their blood. This cannot and will not be allowed. Punishment will follow, and all who are engaged in these offences must suffer. Your young men will commit the same acts, and the same consequences must ensue.

Think then of all these things. Shut your ears to bad counsels. Look at your condition as it now is, and then consider what it will be if you follow the advice I give you.

Your friend,  
ANDREW JACKSON.

Ridge was assured by Jackson that the U.S. government would stand behind the newly-negotiated treaty. He then returned to his home at Running Waters, arriving just after the beginning of April. “Mr. Ridge returned two weeks since from Washington,” missionary Sophia Sawyer wrote in a letter dated April 17, 1835 (See APPENDIX H: A Transcription of Correspondence From Sophia Sawyer at Running Waters April 17-1835 to July 2, 1836 [from ABCFM microfilm, Reel 741, frame 539]). “Mr. Ridge is engaged with his whole soul to accomplish a treaty,” she wrote.

Ridge kept up his Treaty campaign from his home, writing letters to various parties, and he began to refer to Ross and his government as the “enemy,” a “halfbreed” and “nullifier” that had to be rooted out and suppressed (Woodward, 1963, p. 183):

John Ridge to Gov. Wilson Lumpkin –  
May 18, 1835

. . . The President has assured me that he will stand by this treaty as the Ultimatum of the Government and no other shall be offered to the Cherokee people. But, Sir, the Ross party disbelieve it, & this party composed as it is of Halfbreed Nullifiers wish to change it to suit themselves. They are, by means of falsehoods, in the field, valley, & mountain opposing the ratification of it, as I believe because . . . it is a just and honest one. . . . The object is procrastination to outlive Jackson's administration. . . .

There is a remedy in your power, and it is to organize a guard of thirty men placed under the command of Co. Bishop to scour and range in their fortresses & search in their caves, and to suppress their secret meetings close to all night dances where the leaders of the Ross Party usually meet with them for consultation. . . . As to the accomplishment of the removal of our people there is no doubt. We are gaining upon the enemy.

But Ross never showed up for a proposed May council at Running Waters, and his involvement would ultimately be necessary to legitimize the treaty. So another council was scheduled at Running Waters for July.

In the meantime, tensions rose between the Ross and Ridge camps. Sophia Sawyer wrote from Running Waters on July 3, 1835 (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 543), “Soon after I closed my last letter to you three of the scholars were withdrawn in consequence of the political disturbance among the people. At that time the life of Mr. Ridge was threatened, & the house was often in alarm from different causes. For myself I have never apprehended an open attack on the person or house of Mr. Ridge, but I have feared for him, & do still, afsination (assassination).”

But Ridge was not deterred, and he set the meeting date for the council at Running Waters for July 20 (Battey, 1994, p. 43).

The Cassville Pioneer says John Ridge and his friends will hold a Council in Floyd County six miles north of Rome 20<sup>th</sup> of July inst. It is expected this Council will be numerously attended. The cause of Ridge and his party is going ahead.

This one the Cherokee chiefs did attend, arriving in fact a day early, on July 19, numbering in the thousands, comprising what was the largest council gathering yet on record (Battey, 1994, p. 43). “The number

could not by any previous measures or meetings have been anticipated,” reported Currey. “They came, some starving, some half clad, some armed, and scarcely any with provisions for more than one or two days.”

The previous Ridge-convened council in May had been a failure. Everyone knew it wasn't an official council unless Chief John Ross and his National Council were involved, but no one in the Ross government was interested in removal. Despite all the injustices that had been ladled out to them since the extension of Georgia laws over Cherokee territory, most Cherokees were intent upon remaining.

But the U.S. government had one trick up its sleeve. The Cherokees depended upon the annuity, which was to be paid to the Cherokees according to the provisions of previous treaties. Normally this was given at a Ross council. But what if it were to be disbursed at a Ridge council at Running Waters instead? And what if they were to put some cause for concern in the air, such as a threat to the annuity itself? This would help to ensure a large turnout. And once that captive audience was in place, some means or other could be devised to force them to listen to the proposed treaty terms.

The force behind this scheme was Rev. John F. Schermerhorn. W.W. Featherstonhaugh described Schermerhorn somewhat colorfully in his *Canoe Voyage Down the Minnay Sotor* (Featherstonhaugh, 1970, pp. 240-241):

(We were) told ... some amusing anecdotes of an agent, named Schermerhorn, who had been appointed by the United States Government a year or two ago, as a commissioner to negotiate with the Cherokees. This man was a sort of loose Dutch Presbyterian Minister, and having taken up the calling of a political demagogue, had been rewarded with this situation by the President, Mr. Van Buren, a Dutchman also by birth. On coming amongst the Cherokees, instead of dealing fairly with them, and making an arrangement with the Council that could be sanctioned by a majority of the nation, he corrupted a few individuals to consent to emigrate, and deliver up the Cherokee territory; and reported it to the Government as if it had been a solemn contract entered into with the whole nation. The Reverend agent, also, being of amorous turn had been detected tampering with some of the young Cherokee women, so that he came to be an object of detestation to the Indians, who took every opportunity to affront him. Not more than half-a-dozen in the whole nation would speak to him at all; and whenever the rest of them met him, they made a point of turning round and presenting their backs to him. But this was not all the mortification his evils deeds brought upon him.

It is the custom of most of the Indian nations to give an Indian name to every white man who has any transactions with them of importance, or who has struck their fancy in any way. If the proper name of the individual corresponds in sound with any term in their language, they simply translate it. On the other hand, if they can find no equivalent in their own tongue, they look for words, which sound like the name they are unable to translate, and if those words are at all appropriate to the individual, whether in his appearance, his habits and customs, or character, they use them to form his Indian name. In doing this, they are remarkably skilful, and are as prompt and happy as the best improvisatori are in Italy. The name the Cherokees gave to me is an instance of this. It was found impossible to translate the word Featherstonhaugh, but one of their poets suggested that my Cherokee name should be Oóstanaúlee, which means "gravel or shingle brought down by floods." Having observed me frequently poking and hammering about in beds of gravel, the word which sounded something like my name, admirably answered the purpose. For the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn, they had been so fortunate as to find a name that corresponded precisely to their estimate of him, and which was immediately adopted by the whole nation, especially the

women and children, who were extremely tickled with it. It was Skáynooyáunah, or literally the "devil's horn." After I knew this story, I found it was only necessary to ask the women if they knew Skáynooyáunah to set them laughing.

His scheming ways worked, however. Between 2,000 and 3,000 Cherokees attended the council and green corn dance at Running Waters.

“The Cherokees had, until a few days before, been advised not to attend,” said Currey, “but when Ross found that the money would be paid to the order of the majority attending, his head men were called together at Red Clay, where I am informed he told them the agents of Government, and the disorganized attached to Ridge, must be put down; and in order to do this, all the men of the nation must rally, and be there to sustain their nation and treasury” (Battey, 1994, pp. 43-44).

Now that the Cherokees were assembled, Schermerhorn simply had to devise a means to be heard.

Toward that end, said Currey, “Mr. Schermerhorn promised them rations for one day, on condition they would hear him as commissioner.” And so Schermerhorn “obtained their consent to address them on the next morning,” said Currey (Battey, 1994, p. 44).

Schermerhorn then had a stand erected “so that he might by his elevation be the more generally heard,” said Currey. The next morning’s meeting opened with prayers from Rev. Spirit and David Watie, followed by Currey’s introductory remarks, translated by interpreter Joseph A.. Foreman.

Apparently Currey struck a nerve with Chief Ross, who said he was “sorry that the agent had taken occasion to be personal in his remarks” (Battey, 1994, p. 47).

Ridge replied that “he had not understood the agent to indulge in or intend personalities,” but in this case it was time to acknowledge the fact that there were two parties, two leaders, with two very different points of view.

Ross said that he was “aware” that a “description of persons who were called by party names” had been circulating. However, Ross “was not disposed to take any notice of these personalities at this time.”

Ridge replied that he, too, “discarded party views and sinister motives; that so far as he and those with him acted different from Mr. Ross and his chiefs, he had done so from an honest conviction that it was the only way in which the integrity and political salvation of the Cherokee people could be preserved and effected, and that he was at any moment ready to acknowledge Ross as his principal chief when he (Ross) could or would prove to him a better plan” (Battey, 1994, p. 47).

Ross said that he “was not disposed to quarrel with any man for an honest expression of opinion, for the good of the people (for the truth and sincerity of which he called Heaven to witness); and that if gentlemen were honest in their professions of benevolence, he was ready, at any time, to co-operate with them, when it would appear that they were right and he was wrong” (Battey, 1994, p. 47).

Ridge replied that “he did not understand why it was, if Mr. Ross’ declarations were sincere, that large bodies of Indians had been withdrawn by their chiefs from the ground, and were not permitted to hear.”

Currey, too, expressed his dismay at this situation in his official report (Battey, 1994, p. 44):

...their party had been invited to express their views and wishes freely; instead of doing this they had withdrawn themselves from the ground, and been counselled in the bushes. Why was this so? Were their chiefs still disposed to delude their people, when ruin demanded entrance at the red man’s door, and the heavy hand of oppression already rested upon his head?

To say the least of it, there was something suspicious in their withdrawal. The officers of government were bound to report their speeches to the Secretary of War, and the chiefs had shown contempt to the United States by withdrawing themselves and their people in the woods beyond their hearing. If this was not the proper construction to be placed upon such a proceeding, the chiefs had certainly carried them off to feed their feelings on false hopes and false promises once more.

Ridge said he “wanted the whole nation to learn, and be able to know their true situation,” which of course wasn’t possible so long as the people were kept in the bushes away from the podium (Battey, 1994, p. 47).

Ridge added that “he was ready to co-operate with Mr. Ross, or anybody else, for the salvation of his bleeding and oppressed countrymen.” But “as an honest man, sensible as he was of the difficulties and hazards of the crisis that surrounded them all, he must act on the suggestions arising out of the case, though it should cost him the last drop that heaved his breast...”

Schermerhorn then took the stand. With the aid of translator Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, he “went into a full explanation of the views of the Government,” Currey reported. He spoke for three hours; the Cherokees were forced to listen to all of it or else jeopardize their annuity payment.

“In order to insure attention, this resolution had been so worded that it would not dispose of the question (of the annuity) further than the single proposition was concerned,” said Currey, “and by addressing them before the vote was finished, Mr. Schermerhorn had, perhaps, the largest red audience of adult males ever before assembled together in this nation at one time.”

Schermerhorn’s comments were summarized in the official report (Battey, 1994, pp. 47-48):

The Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn ... expressed his satisfaction and gratification at the prospect of an amicable reconciliation of all party strife and animosity, and so far as he might be concerned in their affairs, he did not intend to know any party or distinction of parties; that he only meant to know the Cherokee people east of the Mississippi as one party in this case; and that he would avail himself of the present occasion to request that during this meeting they would select from among themselves a number of delegates, at least twelve or more, or any other number they might deem expedient, to meet him and Gov. Carroll at the Cherokee agency on Wednesday, the 30<sup>th</sup> instant, to arrange preliminaries necessary to a convention for the adjustment of their whole difficulties by treaty; the basis of which had already been fixed by Ridge, Ross and others, which he presumed they were all apprised of, and suggested the importance of naming Ross and Ridge first on said committee.

The “Devil’s Horn,” as the Cherokees called him, had had his say. Now it was time for a vote on the business at hand.

The following resolution was then introduced by Archilla Smith and seconded by John Ridge:

“Resolved, by the council of the Cherokee nation, that in consideration of the poor condition of our people, the aged, the infirm of both sexes, men, women and children, that the present annuity of \$6,666.67 be now divided equally to the people, and to the poor particularly, as it is their money, accruing from old treaties with the United States. It is now a great many years since they have received the same” (Battey, 1994, p. 48).

The official report to the Secretary of War (see APPENDIX D and APPENDIX E) states that John Ridge and his father, Major Ridge, “spoke at considerable length” in support of the resolution. Again, it wasn’t the annuity that was important. What was important was that everyone understand the position of the new Treaty Party. They argued that John Ross and the traditional tribal leaders are not the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee people, they said, are the Nation. They went on (Battey, 1994, p. 48):

Have the people been benefited by the use made of the money heretofore, by their chiefs? Have those chiefs saved the country? Have they restored to you your fields? Have they saved your people from the gallows? Have they driven back the white settlers? No; but on the other hand, have you not lost your laws and government? Have you not been impoverished and oppressed? And are you not bleeding and starving under these oppressions? If this be the fact, is it not time to take that which will give you some relief from want, rather than to vote it to those who can not, or, if they can, will not afford you relief?

The Ridges intimated that they could have “done as we pleased” with the annuity at the May council held at Running Waters, if they had seen it fit to do so. But “few attended,” said the Ridges, and they “would not condescend to take advantage of that absence which had been procured by the other chiefs.

“We preferred to have a full meeting of the people, if practicable, and leave the question to the majority,” the Ridges said.

They asked that the votes be registered one by one with the government officials, so that “all may have an opportunity of understanding the resolution; and that each and every one may vote as Cherokees should learn to vote, independently.”

An opposing resolution was then offered by Edward Gunter: “Resolved, that the present annuity now due to the Cherokee nation be paid to John Martin, treasurer of the Cherokee nation.”

Gunter said that the Cherokee Nation was in debt and that taxation to relieve the debt was not possible because state laws would not allow it. “He hoped, therefore, they would vote the money to the national treasury.”

The Smith/Ridge resolution would be voted on first. Everyone at last came out of the bushes and cast their votes. “I took occasion to say to the Cherokees, as they came up by districts, that let them vote the money in what way they would, it could not save their country,” reported Currey (Battey, 1994, p. 44). The vote was entirely lop-sided, “as might have been expected,” Currey said, with only 114 in favor of the Smith/Ridge resolution and over 2,000 against.

Now for the Gunter resolution. “The Indians had, by districts, in files four deep, been drawn up to vote on Gunter’s resolution, that they might hear it read, and be counted the more conveniently,” said Currey. It was clear where the hearts and minds of the people lay, but the Ridges had one last stunt to pull, now that they at last had a full audience before them. “The whole people were called up and the resolution read,” said Currey. “Mr. Gunter made a few remarks in its support.” Then Major Ridge unexpectedly offered an amendment to Gunter’s resolution, seconded by John Ridge, that “the treasurer of the nation pay the same to such persons of our nation as owe for money borrowed, and not to the lawyers, which the nation has employed, who can be paid at some other time.”

It wasn’t that the Ridges cared one whit whether or not the attorneys were paid. But this amendment gave them, at last, “a full opportunity to be heard” by all the people, Currey said.

“They went into a most pathetic description of national distress and individual oppression,” said Currey. The Ridges spoke of “the necessity of seeking freedom in another clime; the importance of union and harmony, and the beauties of peace and of friendship...”

The official report stated that “Major Ridge and John Ridge displayed their usual strain of eloquence, making a deep impression on a large portion of the crowd, if we take for evidence the rivetted attention and the press forward to catch the words that dropped from them...” (Battey, 1994, p. 49).

Currey reinforced that assessment. When the Ridges spoke, he said, “all the previous prejudices so manifestly shown by looks appeared to die away, and the benighted foresters involuntarily broke the line and pressed forward as if attracted by the powers of magnetism to the stand, and when they could get no nearer, they reached their heads forward in anxiety to hear the truth” (Battey, 1994, p. 44).

Major Ridge and John Ridge “spoke of the false hopes excited and the delusive promises held out by their lawyers,” according to the report. They also spoke “generally of the causes which induced them to secede from Ross and his party, and the necessity of an early removal of the tribe...”

The Ridges said that “if there were any who preferred to endure misery and wed themselves to slavery, as for them and their friends, they craved not such company.”

Currey sums up the remainder of the meeting (Battey, 1994, p. 44):

After the Ridges had procured the desired attention, they withdrew their amendment, and the vote was taken on Gunter's resolution, and carried by acclamation. Mr. Schermerhorn then requested each party to appoint committees to meet him and Governor Carroll at the agency on the 29<sup>th</sup> instant. Ridge's party complied. If the other party did, it has not been made known to the commissioner.

By the next mail we will be able to give more information of a more satisfactory nature, having reference to the future.

I have no doubt, although the money went into the treasury of the nation ... still, the information communicated in the discussions growing up on the occasion will be attended with the most happy consequences to the Cherokees, and greatly facilitate a final adjustment of their difficulties.

It is a matter worthy of remark that so great a number of persons of any color have seldom if ever met and preserved better order than was observed on this occasion.

Most respectfully, I have the honor to be your very obedient servant,

BENJAMIN F. CURREY.  
Supt. of Cherokee Removal and Acting Indian Agent.

Although their resolution and amendment were not carried, the Ridges accomplished what they had set out to do. Their speeches were not without some effect. It states in the report that "in the course of that evening and next morning, (there were a) number who deserted from Ross's ranks and enrolled themselves with John Ridge and his friends for the western country."

But the overwhelming majority of Cherokees continued to side with Ross and they steadfastly refused to cede any more land. So, even at this late date, Ridge had not given up hope of working with Ross and the National Council. The two parties finally agreed to sit down on the second Monday in October to negotiate a treaty at Red Clay, Tennessee. But Ridge no longer trusted Ross and his followers, and being in the minority position, he encouraged Georgia Gov. Wilson Lumpkin to keep up a strong presence of the Georgia Guard in Cherokee territory. "I do sincerely -- believe that this Guard is necessary to be continued in this -- country until the treaty is consummated," Ridge told the governor in a September letter. "If this guard was not in existence ... The lives of the emigrating party -- would be sacrificed..."

The letter in its entirety (John Ridge, "Letter, 1835 Sept. 22, Cassville, Georgia, [to] Wilson Lumpkin, Gov[Ernor of Georgia] / John Ridge," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, [www.galileo.peachnet.edu](http://www.galileo.peachnet.edu): University of Georgia.):

Cassville Ga 22d. Sept. 1835. --  
Dear Sir,

I have been intending to write to you on the Indian Affairs for some time, but the press of business in conducting the business of our nation at this interesting period, has prevented. I feel pleasure now to say that our cause prospers, & I believe will result in the general Cession of the Nation. The views taken in a communication by a Gentleman of the bar in the Georgia -- Pioneer on the Cherokee treaty, Should be republished with the correction of misprints in the paper alluded to. John Ross & his party will try -- to outlive the Administration of Genl. Jackson if they are not forced into the treaty, & it now -- depends upon the treaty party to -- take a bold and decided stand. We have gained so much now in Georgia & Alabama, that we shall soon organise

head chiefs & a regular Council for those two states and close the -- treaty -- However this is conditioned upon the refusal of the Ross party to Join in a general treaty -- He has requested a Conference, and we have accepted it, & it is possible that we may agree to make a General Cession. This Conference will be held it is proposed on the 2d. Monday in Oct. next in the chartered limits of Tennessee -- If that Council passes by with out our bringing the parties to an understanding, you may depend upon a vigorous course of measures on our part -- How shall we proceed? It is plain that Indians hold title to Land by the right of occupancy & The -- Ross party chiefs are about to abandon this & go to Tennessee -- We have chiefs & a Council & the President can acknowledge us & treat with us. In the meantime, and all the time the enrollment -- can go on I will go on which will -- give us strength. From this -- purpose the next Legislature ought to pass laws to protect us in our possessions while we are in the act of preperation for the West. Unless this is done our efforts will prove abortive -- The U. S. promises this protection, but individual avidity to get possession of Indian Improvements, falsifies all these promises. As soon as an Indian enrolls -- the Georgia claimant presses him -- out -- this stops them from enrolling -- it gives them no time to -- breathe -- no comfort after it -- This should not be -- I know Sir, that by force of circumstances your state will get in possession of the -- whole of our Lands, but it will -- be with great suffering to the Indians. Our exertions will be crippled -- if a favorable legislation is not, had upon this very subject. It is nothing but -- what the dictates of humanity will sanction to allow the Indians to -- go off unmolested, when they evince a desire to do so by enrollment. I cannot close this letter without referring to the great good, which Col. Bishop -- & the Georgia Guard have effected. If the Legislature would grant him certain discretionary powers in relation to the Indians it would be of great service.

The Ross party tried hard to counteract the growth of our party by - - murders -- it is dreadful to reflect on -- the amount of blood which has been shed -- by the savages on those who have only exercised the right of -- opinion -- The Guard has been watchful & they have arrested these -- men who encourage the murders, & some of the murderers themselves. They see now that this course will not do. The amount of other crimes committed in this -- country is amazing, & I do sincerely -- believe that this Guard is necessary to be continued in this -- country until the treaty is consummated. If this guard was not in existence our labors would be inefficient compared to what they are -- The lives of the emigrating party -- would be sacrificed, & also the -- lives of the citizens of Georgia would be in danger -- I can say that the prospects of a -- general treaty is flattering, but we -- must prepare for the work as good generals in time of war. Keep what we have & gain the balance. The officers of the U. S. in this country & myself wrote you a joint letter on the subject of granting indulgence to the treaty party in -- their possessions while they remained according to the promises of the U.S. which I hope you have received before this.

Of course this letter is not for publication -- I shall write to you again --

your friend  
John Ridge

As the conference date neared, troops were sent to keep the peace. Ridge urged Wilson to keep his Georgians in check – at least when it came to those who supported the Treaty -- since continued depredations would only serve to discredit and undermine the Treaty Party.

“Whatever of protection the U. S. shall promise the friends of the treaty & the Indians who will be moving from the state under it, should not be falsified by the acts of the Georgia citizens . . . . The aggressions of the citizens of Georgia on the enrolled emigrants are increasing which retards our operations very much (Woodward, 1963, p. 187).

General John E. Wool reported on Oct. 11, 1835 that he would “leave this morning for New Echota, where I have a camp of two companies of volunteers, to watch the movements of a council of

Cherokees now sitting at that place, and to prevent disturbances that might arise between the parties of Ross and Ridge” (Wilkins, 1970, p. 285).

Ridge again wrote to Gov. Lumpkin, at about the same time, that a “conference is now in session composed of five men of each party . . . to try to compromise and close the treaty but if it can't come to an agreement, the plan is to make a treaty in December. . . .” (Woodward, 1963, p. 187).

One witness of the two-party negotiations at Red Clay reported (Wilkins, 1970, pp. 269-270):

I cannot imagine a spectacle of more moral grandeur than the assembly of such a people under such circumstances ... The woods echoed with the trampling of many feet; a long and orderly procession emerged from among the trees, the gorgeous autumnal tints of whose departing foliage seemed in sad harmony with the noble spirit now beaming in this departing race. Most of the train was on foot. There were a few aged men, and some few women, on horseback. The train halted at the humble gate of the principal chief: he stood ready to receive them. Everything was noiseless ... Their dress was neat and picturesque: all wore turbans, except four or five with hats; many of them tunics with sashes; many, long robes, and nearly all some drapery: so that they had the oriental air of the old scripture pictures of patriarchal procession ... The salutation over, the old men remained near the chief, and the rest withdrew to various parts of the enclosure; some sitting Turk fashion against the trees, others upon logs, and thers upon the fences, but with the eyes of all fixed upon their chief.

The two parties consulted for several days before reaching a compromise. “I consider that the Indian controversy is now closed,” Ridge confidently reported from the council ground. “The Ross party and the Treaty party have united, and have agreed to close the Cherokee difficulties by a general treaty” (Wilkins, 1970, p. 270).

But at the last moment, after apparent agreement had been reached, Ross added a curious clause that threw everything back into question. As Ridge described the course of events, “The question was, Are you willing to take five millions of dollars for your country? No, no, was the cry of the people.” The request was strange since it had been Ross himself who had requested that specific amount from the Senate. “Some few of the better informed were placed in a different position to lead the way,” Ridge said, “and the Indians without knowing the difference between 5,000 and five millions, said No! They did not understand.” (Wilkins, 1970, p. 271)

Then the question was put, Are you willing to give full power to these twenty men to do your business? The answer was, Yes. They were then dismissed and they scattered that very night. There was no deliberation. . . . A vast majority . . . were of the opinion that they had rejected the propositions of the Government altogether, and had instructed their delegation to make no treaty, and consequently, had saved the land. This was the result of a manifest equivocation and double dealing with an ignorant people. None but the committee of negotiators remained and John Ross's council to reject [Schermerhorn's] propositions.

Ridge and his faction were forced to go along with the rest, in the spirit of consensus, and pressured to reject their own treaty by vote. But Schermerhorn would perservere. “If it can't come to an agreement, the plan is to make a treaty in December,” Ridge wrote (Woodward, 1970, p. 187). Schermerhorn “appointed 3<sup>rd</sup> Monday in Dec. to meet with people at

New Echota,” even though Ridge said in an Oct. 31 letter to Col. John H. Lumpkin that the Dec. meeting was “contrary to the will of all parties” and that “no people will meet at New Echota” since “there is no reason for it.” (Letter to Col. John H. Lumpkin from John Ridge at New Echota., Oct. 31, 1835).

Ridge explained the predicament as he saw it:

If legislature passes laws about removal, have them be contingent and conditional - if no treaty is made by next July let the laws operate against us - I feel great desire to avert calamity of turning out people out in middle of winter.

In the meantime, Georgia kept up its intimidation tactics, even flagrantly crossing the Tennessee line to arrest John Ross and his visitor, John Howard Payne, a famous songwriter, at Ross’ home at Red Hill. A newspaper at the time called the act “an outrage,” but added that the tales of the incident probably were “not true.”

Cherokees in Milledgeville state that GA Guard in absence of Bishop crossed Tn line and arrested John Ross at his home and brought him into Ga -say this perpetrated at suggestion of Schermerhorn and Currie to keep Ross from Washington.

Missionary Sophia Sawyer wrote from Running Waters on Nov. 7 that “Mr. John Rofs is in confinement at Spring Place and his papers taken from him. One of the agents Ross’ brother are here \_\_ tomorrow Mr. Ridge will go assist Mr. Ross” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 547).

Ridge did assist in gaining the release of Ross, but two parties still did not come to terms. When the time for the Dec. meeting at New Echota finally came, no one from the National Council even bothered to attend. Although Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and the rest of the Treaty Party knew they were likely signing their own death warrants, they agreed that the time for negotiation had passed. Major Ridge said on Dec. 22 (Wilkins, 1970, p. 276-277):

We cannot remain here in safety and comfort. I know we love the graves of our fathers. . . . We can never forget these homes, I know, but an unbending, iron necessity tells us we must leave them. I would willingly die to preserve them, but any forcible effort to keep them will cost us our lands, our lives and the lives of our children. There is but one path of safety, one road to future existence as a Nation. That path is open before you. Make a treaty of cession. Give up these lands and go over beyond the great Father of Waters.

Many people – even U.S. Army officers – could see this treaty for the sham that it was. Major W. M. Davis wrote to the Secretary of War (Bass, 1936, 171-3):

I conceive that my duty to the President, to yourself, and to my country reluctantly compels me to make a statement of facts in relation to a meeting of a small number of Cherokees at New Echota last December, who were met by Mr. Schermerhorn and articles of a general treaty entered into between them and the whole Cherokee Nation. . . .

Sir, that paper . . . called a treaty, is no treaty at all, because not sanctioned by the great body of the Cherokee and made without participation or assent. I solemnly declare to you that upon its reference to the Cherokee people it would be instantly rejected by nine-tenths of them, and I believe by nineteen-twentieths of them.

There were not present at the conclusion of the treaty more than one hundred Cherokee voters, although the weather was everything that could be desired. The Indians had long been notified of the meeting, and blankets were promised to all who would come and vote for the treaty.

The business of making a treaty was transacted with a committee appointed by the Indians present, so as not to expose their number. The power of attorney under which the committee acted was signed only by the president and secretary of the meeting, so as not to disclose their weakness. . . . Mr. Schermerhorn's apparent design was to conceal the real number present and to impose on the public and the government upon this point.

The delegation taken to Washington by Mr. Schermerhorn had no more authority to make a treaty than any other dozen Cherokees picked up for that purpose.

I now warn you and the President that if this paper of Schermerhorn's called a treaty is sent to the Senate and ratified you will bring trouble upon the government and eventually destroy this the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees are a peaceable, harmless people, but you may drive them to desperation, and this treaty cannot be carried into effect except by the strong arm of force.

The attacks grew so clamorous that John Ridge felt compelled to defend himself in May, 1836, as worked to get the Treaty of New Echota ratified by the U.S. Congress (Wilkins, 1970, p. 281):

You say John Ridge was prompted by a selfish ambition when he signed the treaty, and no one knows it better than he. . . . John Ridge may not die tomorrow . . . but sooner or later he will have to yield his life as the penalty for signing. John Ridge has not acted blindly, for he sees plainly that his people cannot hope to stand against the white man in their present situation. By removing to the west they may in time learn to hold their own with the white man. Let it not be said that John Ridge acted from motives of ambition, for he acted for what he believed to be the best interest of his people.

Ridge, Boudinot, and Stand Watie sent a letter to Schermerhorn to further explain their actions (Wilkins, 1970, p. 281):

Some may be secretly induced to assassinate, by John Ross & his friends, but it will be done so secretly that only one or two may fall. What will that be to the joy which the treaty will ultimately give to the Indians? the thousands who will emigrate and be happy? the thousands who will be relieved from the lowest state of wretchedness and who, now reduced almost to nakedness and starvation; buffeted and lacerated by the settlers among them; driven, with their women and little ones, from their cabins and their fields, to the woods and mountains, stripped of the little property they once possessed; wandering outcasts, and dependent on the cold charity of their new oppressors?

While Ridge labored in Washington for treaty ratification, students back at Sophia Sawyer's school at Running Waters painted a vivid picture of what daily life was like for the Cherokee people as white Georgians continued to claim their lots and evict Cherokees from their own homes. Student Rachel Smith wrote a series of letters from Running Waters in May, 1836, telling the heartbreaking tale of her father – a stark illustration of what Ridge must have meant when he argued “that his people cannot hope to stand against the white man in their present situation.”

“I have been at school here nearly five months to Mifs Sawyer,” Smith wrote from Running Waters on May 18 (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 554). Smith said that she began her schooling at the old Brainerd Mission, near Chattanooga, on the old farm of John Ross’ grandfather. “I was there when the buildings were burnt,” she said.

After that, Smith attended school at Haweis for about two years. The Haweis mission station was located west of modern-day Rome, near the Alabama state line, just north of the Coosa River. The graves from the old mission site are still visible and a modern road there still retains the name of Smith grandfather: “Cabin Smith Road.”

“I live about thirty miles from Running Waters. I suppose you have heard of Big-Cabin Smith, my father is his son. My proud father once lived just about two miles from the Mifsionary Station at Haweis.

“He has been turned out from his house by the white people,” Smith said of her father. “He was very sick when he was turned out from his house, and has been very sick ever since. He is not able to go outdoors. The last time I heard from him they said that he could not talk loud, only just whisper. He is a very old man. They do not expect he will live long.”

Two days later, on May 20, Smith wrote that her “proud father was dead.”

“He was a very wicked man only a few years ago,” she said. “He was converted after he was a very old man. Hope he was gone to heaven.” Since he had been turned out of his own home, despite his ill health, he had died at his daughter’s house.

Smith said that she had come to the school at Running Waters the previous Christmas and “boarded at Mr. Ridge’s,” her cousin. She wrote in her letters that she enjoyed writing on the school’s black board. “I like it very well,” she said.

The Northrops – parents of Mrs. Ridge – apparently came down to Running Waters for an extended period, from the fall of 1835 through mid-1836 – to help manage the day-to-day affairs of Running Waters while Ridge was occupied with matters related to the Treaty.

“Mrs. Ridge’s father, mother and sister have been here ever since August,” Smith wrote on May 25. “They talk about going home as soon as Mr. Ridge returns from Washington City. Their daughter is about thirteen years old. They are very good people. We have family prayers now. Mr. Northrup is here. We read in the testament by course read in the morning, and Mifs Sawyer reads in the evening, she asks questions and we answer.”

On May 29, Smith wrote that “Mr. Ridge has been expecting to come home every week for a long time.” But ratifying the Treaty of New Echota evidently took much longer than he had hoped.

“He has been waiting for the treaty to be ratified,” said Smith. “There they have been all Winter, and done nothing yet. Our people are suffering most of them with hunger, and a great many have been turned out of their houses since, and some put in prison for being accused of

stealing. We heard for truth that two old Cherokee men died near New Echota for want of food.”

Although the U.S. troops had food available to give to the Cherokees, few would take it, because they felt that taking the food would compromise their steadfast position against leaving their land. General John W. Wool wrote to President Jackson (Bass, 1936, p. 171):

It is vain to talk to a people almost universally opposed to the treaty and who maintain that they never made such a treaty. So determined are they in their opposition that no one of all those who were present and voted at the council held but a day or two since, however poor or destitute, would either receive rations or clothing from the United States lest they might compromise themselves in regard to the treaty. These same people as well as those in the mountains of North Carolina, during the summer past, preferred living upon the roots and sap of trees rather than receive provisions from the United States, and thousands, as I have been informed, had no other food for weeks. Many have said they will die before they will leave the country.

Nevertheless, on Monday, June 6, word came to Running Waters that the Treaty had at last been approved.

“Monday Mrs. Ridge received a letter from Mr. Ridge. He said that the Cherokee treaty was ratified, and that were hungry would be furnished with food. Now all the Cherokees are obliged to go to the West, and all those that wish to stay in this Country, have to obey the Georgia laws, if they do not they cannot stay” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 554).

As it turned out, only a very few were allowed to remain in Georgia. But Ross and the Cherokee people continued to fight against the Treaty and the Removal, all the way up until the May, 1838 deadline. In a letter written Sept. 30, 1836, Ross said (Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross, Volume 1*, 461-3):

. . . The chiefs, National Committee & Council and the people of the Cherokee Nation in General Council assembled have resolved that, the instrument purporting to be a treaty made at New Echota, on the 29th day of Decr. 1835 by the revd. Jno F. Schermerhorn commissioner of the United States and the Chiefs, head men & people of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians, is a fraud upon the Govt. of the United States and an act of oppression on the Cherokee people - that those who are represented as acting on the part of the Cherokees, and who assume the style of "Chiefs & Head men" hold no such title or designation from the Cherokees, nor, have they received authority from the Nation to form said instrument, therefore said instrument is null & void and can never in justice be enforced upon the nation, as they do most solemnly disclaim and utterly reject said instrument. . . . That any irresponsible individuals assuming to themselves the power to act in the name of the Nation, without authority first legitimately obtained, will be deemed guilty of infringing to prerogatives of the Nation, and violating the rights of the Cherokee people, who will surely never sanction such usurpation nor acquiesce in the doings of such persons.

Jno Ross

Ross did everything in his power, but he could not stop the tide. Now that Washington had a ratified Treaty in hand, Ross could do nothing to stop the Removal. As Ridge wrote to Gov. Lumpkin on Nov. 2, 1836,

“We will carry out the treaty triumphantly notwithstanding John Ross's efforts to delude the ignorant class.”

Ridge and his fellow Treaty Party members did not wait for the deadline. Instead the elected to go ahead and move their families to the new territories in the West, where it would doubtlessly be safer for them. He wrote a letter to Lumpkin on June 27, 1837 (Wilkins, 1970, p. 295):

Tomorrow at about 9 o'clock I shall leave this place for my temporary residence in Wills Valley, and in one week I shall according to our contract with the U.S. bid an everlasting farewell to the land of my birth. On this extraordinary occasion, which is finally consummating the transplanting of a people, remarkable for their attachment to the soil, no one can be an indifferent spectator. In the history of the Nation, if there is a page assigned to my name and that of our house, I know not what will be said.

Ridge knew that “John Ridge may not die tomorrow . . . but sooner or later he will have to yield his life as the penalty for signing.”

The day would come just after the Removal was carried out, on June 22, 1839. Three execution squads were sent out against the Treaty Party targets. A group of 25 men were assigned to Ridge, and they quickly surrounded his house. Three men broke into Ridge's home and roused him from sleep. Their attempt to kill him there failed due to the misfire of a pistol, so the three men dragged Ridge out into his yard. The clamor roused his wife and children. His son John Rollin Ridge gave the following account of what happened next (Wilkins, 1970, pp. 322-323):

Two men held him by the arms and others by the body, while another stabbed him with a dirk twenty-nine times.

My mother rushed out to the door, but they pushed her back with their guns into the house, and prevented her egress until their act was finished.

After severing his jugular vein, they threw Ridge into the air and let his bleeding body crash to the earth. Then the men marched over their victim, stamping on him as they passed in single file.

Still Ridge was not dead...

My mother ran out to him.

He raised himself on his elbow and tried to speak, but the blood flowed into his mouth and prevented him.

In a few moments more he died, without speaking that last word he wished to say.

Then succeeded a scene of agony the sight of which might make one regret that the human race had ever been created.

It has darkened my mind with an eternal shadow...

By his side stay my mother, with hands clasped, and in speechless agony – she had given him her heart in the days of her youth and beauty, left the home of her parents, and followed the husband of her choice to a wild and distant land.

And bending over him was his own afflicted mother, with her long, white hair flung loose over her shoulders and bosom, crying to the Great Spirit to sustain her in that dreadful hour.

And in addition to all these, the wife, the mother, and the little children, who scarcely knew their loss, were the dark faces of those who had been the murdered man's friends, and probably, some who had been privy to the assassination, who had come to smile over the scene.

**Sophia Sawyer and her Mission School**

*“On another hill some 200 yards distant stood the school house, built at my father’s expense, for the use of a missionary, Miss Sophie Sawyer, who made her home with our family and taught my father’s children and all who chose to come for her instruction. I went to this school until I was ten years of age – which was in 1837.”*

---John Rollin Ridge



Sophia Sawyer – the teacher at the small Cherokee school at Running Waters -- was a missionary from New England who joined the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1823, when she was 31 years old, shortly after graduating from Byfield Female Seminary (Castelow, 2005, pp. 33-34). Her first assignment was at

the Brainerd Mission near present-day Chattanooga, Tennessee. She wrote to a friend shortly after she began her new duties, “every feature” of the Cherokee students “seems to say ‘teach me to read – lead me to God – I am the workmanship of his almighty hand – Jesus has died for me & sent you here to teach me – I shall go to heaven or hell – much depends on your instruction’” (Castelow, 2005, p. 36). John Ridge had attended the Brainerd school in 1817 before leaving to attend another ABCFM school, the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut. Sawyer’s affiliation with the ABCFM would continue for 15 years, through 1839. But her journey would not be a smooth one, as she struggled to become accepted by her fellow missionaries under what she described as “very trying” circumstances.

Even as early as May 24, 1824, Sawyer revealed in a letter that she was anxious about fitting in at Brainerd (Castelow, 2005, p. 61):

I so much fear unfitting myself for the station in which I am placed, that I am rigid respecting all my rules of conduct. I rise as soon as I can see; to be ready for prayers, when the bell tolls at sunrise - I must see that all my scholars are dressed properly, and seated in the dining-room at sunrise. We have supper after sunset, & then attend prayers. After this, I have all the little ones to see washed & in bed before I can retire ... I have nineteen girls in school seventeen of which board with me, and are principally under my care. I have charge of their washing, ironing, mending, and making their clothes. Their work-room, school-room, beds and sleeping chamber to take care and keep clean. Their chamber is large sufficient to hold ten beds, I have a little chamber at the end of it and one to take care of for female company - our chambers are over the school and work-room, all without paint and must be kept clean. Ten girls, under ten years are with me all the time to learn to sew, and the nameless things that are connected with the education of children.

Sawyer was transferred from Brainerd to the Haweis mission, just west of modern-day Rome, Georgia, in 1828. But the missionary in charge of Haweis, Elizur Butler, complained of Sawyer’s “instability.” He wrote to his superiors, “I cannot think her a suitable person to have the care of heathen children. Her pupils will be naturally led into her peculiarities. I feel it absolutely necessary that she should be placed in some different situation” (Castelow, 2005, p. 68).

She sought help from Samuel Worcester, a missionary at New Echota. But he offered her little comfort (Castelow, 2005, p. 68):

As for my desire that you should remain at Haweis, it was based on the supposition that nothing was wanting in order to your usefulness, but self-government and contentment; and on the principal that self-government and contentment are personal duties...if you are so much the involuntary slave of your passions or 'feelings' that you cease to be in that respect a moral agent, - or if, for whatever reason, those feelings are not to be under your control, I must say, that I do not think you are to be useful there.

She moved to New Echota in February, 1829, explaining that the “persons under whose direction I am called to act must possess such qualities as to engage my affection & confidence, or I must be allowed to use my own judgement, & act on my own principles.” There was no school there, so Sawyer would be building one from the ground up. Worcester had his reservations (Castelow, 2005, p. 69):

In regard to the expediency of her opening a school here, other than a Sabbath school, which she has already, I have much doubt. The situation and character of the population around us is such, that the attempt would be attended with difficulties, with which I fear she is not qualified to cope, though she would herself be glad to make the experiment."

But by April 1830, Sawyer’s school at New Echota had opened with 18 Cherokee students, three black students, and two white students. School was held in the Cherokee Council House, which Sawyer described as “cold & dark - the chimney is failing the roof leaks badly - not suitable places for books, & the sized makes it very hard speaking for the teacher” (Castelow, 2005, p. 70).

But if she hoped to make a better impression at New Echota than she had at Brainerd or Haweis, she seems to have failed, so far as Worcester was concerned (Castelow, 2005, p. 72):

Indeed her character is a strange compound of inconsistencies, exhibiting some traits which appear like decided evidence of Christian character, and other which, at least if viewed by themselves, appear perfectly incompatible with the existence of true piety. And however we may excuse these latter traits of character, they certainly constitute an important disqualification for a member of a mission family. For myself, I do not well know how to have it permanently so in my own family, that the parents should often have a torment of abuse poured on them without measure in the presence of their children, by one whom those children are taught to look upon, not only as their teacher, but as a Christian, and a fellow laborer with their parents in the work of the Gospel. In this, as well as in some other respects, her example is not such as we would have before the eyes of our children... We would have our dwelling a dwelling of peace; and we do not know whether peace has dwelt, we do not easily perceive how it can dwell, where Miss Sawyer is an inmate.

Which was not to say that Sawyer was a poor teacher, Worcester was quick to point out. “If only Miss Sawyer's character as a teacher were to be taken into the account, I should not hesitate to recommend her ... In point of indefatigable effort and perseverance she can hardly be exceeded.” It was only “as a member of a mission family that the objection lie against her."

Nevertheless she continued to operate her school until 1834, when the mission was closed by the ABCFM as New Echota was transformed into a military outpost. She continued classes briefly at the home of Elias Boudinot to finish out the school year. At that point, John Ridge made the case for her to set up a school near his home at Running Waters, about 20 miles southwest of New Echota. Ridge wrote to Rev. David Greene of the ABCFM in Boston, Massachusetts on July 24, 1834 to request that she be

allowed to continue as a teacher among them. "She will accomplish as much good for a hundred dollars in the year, as those same missionary establishments which consume thousands. Her great power lies in the affections of the Cherokee families, and the success with which her labors are attended. She is popular among us, & her corrections of the scholars are not ill received by the Parents. She is truly a mother of her pupils." Ridge described Sawyer as a "lady of fine feelings & susceptibilities of mind, and in the providence of God, unsupported and uncherished by any relations in this world...she enjoys our keenest sympathy, and ought to be supported by the approbation of the Board. If she is not, I can not answer for the pangs of heart affliction she will experience, when the ties which connect it with the Indians in her devoted labors shall be cut asunder" (Castelow, 2005, p. 75).

The next month, Greene wrote a letter to Ridge agreeing to send her to Running Waters "if she can be happy and useful there."

The *Missionary Herald* reported soon afterward (Macenczak, 1991, p. 34):

Miss Sawyer closed her school at New-Echota in December, and soon after removed to Running Waters, the residence of ... Mr. John Ridge, where she has since continued her school, under the immediate patronage of (Ridge), from who she received much kindness.

Sawyer began writing letters to Rev. Greene from her new school at Running Waters on Apr. 17, 1835. Just as she was opening the school, she came down with a terrible sickness that threatened to delay the beginning of classes. Her illness may have been worsened by suffering through a "severe" winter. In February "water froze near the fire," Sawyer said, and "snow fell in March to considerable depth." Everyone "quit business," Sawyer said, and she felt "crushed" by the cold, and the New England native "had to call to recollection Northern winters to rouse me to action, or I should not have accomplished anything" (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 541).

Soon after I closed my last letter to you Sir, I was taken suddenly ill with chills & fever attended with extreme thirst & pain in the left side & breast, with great difficulty in respiration. Every sinew and nerve in the part affected seemed like so many lancets to pierce me communicating with the whole system, & filling me with extreme suffering. ... I felt myself so entirely in the hands of God... Without medical advice, we did what we could, the disease yielded to medicine after a few days suffering. It left me weak, however, & with a cough, sorenefs at the breast & I suffered some anxiety, which you would tell me was wrong, les I should be unable to open the school at the time appointed... (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frames 539 and 540).

But God, in the end, was "gracious," she said, and gave her "strength to teach," though her cough persisted. "When the scholars came my returning strength seemed to me almost miraculous," she said.

The school at Running Waters had 25 students, including nine boarders, she told Rev. Greene. "Mr. Fields has built a cabin near & boards five of his own children, these with children from the

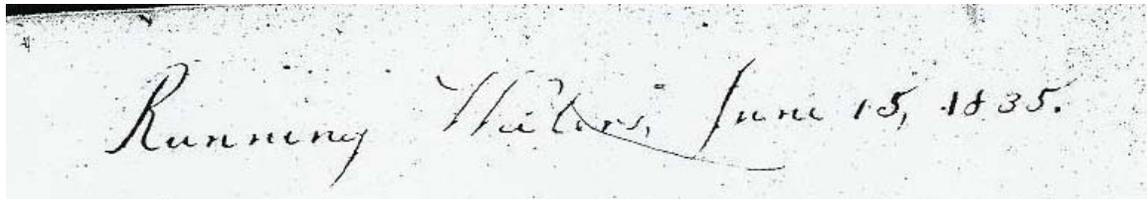
neighborhood, make twenty five including Mr. Ridge’s children” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 540).

Her students seemed to be “very promising,” she said. Some of the students came from her former school at New Echota, and others were “formerly from High Tower,” near modern-day Cartersville.

“The parents were members of that Church & amidst all the storms of the political world retain their Christian characters uncontaminated by surrounding vices,” Sawyer said (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 540).

I have enough to engage all my energies in the work before me, but I need faith to give me confidence to go forward amidst surrounding difficulties. You can scarcely conceive the effect, when the present state of society has on characters that are not governed by religious principle; & the danger to which the youth are exposed – I sometimes shrink with horror from a view of what may be the situation & characters of many with whom I have intercourse. I fear for myself lest a knowledge of so much wickedness should make me yield the line standard of morals; & thus become carelefs of those committed to my care. Dear Sir, pray for me continually that my faith fail not.

Sawyer hoped to “be permitted to continue the school until July,” when she would “give a full account of (her) labors and succefs.”

A photograph of a handwritten note on aged paper. The text is written in cursive and reads "Running Waters, June 15, 1835." The paper shows signs of wear, including a small tear at the top left and some discoloration.

“I find much comfort with Mrs. Ridge – am kindly treated by all,” she said. The Ridges and Boudinots were her primary patrons, and they offered to continue to support the school should Sawyer decide to accompany them on their journey to the West. But she worried that the politics of her situation might eventually require her to temper the religious aspect of the children’s education, and that she “might not be sustained in the religious institution & discipline” that she thought necessary.

In fact, if she were no longer allowed to proselytize, the school really wasn’t worth having, she argued. The Christian message was central, “without which I consider the object of teaching ... insignificant to retain me among this people (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 540).

“You know all our efforts are in subordination to the grand object the salvation of the soul—If we fail of this, we loose all that is worth thought,” she said.

Sawyer’s letters are typically filled with much minutiae detailing the day-to-day life of the school. In this first letter, she asks that one dollar be paid “for Rollin Ridge,” son of John Ridge, “that Parley’s Magazine may be continued to him another year,” and she notes that the elder Ridge “brought me Tanners Universal Atlas a present from Mr. Boudinot,” upon

his return from Washington. “Mr. Ridge also brought me a bonnet, shoes &c,” she said (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 539).

The following week, on Thursday, Apr. 23, Sawyer wrote that school had begun and the “scholars all send their grateful and affectionate regards. They are in fine health & spirits.” Although Sawyer still had not fully recovered from her sickness and she would often “return exhausted to our chamber for rest,” the students would “go in every direction in the surrounding forest for blofsoms. Weak and depressed as I am, I cannot be insensible to the returning (beauties) of Spring. The goodness of God forces itself on me in the renewed vegetation around. All creatures who have life are happy but man & he alone is vile” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 541).

Her next letter to Rev. Greene was written from Running Waters on June 15. In it she included some writing specimens from her students. The main sample, from Mary Fields, contained “no correction except in grammar & spelling, & very little in these.” As to the other samples – including an eight-year-old John Rollin Ridge -- she urged Greene to “have patience” as he read them (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 542).

Fields (first cousin to the aforementioned student Rachel Smith, granddaughter of Cabin Smith) was much more than a student to Sawyer – she also helped as an interpreter and, in emergency situations, even filled in as a teacher at the school. Fields “has been above all price,” said Sawyer. “Besides sustaining a high place as a scholar she has taken care of two sisters and one brother & for a while a little brother out of school,” she said, as the Fields children all “boarded in a cabin near the school house & their parents brought provision” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 544).

The Fields sample is particularly instructive as to the day-to-day activities of the school (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 542):

Dear Sir,

I will write these few lines to you, though I never saw you.

I am going to school, to Mifs S. Sawyer now. I have learned great deal more now, than all the schools I ever went to. The first time I ever went to school was at Dr. Butler’s, the second time in Tennessee, the third at New Echota. This is the fourth school I am into now.

Yesterday morning one of the little school boys was hurt very badly. He was kicked by a mule on his forehead, so Mifs Sawyer had to sew his skin. The little boy was very patient, while Mifs S. was drefsing it. He is better now, he has studied some today.

All the children are learning first, in this school. Mifs S. is the best teacher, I ever went to school to. I have been to school to three teachers two be-sides Mifs S. Some of the children cannot talk English, nor understand. I have two sisters that is not talk English much, but they understand all we say. Mifs S. makes these children that cannot speak English stand up, & repeat some hymns after her, that learns them to speak plain. Once I could not speak a word of English. When I was about six or eight years old. I am now fourteen, and on my fifteenth year.

I interpret every night to the children, that cannot understand, about the bible which we read.

The court house at New Echota was very cool, but the white people took it away. There was another small house, in the town, & Mifs Sawyer kept her school in that house, at Mr. Ridges is very cool and pleasant, the trees are thick all around it. It has a smooth plank floor, & a large fire

place & five glafs windows, two large ones and three are shut with a slide. Two swallows have made a nest in the chimney. Every morning when we wake, the birds are singing sweet-ly around the school house.

Betsey Adair, Eleanor Boudinot, Rollin Ridge & myself are studying Geography, & Geometry. We have been studying Arithmetic. We read the History of the United States, in the after noon, & spell. We have been reviewing our lefsons, & we have not spell any this week. Next week we shall spell. Then it will be the last week the school will continue. Perhaps I shall never go to school any more. Father's family will go to Arkansaw this fall.

Mary Fields

Between June and July, as the Council at Running Waters approached, tensions flared between the Ross and Ridge camps and “three of the scholars were withdrawn in consequence of the political disturbance among the people,” Sawyer reported in a July 3 letter. “Amidst this one of (the students) was suddenly made very sick by a fever, which continued seven days,” Sawyer said (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 543).

Mr. and Mrs. Ridge were engaged with the Council & I felt the responsibility of giving medicine without medical advice, on the consent of her parents who were at too great distance to be consulted. I knew the fever was gaining ground every moment that calomel must be given to remove bile that had resisted other medicine. Mr. R. hesitated to give calomel without her father's consent, anticipating his feelings should the disease prove fatal. Said however use your own judgment I must go to the Council ground. Mrs. Ridge was with me & we watched the paroxysm of fever until noon, when the servant came with the medicine & I gave the calomel leaving the consequence with God. Nearly sunset her father arrived, while she was suffering under the operation of the medicine. When he entered the chamber & saw his daughter's suffering & my anxiety, he gave me the kindest approbation of all I had done, & assured us of a favorable result. This for a time gave me comfort. In the morning her father left for the Council, giving me the kindest assurance that all would be well, that he left her confidently to my management. The fever returned with long & severe paroxysms, & the dear creature would cry to me for relief, & seemed unwilling I should leave her bed for a moment.

The student Mary Fields took over Sawyer's teaching duties while she waited for the mother of the sick girl to arrive. “When I went to the school house & saw the good order & instruction there & felt that a Cherokee girl only fourteen was presiding I was relieved of half my burden,” said Sawyer (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 543).

Finally the mother arrived and Sawyer noted how “sweet” it was “to have her feel with me, all the sufferings of the dear afflicted one.” Sawyer called the child's parents “enlightened,” noting that they could read and write but that they were “strangers to the religion of the Bible.”

The sick girl's father was “opposed to mifsionaries,” Sawyer said, and she feared she might do something “to encrease the opposition or at least not recommend to them the religion I profefsed.”

But rather than chastise Sawyer, the parents “both exprefsed gratitude for what I had done in strong language,” Sawyer said.

Finally the sick girl recovered to the extent that she was “able to ride,” Sawyer said, and “she returned with her mother & remained there as the school was so near closing.

“Thus released from the sick chamber & my school diminished,” Sawyer said, “I returned to it & put forth all my remaining energies to

bring forward the pupils. The ... scholars have done better than I dared to hope when I received them.”

Sawyer then gave to Rev. Greene an example of “one of the most unpromising” students she’d had under her tutelage at the Running Waters school (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 543):

When I was able to walk ... after my sickness last winter I saw lying on a bench in the back yard a dirty boy I judged from the size of twelve years age. To my inquiries I received the answer he is one of the neighbors children who will attend school \_\_\_ My heart died within are these the materials thought I with which my remaining strength is to be employed? When I entered school this boy would come on the Sabbath & would linger round the school house & stay about with the black people from day to day. I still ... feared the weather was yet too cold, with his lazy habits, to secure a constant and prompt attendance. Determined when he did begin he should do something or nothing. At last I invited him in & told him the difficulties of learning to read \_\_\_ of the mental effort required\_\_\_ the habits of industry & cleanliness requisite to attendance of this school of the long course of mental effort before he could receive much (progress) in reading English. And last placed before him the advantages of being able to read \_\_\_ Especially the Bible. He looked serious but of course could not estimate untried difficulties. I gave him the letter and told him to remember their name and then he should receive more. In this way I proceeded and found him very attentive.

But “the cry soon came from the little English boys,” that this 12-year-old loved to curse. “On examination I found it common for him to use profane language,” said Sawyer. “I told him of its wickedness, & that he must quit school if he did not cease using such language immediately.”

The boy promised to cease using such four language and “the boys were to report if any more was heard,” she said.

But “Soon after he used it again & I thought in his circumstance he was a hopelefs character & then the school was so full, & so feeble I had better tell him to leave school.”

So Sawyer told the boy to leave, and he “rose to obey with a mixture of regrets, grief, & indignation on his countenance.”

Then Sawyer had second thoughts. “As I gave him the parting hand I thought of the love of Christ of his power, & told him I would try once more if he would.” Sawyer told him “where his present course would lead, & where a different course would end.” She wanted the boy to return home and to talk to his father to help him “make up his mind what course to take.”

Before he left for home, Sawyer asked the boy what he thought his decision might be.

“He replied he did not know, he would think,” said Sawyer.

So the next morning she was surprised to find the boy “seated among the boys, clean, with a happy countenance.”

But trouble soon arose again. “Soon after at play he called on God to damn the soul of a rabbit,” Sawyer reported. His fellow students “pitied him & were reluctant to tell” the teacher.

Upon closer examination, she discovered that the boy was “totally ignorant” of the meaning of the curse words he had been using. The curse

words “were the only English words he could speak & that he could not tell where he learned these, but knew they were English.”

When I told him of Heaven\_\_of hell\_\_of the soul\_\_ of its destiny in hell\_\_ of its capabilities\_\_of its worth estimated by the redemption of Christ\_\_ of the difference between him & the animal which he had called on the great God to curse, his countenance was solemn & interested beyond the power of language to communicate, and from that moment, so far as I have knowledge, ceased to take the name of God in vain.

Sawyer then took the boy under his wing and he was soon reading his lessons and could “tell most of the nouns in English & Cherokee, & many of the adjectives.

“He has been an industrious scholar never shrinking from any difficulties,” she said.

“What his future course will be it is impossible to decide in the present state of the Cherokees, but it is almost certain under proper instruction & good society he would be an ornament to any Nation,” said Sawyer (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 543).

This is one example \_\_ were it necessary I could tell you of thousands among this people, who might, under favorable circumstances, be raised from their recent degradation to all the enjoyment of intellectual pleasure\_\_ become useful members of society & by those moral principles which the Bible contains be made fit ... I wish I could sound it in the ears of all that it is not the Indian character but ... circumstances which so often make efforts for their improvement so fruitless.

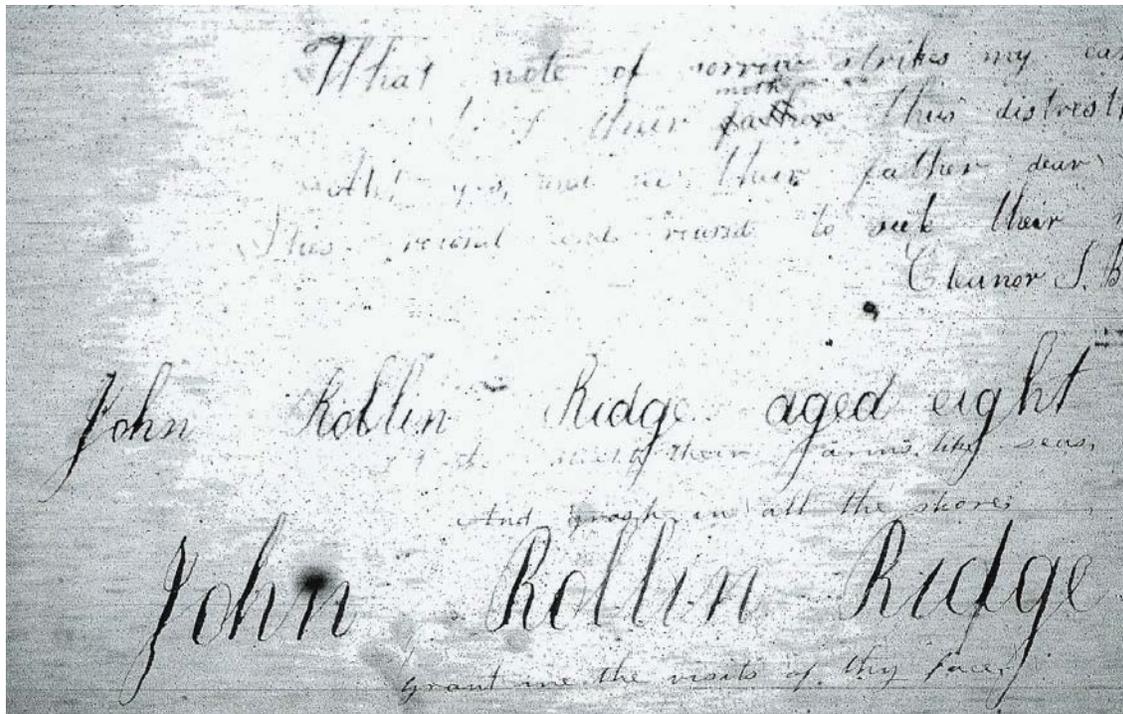
Examples such as this inspired Sawyer to labor “like the woman of Samaria to bring the heathen world to Christ” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 544).

Sawyer included in the summer letters examples of the handwriting lessons of her students, such as these:

*What note of sorrow strikes my ear  
Is it their mother thus distressed?  
Ah! yes and see their father dear  
like Flies round and round, to seek their nest.  
---Elizabeth N. Adair, aged nine years.*

*What note of sorrow strikes my ear?  
Is it their (Crossed out: father) mother thus distressed  
Ah! yes, and see their father dear  
This round and round to seek their nest  
---Eleanor S. Boudinot aged eight y.*

*Set others stretch their arms like seas.  
And gnash, all the shore;  
Grant me the visits of thy face  
And I desire no more.  
---John Rollin Ridge aged eight years*



Sawyer also noted to Rev. Greene that she had received “presents from Mr. Ridge” as follows (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 544):

Black silk 10 yard	\$11.25
D(itt)o stocking	1.75
D(itt)o Velvet trimming	1.00
Chince 8 yards	4.00
Fancy handkerchief	1.50
Morean 5 ½ yards	9.20
Silk; 8 lined	1.50
Board for myself six months	

In fact, although Sawyer said she did not “wish to be withdrawn from the patronage” of the Missionary Board, she pointed out she had been fending for herself for years, doing “all in my power to relieve you from the burden of expense and care of myself & labors.

“Mr. Ridge has relieved the Board of expense since I came here, except books. What he will do hereafter I wish to leave entirely to his feelings. He has so supplied me with clothing that I should need no additional expense of clothing...” (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 545).

Sawyer made mention numerous times of the isolation she felt among the natives, most of whom were not Christian. She pleaded with Rev. Greene and the missionaries in Massachusetts to answer her letters. “Please not to throw this letter by through hurry of business & forget to answer it,” she said.

She was even more pointed in her letter written Nov. 7, 1835 (ABCFM, Reel 741, Frame 545). “Have you forgotten me & my labors?” she said. “You may forget, for the mother’s tendernefs can forget its infant charge; but sweet the promise ‘yet will not I forget thee.’ I might fill my

sheet in expressing my feelings, yet no good would come from it, except a gratification of these feelings; & it would take your time to read it. I will therefore confine this letter to the object of my writing at this time.”

Sawyer was busily engaged in making post-Removal plans. She asked Greene for permission to go to New York “next spring or summer, as circumstances may decide.” On this matter she wished “for a direct positive answer.

“Will you give this, without the delay of consulting missionaries?” Sawyer said. “I am unconnected with them. Why should they sit in judgment on my plans of future labor?”

Sawyer explained to Rev. Greene that both “Mr. and Mrs. Ridge favour the plan” -- that she had “consulted those on whom I depend for home & employment.” The plan called for her to live with a friend in New York and remain there “until Mr. Ridge & Mr. Boudinot come or send for us to the West.” Ridge told her that merchants traveled from Arkansas to New York regularly with trade goods, and that she “could safely return with them whenever things were in readiness for me to open a school.”

I only wish to have things so arranged that I may be unobscured respecting the course to pursue should we be compelled to leave this place. An agent of government is now in Milledgeville to urge on the Legislature measures as should deprive the Cherokees of homes within the bounds of Georgia, while an other agent has recommended to the sister states to forbid Indian removal into their territories. Should the school be broken up here, it is contrary to my judgment to teach the Cherokees in any other place, until they are quietly located in Arkansas, or wherever they should find a resting place as a Nation. Mr. Ridge & Mr. Boudinot are engaged in the political struggle & cannot immediately be thus located. On them I depend for direction & patronage. Now what I propose is to leave the books &c under my care, with Mrs. Ridge, until Mr. Boudinot shall send his goods to Union then to have my things sent with his in that place to benefit them until I know my location.

With this plan, Sawyer argued, even if she were never to reach Arkansas with the Cherokees, “all will be ready for some other person.”

Sawyer said it would be prudent for her to prepare herself for “sudden changes.” She carried through with her plan and, following the end of the school year, wrote her last letter from Running Waters on July 2, 1836.

“You may think, Sir, that I make unnecessary provision for the future,” she said. “Had I not looked forward since the Cherokees have been in their unsettled state, I should probably have been unemployed.”

In spite of all her travails, “Our school is still prospered,” she reported.

### **Running Waters After the Removal**

Griffin Mathis of Wilkes County was the winner of the Ridge lot (23<sup>rd</sup> District, Third Section, Land Lot 67) in the Cherokee Land Lottery. The original lot was 160 acres, and included Ridge's house, which was described in the 1836 valuations as:

- Two stories high
- 51' by 19', built of hewn lumber
- "Both floors neatly laid."
- Upper level ceiled and "the whole neatly chinked and plastered."
- A single story 31 feet by 20 feet had been added at a later date.
- Three brick chimneys; six fireplaces; a "brick baker" attached.
- 24 "large glass windows."
- "Neat stones" laid around entire foundation.

According to the 1835 Cherokee Census, this was only part of Ridge's holdings, however. The Census said that Ridge had 350 acres in cultivation on two farms, with 17 houses on the properties. Ridge owned 21 slaves, and the farms produced 6,500 bushels of corn (3,000 of which he sold). He also owned a ferry operation in Alabama, at Turkey Town.

The valuations list five fields in cultivation, a wooded 10-acre lot, and 615 fruit trees (peach, apple, quince, cherry, and pear).

The valuations also list two smoke houses on the Ridge estate, a hot house, a chicken house, two corncribs, a kitchen in the rear of the main house, an outhouse, and a two-story stable, 60' x 18', made of rough logs, with a one story stable, 22' x 18', attached to one end.

At the council ground, Ridge owned two houses, 14' x 14', which were used as slave quarters. He also had a spring house, a smoke house, a chicken house, and several cabins at the council ground.

The census listed four Cherokee males under eight years old in the Ridge household, one male over 18, two females under 16, one female over 16, and one "white connected by marriage." Four could read English and one could read Cherokee.

John Rush came into possession of the Ridge property at Running Waters prior to 1840, and it has remained in the Rush family most of the time since then. Thad Rush said that John Rush came to what is now Floyd County from Oglethorpe County in 1833. John Rush's grandson, John Prebble Rush, wrote in his unpublished 19<sup>th</sup>-century memoir:

The first three years of my life were spent with my parents in the home of my Grandfather Rush, on the Calhoun road seven miles north of Rome. This place had been the home of the Indian Chief John Ridge prior to the Cherokee removal, 1835-7. My grandfather had occupied the Indian house when he first settled there, and my father (Charles) was born in that house.

According to Thad Rush, a descendant who currently lives in the house, the current structure was built by John Rush in the early 1840s. George Macgruder Battey describes Rush as “an early settler.”

“He built this house from hand-hewn timbers, some being hauled by an oxen team from land holdings across the Oostanaula River, at Everett Springs,” said Rush.

“Some people from the National Park Service came here and looked around and they looked up under the house, and they argued that this is where John Ridge's house was, and that they had some of their last big meetings here, with the Cherokee Nation. And I told them this wasn't John Ridge's house – that this was John Rush's house,” said Rush in a personal interview conducted on Feb. 2, 2008.

“This house was completed in about 1840,” said Rush. “We came here in about 1835. We lived in the Indian house until we got this house built around 1840.”

The John Prebble Rush memoir seems to bear out this story. Rush writes that, “Later, about 1842, the present building was erected, and in that house I spent my first three years.”

Thad Rush said in the 2008 interview that the original “log structure” of John Ridge remained on the property for some time. “There's a picture, I don't know where it is, but it was made some time in the late 1800s,” Rush said. “And you can dimly see a log structure in that opening there.”

A local book published in 1985 states the same thing: “In 1933 an original log cabin which was to the left of the house was moved to the rear of the house. This log cabin is where John Ridge and his relatives stayed when in the area, which was known as Ridge Valley ...” (Sesquicentennial, 1998, p. 30).

There is currently only one old log structure on the grounds. It is located “to the rear” of the Rush house, but it is a very modest building and bears absolutely no resemblance to the two-story showplace described in the 1836 valuations.

Dr. Georgina DeWeese, a dendrochronologist with the University of West Georgia in Carrollton, Georgia, visited the Rush House twice in 2008 to take samples from the logs in the house. The goal was to establish a definitive date of construction, as she had done with the John Ross

House in Rossville in 2007. This time, however, her results were inconclusive:

The Rush House support beam contains the years between 1704-1755. One of the attic pieces contains the years between 1722-1745. I do not have the outer rings of either sample, so I can't say when they were cut. All I can say is that it was sometime after 1755.



DeWeese said she wants to return to the Rush House and collect more samples so that a definitive date can be determined. She also wants to take a sample from the log structure in the back yard of the Rush House.

John Rush was one of the founders of Rush Chapel in 1838, “and he gave the land for the church,” said Thad Rush. The church still stands on Rush Chapel Road.

The Rush house played a minor role in the Civil War. “The Union troops scavenged everything,” said Thad. Brigadier-General T.E.G. Ransom wrote to Lieut. Col. W.T. Clark from the field on Oct. 13, 1864 (The War of the Rebellion, series T, Volume 39, p. 249):

I have sent the Seventy-eighth Ohio by Pope's Ferry Road to Rush's place on the Calhoun road, and Captain Tribble, with two companies of cavalry, to go to Pope's Ferry, and also to reconnoiter six to ten miles up the Calhoun road from Rush's. From this road to the Calhoun road the only road practicable for a column will be by the Pope's Ferry road; the others are neighborhood roads and out of repair. ... We are getting plenty of forage in the country. The command is supplied with rations and the supply train here in camp. We are ready for the march.

HEADQUARTERS SEVENTEENTH ARMY CORPS,  
*In the Field, Ga., October 13, 1864.*

Lieut. Col. W. T. CLARK,  
*Assistant Adjutant-General, Dept. and Army of the Tenn.:*

COLONEL: I hand you herewith a rough map\* of the country in this vicinity that I have made, in the absence of my engineer, from the information I obtained from negroes and citizens living in the neighborhood. I believe that it is substantially correct. In pursuance of instructions received from general commanding through Colonel Howard, aide-de-camp, I have sent the Seventy-eighth Ohio by the Pope's Ferry road to Rush's place, on the Calhoun road, and Captain Tribble, with two companies of cavalry, to go to Pope's Ferry, and also to reconnoiter six to ten miles up the Calhoun road from Rush's. From this road to the Calhoun road the only road practicable for a column will be by the Pope's Ferry road; the others are neighborhood roads and out of repair. I have directed the road to ——— to be placed in good repair. I have sent a pioneer corps to repair the bridge on this road across Thomas' Creek. Captain Kossak, engineer, accompanied the cavalry force and will report this evening all practicable routes to Adairsville and other points on railroad. From here to Adairsville it is twelve miles, and twenty-two to Calhoun. The route mentioned by General Howard up Dick's Creek is reported in bad order. I have directed a small force, under Captain Tripp, to go up that road to its intersection with the Calhoun road. We are getting plenty of forage in the country. The command is supplied with rations and the supply train here in camp. We are ready for the march. The men are in comfortable camp enjoying the rest.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

T. E. G. RANSOM,  
*Brigadier-General.*

Apparently John Rush served as a major in the Confederate army, as well. “Major John Rush” was chosen president of a committee charged with defending Rome against a Yankee attack on May 16, 1863 (Battey, 1994, p. 169):

A large number of the citizens of Floyd and the surrounding counties met in this city on Thursday last to consult together on the best means of defending our city and the approached to the State road, against raiding parties of the public enemy ... The committee reported stirring resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

We would appeal to every boy and man who has the pluck to defend his home, to join some military company. We know of but three excuses which any man could offer for not joining: utter physical inability, innate, incurable cowardice and old age.

John Rush lived in the Rush house until about 1870, John Prebble Rush noted in his memoirs:

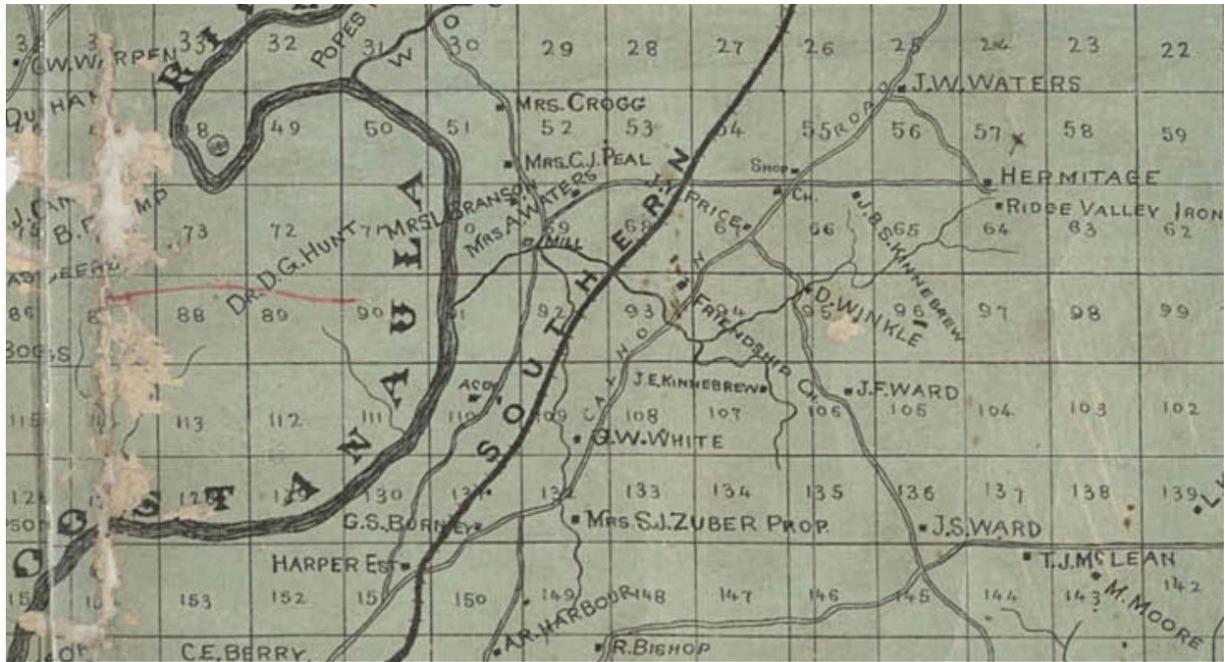
Then, my grandparents being old, their children all married, decided to live with their eldest daughter, Aunt Julia Hickey, three miles north of the old home. The home place was then rented out, and my Father lived a year in the house with his older brother Hosea. The year we lived with my uncle Father built a home for himself on a lot of land joining my grandfather's place on the east. To this we moved when I was four years old. We lived there three years.

“John Rush is buried in the family cemetery on the hill,” Thad said.

Rush family records provided by Thad Rush state that C.W. Rush owned the home from 1880 until 1889. Then the home fell out of Rush family ownership, first to John R. Freeman (1889-90), then to Clower H. Freeman (1890-92).

“The Rushes lost this in the 1890s, in the late 80s or 90s,” said Thad Rush. “An Adairsville family owned it for a while.”

The ownership then went to Livie Jones Price (1892-1896), then to the Landrum family.



“The Landrums lived in Adairsville,” said Thad. “One of the Landrums and Jack Davis got into an argument about a dog on Ward Mountain ridge” in July, 1909. “Jack Davis got Mr. Landrum down, and then Mr. Landrum stabbed and killed him. So he got into trouble with the lawyers and the courts, and the family lost this place as they tried to keep him out of jail.”

In Jan., 1910 Landrum was found guilty of manslaughter in the killing of Davis, but that decision was overturned in Jan. 1912. The Rush House had been owned by N. M. Landrum (1896-1897), then by M.C. Landrum (1897-1903), and finally by Ella C. Landrum (1903-1910), but it was then acquired by J.C. Watters in 1910, which would ultimately bring the home back into Rush family ownership.

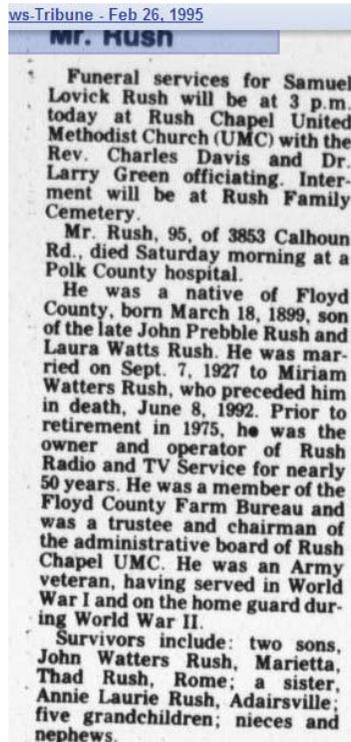
“My grandfather Watters bought it in 1910,” said Thad Rush. “John P. Rush's son Lovick, my father, married a Watters, and that's how it got back in the family.”

John Prebble Rush had led a busy life, marrying Laura Watts and starting his own newspaper, the *Floyd County Times*, in March, 1917, and serving as postmaster, first at Ridge Valley, and then at the White House

in Washington, D.C. in the 1920s, according to Thad.

His son, Samuel Lovick Rush – Thad Rush’s father -- married Miriam Watters, daughter of J.C. Watters, on Sept. 27, 1927. She inherited the Rush House from her father in 1970.

Lovick was born Mar. 18, 1899 and lived to be 95 years old, working for most of that time as owner and operator of Rush Radio and TV Service. He also served in both world wars.



### **The Running Waters Property Today**

Thad Rush inherited the Rush House from his father and operates the Crestview Angus cattle farm on the property with his son, Joe, as cattle manager.

Rush describes the farm on the farm website, [www.crestviewangus.com](http://www.crestviewangus.com):

S. Thad Rush bought his first Angus cow in 1954. Since then, Crestview has worked to improve herd genetics through high expectations for cow performance as well as using AI bulls and outstanding clean-up bulls.

This is a family operation and now Thad's son Joe works as the cattle manager. He is AI certified and has been diligently studying Angus bloodlines to ensure the best matings for the Crestview cows and heifers.

Our cattle are performers. We've been in business for over 50 years. We believe in doing things right.

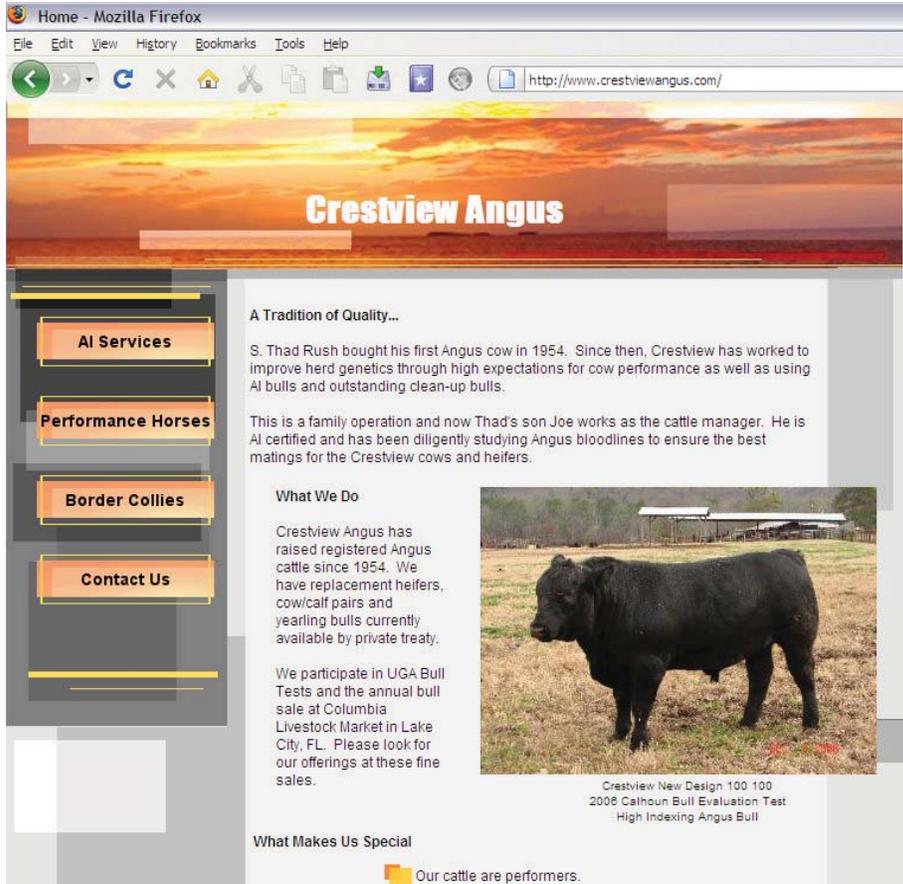
Crestview Angus has raised registered Angus cattle since 1954. We have replacement heifers, cow/calf pairs and yearling bulls currently available by private treaty.

We participate in UGA Bull Tests and the annual bull sale at Columbia Livestock Market in Lake City, FL. Please look for our offerings at these fine sales.

Leigh Rush grew up riding and showing horses. She has been involved in numerous events and associations, including: AQHA, NRHA, APHA, USEF, Varsity Equestrian, and 4-H.

Leigh has taught lessons for beginners to advanced riders. Currently, Crestview Performance Horses is training for reining and working cow horse competitions.

The Rush family also breeds border collies at Crestview.



“Right now I have 360 acres,” said Thad, which means that Rush’s farm is just a little larger than Ridge’s was in the 1830s.

“We do cattle farming, chicken farming. There was 160 acres in the original Land Lottery.”

He said he has always been aware of the historic nature of the property.

“We found some buttons, but we never found a pot of gold or anything like that,” Rush said.

He said most of the house is original. There have been some renovations and modifications, however:

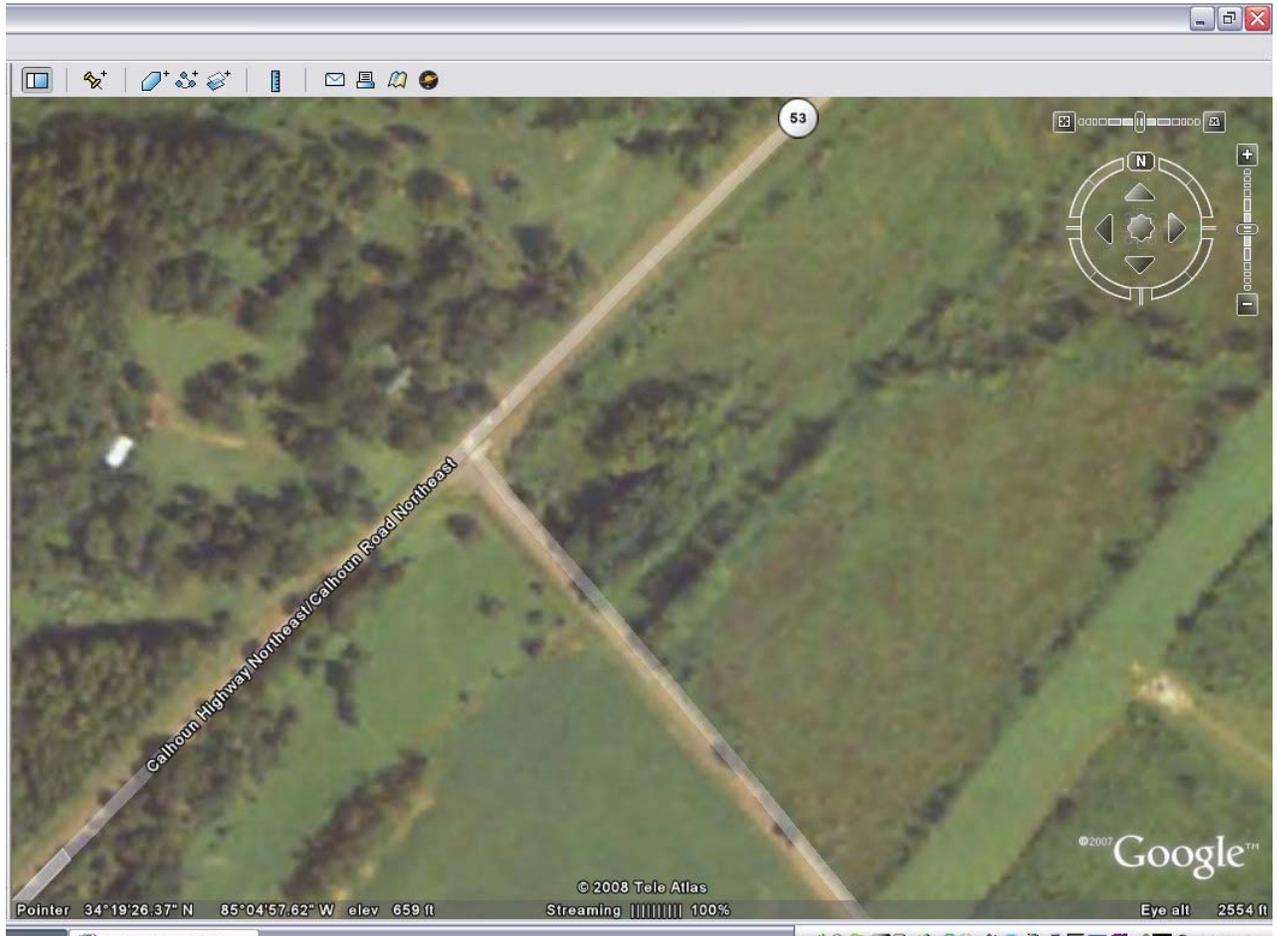
- In the main front portion of the house, to the southeast, “the original flooring has been flipped upside-down and sanded,” Rush said.

- The dining room, which is located in a rear addition, used to be called “the dark room,” he said, because it had no windows. “The windows were all added sometime in the late 1940s,” said Rush. “This room was just solid.”

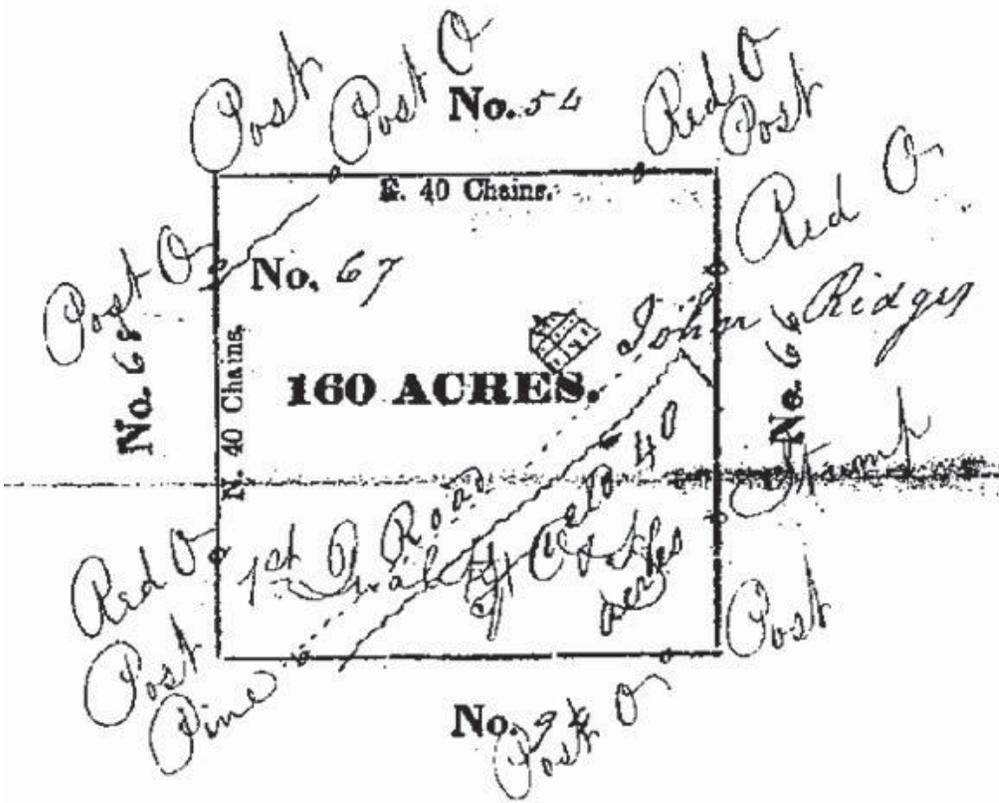
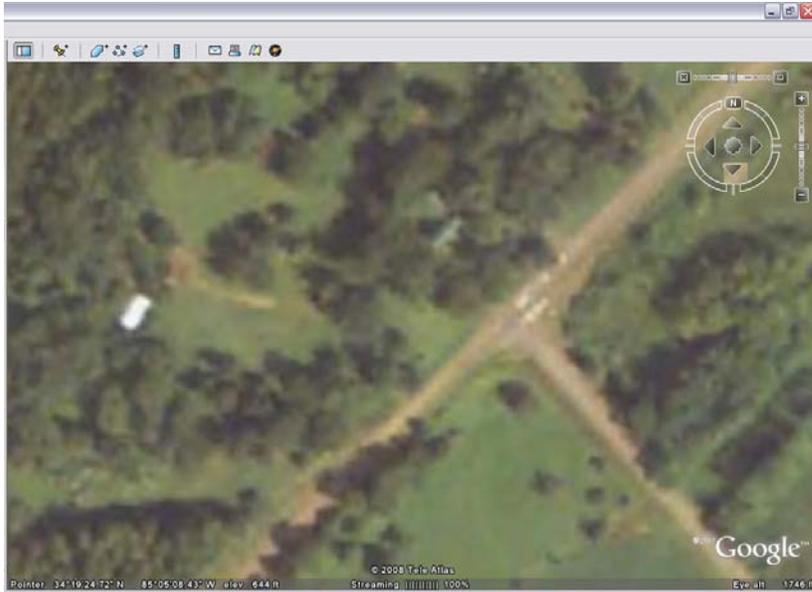
- In 1952 or 1953, the large fireplace was “closed in and they put in gas logs,” said Rush.

- The kitchen in the rear section of the house is “almost all original,” said Rush.

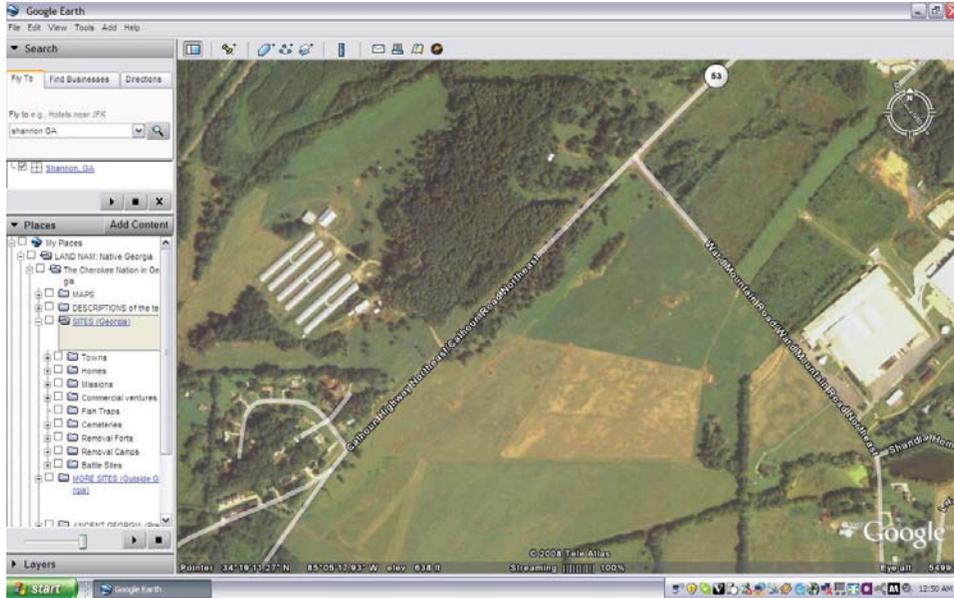
■ What had been a back porch off of the kitchen, facing the west, “used to go all the way to the back of the house,” Rush said. It has since been transformed into an extension of the house. A bathroom is now located on the west side where a chimney used to be.



In this aerial photo from Google Earth, the house is visible just northwest of the T-intersection of Calhoun Highway and Ward Mountain Road. The structure to the west of the main house, with the shiny roof, is the tenant house. Cows are kept both in the field behind the house and also in the field across the road, to the south.



RUNNING WATERS CCSP – BISHOP -- 2008



In this aerial photo, the spring in the lower field is visible, in the southeast corner.



Both pictures, above and below, taken in Ridge Valley, on Ward Mountain Road, just south of the Rush House, facing west.





The spring on Ward Mountain Road.



The intersection of Calhoun Road and Old Calhoun Road, just northeast of the Rush House, near Shannon. The Old Calhoun Road is congruent with the original route to New Echota.



A picture of the Rush House taken from Calhoun Road.



The front of the Rush House. The house faces southeast, fronting on Calhoun Road. Because it is less confusing, I will refer to this side of the house from here forward as the “east” side, and the other sides of the home will be adjusted accordingly.



The Rush House is at 3853 Calhoun Road. It features nine windows in the front. The original John Ridge house was described as having 24 “large glass windows.” The main front portion of the Rush House – which matches the described dimensions of the Ridge House – features 25 windows today.





The front doorway of the Rush House, with detail.







A detail shot of the lower windows on the front, southeastern corner of the Rush House (below).





A view of the estate of Thad Rush, from the front porch, looking to the southeast, toward the Ward Mountain Road / Calhoun Road intersection.



A view to the left (north), from the front porch of the Rush House, looking at Calhoun Road.



Above is the northeastern corner of the Rush House, in the front. We are now moving around the house in a counter-clockwise direction.



Above is the brick chimney on the north side of the Rush House. The John Ridge House was described in valuations as having three brick chimneys. The front portion of the Rush House has two – but Thad Rush said that one of the original brick chimneys on the south side of the home was removed during renovations. An old photograph in *Rome & Floyd County, An Illustrated History* shows where the original third chimney was located. An additional window has since been placed there. See p. 77.



The foundation of the Rush House, on the north side. The John Ridge house was reported to have had “neat stones” laid around the foundation.



Doors to the crawlspace on the north side of the Rush House.



The north side of the Rush House, with what is likely the original structure to the left and a likely later addition to the right (perhaps this is the portion of the house that was built by the Rush family ca. 1841?). The addition contains the dining room, which Thad Rush said was formerly referred to as “the dark room” because it had no windows.



In the photo above, the door on the left goes to the kitchen / dining room area, while one enters a den area from the door on the right.



Continuing around the house counter-clockwise, one comes to the rear (west side) of the home. This includes the rear addition and a rear porch that was later enclosed. On the left is what now functions as a den area.



Continuing counter-clockwise around the house, these two pictures show the rear, southern side of the house. These pictures both show a rear porch that was later enclosed.





Above and below, this may be the original rear addition noted in the John Ridge valuations thusly: “A single story 31 feet by 20 feet had been added at a later date.” The third chimney was originally located on this addition.





The south side of what is likely the original part of the house.



Another shot of the south side of the Rush House.



The southeastern corner of the Rush House.



ABOVE AND BELOW: The Rush House in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and the same house today. Notice the chimney in the rear portion of the home that has been removed. Also notice that the original foundation appears to be stone. A stone foundation and third chimney would match the original John Ridge house valuations from the 1830s.





The front entrance / foyer of the Rush House, as seen from the interior, facing East.



The stairwell in the foyer of the Rush House. This is what one sees to the right when one first enters the house through the front door.



To the immediate left of the stairwell, there is an open room, and one can look straight across into an area that is an enclosed porch.



The closet under the front stairwell.



A side view of the front stairwell.



This is the living room, located to the immediate north of the front entrance / foyer.



Detail shots of the fireplace in the living room.





The northeast corner of the living room.



The southwest corner of the living room.





To the immediate west of the living room is the dining room, located in the one-story addition.





Detail shots of the dining room, which according to Thad Rush was once windowless, and called “the dark room.”





The kitchen, located to the immediate west of the dining room.



The den, located to the immediate west of the kitchen, at the rear of the house.



The south side of the Rush House, including an area that was once a back porch but has since been enclosed. This large, open room is located just south of the kitchen and dining room areas.



The front foyer.

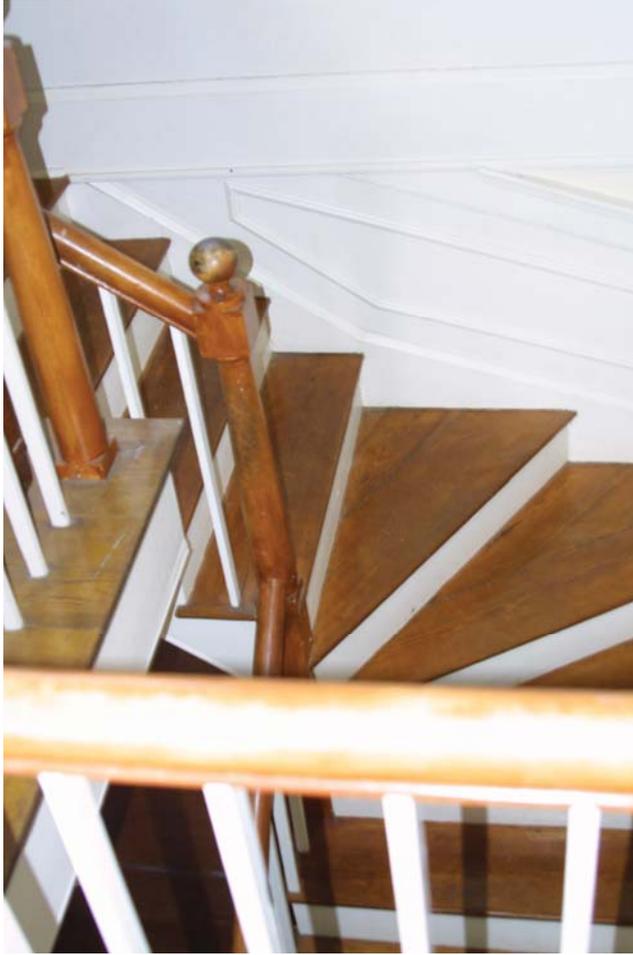


A bathroom addition to the south side of the house.





The stairs to the second floor.



A view of the stairs from the second floor of the Rush House.



A window at the top of the stairs, facing East to the intersection of Ward Mountain Road and Calhoun Road.



A small bathroom on the second floor.

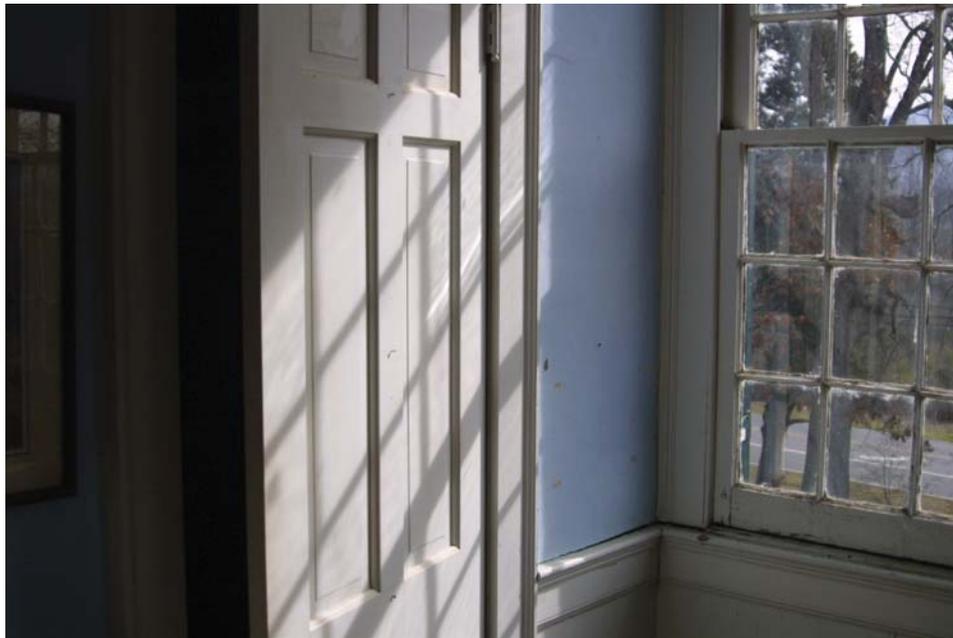


A bedroom on the second floor, on the south end of the house.



Detail shots of the bedroom on the top floor, south side.







This is the bedroom on the second floor, north side of the house.







There is an attic space over the one-story addition, to the west of the north bedroom, where there's an access door.







A small shed in the rear of the Rush House.



A log structure to the rear of the Rush House. This is possibly the log structure that was relocated from a former position closer to Calhoun Road.





Detail shots of the log structure.





More detail shots of the log structure.





The rear of the Rush House.



A view of the rear of the Rush House, from the bottom of the hill behind it.



Land to the south of the Rush House.



An old road bed to the southwest of the Rush House.





An old house, likely a tenant house, to the south of the Rush House.





A tenant house built sometime in the early 1900s or late 1800s.



The Old Calhoun Road, to the south of the Rush House.



More views from the south of the Rush House.





### **Final Comments & Recommendations For Further Study**

Running Waters should assume its rightful place alongside Red Clay and New Echota as a significant historic site – one of the three major places where Cherokee councils were held during the waning days of the Cherokee Nation in the Southeast.

Running Waters was the place where John Ridge lived and worked. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that a portion of the Rush House is in fact the same house in which Ridge lived. The descriptions of the John Ridge house from the valuations match the existing front portion of the Rush home to a remarkable degree. The original John Ridge house was described as having 24 “large glass windows” – a rarity in those days. The main front portion of the Rush House – which matches the described dimensions of the Ridge House – features 25 windows today. Furthermore, the Ridge house was originally described as having three chimneys, and this matches a picture of the Rush home taken in the mid-20th century. Perhaps most interestingly, there was a single-story addition noted in the valuations that had been added at a later date, and that addition was 20 feet less wide than the main structure. There is an identical addition on the Rush house today.

As Carey Tilley, former director of the Chieftains Museum in Rome once said, “Why would they tear down the showplace of the Cherokee Nation, a house that was only a few years old, just to build another house that was just like it? It just doesn’t make any sense.” The 1832 Land Lottery map certainly shows the Ridge house sitting at the same spot now taken by the Rush House. At the very least the possibilities should be further explored: are the two houses in fact identical? Did Ridge’s original residence serve as the “core” for later expansions? At the very least, surely materials from the Ridge residence would have been used in the construction of the Rush House. Further study is needed from someone with expertise in historical architecture and scientific dating methods. The log building to the rear of the Rush House should be examined, as well, as it may date back to the Cherokee era.

The site of the school should also be located, if possible. It was described by John Rollin Ridge as being about 200 yards from the main house. Perhaps Ground Penetrating Radar could be used to help specify a more precise location for Sophia Sawyer’s mission school.

At least three councils were held on this property (in Nov. 1834, May 1835, and July 1835). And these were no ordinary council sessions –

these were the council sessions that led directly to the 1838 Removal. Ground Penetrating Radar and other archaeological investigations are recommended to determine the precise site of the council ground, and to determine if there are any remains.

If the landowner is amenable, the site certainly should be interpreted as part of the expanded Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. Thad Rush seems to be open to this, and has said that he would support the location of either an historic marker or wayside exhibit somewhere on the property, so long as it does not interfere with his ongoing farming operations. The Trail of Tears Association or Chieftains Museum – with the consultation and cooperation of Thad Rush and his family -- should apply for funding from the National Park Service Cooperative Cost Share program to place a wayside exhibit at a roadside location that does not interfere with the Crestview farming operation and does not invade the privacy of the Rush family.

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**APPENDIX A:**

**Memorial of  
A Council Held at Running Waters  
January 19, 1835**

(23<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Document No. 91)

23d CONGRESS,  
2d Session.

[ Doc. No. 91. ]

HO. OF REPS.

INDIANS—CHEROKEE.

MEMORIAL

OF

A COUNCIL HELD AT RUNNING WATERS,

*In the Cherokee nation, in Georgia, November 28, 1834, on behalf of those members of the Cherokee tribe of Indians who are desirous of removing west of the Mississippi.*

JANUARY 19, 1835.

Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :*

The memorial of the undersigned, in behalf of the people of the Cherokee nation who are in favor of emigration without the limits of the States and Territories, there to enjoy the blessings of liberty as a free and independent nation, to be in amity with the United States, and to dwell under their protection, respectfully sheweth to your honorable bodies: That, from time immemorial, the Cherokee nation have composed a sovereign and independent State, and in this character have been repeatedly recognised, and still stand recognised, by the United States, in the various treaties subsisting between their nation and the United States.

That, long before the approach of the white men of Europe to the Western Continent, the Cherokee nation were the occupants and owners of the territory on which they now reside, deriving their title from the Great Spirit, who is the common father of the human family, and to whom the earth belongs.

That on this territory they, and their ancestors, have ever been sole and exclusive masters, until recently, and were governed of right by no other laws, usages, and customs, but such as they themselves thought proper to ordain and appoint.

That upon this territory the United States, by various treaties, entered into from time to time, promised to protect the Cherokee people, and restrain the white people from intruding upon their lands. In addition to this, the United States encouraged the promotion of the arts of civilization, and the education of the Cherokees in the knowledge of letters and christianity; in all of which so rapid was their improvement that, in a

[Gales & Seaton print.]

short time, they organized a republican form of government, based upon a regular code of laws and a constitution.

In consequence of a wonderful discovery by a great Indian genius, a Cherokee alphabet has been formed, in which portions of scripture and church hymns have been translated, and now, in their own language, the worship of God is solemnly conducted by the Cherokees themselves.

Instead of roving savages, they have become herdsmen and agriculturists, and now depend upon the productions of their farms for subsistence.

In the full tide of this successful improvement, all their hopes of happiness have been blasted, in consequence of the extension, by force, of the jurisdiction of the States in whose chartered limits the Cherokee country is situated. It is not our purpose now, which would be useless, to discuss the illegality of these compulsive measures of the States.

In the midst of the painful feelings which the destruction of our Government creates in our bosoms, we also perceive, in looking over the map of the United States, that the same melancholy fate has attended the other aboriginal tribes. On this side of the Mississippi scarcely a solitary council fire blazes under the heavens. It is now a matter beyond dispute, that the existence of Indian nations, as States, within the United States, has been contrary to that system, because it has refused to fulfil its faith pledged to us in the treaties.

It is well known that our applications to the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court, to interpose the United States authority in our behalf, have all proved fruitless, as well as that the decisions of the Supreme Court in behalf of individuals claiming the right of protection under the Cherokee laws and treaties, have been disregarded by the State of Georgia. Writs of error, obtained in behalf of two of our citizens, have been treated with contempt, and they have suffered an ignominious death on the gallows. One is festering, still fresh in his grave, who has been executed in the centre of our country, a melancholy proof of the fallen condition of our nation. There is some consolation, in the midst of these calamities, to reflect that we have exerted all the means we had in our power to apply for relief; and that the voice of eloquence and humanity has been heard in our behalf in the halls of Congress.

But, now, our earliest friends have told us that it is in vain to hope for the restoration of our rights.

In view of all these circumstances, we have been compelled to the hard case of choosing an alternative, either of remaining here in a state of vassalage to the States, or that of emigrating to the Western country, and uniting ourselves with the destiny of those who have heretofore gone under previous *incidental* treaties.

In approaching this crisis of our national history, we feel pangs of heart which all nations must feel who look for the last time on the homes of childhood. Language fails to express the sensibilities of the mind when it turns from the country in which we first drew breath to look forward to expend the remainder of our days in exile in a distant land.

Did we act in such emergencies as these for our private comfort, we might choose to die here, and bury our bones in the land of our fathers, where the white people might desecrate our tombs with the ploughshare of the farmer. But when we think of our children, and the duties we owe to posterity, we can never choose to be slaves, but will, at all ha-

zards, seek freedom in the far regions of the West. Although the scars of oppression can never be obliterated from our hearts while we live, yet our children, whose minds are tender, may enjoy happiness in another land. In the decision which we have made on this subject, we have taken the unhappy condition of our people, as individuals, into consideration. It is not to be disguised that there are in existence two parties among our people, whose policies are the antipodes of each other. Since the suppression of our Government, no elections have been held among us, as our constitution requires, which is herewith submitted. (A.)

The people are then necessarily thrown into their original elements. The party who hold the councils at Red Clay have kept themselves in perpetual office by a resolution enacted by themselves. They are willing to take an individual standing in the States, and become citizens. Heretofore, as you will perceive, in looking at the treaty of 1819, the leaders of this party have already received valuable reservations in fee simple.

They hold their councils in the chartered limits of Tennessee. The party which we represent are not in favor of taking reservations of land, and abandoning the political existence of the nation, which they desire, with the assistance of the United States, to transplant to the West.

When we reflect upon the character of our people in general, their ignorance, weakness, and total incapacity to contend in competition with the white man for wealth, science, and fame; and when we reflect on the fearful odds against which we have to run our career, laws expressly made to discredit us as men, with no legal rights to the soil, and all the unrelenting prejudices against our language and color in full force, we must believe that the scheme of *amalgamation* with our oppressors is too horrid for a serious contemplation. At the commencement of our difficulties with the States, what was the chief end of our hopes and cares? Was it not more for the right of self-government, in which is comprehended elements suitable for the prosperity and happiness of man? The inanimate earth beneath our feet was of minor consideration.

Without law in the States, we are not more favored than the poor African, who toils out his life under the lashes of his master. He is, in fact, in a better condition, if any better can be said of a slave's life, than are, for the interest of his master protects him from personal injury. The reverse is the fact in regard to us, for it is the interest of the whites to see us dead, that the vacancy thus made upon the right of occupancy of the land may be filled by themselves. Our ill-fated people already sink before the progress of the white people's settlements. If they are seen in their villages and cross-roads, their stores and taverns, they are objects which mantle the cheeks of the honest man with shame, and modesty blushes at their degradation. If the energies of virtue are thus depressed in the kindling of the wood, what will they be in the heated furnace?

It is needless to enlarge in this view of the unhappy condition of our continuance here among the whites. The same consequences will overwhelm all nations who may be subjugated in the same terms of denationalization, without being permitted the privilege of participating in the political rights of the conqueror.

Your memorialists, therefore, can look to no other people than that of

the people of the United States, through their Representatives in Congress, to preserve them from destruction. In this application we approach that august tribunal, which, in conjunction with the President, has the power to speak for our preservation, and it is accomplished. We humbly conceive that the system heretofore pursued in removing our people to the West is defective. It certainly requires an improvement; but by all means the political condition of our nation in the West should be preserved by legal enactments, which, under all circumstances, should secure the right of self-government to ourselves, so far as Congress can secure it to us under the constitution of the United States. The territory now in the possession of the Cherokees, West, is considered to be incompetent for the whole nation, East and West, when united, as will ultimately be the case. An additional extent of habitable land should be given and secured to the Cherokee nation, according to the promises of the United States; the whole of it should be granted in fee simple.

The spirit which dictated the Choctaw treaty of the 27th September, 1830, containing the following stipulation, seems to be the right one, and we desire that it might be extended to our people. "The United States, under a grant specially to be made by the President of the United States, shall cause to be conveyed to the Choctaw nation a tract of country west of the Mississippi river, in fee simple, to them and their descendants, to endure to them while they shall exist as a nation and live on it, beginning," &c. "That the Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw nation of red people the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw nation of red people, and their descendants, and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State; but the United States shall forever secure said Choctaw nation from and against all laws except such as, from time to time, may be enacted in their own national councils, not inconsistent with the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and except such as may and have been enacted by Congress under the constitution as required to exercise a legislation over Indian affairs."

And "the United States are obliged to protect the Choctaws from domestic strife and foreign enemies, on the same principles that the citizens of the United States are protected," &c. To secure the liberties of the Cherokee people to their satisfaction, it would seem that the duties of the Government, in regard to their protection, should be defined by law, and at least to allow them the same liberty they enjoyed under the treaties, before their rights were invaded by the States.

The military should have no power to arrest a Cherokee in their own limits; and no coercive measures should be adopted by the United States until proper demands are made for any violations which may be committed against the treaties and laws of the United States by any Indian citizen.

We have, with great pleasure, read two bills reported by the Hon. Horace Everett, in the House of Representatives, which were passed the last session, entitled "A bill to provide for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs," and a bill "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and preserve peace on the frontiers," as

an indication of the intention of the Government to protect the Indians; and, as it purports to be an approximation of a better system, we hail the beginning of congressional legislation on Indian affairs as the harbinger of great good to the aboriginal nations.

It will perhaps be readily admitted that, of all the Indian tribes, the Cherokee has made the greatest progress in regard to intellectual, moral, and religious improvement; but, by contesting for the right of self-government too long in their present location, they have not, by treaty, secured the advantages which others have, both in the quantity of land and funded privileges for the purposes of education and the support of their Government. Scarcely would a Cherokee be found willing to emigrate to the West if his rights of soil and liberty were protected, but it is a mistaken idea that a majority would prefer to remain here at the hazard of State subjection.

We have taken pains to ascertain the sentiments of our people on the subject, and it is almost universally agreed that a great majority would remove if they were convinced that they could not be restored to their rights of self-government.

If, then, it is the opinion of Congress that the tide of white population and State jurisdiction, which is pressing upon us, cannot be restrained, it would be the greatest act of humanity to devise immediate measures to remove our people upon as liberal terms as the General Government can afford. We conceive that it would not be asking too much of the Government to grant the Cherokees in the West, when with those who are already there, and who shall hereafter remove from the majority, a perpetual annuity, in amount equal to the Creeks, which shall be under the direction of the Cherokee nation. In addition to this, to do justice to Indians, besides for the payment of their improvements, they should be allowed a liberal sum of money to each individual, from the child up to old age, on their arrival West, in consideration of the right of soil they are compelled to abandon, as well as the hardships they have to endure. Such a provision as that would equalize the compensation to the Indians. Of the poorer sort of our people, the value of their huts and small improvements would be so trifling that the greatest body, under the present system, must arrive in a beggarly condition in the West. The poor Indian is as much entitled to the proportion of the price of his land as the *half-breed*, who has obtained a valuable reservation in former treaties, and will do it again if the humanity of the United States is not thus interposed. The system of reservations works most unequally and mischievously upon our illiterate people. For, a more striking proof of this we cannot have than the spectacle which the poor Creeks exhibit to the eye of benevolence. The Indians are comparatively few in number, and, in the transportation through the distance to their new homes, their comfort and health should be consulted. Tents ought to be furnished, and baggage wagons, in the proportion of one to twenty or twenty-five souls, instead of fifty, should be allowed: even this is too small an allowance to take their necessary baggage. Under the present system only \$18 are allowed to defray the expenses of each individual to the Western country, over a distance of eight hundred miles, as they will be obliged to travel. We must necessarily take with us females in a delicate condition, infants, invalids, children, and decre-

pit old persons. Will not public sentiment of the United States justify a liberal appropriation in this respect? Our habits are not like the roving wild Indian, who can bear the inclemencies of the weather, but we must go out of comfortable houses and warm beds to undergo the hardships of a long journey, and, on our arrival there, must live in camp until we can erect our buildings.

We believe that the President of the United States is disposed to be as liberal as possible, but he cannot transcend the instructions of the law. All of this, and more of the details which are connected with this system, will readily occur to the consideration of Congress. We leave it to its magnanimity and humanity.

Your memorialists would further show to your honorable bodies, that upwards of one thousand of our countrymen emigrated to the West last season, and, while the greatest portion were ascending the Arkansas river, were providentially visited by that awful pestilence which has inflicted death upon the people of some of the portions of the United States. This deadly cholera fell as a bolt upon some of the lives of these emigrants and their slaves, which were of great value to their owners. In consequence of the hardships of the Indians, connected with the circumstances of the emigrants, it would afford such emigrants as have lost their slaves a great relief to receive compensation from Congress. On the melancholy fate of our countrymen, Lieutenant Joseph W. Harris, of the United States army, has reported to the War Department, to which we refer Congress for information.

Your memorialists feel that their nation has reached a crisis, which it must pass either to safety or destruction. Under the mysterious providence of God, our destiny is in your hands. From a distant shore your ancestors approached our fathers, and stood by them until their descendants have become a great nation, and we have become weak. Long before this crisis which has happened to us, your nation promised us protection, and our nation placed itself under the shadow of your wings. Upon this location that protection has been withdrawn, and we are now as suppliants at your feet. We plead for ourselves and our children. We beg for a country and a secure political existence upon it. An extraordinary occasion has induced us to make this call upon your magnanimity. Will the Congress reciprocate and carry out the sentiments of the President of the United States, in his message of the 8th December, 1829? We beg leave to adopt his language in closing this memorial.

“As a means of effecting this end, I suggest for your consideration the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designed for its use. There they may be secured in a government of their own choice, subject to no control from the United States, other than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and attest the humanity and the justice of this Government.”

Major Ridge	his x mark.	C. W. Hicks	
John Fields, sen.	x	Joseph A. Futeman	
Charles Moore	x	A. McCoy	
Bear Meat	x	Ezekiel McLaughlin	
Watit	x	Jacob West	
Te-sab-ta-skee	x	T. J. Pack	
William Silk	x	William Hicks	
The Hammer	x	Luther Moore	his x mark.
Noisy Water	x	John Wayne	x
Smoke Smith	x	Reader Moore	x
John Fields, jr.	x	John Smith	
E-te-cun-a-hee	x	Jacob Nicholson	
Bear up Tree	x	John West	
Sun-an-hee	x	W. A. Davis	
Te-cal-e-skee, or		Elijah Moore	
Otter Lifter	x	John Cochran	x
The Gourd	x	Archilla Smith	x
James Fields	x	Walter Ridge	x
Scon-e-ta-kee	x	Nathan Wolf	x
Ground Mole	x	Moses Harris	x
David Scou-c-tah-hee	x	Alexander Brown	x
Vincent Gould	x	Charles H. Vann	
Rain Crow	x	Ezekiel West	
Te-can-ee; yeeskee	x	Geo. H. West	
John Ridge		Justice Fields	x
Elias Boudinot		Jonas Woodcock	x
S. W. Bell		Timberlake	x
S. Watit		Young Pigs	x
John L. McCoy			

RUNNING WATERS, CHEROKEE NATION, GEO., November 28, 1834.

WASHINGTON CITY, January, 1835.

We certify that the foregoing signatures were made in council in our presence. Those who could not write their names in English made their marks, and twenty of the signers wrote with their own hands. The original signatures are submitted with the memorial to the Senate.

JOHN RIDGE,  
ARCHILLA SMITH, his x mark,  
ELIAS BOUDINOT,  
*Cherokee Delegates.*

WASHINGTON CITY, January 14, 1835.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives :

The resolutions herewith submitted were adopted at a council held on the 27th and 28th November, 1834, composed of such Cherokees as are opposed to submitting to the laws of the States, and who consider a removal as the only alternative to save their people from ruin and de-

gradation. By a vote of the council, it was ordered that the resolutions be submitted to Congress as part of the memorial.

JOHN RIDGE,  
ARCHILLA SMITH, his × mark,  
ELIAS BOUDINOT,  
*Cherokee Delegates.*

*Resolutions passed in council of those Chiefs and leading men who are opposed to State jurisdiction, and in favor of emigration, on the 27th November, 1834.*

Whereas a crisis of the utmost importance in the affairs of the Cherokee people has arrived, requiring from every individual the most serious reflection, and the expression of views as to the present condition and future prospects of the nation: And whereas a portion of the Cherokees have entertained opinions which have been represented as hostile to the true interests and happiness of the Cherokee people, merely because they have not agreed with the chiefs and leading men; and as those opinions have not heretofore been properly made known, therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is our decided opinion, founded upon the melancholy experience of the Cherokees within the last two years, and upon facts which history has furnished us in regard to other Indian nations, that our people cannot exist amidst a white population, subject to laws which they have no hand in making, and which they do not understand. That the suppression of the Cherokee Government, which connected this people in a distinct community, will not only check their progress in improvement and advancement in knowledge, but, by means of numerous influences and temptations which this new state of things has created, will completely destroy every thing like civilization among them, and ultimately reduce them to poverty, misery, and wretchedness.

*Resolved*, That, considering the progress of State authorities in this country, the distribution and settlement of the lands, the organization of counties, the erection of county seats and court-houses, and other indications of a determined course on the part of the surrounding States; and considering, on the other hand, the repeated refusal of the President and Congress of the United States to interfere in our behalf, we have come to the conclusion that this nation cannot be reinstated in its present location, and that the question left to us, and every Cherokee, is, whether it is more desirable to remain here with all the embarrassments with which we must be surrounded, or seek a country where *we may enjoy* our own laws, and live under our own vine and fig tree.

*Resolved*, That, in expressing the opinion that this nation cannot be reinstated, we do it from a thorough conviction of its truth. That we never will encourage our confiding people with hopes that cannot be realized, and with expectations that will assuredly be disappointed. That however unwelcome and painful the truth may be to them, and however unkindly it may be received from us, we cannot, as *patriots* and well-wishers of the Indian race, shrink from doing our duty in expressing our decided convictions. That we scorn the charge of selfishness and a want of patriotic feelings alleged against us by some of our countrymen, while

we can appeal to our-consciences and the Searcher of all hearts for the rectitude of our motives and intentions.

*Resolved*, That although *we love the land* of our fathers, and should leave the places of our nativity with as much regret as any of our citizens, we consider the lot of the *exile* immeasurably more to be preferred than a submission to the laws of the States, and thus becoming witnesses of the ruin and degradation of the Cherokee people.

*Resolved*, That we are firmly of the opinion that a large majority of the Cherokee people would prefer a removal, if the true state of their condition was properly made known to them. We believe that if they were told that they had nothing to expect from further efforts to regain their rights as a *distinct community*, and that the only alternative left to them is either to remain amidst a white population, subject to the white man's laws, or to remove to another country where *they may* enjoy peace and happiness, they would unhesitatingly prefer the latter.

*Resolved*, That we were desirous to leave to our chiefs and leading men to seek a country for their people; but, as they have thought proper not to do any thing towards the ultimate removal of the nation, we know of none to which the Cherokees can go as an asylum, but that possessed by our brethren west of the Mississippi; that we are willing to unite with them under a proper guaranty from the United States that the lands shall be secured to us, and that we shall be governed by our own laws and regulations.

*Resolved*, That we consider the policy pursued by the Red Clay council, in continuing a useless struggle from year to year, as destructive to the present peace and future happiness of the Cherokees, because it is evident to every observer that, while the struggle is going on, their difficulties will be accumulating, until they are ruined in their property and character, and the only remedy that will then be applied in their case will be *submission to the laws of the States*, by taking reservations of land and amalgamating with the whites.

*Resolved*, That we consider the fate of our poor brethren, the Creeks, to be a sufficient warning to all those who may finally subject the Cherokees to the laws of the States by giving them reservations.

*Resolved*, That we never will consent to have our own rights and the rights of our posterity sold "prospectively" to the laws of the States by our chiefs, in any compact or "compromise" into which they may choose to enter with the Government. That we cannot be satisfied with any thing less than a release from State legislation; but that, while we do not intend to have our political interests compromised, we shall not oppose those who prefer to remain subject to State laws.

*Resolved*, That we were disposed to contend for what we considered to be our rights as long as there was any hope of relief *to the nation*; but that we never can consent to the waste of our public moneys in instituting suits at law, which will result only to individual advantage.

*Resolved*, That it is with great surprise and mortification we have noticed the idea attempted to be conveyed to the minds of our people, that the *nation* can be relieved by the courts of Georgia. That we regard appealing to those courts by the nation for redress as an entire departure from the true policy maintained by the Cherokees in their struggle for national existence.

And whereas a delegation appointed by the Red Clay council, and

clothed with discretionary powers, will shortly proceed to Washington, upon business which may affect the rights and interests of every Cherokee; and whereas we have every reason to believe that the views of those who wish to remove will not be represented in that delegation; and whereas, from letters addressed to the Executive of the United States by a former deputation, from which the following is extracted: "Will you agree to enter into an arrangement on the basis of the Cherokees becoming prospectively citizens of the United States, provided the nation will cede to the United States a portion of its territory for the use of Georgia? and will you agree to have the laws and treaties executed and enforced, for the effectual protection of the nation, on the remainder of its territory, for a definite period, with the understanding that after that period the Cherokees are to be subjected to the laws of the States within whose limits they may be, and to take an individual standing as citizens of the United States, and to dispose of our surplus lands in such a manner as may be agreed upon?" from which it is apprehended that attempts will be made to enter into an arrangement with the State of Georgia and the General Government, upon the principle of relinquishing a portion of the lands, and prospectively submitting the Cherokees to the laws of the States: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to appoint a delegation who will represent the views and wishes of those who do not intend to remain under the laws of the States, but will prefer to remove to a country where the Cherokees can be preserved as a distinct community; that it is important that this delegation should proceed to Washington as soon as possible, to lay before the President and before Congress, by a memorial, the views expressed in the foregoing resolutions, and to ask for such rights and privileges as are calculated to render those Cherokees who are disposed to remove, contented and happy in their new homes.

*Resolved*, That, in appointing a delegation to represent us, we do it not from a spirit of opposition, not wishing to interfere with any efforts to relieve the Cherokees, as a distinct community, from the operation of State laws: but when that original policy has been departed from, and propositions have been made by a deputation to sell a portion of the lands, and to submit prospectively to State jurisdiction, it behooves us, without injuring any of our citizens, to watch over our own rights, and the rights of all those who wish to perpetuate the Cherokees as a distinct community.

*Resolved*, That the foregoing resolutions be signed by the chairman and secretary of this council.

ELIAS BOUDINOT, *Chairman*.

RUNNING WATERS, November 28, 1834.

A. McCoy, *Secretary*.

A.

*Constitution of the Cherokee Nation, formed by a convention of Delegates from the several districts, at New Echota, July, 1827.*

We, the representatives of the people of the Cherokee nation, in convention assembled, in order to establish justice, ensure tranquillity, pro-

note our common welfare, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of liberty; acknowledging, with humility and gratitude, the goodness of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, in offering us an opportunity so favorable to the design, and imploring his aid and direction in its accomplishment, do ordain and establish this constitution for the government of the Cherokee nation.

ARTICLE I.

SEC. 1. The boundaries of this nation, embracing the lands solemnly guaranteed and reserved forever to the Cherokee nation by the treaties concluded with the United States, are as follows, and shall forever hereafter remain unalterably the same, to wit: Beginning on the north bank of Tennessee river, at the upper part of the Chickasaw old fields; thence, along the main channel of said river, including all the islands therein, to the mouth of the Hiwassee river; thence, up the main channel of said river, including islands, to the first hill which closes in on said river about two miles above Hiwassee old town; thence, along the ridge which divides the waters of the Hiwassee and Little Tellico, to the Tennessee river at Tallassee; thence, along the main channel, including islands, to the junction of the Cowee and Nanteyalee; thence, along the ridge in the fork of said river, to the top of the blue ridge; thence, along the blue ridge, to the Unicoy turnpike road; thence, by a straight line, to the main source of the Chestatee; thence, along its main channel, including islands, to the Chattahoochee; and thence, down the same, to the Creek boundary at Buzzard Roost; thence, along the boundary line which separates this and the Creek nation, to a point on the Coosa river opposite the mouth of Wills creek; thence, down along the south bank of the same, to a point opposite to Fort Strother; thence, up the river, to the mouth of Wills creek; thence, up along the east bank of said creek, to the west branch thereof, and up the same to its source; and thence, along the ridge which separates the Tombeckbee and Tennessee waters, to a point on the top of said ridge; thence due north to Camp Coffee, on Tennessee river, which is opposite the Chickasaw island; thence to the place of beginning.

SEC. 2. The sovereignty and jurisdiction of this Government shall extend over the country within the boundaries above described, and the lands therein are, and shall remain, the common property of the nation; but the improvements made thereon, and in the possession of the citizens of the nation, are the exclusive and indefeasible property of the citizens respectively who made, or may rightfully be in possession of them: *Provided*, That the citizens of the nation, possessing exclusive and indefeasible right to their respective improvements, as expressed in this article, shall possess no right nor power to dispose of their improvements in any manner whatever to the United States, individual States, nor to individual citizens thereof; and that, whenever any such citizen or citizens shall remove with their effects out of the limits of this nation, and become citizens of any other Government, all their rights and privileges as citizens of this nation shall cease: *Provided, nevertheless*, That the Legislature shall have power to readmit, by law, to all the rights of citizenship, any such person or persons who may at any time desire to

return to the nation, on their memorializing the general council for such readmission. Moreover, the legislature shall have power to adopt such laws and regulations as its wisdom may deem expedient and proper, to prevent the citizens from monopolizing improvements with the view of speculation.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. The power of this Government shall be divided into three distinct departments—the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial.

SEC. 2. No person or persons, belonging to one of these departments, shall exercise any of the powers properly belonging to either of the others, except in the cases hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. The legislative power shall be vested in two distinct branches—a Committee, and a Council; each to have a negative on the other, and both to be styled the General Council of the Cherokee Nation, and the style of their acts and laws shall be,

“Resolved by the Committee and Council in General Council convened.”

SEC. 2. The Cherokee nation, as laid off into eight districts, shall so remain.

SEC. 3. The committee shall consist of two members from each district, and the council shall consist of three members from each district, to be chosen by the qualified electors of their respective districts, for two years; and the elections to be held in every district on the first Monday in August, for the year 1828, and every succeeding two years thereafter; and the general council shall be held once a year, to be convened on the second Monday of October in each year, at New Echota.

SEC. 4. No person shall be eligible to a seat in general council, but a free Cherokee male citizen, who shall have attained to the age of twenty-five years. The descendants of Cherokee men by all free women, except the African race, whose parents may have been living together as man and wife, according to the customs and laws of this nation, shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of this nation, as well as the posterity of Cherokee women by all free men. No person who is of negro or mulatto parentage, either by the father or mother side, shall be eligible to hold any office of profit, honor, or trust under this Government.

SEC. 5. The electors and members of the general council shall, in all cases except those of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at election, and at the general council, and in going to, and returning from, the same.

SEC. 6. In all elections by the people, the electors shall vote  *viva voce*. Electors for members to the general council for 1828 shall be held at the places of holding the several courts, and at the other two precincts in each district which are designated by the law under which the members of this convention were elected; and the district judges shall superintend the elections within the precincts of their respective court-houses,

and the marshals and sheriffs shall superintend within the precincts which may be assigned them by the circuit judges of their respective districts, together with one other person, who shall be appointed by the circuit judges for each precinct within their respective districts; and the circuit judges shall also appoint a clerk to each precinct. The superintendents and clerks shall, on the Wednesday morning succeeding the election, assemble at their respective court-houses, and proceed to examine and ascertain the true state of the polls, and shall issue to each member, duly elected, a certificate; and also make an official return of the state of the polls of election to the principal chief, and it shall be the duty of the sheriffs to deliver the same to the Executive: *Provided, nevertheless*, The general council shall have power, after the election of 1828, to regulate, by law, the precincts and superintendents and clerks of elections in the several districts.

SEC. 7. All free male citizens, (excepting negroes and descendants of white and Indian men by negro women who may have been set free,) who shall have attained to the age of eighteen years, shall be equally entitled to vote at all public elections.

SEC. 8. Each house of the general council shall judge of the qualifications and returns of its own members.

SEC. 9. Each house of the general council may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish a member for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause.

SEC. 10. Each house of the general council, when assembled, shall choose its own officers; a majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalty, as each house may prescribe.

SEC. 11. The members of the committee shall each receive from the public treasury a compensation for their services, which shall be *two dollars and fifty cents* per day during their attendance at the general council; and the members of the council shall each receive *two dollars* per day for their services during their attendance at the general council: *Provided*, That the same may be increased or diminished by law; but no alteration shall take effect during the period of service of the members of the general council, by whom such alteration shall have been made.

SEC. 12. The general council shall regulate by law, by whom, and in what manner, writs of election shall be issued to fill the vacancies which may happen in either branch thereof.

SEC. 13. Each member of the general council, before he takes his seat, shall take the following oath, or affirmation, to wit: “I, A B, do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I have not obtained my election by bribery, threats, or any undue and unlawful means used by myself, or others, by my desire or approbation, for that purpose; that I consider myself constitutionally qualified as a member of and that, on all questions and measures which may come before me, I will so give my vote, and so conduct myself, as may, in my judgment, appear most conducive to the interest and prosperity of this nation; and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and to the utmost of my ability and power observe, conform to, support, and defend the constitution thereof.”

- SEC. 14. No person who may be convicted of felony before any court of this nation, shall be eligible to any office or appointment of honor, profit, or trust, within this nation.
- SEC. 15. The general council shall have power to make all laws and regulations which they shall deem necessary and proper for the good of the nation, which shall not be contrary to this constitution.
- SEC. 16. It shall be the duty of the general council to pass such laws as may be necessary and proper, to decide differences by arbitrators to be appointed by the parties who may choose that summary mode of adjustment.
- SEC. 17. No power of suspending the laws of this nation shall be exercised, unless by the legislature or its authority.
- SEC. 18. No retrospective law, nor any law impairing the obligations of contracts, shall be passed.
- SEC. 19. The legislature shall have power to make laws for laying and collecting taxes, for the purpose of raising a revenue.
- SEC. 20. All bills making appropriations shall originate in the committee, but the council may propose amendments, or reject the same.
- SEC. 21. All other bills may originate in either house, subject to the concurrence or rejection of the other.
- SEC. 22. All acknowledged treaties shall be the supreme law of the land.
- SEC. 23. The general council shall have the sole power of deciding on the construction of all treaty stipulations.
- SEC. 24. The council shall have the sole power of impeaching.
- SEC. 25. All impeachments shall be tried by the committee: when sitting for that purpose, the members shall be upon oath or affirmation; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.
- SEC. 26. The principal chief, assistant principal chief, and all civil officers under this nation, shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment, in such cases, shall not extend further than removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, under this nation. The party, whether convicted or acquitted, shall, nevertheless, be liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

ARTICLE IV.

- SEC. 1. The supreme executive power of this nation shall be vested in a principal chief, who shall be chosen by the general council, and shall hold his office four years, to be elected as follows: The general council, by a joint vote, shall, at their second annual session after the rising of this convention, and at every fourth annual session thereafter, on the second day after the houses shall be organized, and competent to proceed to business, elect a principal chief.
- SEC. 2. No person except a natural born citizen shall be eligible to the office of principal chief; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years.
- SEC. 3. There shall also be chosen at the same time, by the general council, in the same manner, for four years, an assistant principal chief.

- SEC. 4. In case of the removal of the principal chief from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the assistant principal chief, until the inability be removed, or the vacancy filled by the general council.
- SEC. 5. The general council may by law provide for the ease of removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the principal and assistant principal chiefs, declaring what officer shall then act as principal chief until the disability be removed, or a principal chief shall be elected.
- SEC. 6. The principal chief and assistant principal chief shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which they shall have been elected; and they shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the Cherokee nation, or any other Government.
- SEC. 7. Before the principal chief enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of principal chief of the Cherokee nation, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the Cherokee nation."
- SEC. 8. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the general council at the seat of Government.
- SEC. 9. He shall, from time to time, give to the general council information of the state of the Government, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he may think expedient.
- SEC. 10. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.
- SEC. 11. It shall be his duty to visit the different districts at least once in two years, to inform himself of the general condition of the country.
- SEC. 12. The assistant principal chief shall, by virtue of his office, aid and advise the principal chief in the administration of the Government at all times during his continuance in office.
- SEC. 13. Vacancies that may happen in offices the appointment of which is vested in the general council, shall be filled by the principal chief during the recess of the general council, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of the next session.
- SEC. 14. Every bill which shall have passed both houses of the general council, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the principal chief of the Cherokee nation. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journals, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. If any bill shall not be returned by the principal chief within five days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the general council, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall be a law, unless sent back within three days after their next meeting.
- SEC. 15. Members of the general council, and all officers, executive and judicial, shall be bound by oath to support the constitution of this nation, and to perform the duties of their respective offices with fidelity.
- SEC. 16. In case of disagreement between the two Houses with re-

spect to the time of adjournment, the principal chief shall have power to adjourn the general council to such a time as he thinks proper, provided it be not to a period beyond the next constitutional meeting of the same.

Sec. 17. The principal chief shall, during the sitting of the general council, attend at the seat of Government.

Sec. 18. There shall be a council, to consist of three men, to be appointed by the joint vote of both houses, to advise the principal chief in the executive part of the Government, whom the principal chief shall have full power, at his discretion, to assemble; and he, together with the assistant principal chief, and the counsellors, or a majority of them, may, from time to time, hold and keep a council for ordering and directing the affairs of the nation according to law.

Sec. 19. The members of the council shall be chosen for the term of one year.

Sec. 20. The resolutions and advice of the council shall be recorded in a register, and signed by the members agreeing thereto, which may be called for by either house of the general council; and any councillor may enter his dissent to the resolution of the majority.

Sec. 21. The treasurer of the Cherokee nation shall be chosen by the joint vote of both houses of the general council, for the term of two years.

Sec. 22. The treasurer shall, before entering on the duties of his office, give bond to the nation, with sureties, to the satisfaction of the legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust.

Sec. 23. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but by warrant from the principal chief, and in consequence of appropriations made by law.

Sec. 24. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to receive all public moneys, and to make a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys, at the annual session of the general council.

ARTICLE V.

Sec. 1. The judicial powers shall be vested in a supreme court, and such circuit and inferior courts as the general council may, from time to time, ordain and establish.

Sec. 2. The supreme court shall consist of three judges, any two of whom shall be a quorum.

Sec. 3. The judges of each shall hold their commissions four years, but any of them may be removed from office on the address of two-thirds of each house of the general council to the principal chief, for that purpose.

Sec. 4. The judges of the supreme court and circuit courts shall, at stated times, receive a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office; but they shall receive no fees or perquisites of office, nor hold any other office of profit or trust under this nation or any other Power.

Sec. 5. No person shall be appointed a judge of any of the courts before he shall have attained to the age of thirty years, nor shall any person continue to execute the duties of any of the said offices after he shall have attained to the age of seventy years.

Sec. 6. The judges of the supreme and circuit courts shall be appointed by a joint vote of both houses of the general council.

Sec. 7. There shall be appointed in each district, under the legislative authority, as many justices of the peace as it may be deemed the public good requires, whose powers, duties, and duration in office, shall be clearly designated.

Sec. 8. The judges of the supreme court and circuit courts shall have complete criminal jurisdiction in such cases, and in such manner, as may be pointed out by law.

Sec. 9. Each court shall choose its own clerks, for the term of four years; but such clerks shall not be continued in office unless their qualifications shall be adjudged and approved of by the judges of the supreme court; and they shall be removable for breach of good behavior at any time, by the judges of their respective courts.

Sec. 10. No judge shall sit on trial of any cause where the parties shall be connected with him by affinity or consanguinity, except by consent of the parties. In case all the judges of the supreme court shall be interested in the event of any cause, or related to all or either of the parties, the legislature may provide by law for the selection of three men, of good character and knowledge, for the determination thereof, who shall be specially commissioned by the principal chief for the case.

Sec. 11. All writs and other process shall run, in the name of the Cherokee nation, and bear test, and be signed by the respective clerks.

Sec. 12. Indictments shall conclude, "against the peace and dignity of the Cherokee nation."

Sec. 13. The supreme court shall hold its session annually at the seat of Government, to be convened on the second Monday of October in each year.

Sec. 14. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall have the right of being heard, of demanding the nature and cause of the accusation against him, of meeting the witnesses face to face, of having compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and, in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage; nor shall he be compelled to give evidence against himself.

Sec. 15. The people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable seizures and searches; and no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or things, shall issue without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without good cause, supported by oath or affirmation. All prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient securities, unless for capital offences, where the proof is evident, or presumption great.

ARTICLE VI.

Sec. 1. Whereas the ministers of the gospel are, by their profession, dedicated to the service of God, and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duty of their function, therefore, no minister of the gospel, or public preacher, of any religious persuasion, whilst he continues in the exercise of his pastoral functions, shall be eligible to the office of principal chief, or a seat in either house of the general council.

Sec. 2. No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this nation.

SEC. 3. The free exercise of religious worship, and serving God, without distinction, shall forever be allowed within this nation: *Provided*, That this liberty of conscience shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this nation.

SEC. 4. Whenever the general council shall determine the expediency of appointing delegates or other public agents, for the purpose of transacting business with the Government of the United States, the principal chief shall have power to recommend, and, by the advice and consent of the committee, shall appoint and commission such delegates or public agents accordingly; and, on all matters of interest touching the rights of the citizens of this nation, which may require the attention of the United States Government, the principal chief shall keep up a friendly correspondence with that Government, through the medium of its proper officers.

SEC. 5. All commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the Cherokee nation, and be sealed with the seal of the nation, and be signed by the principal chief.

The principal chief shall make use of his private seal until a national seal shall be provided.

SEC. 6. A sheriff shall be elected in each district, by the qualified electors thereof, who shall hold his office for the term of two years, unless sooner removed. Should a vacancy occur subsequent to an election, it shall be filled by the principal chief, as in other cases, and the person so appointed shall continue in office until the next general election, when such vacancy shall be filled by the qualified electors, and the sheriff then elected shall continue in office for two years.

SEC. 7. There shall be a marshal appointed by a joint vote of both houses of the general council for the term of four years, whose compensation and duties shall be regulated by law, and whose jurisdiction shall extend over the Cherokee nation.

SEC. 8. No person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall any person's property be taken or applied to public use without his consent: *Provided*, That nothing in this clause shall be so construed as to impair the right and power of the general council to lay and collect taxes. All courts shall be open, and every person, for an injury done him in his property, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law.

SEC. 9. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

SEC. 10. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this nation.

SEC. 11. The appointment of all officers, not otherwise directed by this constitution, shall be vested in the Legislature.

SEC. 12. All laws in force in this nation at the passing of this constitution shall so continue until altered or repealed by the Legislature, except where they are temporary, in which case they shall expire at the times respectively limited for their duration, if not continued by act of the Legislature.

SEC. 13. The general council may, at any time, propose such amendments to this constitution as two-thirds of each house shall deem expedient; and the principal chief shall issue a proclamation, directing all the civil officers of the several districts to promulgate the same as extensively as possible, within their respective districts, at least nine months previous to the next general election; and if, at the first session of the general council after such general election, two-thirds of each house shall, by yeas and nays, ratify such proposed amendments, they shall be valid to all intents and purposes as parts of this constitution: *Provided*, That such proposed amendments shall be read on three several days in each house, as well when the same are proposed as when they are finally ratified.

Done in convention, at New Echota, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven. In testimony whereof, we have, each of us, hereto subscribed our names.

JOHN ROSS, <i>Pres. of Con.</i>	James Daniel,
John Baldrige, his x mark.	John Duncan,
<i>Delegate of Chickamauga dist.</i>	<i>Del. of Hickory Log dist.</i>
George Lowrey,	Joseph Vann,
John Brown,	Thomas Pettit, his x mark
Edward Gunter,	John Beamer, his x mark
<i>Del. of Chatooga dist.</i>	<i>Del. of Etowah dist.</i>
John Martin,	Ooclenota, his x mark
Joseph Vann,	Wm. Boling, his x mark
Kelchulee, his x mark	<i>Del. of Taquoe dist.</i>
<i>Del. of Coosawatee dist.</i>	John Timson,
Lewis Ross,	Situwakee, his x mark
Thomas Foreman,	Richard Walker, his x mark
Hair Conrad, his x mark	<i>Del. of Aquohee dist.</i>
<i>Del. of Amohee dist.</i>	A. McCoy, <i>Sec. to Con.</i>

**APPENDIX B:**

**The Running Waters Memorial  
Presented to Congress,  
as Recorded in Gales & Seaton's Register  
Jan. 19, 1835**

citizens against Spain, and the opinion of Judge White; one of those commissioners. He then proceeded to show that, according to the laws of nations, Mr. Meade, having domiciliated himself in Spain, could claim no remedy from this Government for the defalcation of Spain. But it had been said that, by treaty, we had given Spain a pretext for refusing to liquidate this claim; that, because, by the treaty securing the cession of Florida, we had assumed the payment of \$5,000,000 of Spanish claims, and paid out every dollar of the same, on authenticated claims, we were bound to pay this claim also. Mr. H. could not subscribe to this doctrine. He protested against the principle of making this Government furnish an indemnity for claims which she could not herself recover from the aggressing nation. She did her best to obtain justice for her citizens, and this was all that could reasonably be demanded of her. The proper evidence to substantiate this claim had not been produced to the commissioners, and they decided (no doubt correctly) against it.

After quoting the opinion of a former Secretary of State, Mr. H. said that, in seeking this claim from the Spanish Government, Mr. Meade had said, in a letter to the King, that he was enthusiastic in the cause, for the support of which his supplies were furnished; that he had embarked heart and hand in the cause of Spain and Wellington against France. And what was the result? After the eagles of France were driven from the soil of Spain, those very troops, the veterans of Wellington, were sent over here to war with us. But he thanked God they met with a different reception. They knew not the American character; and dearly did those very men, sustained by the supplies of Mr. Meade, pay the price of their temerity. And now, fursouth, Mr. M. comes forward and asks us to pay for the flour he furnished to Wellington's army—for feeding the enemies of the United States. Mr. H. said, in the language of the Secretary, just quoted, he thought this claim, of all others, should be the last to be countenanced on that floor. He concluded by moving to strike out the enacting clause of the bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND said, some six or seven years ago, this claim was before the House. He then examined it, and was fully convinced that it was founded in justice, and advocated it accordingly. From further examination, he still retained the same opinion, and would again support it. He remembered also that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. POLK] had opposed the bill on the former occasion. Mr. S. said he would briefly remark, in relation to one of the arguments of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. HAUDIN] against the American citizenship of Mr. Meade, that this point, during the whole discussion, had never been questioned. He was the American consul at Cadiz, and both Spain and the United States had, on all occasions, conceded the fact that he was an American citizen. But (Mr. S. said) he advocated the bill on other ground. It was not a bill to direct the payment of the claim. It did not even refer it to the adjudication of the Supreme Court. No: it was to be placed in the hands of your own officers for investigation. It was to be sent to the Attorney General and two auditors to be designated by the President. He asked if there was a man on that floor who doubted that Mr. Meade had a just claim, without reference to its amount? He did not believe there was. It had not, indeed, heretofore been denied. The Government, Mr. S. contended, was solemnly bound to permit this examination. He explained the reason why the original vouchers were not produced to the commissioners, when they were investigating these claims. They were not supposed, at first, to be essential, and when they were found to be so, it was too late to procure them from Spain in time for the investigation, though every

exertion was made to do so. And because the necessary evidence could not be procured in a specific time, did it become the dignity and honor of that House to now plead the statute of limitation against an honest claim? Mr. S. said the present Secretary of State (Mr. Forsyth) was our minister to Spain at the time the facts in question transpired, and was well acquainted with all the circumstances involved. That gentleman, while a member of the Senate, had introduced a bill for the allowance of Mr. Meade's claim. He would present this fact against all the learned argument that might be advanced on the subject. He asked if gentlemen were afraid to have this claim examined by impartial men of their own choice? After some further energetic remarks, in the course of which he adverted to the sufferings of Mr. Meade in a Spanish felon's prison, in which he contracted a disease which finally bore him from this world to another, Mr. S. reiterated his solemn belief that this was a just and honest claim. He did not pretend to determine what should be its precise amount, but appealed to the House to suffer that point to be examined. Let us, said he, go into it with clean hands and a pure heart, and give to the widow and the orphan their just due.

Mr. ARCHER next took the floor in favor of the bill, and after addressing the House some fifteen minutes, on his motion the committee rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again; when

The House adjourned.

MONDAY, JANUARY 19.

CHEROKEE MEMORIAL.

Mr. E. EVERETT presented the memorial of a council held at Running Waters, in the Cherokee nation, State of Georgia, November 28, 1835, and accompanied it with the following remarks:

Mr. Speaker: I hold in my hand, and have been requested to present to the House, a paper, purporting to be the memorial of chiefs and head-men of the Cherokee tribe of Indians, assembled at Running Waters, in that part of the Cherokee country which lies in the State of Georgia, towards the close of the month of November. This council was organized, on behalf of that portion of the Cherokee tribe of Indians who are unwilling, on any terms, to submit to the jurisdiction of the States in which they live, and are desirous of removing, under the protection and by the aid of the United States, to the country already in possession of that portion of their tribe which has crossed the Mississippi.

The original signatures belonging to this memorial are to be found in the original, which is to be presented in the other branch of the Legislature. An authenticated transcript of them is attached to the duplicate of the memorial, which I have now the honor to submit to the House. They are fifty-seven in number, twenty of which are certified to have been written by those to whom the signatures belong. The other thirty-seven are made in the usual manner of persons unable to write. Of how large a portion of the whole tribe the council at Running Waters may represent the opinions, I am not informed.

The memorial, I am satisfactorily assured, is the production of John Ridge, a distinguished member of the Cherokee tribe, and one of the delegates now present in this city from the council at Running Waters. It is at his request, and that of his associates, Elias Boudinot and Archille Smith, that I now present this memorial to the House. It is accompanied by a series of resolutions, adopted at the same council, expressing, in a more condensed form, the opinions and feelings of that portion of the Cherokee nation who were represented in the council, and on whose behalf these papers are now sub-

JAN. 19, 1835.]

Fortification Bill.

[H. OF R.

mitted to the House. These documents are too long to be conveniently read *in extenso*, and, for the sake of economizing the time of the House, I beg leave briefly to state their purport:

They set forth, in strong language, the right of their people to the soil on which they live, and their sense of the wrong done them in the measures taken to dispossess them. And in these views, sir, I feel it my duty to say that I fully concur. They represent the progress they have made in the arts of civilization—a progress, no doubt, well calculated to excite admiration. It has excited the admiration of the friends of humanity, both here and in Europe. They express, however, the sorrowful conviction that it is impossible for them, in the present state of things, to retain their national existence, and to live in peace and comfort in their native region. They therefore have turned their eyes to the country west of the Mississippi, to which a considerable portion of their tribe have already emigrated; and they express the opinion that they are reduced to the alternative of following them to that region, or of sinking into a condition but little, if at all, better than slavery, in their present place of abode. They announce this conviction with that bitterness of language which might naturally be expected from men placed in their situation, and which I think will neither surprise nor offend any member of this House. In contemplating the subject of removal, they cast themselves upon the liberality of Congress to extend to them the means of transportation, more consistent with health and comfort than they have hitherto enjoyed; objects which, I fear, have been too much neglected hitherto; a pecuniary allowance as an immediate resource on their arrival in the West; and adequate assurance of a right of property in the soil, and the enjoyment of political privileges in the new abode in which they may then be placed. I have stated to them that a part of these objects are such as, in the usual mode in which the policy of removal has been pursued, would naturally be first provided for by a treaty between the United States and persons authorized to contract on the part of the tribe. They consider, however, that, in the present unhappy state of the tribe, divided as it is by parties warmly opposed to each other on the subject of emigration, it may be at present difficult, if not impossible, to conclude a treaty generally satisfactory. It is also the opinion of the memorialists that, in the present disorganized state of their people, it may be difficult for the Government to recognise parties, with which it could advantageously act in the negotiation of a treaty. On this subject I do not profess to be able to judge. I have not the means of forming a confident opinion, and I do not wish to take any part in the divisions which may exist between the different portions of the tribe.

I have now, I believe, sir, stated in sufficient detail the purport of the documents which I hold in my hands. I shall, before I sit down, ask their reference to the Committee on Indian Affairs, not doubting but that committee will consider the matters embraced in the memorial with the most favorable feelings towards a class of men who, I must say, have, in my opinion, just cause of deep dissatisfaction with the Government and people of the United States. I believe all sides of the House are fairly represented in that committee; and the two bills reported from it, which passed into laws at the last session of Congress, are, I am informed, satisfactory to the Indians; and the provisions of the third bill, which is still before the House, are spoken of by the memorialists with decided approbation. They are willing to leave their cause to the consideration of the committee.

If this committee, sir, possessing, as I think it does in an unusual degree, the confidence of the House, shall find, in this memorial, any proper subject of legislation;

if they can devise, as I trust they can, any means to avert from the remaining portions of the Cherokee tribe the destruction which seems to hang over them; if they can offer any suitable increase of comfort to those who emigrate, and if they can facilitate the work of removal to those who remove, without prejudice to the interests of those who stay, I think the House and the country will sustain them in so doing. For myself, sir, I certainly never expected to present a memorial in this House in favor of the removal of Indians; but I as little expected to be requested by Indians to do so. I have performed this duty at the request of a delegation of three, two at least of whom were among those most active and influential among their brethren, at the time the great stand was made on this floor against the Indian policy of the Government. You cannot, sir, have forgotten those discussions; you took a prominent part in them. I have changed no opinion then expressed by me. But it is the lesson of practical wisdom to yield, when it can no longer be helped, to the force of circumstances. I have long since come to the conclusion, in common I believe with all the friends with whom I acted on that occasion, that the best advice we could give to our Indian brethren was, to yield to the hard necessity of their condition. That advice, sir, in conjunction with members of this and the other House of Congress, whose opinions are of much greater weight than mine, was decidedly expressed three years ago, in letters written at the request of the intelligent and benevolent counsel of the Indians, (Mr. Chester,) and read in council at New Echota. I believe it would have been better for the Indians had it then been followed. I am firmly persuaded that the social, political, and moral condition of this interesting tribe strongly invites them to the West. I fear that swift and certain destruction impends over them, if they much longer delay their removal. I believe that they can now make better terms with the Government than they will be able hereafter to make, and that the longer they remain in their present abode, the more of that which they most wish to preserve—their national identity—will perish. If Congress can do any thing (and I believe they can do every thing) to enable them to make their removal in a manner consistent with life, health, and comfort; to heal their dissensions, to sooth their feelings, to mitigate their sufferings, and establish them advantageously in their new abodes, I hope it will be done; it ought to be done; for when all is done, I fear a heavy debt will lie against us in the court of conscience. I move you, sir, that the memorial and resolutions be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and printed.

The memorial was disposed of accordingly.

FORTIFICATION BILL.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill making appropriations for certain fortifications for the year 1835.

Mr. PARKER moved the same amendment to the bill in the House that he had previously offered in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, to strike out the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth lines, making an appropriation of \$30,000 for the fortification on Throg's neck, near the city of New York.

Mr. P. repeated the objections which he entertained against the appropriation. He wished Congress to examine and understand it, or, in the language of the homely adage, "look before you leap." He read several documents relative to the work, which computed its cost at \$577,000. He thought the great question with the House should be, whether the money could not be expended to better advantage in other fortifications. He considered all appropriations for this object a waste of the public funds. He believed Hellgate to be a

**APPENDIX C:**

**A Letter Written by John Ross to Major Ben F. Currey  
July 7, 1835**

(From a copy kept at the Sequoyah Research Center Research Archives.)

Copy)

Cherokee Agency July 7. 1935

Sir

It appears that the department is not satisfied as to the fairness of the Red Clay proceeding, in relation to the disposition of the annuity due the Nation; and the sense of the people in council assembled, being directed to be ascertained by the Office of the Govt and you having notified the Cherokees to meet the second time in the vicinity of the head of Coosa, to express their will on this subject - this is therefore to request that a more convenient place may be designated, say either at Red Clay or at this place, in order that a full meeting may take place - you will know from the smallness of the number of those who attended your first notice on this subject, that the Cherokees are not disposed to meet at the place you have designated. - The Cherokees being alone interested in this subject their convenience ought most certainly to be consulted, as to the place of meeting, it is due to them by every principle of fairness and justice that it should be. Should you please to alter the place so as to meet at either of the places mentioned (Red Clay or the Agency) and let me know the time (say two or three weeks hence) I will take occasion to request the general attendance of the people.

I am Sir

Maj W B F Currey  
W S Agent  
Present

Your Obt Servt  
Jno Ross Principal  
Chief C. N.

**APPENDIX D:**

**A Report Filed by Ben F. Currey with the Cherokee Agency  
July, 1835**

(From a copy kept at the Sequoyah Research Center Research Archives.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Sherokee Agency East. July 20 1835

Robert Herring Esq.  
Comm: Ind Affrs

Sir

The council composing the people called for the purpose of obtaining the sense of the nation on the subject of the annuity convened on the day before the period appointed. There were between 25 & 2600 Indians present, this number could not by any previous measures or meetings have been anticipated. Mr. Schenckenshorn was present, and obtained their consent to address them on the next morning. The first day was consumed in discussions, explanations and voting, a proposition to divide the annuity among the people by days & ways. When the next morning arrived, Mr. Sh had a stand erected so that he might try his elevation to the more generally heard, aided by the Rev. of I. P. Bushy Head, he went into a full explanation of the views of the gov't & the relation in which the different delegations stood to one another, their people the states and the general government, which was listened to with much attention, for a period of three hours. In order to ensure attention this resolution had been agreed, that it would not dispose of the question further than the single proposition was concerned, and by addressing them before the vote was finished, Mr. Sh had perhaps the largest Red audience of all the males ever before assembled together in this nation at one time.

The churches had until a few days before been advised not to attend, but when Revs found that the money would be paid to the order of the majority, attending, his head men were called together at Red clay, when I am advised he told

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how to pay to the Treasury was next in order, the  
 whole people were called up and the resolution read. Mr. Sumner  
 made a few remarks, in its support, when Maj. Ridge off-  
 ered an amendment, directing that none of this money  
 should be paid to lawyers. This was seconded by John  
 Ridge, which gave both these latter gentlemen a full  
 opportunity to be heard. They went into a most pathetic  
 description of national distress and individual oppressions,  
 the necessity of keeping freedom in another clime, the impor-  
 tance of union and harmony and the benefits of peace and  
 of friendship, but said of those who proposed to  
 endure misery, and send their slaves to slavery, as for  
 them and their friends, they cared not such company.  
 The Indians had by districts in files of four deep, been  
 drawn up towards Mr. Sumner's Resolution that they might hear  
 it read and be fortified the more conveniently, but when  
 the Ridges were speaking, all the previous prejudices so  
 manifestly shown by looks appeared to die away,  
 and the benighted Forresters involuntarily broke the line  
 and pressed forward as if attracted by the powers of ma-  
 gic, to the stand, and when they could get no nearer  
 they reached their heads forward in anxiety to hear the  
 truth. After the Ridges had procured the desired  
 attention, they withdrew their amendment  
 and the vote was taken on Sumner's Resolution and  
 carried by acclamation.  
 Mr. Schumm then requested each party to  
 appoint committees to meet him & Gov. Carroll

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of the Govt and the disorganizers attached to Ridge  
 must rally, and in order to do this, all the men of the nation  
 came, some starving, some half clad, some armed, and scarcely  
 any with provisions for more than one or two days. Under these  
 circumstances having a desire to be heard, W. S. promised  
 them a hearing for one day on condition they would bear him as a  
 witness. On examination I found they might under the 9th Ar  
 ticle of regulations for paying Annuities be furnished at public  
 expense. Arrangements for four days if circumstances rendered  
 it necessary were accordingly made, and requisitions drawn  
 on Lieut. Baternan to meet the same. I took occasion to  
 say to the Cherokees as they came up by districts, that let them  
 vote the money in what way they would, it could not save their  
 country. That this party had been invited to express their vie  
 ws and wishes freely. Instead of doing this, they had with  
 drawn themselves from the ground and been counselled in the  
 bushes. Why was this so? were their chiefs still disposed to de  
 ceive their people? When ruin demanded entrance at the red  
 mans door, and the heavy hand of oppression and of oppres  
 sion, already rested upon their heads. To say the least of it  
 there was something suspicious in this withdrawal. The offi  
 cers of Govt were bound to report their speeches to the Secre  
 tary of War, and the chiefs had shown contempt, to the US  
 by withdrawing themselves and their people, into the woods  
 beyond their hearing. If this was not the proper construction  
 to be placed upon what proceeded, the chiefs certainly had  
 carried them off to feed their feelings on false hopes and false  
 promises once more. When the resolution presented by Smith was  
 disposed of which stood 114 for and 228 against

... on the 29th inst. Ridges party complied  
 of the other party did, others not being known to the  
 Commissioners. By the next mail we will be able to  
 give information of a more satisfactory charac-  
 ter having reference to the future.  
 I have no doubt, although the money went into the  
 Treasury of the nation as might have been expect-  
 ed from a general turnout, still the information so  
 communicated in the discussions growing up on the  
 occasion, will be attended with the most happy conse-  
 quences to the Cherokee, and greatly facilitate a  
 final adjustment of their difficulties.  
 It is a notable matter of remark that so great a num-  
 ber of persons of any colour had seldom if ever met  
 and preserved better order than was observed on this  
 occasion.

Most respectfully  
 I have the honour to be  
 Your very obedt Servt  
 Ben. Flourrey.

Copy of  
 a letter from Agent to  
 Commissioner of Indian Affairs  
 Council at Running Waters  
 July 27 1833

**APPENDIX E:**

**Official Report of a Council Held at Running Waters Council Ground,  
Floyd County, GA  
Monday, July 19, 1835**

(From a copy kept at the Sequoyah Research Center Research Archives.)

ORIGINAL ARCHIVES  
 Monday 19th July 1835  
 Running Waters Council Board, Lloyd's Court Ga  
 an adjourned meeting held pursuant to notice from the  
 acting Agents of the United States for the Cherokee East of  
 the Mississippi River for the purpose of an interview from  
 the Cherokee people their wishes as to the manner and to  
 whom their present claim annuity should be paid. By common  
 consent it was agreed and resolved that the meeting be opened  
 with prayer and the Rev. Mr. Spier and David W. Carter  
 (Cherokees) officiated accordingly. After the solemnities appropriate to the occasion were  
 performed. Brig. F. Murray to the Agent added by Genl  
 Waterman of the U. S. Army fully explained the object  
 for which this meeting was called and which was again fully  
 explained in the Cherokee language by Joseph A. Terrell  
 the Interpreter. Mrs. Pop made some remarks in reply. Said he was  
 sorry that the Agent had taken occasion to be personal in his  
 remarks but that he was not disposed to take any notice of  
 these personalities at this time. That he was aware that  
 there was among us a description of persons who were cal-  
 led by party names. This he had not in our aged that  
 as far himself he was not disposed to quarrel with any  
 man for an honest expression of opinion for the good of the  
 people for the truth and sincerity of which he called Heaven  
 to witness and that if Gentlemen were honest in their profes-  
 sion of benevolence that he was ready at any time to cooperate  
 with them. When it would appear that they were right and  
 that he was wrong.

1870 8

Mr. Ridge's reply. stated that so far as he was concerned he too discarded party views and sinister motives. that so far as he and those with, or take different from Mr. Ross and his chiefs he drew so from an honest conviction that it was the only way in which the integrity and political salvation of the Cherokee people could be preserved and effected, and that he was at any moment ready to acknowledge Ross as his principal chief when he (Ross) could be or would prove to him a better man - but till then, as an honest man and sensible as he was of the difficulties and dangers of the crisis that surrounded them all, he must act on the suppositions arising out of the case though it should cost him the last drop that he had in his breast, that he did not understand the agent to intend personalities but his expostulations necessarily involved the agent, that he would at all times be open to conviction when better and more conclusive arguments than his own were adduced on the points of difference. But he did not understand why it was if Mr. Ross's resolutions were sincere that large bodies of Indians had been withdrawn from the ground and were not permitted to hear. Rev. Mr. Schrimmhorn, Commissioner in behalf of the U. S. took occasion at this moment to voice and express his satisfaction and gratification at the prospect of an amicable reconciliation of all party strife and animosity, and so far as he might be concerned in their affairs, he did not intend to harm any party or distinctions of parties - that he only meant to cross the Cherokee people east of the Mississippi as one party in this case; and that he would act himself of

of the present or could be gained that during this meeting they would be not set from among themselves a number of delegates at least twelve or more, or any number they might deem expedient to send from and for the all of the Cherokee Agency on Wednesday 30th Inst to any and all conditions not contrary to a resolution for a full adjustment of their whole difficulties by treaty the basis of which had already been fixed by Ridge. They made other points the possession of which were all approved of and suggested the importance of the meeting of an W. Ridge first or their committee. The Commissioner then approved the conditions of the treaty that he would with their consent occupy their time in tomorrow morning to make or in and fully negotiate the treaty to be offered the Cherokee people for their approval which was committed to by the great and the chief present whereas some Commissioners retired and the following Resolution was then introduced by Genl. Smith and seconded by Genl. Ridge Resolved by the Council of the Cherokee Nation that in consideration of the poor condition of our people, the aged, the infirm of both sexes, men women and children, that the federal annuity of six thousand six hundred and sixty six dollars and sixty six cents, be now divided equally to the people, and that the federal annuity be as it is their money, be coming from old treaties with the U. States. It is now a great necessity since they have succeeded there was all and

10

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

... report of their kind to the King. In King  
and Archbishops and the people of considerable length  
to the following purpose. The people make a nation  
This nation is subject to the Nation and Congress  
and give the people full power to dispose of it  
in such manner as they may think proper. Have  
the people been benefited by the use made of this  
money by their chiefs. It is also true  
that the land the country. Have notice to you  
your fields, and have they saved your people  
from the great war. Have they drawn back the  
white settlers. No, but on the other hand have you  
not lost your land and govern in what time you  
not been injured or crushed and of your people and  
your best bleeding and drawing and then for  
your land. If this be the fact, is it not time for  
you to take that which will give you some little  
relief from want, rather than to give it to those who  
cannot and will not help you. All that we  
insist on in this matter is that you recover your  
own things and dispose of them as you see fit  
our government long since, which but few attempts  
at the call of the King. Lost at the last may coun-  
cil at the remaining winter, to have done and  
disposed with this money, but we would not be  
desire to take advantage of that it is in our hands  
had been promised by the other chiefs. We prefer  
to have a full meeting of the people if possible  
and leave the question to the majority with us.

**APPENDIX F:**

**A Letter Written by John Ridge to Gov. Wilson Lumpkin  
Sept. 22, 1835**

(John Ridge, "Letter, 1835 Sept. 22, Cassville, Georgia, [to] Wilson Lumpkin, Gov[Ernor of Georgia] / John Ridge," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, [www.galileo.peachnet.edu](http://www.galileo.peachnet.edu): University of Georgia.)

Cassville Ga.

To  
 Gen. Wilson Lumpkin, 22<sup>d</sup> Sept. 1835.

Dear Sir,

I have been intending to write to you on the Indian Affairs for some time, but the press of business in conducting the business of our Nation at this interesting period, has been prevented. I feel however now to say that our cause pros- per, & I believe will result in the generalcession of the Nation. The views taken in a communication by a gentleman of the bar in the Georgia Pioneer on the Cherokee treaty, should be republished with the connection of misprints in the paper alluded to. I hope Ross & his party will try to outline the Administration of Gen. Jackson if they are not forced into the treaty, & it now depends upon the treaty party to take a bold and decided stand. We have gained so much land in

in Georgia & Alabama, that we shall  
 organize head chiefs & a regular Coun-  
 cil for those two States and close the  
 treaty. However this is conditioned upon  
 the refusal of the Ross party to join  
 in a general treaty. He has request-  
 ed a conference, and we have accepted  
 it, & it is possible that we may agree  
 to make a general session. This  
 conference will be held if it is sup-  
 posed on the 2<sup>d</sup> Monday in Oct.  
 next in the chartered limits of Ten-  
 nessee - that Council passes by  
 without not bringing the parties  
 to an understanding, or may  
 depend upon a vigorous course of mes-  
 sages on our part. How shall  
 we proceed. It is plain that  
 Indians hold title to Land by  
 the right of occupancy - the  
 Ross party chips are about to ab-  
 andon this & go to Ten nessee -  
 we have our chips & a Council &  
 the President can acknowledge

as I treat with us. In the meantime  
 and all the time the enrollment  
 can go on I will go on which will  
 give us ~~the~~ strength. For this  
 purpose the next day is to be ought  
 to pass laws to protect us in our  
 possessions while we are in the act  
 of preparation for the West.  
 Unless this is done our efforts will  
 prove abortive. The U.S. promises  
 this protection, but individual agents  
 to get possession of Indian improve-  
 ments, falsifies all these promises.  
 As soon as an Indian enrolls -  
 the Georgia claimant presses him  
 out - this stops them from en-  
 rolling - it gives them no time to  
 breathe - no comfort after it - It  
 this should not be. I know sir,  
 that by force of circumstances our  
 State will get in possession of the  
 whole of our lands, but it will  
 be with great suffering to the  
 Indians. Our operations will be  
 applied to -

if a favorable legislation is not had upon this very subject. It is nothing but what the dictates of humanity will sanction to allow the Indians to go off unmolested, when they evince a desire to do so by well means.

I cannot close this letter without referring to the great good, which Col. Bishop & the Georgia Guard have effected. If the Legislature would grant him certain discretionary powers in relation to the Indians it would be of great service.

The Rep party tried hard to counteract the growth of our party by murders - it is dreadful to reflect on the amount of blood which has been shed by the savages on those who have only exercised the right of opinion. The Guard has been hateful & they have arrested those men who conspire the murders & the murderers themselves. They see



their possessors while they remained according  
to the promises of the bid. which I hope  
you have received before this.

Of course this letter is not for publica-  
tion - I shall write to you again -

Yr. aff. friend  
John Ridge



KEITH READ MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION  
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA LIBRARIES

**APPENDIX G:**

**A Transcription of Correspondence  
From Sophia Sawyer at Running Waters  
April 17-1835 to July 2, 1836**

(from ABCFM microfilm, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - Film MS32, microfilm edition of the files of the ABCFM. The originals are at Harvard University. Unit 6: MISSIONS ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS AND TO THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC, 1811-1919, CHEROKEE MISSION. (ABC 18.3.1) Reel 741, Vol. 7 Cherokee Mission, 1830-1837 Letters)

[FRAME 539]

Running Waters, April 17, 1835.

Very Dear Sir,

I will dispose of the object in my writing at this time, lest I fail to do it; & then speak of my present situation, prospects, & feelings.

Will you pay one dollar for Rollin Ridge, that Parley's Magazine may be continued to him another year — Mrs. Ridge will give me the money here.

Mr. Ridge returned two weeks since from Wash-ington & brought me Tanners Universal Atlas a present from Mr. Boudinot. Mr. Ridge also brought me a bonnet, shoes &c, nine dollars. (MARGINALIA: presented by himself.) The Atlas was ten dollars—

Soon after I closed my last letter to you Sir, I was taken suddenly ill with chills & fever attended with extreme thirst & pain in the left side & breast, with great difficulty in respiration. Every sinew and nerve in the part affected seemed like so many lancets to pierce me communicating with (MARGINALIA: the) whole system, & filling (MARGINALIA: me) with extreme suffering. God came more suddenly man to me in this sickness — In awful majesty — I trembled in his hands, & scarce-ly dared to look up for ease, lest I should grow impatient in suffering, if the distrefs continued. I felt myself so entire-ly in the hands of God, that I could not feel the absence of created good. Without medical advice, we did what we could, the disease yielded to medicine after a few days suffering. It left me weak, however, & with a cough, sorenefs at the breast &

[FEAME 540]

I suffered some anxiety, which you would tell me was wrong, les I should be unable to open the school at the time appointed – God has been gracious, & given me strength to teach, though the cough often returns with such sinking of the system, that I sometimes sigh for a release. When the scholars came my returning strength seemed to me almost miraculous—We have nine boarders – Mr. Fields has built a cabin near & boards five of his own children, these with children from the neighborhood, make twenty five including Mr. Ridge’s children. We have some very promising children near us who came from a Mr. More’s family formerly from High Tower. The parents were members of that Church & amidst all the storms of the political world retain their Christian characters uncontaminated by surrounding vices. I have enough to engage all my energies in the work before me, but I need faith to give me confidence to go forward amidst surrounding difficulties. You can scarcely conceive the effect, when the present state of society has on characters that are not governed by religious principle; & the danger to which the youth are espoused – I sometimes shrink with horror from a view of what may be the situation & characters of many with whom I have intercourse. I fear for myself lest a knowledge of so much wickedness should make (MARGINALIA: me) yield the line standard of morals; & thus become careless of those committed to my care. Dear Sir, pray for me continually that my faith fail not. None but God can keep me—I would give the wreck of life entirely to him – It is a late hour with me to redeem time; yet I would do what I can – It is sometimes sweet to think of that nest that belongeth to the people of God – It is always sustaining to know that the Lord reigneth –

I thank you dear Sir, that amidst all your labors, you did not forget me; but so kindly wrote your letter came in time, & contained just such advice as I needed. Should I be permitted to continue the school until July I will give a full account of my labors and success.

I find much comfort with Mrs. Ridge – am kindly treated by all—Mr. Ridge is engaged with his whole soul to accomplish a treaty a copy of which I send with this letter. From the school funds they, that is Mr. Ridge & Mr. Boudinot, offer to support me if I consent to go West. But I cannot bear to be separated from the Board under whose (MARGINALIA: patronage) I left my native land, though I know this is necessary to sustain me in my labors, but the direction, prayers, counsel, confidence, sympathy & my patron. Should I be transferred to the school funds, I must come more or less, under the corrupting influence of the present administration of our country—And might not be sustained (MARGINALIA: in) the religious institution & discipline that I deem necessary; without which I consider the object of teaching (was?) insignificant to retain me among this people. You know all our efforts are in subordination to the grand

object the salvation of the soul—If we fail of this, we loose all that is worth thought. My anticipation on this head may all be ground-lefs. I would not impose any by unjust suspicions but wish leave myself quietly in the hands of Providence until he should make my duty plain.

[FRAME 541]

Thursday noon April 23.

Mr. Ridge desires a respectful remembrance, & says tell Mr. Greene that he will see from what I have done in the treaty that I am still friendly to missionaries.

The scholars all send their grateful and affectionate regards. They are in fine health & spirits\_\_ While I return exhausted to our chamber for rest, they go in every direction in the surrounding forest for blossoms. Weak and depressed as I am, I cannot be insensible to the returning beauties of Spring. The goodness of God forces itself on me in the renewed vegetation around. All creatures

Head of Coosa GA  
April 24<sup>th</sup>

Rev. David Greene

Missionary Rooms. Boston, Ms.

who have life are happy (MARGINALIA: but man) & he alone is vile. The reason is late for this climate, but the husbandman is now realizing the promise of “seed time.” The winter has been severe—snow fell in March to considerable depth. In February water froze near the fire. People of this climate quit business; & I seemed (crushed?) before the cold, had to call to recollection Northern winters to rouse me to action, or I should not have accomplished anything.

Mrs. Ridge joins me in Christian regard to yourself & family,

S. Sawyer

[FRAME 542]

Running Waters, June 15, 1835

Rev. D. Greene,

Dear Sir,

I will write these few lines to you, though I never saw you.

I am going to school, to Mifs S. Sawyer now. I have learned great deal more now, than all the schools I ever went to. The first time I ever went to school was at Dr. Butler's, the second time in Tennessee, the third at New Echota. This is the fourth school I am into now.

Yesterday morning one of the little school boys was hurt very badly. He was kicked by a mule on his forehead, so Mifs Sawyer had to sew his skin. The little boy was very patient, while Mifs S. was drefsing it. He is better now, he has studied some today.

All the children are learning first, in this school. Mifs S. is the best teacher, I ever went to school to. I have been to school to three teachers two be-sides Mifs S. Some of the children cannot talk English, nor understand. I have two sisters that is not talk English much, but they understand all we say. Mifs S. makes these children that cannot speak English stand up, & repeat some hymns after her, that learns them to speak plain. Once I could not speak a word of English. When I was about six or eight years old. I am now fourteen, and on my fifteenth year.

I interpret every night to the children, that cannot understand, about the bible which we read.

The court house at New Echota was very cool, but the white people took it away. There was another small house, in the town, & Mifs Sawyer kept her school in that house, at Mr. Ridges is very cool and pleasant, the trees are thick all around it. It has (MARGNALIA: a) smooth plank floor, & a large fire place & five glafs windows, two large ones and three are shut with a slide. Two swallows have made a nest in the chimney. Every morning when we wake, the birds are singing sweet-ly around the school house.

Betsey Adair, Eleanor Boudinot, Rollin Ridge & myself are studying Geography, & Geometry. We have been studying Arithmetic. We read the History of the United States, in the after noon, & spell. We have been reviewing our lefsons, & we have not spell any this week. Next week we shall spell. Then it will be the last week the school will continue. Perhaps I shall never go to school any more. Father's family will go to Arkansaw this fall.

Mary Fields

The letter above received no correction except in grammar & spelling, & very little in these. The remainder of writing are specimens of Chirography only.

John Rollin Ridge aged eight years.

N. B. you will find the remaining specimens of writing enveloped in mine. Please have patience as you read.

[FRAME 543]

Running Waters C.N. July 3, 1835.

Very Dear Sir,

Soon after I closed my last letter to you three of the schola-ars were withdrawn in consequence of the political disturbance among the people. At that time the life of Mr. Ridge was threatened, & the house was often in alarm from different causes. For myself I have never apprehended an open attack on the person or house of Mr. Ridge, but I have feared for him, & do still, afsination. Amidst this one of was suddenly made very sick by a fever, which continued seven days & then yielded to medicine. Mr. and Mrs. Ridge were engaged with the Council & I felt the responsibil-ity of giving medicine without medical advice, on the consent of her parents who were at too great distance to be consulted. I knew the fever was gaining ground every moment that calomel must be given to remove bile that had resisted other medicine. Mr. R. hesitated to give calomel without her father's consent, anticipating his feelings should the disease prove fatal. Said however use your own judgment I must go to the Council ground. Mrs. Ridge was with me & we watched the paroscysm of fever until noon, when the servant came with the medicine & I gave the calomel leaving the cones quence with God. Nearly sunset her father arrived, while she was suffering un-der the operation of the medicine. When he entered the chamber & saw his daughter's suffering & my ansxiety, he gave me the kindest approbation of all I had done, & afsured us of a favorable result. This for a time gave me comfort. In the morning her father left for the Council, giving me the kindest afsurance that all would be well, that he left her confidently to my management. The fever returned with long & severe paroscysms, & the dear creature would cry to me for relief, & seemed unwilling I should leave her bed for a moment.

Mary Fields relieved me from teaching until the child's mother could get here. When I went to the school house & saw the good order & instruction there (MARGINALIA: & felt that a Cherokee girl only fourteen was presiding) I was relieved of half my burden. And when the sick child's mother came how sweet to have her feel with me, all the sufferings of the dear afflicted one. Her parents are enlightened, can read & write but, strangers to the religion of the Bible. Her father is opposed to mifsonaries & I feared I might do something to encrease the opposition or at least not recommend to them the religion I profefsed. They both escprefsed gratitude for what I had done in strong language & terms of approbation. Whenever the girl was able to ride, she returned with her mother & remained there as the school was so near closing.

Thus released from the sick chamber & my school diminished I returned to ir & put forth all my remaining energies to bring forward the pupils. The (???) scholars have done better than I dared to hope when I received them. I will give you an example of one of the most unpromising. When I was able to walk (???) after my sickness last winter I saw lying on a bench in the back yard a dirty boy I judged from the size of twelve years age. To my inquiries I received the answer he is one of the neighbors children who will attend school \_\_ My heart died within are these the materials thought I with which my remaining (MARGINALIA: strength) is to be employed? When I entered school this boy would come on the Sabbath (STRICKEN: This boy) & would linger round the school house & stay about with the black people from day to day. I still felt under <missing due to small tear> to begin with him & feared the weather was yet too cold, with his lazy habits, to se-cure a constant and prompt attendance. Determined when he did begin he should do some-thing or nothing. At last I invited him in & told him the difficulties of learning to read \_\_\_ of the mental effort required\_\_\_ the habits of industry & cleanliness requisite to attendance of this school of the long course of mental effort before he could receive much (???) in reading English. And last placed before him the advantages of being able to read \_\_ Especially the Bible. He looked serious but of course could not esti-mate untried difficulties. I gave him the letter and told him to remember their name and then he should receive more. In this way I proceeded and found him very attentive\_\_ But the cry soon came from the little English boys, “???” and curse.” On escamination I found it common for him to use profane language. I told him of its wickedness, & that he must quit school if he did not cease using such language immediately. He promised & the boys were to report if any more was heard. Soon after he used it again & I thought (MARGINALIA: in) his circumstance he was a hopelefs character & then the school was so full, & so feeble I had better tell him to leave school. I did so \_\_\_ He rose to obey with a mixture of regrets, grief, & indignation on his countenance. As I gave him the parting hand I thought of the love of Christ of his power, & told him I would try once more if he would. Told him where his present course would lead, & where a different course would end. Told him to go home & tell his father & make up his mind what course to take. Then asked him which he determined to do. He replied he did not know, he would think. I was surprized the next morning to find him seated among the boys, clean, with a happy countenance. Soon after at play he called on God to damn the soul of a rabbit\_\_ The boys pitied him & were reluctant to tell. He told me then that he did not know that he had said what John had told me. I told him I feared he was lying to me, but that I did not know the habit of profane language might be so fised that he might use it without knowing it. Encouraged by the language used to the rabbit, to hope he did not know the meaning of the word said, or the import of the language he had used & found on inquiry that he was totally ignorant of all the words (surveyed?). That they were

the only English words he could speak & that he could not tell where he learned these, but knew they were English. When I told him of Heaven\_\_of hell\_\_of the soul\_\_ of its destiny in hell\_\_ of its capabilities\_\_of its worth estimated by the redemption of Christ\_\_ of the difference between him & the animal which he had called on the great God to curse, his countenance was solemn & interested beyond the power of language to communicate, and from that moment, so far as I have knowledge, ceased to take the name of God in vain. He is now reading (CROSSED OUT: in) the last lesson in W's (???)\_\_ Can tell most of the nouns in English & Cherokee, & many of the adjectives. He has been an industrious scholar never shrinking from any difficulties. What his future course will be it is impossible to decide in the present state of the Cherokees, but it is almost certain under proper instruction & good society he would be an ornament to any Nation. This is one example \_\_ were it necessary I could tell you of thousands among this people, who might, under favorable circumstances, be raised from their recent degradation to all the enjoyment of intellectual pleasure\_\_ become useful members of society & by those moral principles which the Bible contains be made fit (???) I wish I could sound it in the ears of all that it is not the Indian character but

[FRAME 544]

(???) circumstances which so often make efforts for their improvement so fruitless. After the Apostle delineated the character of those who should enter the kingdom of heaven he added & such were some of you, yes, & such are we by nature, & if we are washed, if we are sanctified, let us show this by laboring like the woman of Samaria to bring the heathen world to Christ. Dear Sir, you can speak, you can write from this people while I can only ascertain an influence over a few individuals.

The enlightened part of the Cherokees, both pupils & parents have aided me (???) in my efforts from the ignorant. Mary Fields help us as an interpreter has been above all price. Besides sustaining a high place as a scholar she has taken care of two sisters and one brother & for a while a little brother out of school. With their help has performed all the labor necessary for them. They boarded in a cabin near the school house & their parents brought provision

What note of sorrow strikes my ear  
Is it their mother thus distressed?  
Ah! yes and see their father dear  
like Flies round and round, to seek their nest.  
Elizabeth N. Adair, aged nine years.

Rome Ga  
July 20<sup>th</sup>

Rev. David Greene  
Missionary Rooms  
Boston, Massachusetts

Mifs Sophia Sawyer  
Date June 15, 1835

Recd July 30

Last Tuesday the school closed\_\_ Mr. M. Foreman kindly remained one day to meet with us. I felt his religious influence a great blessing. Since Mr. W & Mr. C. left none of the missionaries have come near us. I saved myself disappointment by not asking them on depending on them as I did last winter. Mr. Foreman conducted with great propriety & Christian boldness among talented “irreligious”???. There is a loveliness & dignity in the Christian ??? which nothing I can supply What is wealth

what is talent what is all the world calls good& great compared with the  
Love of Christ?

What note of sorrow strikes my ear?  
Is is their (Crossed out: father) mother thus distrest  
Ah! yes, and see their father dear  
This round and round to seek their nest

Eleanor S. Boudinot aged eight y.

John Rollin Ridge aged eight years.

Set others stretch their arms like seas.  
And gnash, all the shore;

John Rollin Ridge

Grant me the visits of thy face  
And I desire no more.

N.B. Please to notice as presents from Mr. Ridge

Black silk 10 yard	\$11.25
Do stocking	1.75
Do Velvet trimming	1.00
Chince 8 yards	4.00
Fancy handkerchief	1.50
Morean 5 ½ yards	9.20
Silk; 8 lined ???	1.50
Board for myself sisc months	

[FRAME 545]

N. B. Please not to throw this letter by through hurry of business & forget to answer it.

Running Waters Nov. 7, 1835

Very dear Sir,

Have you forgotten me & my labors? You may forget, for the mother's tendernefs can for-get its infant charge; but sweet the promise "yet will not I forget thee." I might fell my sheet in escpref-sing my feelings, yet no good would come from it, except a gratification of these feelings; & it would take your time to read it. I will therefore confine this letter (MARGINALIA: to) the object of my writing at this time.

Now, Sir, I ask your permifsion to go to New York next spring or summer, as circumstances may decide. I wish for a direct positive answer. Will you give this, without the delay of consulting mifsionaries? I am unconnected with them. Why should they sit in judgment on my plans of future labor? I have consulted those on whom I depend for home & employ-ment. Mr. & Mrs. Ridge favour the plan\_\_ Should you give me leave to go, we might find affairs so different from what we now anticipate, that I might think best to change my course. I only wish to have things so arranged that I may be uninbarrafsed respecting the course to pursue should we (MARGINALIA: be) compelled to leave this place. An agent of government is now in Milledgeville to urge on the Legislature measures as should deprive the Cherokees of homes within the bounds of Georgia, while an other agent has recommended to the sister states to forbid Indian removal into their territories. Should the school be broken up here, it is contrary to my judgment to teach the Cherokees in any other place, until they are quietly located in Arkansas, or wherever they should find a resting place as a Nation. Mr. Ridge & Mr. Boudinot are engaged in the political struggle & cannot immediately be thus located. On them I depend for direction & patronage. Now what I propose is to leave the books &c under my care, with Mrs. Ridge, until Mr. Boudinot shall send his goods to Union then to have my things sent with his in that place (MARGINALIA: to benefit them) until I know my location. Should I never reach Arkansas then all will be ready for some other person. I will confine me here while I can be useful, then go to New York where I have a friend to receive me. There I propose remaining until Mr. Ridge & Mr. Boudinot come or send for us to the West. Mr. Ridge says merchants go from Arkansas to New York every year for goods, that I could safely return with them whenever things were in readiness for me to open a

school. I can be safely conducted from this country with merchants who will probably go near the time I wish to close here. What the expence will be you can decide. I shall go to Charleston, thence by water. While in New. Y. I can be useful to myself or to others. The friend in New York in whose house I shall be a welcome inmate, has repeatedly made inquiries respecting my labors & personal wants, urging me to communicate to him as a friend, saying I shall at any time be happy to serve the early friend of my wife. He sent me twenty dollars by the hand of Mr. Boudinot besides some tokens of remembrance\_\_ told Mr. Boudinot that he paid annually two hundred dollars to the Board, & if he could in any way appropriate this, or any part of it, for my benefit he would do so\_\_\_ that what he then gave was a personal favor not to relieve the Board at all. I mention these circumstances that you may judge in view of all contingencies. I do not wish to be withdrawn from the patronage of the B.; but will do all in my power to relieve you from the burden of expence and care of myself & labors. You know Mr. Ridge has relieved the Board of expence since I came here, except books. What he will do hereafter I wish to leave entirely to his feelings. He has so supplied me with clothing that I should need no additional expence of clothing for the journey except a cloak, this I expect to receive from Boston with the other articles for which I sent last August.

you may think, Sir, that I make unnecessary provision for the future. Had I not looked forward since the Cherokees have been in their unsettled state, I should probably have been unemployed. That I may not be so; & that I may turn the intervening time of removal & quiet settlement in the West to good account, I am making these preliminary arrangements to meet sudden changes. I feel this is consistent with trust in God, and with the faithful performance of present duty.

Our school is still prospered. Did you receive in Au. an account of labor & donation at this place, in a letter from me?

[FRAME 547]

Nov. 13, Since writing the above, Mr. Boudinot (MARGINALIA: has) visited us. I gave him this letter to read & conversed freely respecting my future labors. He said, perhaps, there might be an opening for a school among the old settlers immediately after my arrival at Arkansas but if (MARG: I) felt need of rest, it was well to go to N. York. That he could

Mifs Sophia Sawyer  
Date Nov. 7, 1835  
Recd Dec. 4  
Arrd Dec. 10

Rome Ga  
Nov. 16

Rev. David Greene  
Mifsionary Rooms  
Boston, Ms.

(MARG: not) now decide where or how I should be (activated?) Said he could not promise respecting my return to the W. as he might (MARG: not be able to) come himself or find one in whose character such confidence could be placed as I would be willing to be used myself; but added Mr. Ridge may be acquainted with those in whom you may confide. Mr. Ridge has just read my letters and approves the plan, he was then about.

Mr. John Rofs is in confinement at Spring Place and his papers taken from him. One of the agents Ross' brother are here \_\_ tomorrow Mr. Ridge will go assist Mr. Ross.

The bosc in which a watch was sent to me was lost or stolen by the waggoner from Augusta. The price of the watch was sisc dol. The other articles from Mr. B. 50 dollars Mr. Boudinot is trying to receive justice through the agent in Augusta. S. Sawyer.

[FRAME 549]

N. B. Pardon dear Sir, the length & freedom of this letter. When I begin, I always speak & write too much. S. S.

New Echota, C.N., Jan. 5, 1836

Very Dear Sir,

It is better to trust in the Lord than put confidence in man. What I suffered, when driven from my family; by (MARG: separation from) Mr. Boudinot's family, when they left for N. England, compelled me to look up. My hold on Mr. Worcester, protection seemed broken like the man, who, after he was thrown overboard, clung to the vessel until both hands were cut off, then swam after (MARG: it) b

[FRAME 554]

Running Waters, C.N., May 18, 1836

Dear Sir,

I have been at school here nearly five months to Mifs Sawyer. I live about thirty miles from Running Waters. I suppose you have heard of Big-Cabin Smith, my father is his son. My proud father once lived just about two miles from the Mifs-ionary Station at Haweis. He has been turned out from his house by the white people. He was very sick when he was turned out from his house, and has been very sick ever since. He is not a-ble to go outdoors. The last time I heard from him they said that he could not talk loud, only just whisper. He is a very old man. They do not expect he will live long.

May 20

Yesterday I heard that my proud father was dead. He died at his daughter's house. He was a very wicked man only a few years ago. He was converted after he was a very old man. Hope he was gone to heaven.

I first went to school at Brainard, a little while. I was there when the buildings were burnt. After that I went to school at Haweis about two years. Last Christmas I was here and boarded at Mr. Ridge's and have been ever since to school to Mifs Sawyer. Mr. Ridge is my cousin. Mary Fields father is my mother's brother.

May 25

I found something more to tell you again. We have a black board on which we write. We (trade?) on the black (MARG: board) every Wednesday evening. I like it very well.

Mrs. Ridge's father, mother and sister have been here ever since August. They talk about going home as soon as Mr. Ridge returns from Washington City. Their daughter is about thirteen years old. They are very good people. We have family prayers now. Mr. Northrup is here. We read in the testament by course read in the morn-ing, and Mifs Sawyer reads in the evening, she asks questions and we answer.

May 29.

Mr. Ridge has been expecting to come home every week for a long time. He has been waiting for the treaty to be ratified. There they have been all

Winter, and done nothing yet. Our people (MARG: are) suffering most of them with hunger, and a great many have been turned out of their houses since, and some put in prison for being accused of stealing. We (heard?) for truth that two old Cherokee men died near New Echota for want of food.

June Wednesday 8.

Monday Mrs.Ridge received a letter from Mr. Ridge. He said that the Cherokee treaty was ratified, and that were hungry would be furnished with food. Now all the Cherokees are obliged to go to the West, and all those that wish to stay in this Country, have to obey the Georgia laws, if they do not they cannot stay.

From your young Cherokee friend,

Rachel Smith

[FRAME 556]

Running Waters, July 2, 1836

Dear Sir,

Having made previous arrangements, here I am Sat. P.M. ready to leave for New York. A gentleman ready in Athens Georgia to receive me, be my protector until we reach my friend in N.Y. Mr. Montgomery of Cafsville has interested himself for me, & by his influence selected a student in Theology a man of high character to be my guardian to N. York, when Lo! I am about to be detained ten days by a Lawyer, that my deposition can lawfully be taken in that vescsatious suit between Mr. Burk and Mr. Buchanan. I had given previous notice, but they, thinking it was not easy for me to leave, have neglected the business until the eve of my departure, and I not knowing that they had the power to detain me, have left them to manage

for themselves, so all my arrangements are about to be overthrown by their negligence. Mr. Ridge sends me in his carriage to Spring Place, attended by Mr. Boudinot's brother & a servant. There, Mr. Vail meets me or Mr. Watie attends me in the stage to Athens. I was willing to go unattended in the stage to Athens, but my friends here said no\_\_\_ receive protection until you meet your friend in New York.

P.S Please direct the two Parley's Magazines which have been sent to me. One copy to Mrs. Martha Vann, Vanns Vally P.O.

The other to Judge Walter Adair New Echota. I have received pay of them for one year. I know not to whom we have been indebted for these Porley's, but I have received them for several years. S. Sawyer.

Waft, waft; ye winds, his story  
And you, ye waters, soft,  
Till, like a sea its glory,  
It spreads from pole to pole;  
Till over our ransomed nature,  
The ??? for sinners slain;  
Redimer, King, Creator  
In blifs returns to reign  
John Rollin Ridge aged nine years.

Mifs Sophia Sawyer  
Date May 8<sup>th</sup> July 2s, 1836  
Recd July 19

Rome, Ga

Rev. David Greene  
Mifsonian Rooms  
Boston, Ms.

**APPENDIX H:**

**Photocopies of Sophia Sawyer's Correspondence  
April 17-1835 to July 2, 1836  
(from ABCFM microfilm)**

(from ABCFM microfilm, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - Film MS32, microfilm edition of the files of the ABCFM. The originals are at Harvard University. Unit 6: MISSIONS ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS AND TO THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC, 1811-1919, CHEROKEE MISSION. (ABC 18.3.1) Reel 741, Vol. 7 Cherokee Mission, 1830-1837 Letters)

Running Waters, Ap

Very Dear Sirs:

I will dispose of the object  
writing at this time, that I fear to do, it is the  
my present situation, prospects & feelings.

Will you pay one dollar for Hollis Kirk  
Parley's Magazine may be continued to him a  
year. Mr. Kedge will give me the money here.

Mr. Kedge returned two weeks since from  
my town & brought me Parley's universal Atlas a  
few months ago. Mr. Kedge, also, brought me  
horses with him. The Atlas was a dollar.

Soon after I laid my last letter to you  
was taken suddenly ill with a cold & soon attended  
with a severe inflammation of the chest & breath, &  
especially in inspiration. Great pains & noise in  
affected several days & made it difficult to breathe &  
communicating with whole system, with some  
arrangements of God's providence more evidently appear to me in  
all things, He even did before. He appeared in a  
new & wonderful majesty - I trembled in his hands  
& dared to look up for ease, lest it should grow  
in suffering, if the distress continued. I felt myself  
in the hands of God, that I could not feel the ab-  
sence of his spirit.

Will you pay one dollar for Boston &  
Farley's Magazine may be continued to him  
year. Mr. Hodge will give me the money to  
Mr. Hodge returned two weeks since,  
ington & brought me two new universal atlas  
from Boston. Mr. Hodge also brought me  
shoes & a hat. The atlas was ten dollars.  
I had never before my last letter to  
was taken suddenly ill with child & even after  
extreme death & was in the wet bed & breath  
difficultly in a moment. I was in a great  
affliction & could not move to pieces.  
I was waiting with much expectation with re-  
fering to God's will & was wonderfully preserved to me in  
new form, & even did before. He appeared in  
new & in awful majesty & trembled in his  
to be able to look up for ease, lest I should grow  
in suffering, if the disease continued. I felt myself  
in the hands of God, that I could not feel the  
created good. Without medical advice, we do not wish  
the disease yielded to medicine after a few days  
left me weak, however, with a cough, sore throat



Running Waters, April 17, 1835

I will dispose of the object in my  
 time, but I just to do, & then speak of  
 nation, prospects, & feelings.  
 on pay one dollar for Hollis Kedge, that  
 mine may be continued to him another  
 edge will give me the money here,  
 he returned two weeks since from Wash-  
 ington. The Farmers' meeting at this is a great  
 success. Mr. Kedge, also, is at one of the  
 classes. The class was his father's.  
 Now I raised my last letter to you, & I  
 deny it with child & even attended with  
 a pain in the feet, side & breast, with great  
 irritation. Even now & now in his next  
 like no man's hand to pierce me con-  
 the whole system, with extreme sup-  
 a ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> ~~constantly~~ <sup>constantly</sup> ~~near~~ <sup>near</sup> to me in this neck-  
 or did before. He appeared in thick stan-  
 l. majesty - I trembled in his hands, & came  
 up for ease, lest I should grow impatient  
 & stop continued. I felt myself so entire

I suffered some anxiety, which you would tell me we  
 should be unable to open the school at the time  
 has been promised, & given me strength to teach  
 could attend to business with out sinking of the  
 mind by too much exertion. When the school  
 returning school, the account to me almost  
 have nine families, all the school has built a  
 found five of his own children, these with  
 the new school make twenty five including  
 children, & all the very promising children  
 who are in the school, the parents  
 are the parents of the school, & that  
 all the ~~of~~ of the school would retain  
 their ~~of~~ of the school by our  
 have enough to engage all my energies in the  
 but I need faith, give me confidence to go  
 surmounting difficulties, you are aware  
 when the present state of society has on charac  
 not governed by religious principles, & the danger  
 youth are exposed. I sometimes shrink with  
 a view of what may be the situation & char  
 the ~~of~~ of the school. I fear you  
 knowledge of so much wickedness should make  
 of the school.

anxiety, which you would tell me was wrong, but  
 to open the school at the time appointed. God  
 gave me strength to teach, though the  
 signs with me sinking of the system, that  
 was a strain. When the scholars came my  
 strength seemed to me almost miraculous. The  
 first of the first had built a cabin near  
 his own house, then with children from  
 it make boards pine including all the things  
 that were very precious to them, as  
 a little board made from the ground that  
 was the members of that Church, & amidst  
 it all that would not in their Chris-  
 tianity, but by surrounding vices. I  
 engage all my energies in the work before me  
 to give me confidence to go forward amidst  
 whether you are sincere, or more so, the  
 state of society has on characters that are  
 religious principles, & the changes to which  
 I sometimes shrink with horror from  
 it may be the situation & characters of many  
 are intercourse I fear for myself, lest a  
 mixt wickedness should make what the

ing the seemed to me almost miraculous. We  
orders. Mr. Fitch has built a cabin near  
his own kitchen these with children from  
hard make twenty five including the kitchen  
which is a very promising kitchen near us  
and the house is made generally from the  
material of that church. I would not  
of the fact that would not in their choice  
and is not to be by our working view. I had  
engaged all my energies in the work before we  
the is a very important to go to a amidst  
affliction to our cause. I have  
a side of society has a character that are  
in religious principle. I have to watch  
word. I sometimes speak with horror from  
what may be the situation & character of many  
have introduced a new spirit into the  
which in turn should make quiet the love  
unity. I have no more to say if those committed  
I have long known you are continually that my  
I have but God can keep me. I would give  
be entirely to him. It is a late hour with me  
right I would do what I can. It is sometimes

returning strength occurred to me almost never  
have nine pointers. The Lib has built a  
boards, five of his own, but these with the  
the neighborhood make nearly five including  
children. The Lib is a very promising child  
who is in the Lib's service, former  
member of the present mess, service of the Lib  
with the Lib of the political world return  
Lib has not been interested by us, we  
have enough to manage all my energies in the  
but I need for the Lib, we are going to go  
surrounding difficulties to be a great success  
where the Lib's state of society has a character  
not projected by religious principles, & the changes  
you're in is good. I sometimes shrink with  
a view of what may be the situation & char  
with the Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's  
knowledge of a much greater about make  
Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's  
to my care. I can't say for me continually  
faithful with a Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's Lib's  
the worst of life entirely to him. It is a late hour  
to redeem time, yet I would do what I can.



sweet to think of that nest, that belongeth to the  
 It is always sustaining to know that the Lord  
 Thank you dear Sir, that amidst all  
 you did not forget me, but so kindly wrote  
 in time, - enclosed, just such a line as I needed  
 to be permitted to continue the nest until July. I  
 will be out as usual, as usual.  
 I am much obliged with Mrs. Hodge, a  
 friend to all. Her Hodge is engaged with  
 to accomplish a treaty, a copy of which I see  
 in the book, but they, that is  
 Bentinck, offer to support me if I consent to  
 not seem to be separated from the  
 patronage, but my native land, & an in this case  
 it will be a great deal to know this is necessary  
 in no sense, but for insertion, progress, courts  
 compare a in relation should be  
 and will come, more in 1833, unless the  
 of the present administration of its own  
 but not sustained the religious instruction  
 without which constant the  
 in our opinion, to obtain we among  
 their efforts are in subordination to the





25-

Dear Mr. George

Sept 2

I send you  
Hesperian News  
Boston, No.

A. B. Brown  
1875

who has been a long time in the water. The  
 tide for this time, but the husbandman is now  
 getting up and time. The water is now  
 in them, and in the water. In the water  
 the tide is now up and business, and  
 named before me, had to call to recollection. It  
 has to raise me to action, and I should not have  
 anything.

These things join me in Christian regard to  
 a family

52-  
 Dear George  
 To John  
 my dear  
 Boston No.

My dear George,  
 Date April 17 - 23, 1855  
 No. 1111 9.

John  
 1111

The season is  
 quite, but the husbandman is now enlarging the  
 at time. In February water froze near  
 out business, and I seemed  
 in had to call to resolution. I don't know win  
 to action, and I should not have a hurried  
 ledge joins me in affection regard to yourself  
 & family of yours

Running Waters

Rev. J. Greene  
Dear Sir,

I will write these few lines to you  
now you.

I am going to school, to a Miss St. Sawyer now. I have  
more now than all the schools I ever went to. The first  
school was at Long Bottom, the second time in the  
at New Echo. This is the fourth school I am into now.

Yesterday morning, one of the little school boys, who  
he was sent by a mate in his forehead, so Miss Sawyer  
The little boy was very patient, while Miss St. was sleeping  
now, he was shut out some time.

All the children are learning fast, in this school  
teacher, Miss St. Some of the children cannot talk English  
I have two sisters that cannot talk English much, but  
we say Miss St. makes these children that cannot speak  
fast, & repeat some hymns after her, that teaches them.  
I could not speak a word of English. When I was about  
old, I am now fourteen, on my eighteenth year.

I understand every night, to the children, that come  
the bible which we read.

The court house at New Echo was very good  
people took it away. There was another small house  
in that house. It was

Running Waters, June 15, 1835.

I will write these few lines to you, though I never

took to a step of slavery, nor I have learned, great deal  
 in schools I ever went to. The first time I ever went

to a school, the name given in Tennessee, the third  
 is the fourth school I am into now.

My one in the little school boys, was hurt very badly,  
 made on his forehead, so that he was hurt to see his school  
 very painful, while a step of was crossing it. He is better  
 now today.

in one learning just, in this school, a step of is the best  
 school to have been to school to have learned two

of the schoolmen cannot talk English, nor understand  
 but can not talk English much, but they understand all

of these children that cannot speak English should  
 know of English. When I was about six or eight years

old, in my fifteenth year  
 I might, to the children, that cannot understand, about

read.  
 use at New Echota was very cool, but the whole  
 day. There was another small house, in the town, &  
 that was in that house. It was very warm in that

but we not talk English much, but they understand all  
 these children that cannot speak English should  
 come to her, that teach them to speak plain & true  
 word of English. When I was about six or eight years  
 old, in my seventh year.

I might, to the children, they cannot understand, about  
 such.

use of a few words was very cool, but the whole  
 of them was in this small house, in the town, &  
 this school was that house. It was very warm in that  
 time of year. This school was, at the Ridge, &  
 the town was that all around it. It had smooth  
 large fire place, & five glass windows, two large ones  
 with a slate, the wallows have made a nest in  
 my morning when we were, the birds in my way with  
 school house.

Elizabetta Boninot, Kollen Ridge, & my wife are sent  
 Grammar. We have been studying & practicing  
 long of the United States, in the after noon, &  
 been reviewing our lessons, so we have not spelled.  
 Last week we still spelled. Then it will be the last  
 all continue. Perhaps I shall never go to school any  
 more, will go to Arkansas, this fall.

Henry Stiles.

could not correction except in grammar & spelling, & very  
 a number of writing are specimens of Chirography only.

Ann Ridge aged eight years.

the remaining specimens of writing enclosed in this envelope  
 are read.

I have two sisters that do not talk English much, we  
 we say they make these children that cannot  
 up, & repeat some hymns & psalms, that teaches them  
 I could not speak a word of English. When I was with  
 the same now sometimes in my sixteenth year.

I interpreted every night, to the children, that was  
 the words which we read.

The court house at a town Echoles was very  
 people talk at my. There was another small house  
 the school, in that house. The  
 house, there were no trees near it. The school house  
 was a pleasant, the trees are thick all around  
 with vines, & large ferns, & five glass windows  
 were made with a slate. Two swallows had  
 the chimney. Every morning when we wake, the  
 fly round the school house.

Henry & Susan, Eleanor & Daniel, Rollin Rice  
 enjoy Geography, & Grammar. We have been  
 the last the History of the United States, &  
 spell. We have been reviewing our lessons, &  
 any this week, & next week we shall spell. This  
 week the school will continue. Perhaps I shall  
 improve. My father's family will go to Arkansas this

The letter above received no correction, except in grammar  
 little in these. The remainder of writing are specimens

John Rollin Rice aged eight years.

P.S. you will find the remaining specimens of writing as  
 so have patience as you read.

Running Waters C. N.

Very Dear Sir,

I have just received your last letter to you  
 and I am glad to hear of the partial disturban-  
 All that turns the life of Mr. Hodge you threatened & to  
 in danger of your own safety & that of the  
 people. I think in the danger of the life of Mr. Hodge, he  
 has & so I will be glad to see that the one of you &  
 will be for a while to entertain your days & then you  
 will be in a better position to see the council & 4  
 of the council will be without a doubt, in the  
 council who were to be present to see the  
 was in a better position to see the council & 4  
 at that time I had a great deal of business to do  
 he of them since I was in the city, I should like  
 to see you in person as much as I can. I must go to  
 attend to you with the council & the parsonage of  
 the council, as with the council & the council  
 was with the council & the council, while  
 with the council of the council & the council the  
 I had a great deal of business to do in the  
 in the morning, his father left for the council &  
 a assurance that all would be well, that he left him  
 The paper returned with long & severe parsonage, & the  
 you do me for it, I should like to see you  
 I have then I went to the school house & saw the good  
 that a school was proceeding.





...circumstances, which so often make efforts for their improvement  
 the Apostle delineated the character of those who should not enter the  
 ... and such will that not of sorrow strikes my ear  
 ... such are we as it their mother thus distrust is all  
 ... and in their father ears so  
 ... round and round to seek their  
 ... their aged nine years  
 ... from this  
 ... individuals  
 ... hands  
 ... of low  
 ... the  
 ... the school  
 ...

David Green  
 Highway  
 Bishop

Miss Sophia Sawyer  
 Date July 14. 1835  
 Rec July 30

Please not to throw this letter by through hurry of  
forget to write me  
Running Waters Nov. 1, 1837.

Have you forgotten me & my labors  
of forget, for the weather & under my own per-  
sant charges but want the promise yet with  
regard there I might feel my heart in expro-  
fation, yet no good would come from it, except  
ation of those puting, as it would take your  
and it will therefore confirm the letter <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~  
my writing at this time.  
I wish your permission to go to the  
at Spring, or Summer, as circumstances may  
wish for a direct positive answer. Will you  
without the delay of consulting missionaries  
connected with them. I neither receive sup-  
portation from them. Why should they sit on  
it on my plans of future labors. I have con-  
fide on whom I depend for home & employ-  
ment. These things favour the plan - I should  
and leave to go, we might find a fair so



Running Waters, Va. 1. May 18. 1896

I have been at school here nearly five months. It is  
 here about thirty miles from Running Waters. I sup-  
 pose that if Rep. Edwin Smith, my father is his son  
 father ~~was~~ lived just about two miles from the Miss-  
 sion at Harris. He has been turned out from his  
 to white people. He was very sick when he was turned  
 house, and has been very sick ever since. He is not a  
 town. The last time I heard from him they said that  
 talk about only just whispers. He is a very old man  
 I expect he will live long. May 21

Monday I heard that my grand father was dead.  
~~his daughter's house. He was a very rich man, only a~~

Kindge Sep. 21. 1856.

Dear Sir,

I learned yesterday from a gentleman that Mrs. Boardman died August 15th. She is a man, as you know, of the finest moral qualities in his feelings & habits. He has lost one of the best women in the world. At a time too, the most critical in the history of nations or individuals. He is sitting now solely on a father's care - the eldest ten years old - the youngest only a few months old - on him amidst the wreck of his nation. Do provide to him - you can better estimate his feelings. Mrs. Worcester is far away cannot soon reach. You can feel for him. Think of his sweet babes.

Newark Washington St. C.S., June 11, 1837

Dear Sir,

Since I saw you last  
 I have been in New York, Mr. Shipman has  
 been in the country during the inclement season  
 after my return to the city last autumn  
 I brought a return of bleeding attended  
 & fever. Dr. Ross & others find me  
 in a warm climate, & Mr. Shipman was  
 while he was able, & then sent me fifty  
 if he dare not promise any more for  
 I had previous to this engaged to  
 Kidge & Mr. Gaudinott in May at  
 there to decide respecting my return to  
 the gentlemen in Washington shewed  
 kindness & Mr. Schermerhorn <sup>had</sup> given me  
 with the wish that I should keep it  
 till ...





These letters parents, after being written in private were forwarded  
to home by another, & wishing to forward same separate to H. I.  
I have often furnished, whose children have attended school several  
years have since the returned in a number of years and in the  
course have since the returned in a number of years and in the

Miss Sophia Sawyer.  
Date Jan. 5th - 30th, 1836.

Recd Feb. 25th.  
No answer required.

Oliver Lyman  
Missionary Board  
Boston, I.

Mr. Lyman is in Washington, D.C. and  
wishes you for good and in the  
course of the year will be in  
the hands of the  
for the year who is a  
important and the  
Mr. Lyman is in  
to the year who is a  
good hope to me



Mr. Sherman immediately answered me to the enclosed  
 and I thought reasonable of an opinion. Major Davis  
 by to Frankfurt had misgivings as to our coming in  
 me upon so much with it. I had so well as well in the  
 the Sabbath. Major Davis would go with them home to  
 from the journey pleasant. I was not to expect. I had  
 mes influence on me. I was not to expect. I had  
 and it to them from the fact that they were so well as well  
 nose stances of my house. I was not to expect. I had  
 air to their winter when travelling. Major Davis was  
 at 11. I was not to expect. I had  
 after in many. I was not to expect. I had  
 an so many. I was not to expect. I had  
 could attach to be. I was not to expect. I had  
 Mr. Sherman answered the length, gave  
 to dip in ten dollars for the same object. I was not to expect. I had  
 to give. I was not to expect. I had  
 dollars to it with as I please.

with my own  
 cept a kind of discouragement among some of  
 respecting their future labors, & a disposition to relinquish present  
 labors in prospect of the removal of the Indians. I was highly  
 pleased with the servants teaching, especially in arithmetic.  
 lick. It will cannot fail to learn under such instruction. They  
 should schools be broken up until the Indians are scattered  
 ed. The children are as happy as Roman citizens in Rome.  
 best days. Now is the time for them to learn, ere their minds  
 are occupied with domestic or public affairs. Then there is more  
 hope of keeping them from surrounding vices while they are in  
 school, especially a boarding school. I do hope & pray that  
 a Treaty will be ratified this September, & the Indians hasten  
 ed the moral resistance that surrounds us. In the mean  
 time I wish some one who has a mind like Dr. Beecher could  
 take these words, "It is painful; and he counts his heart, and says  
 us the ghost, & preaches to missionaries, who are yielding to dis-  
 putation. Let us have two things in view, the value of the car-  
 for prizes the certainty of success, and then let us look at  
 the character of Christ - his labors & sufferings from  
 & it will be easy.

35 next

to prize, & the certainty of success, & then let us look at  
 the character of Christ his labors & sufferings for  
 the entrance to the crown. Upon him, perhaps, I shall be cry-  
 ing with his own agents to morrow; though not ceasing to  
 labor. I have been thinking of the late money, & I  
 have of a late letter from you, which I have not yet  
 this morning. I thank you sincerely for your very notice of  
 my name, & for the assurance which it gives me, that you  
 believe for the genuine cause, & that they have  
 given me to visit the country, & not to sit at home. With the  
 Committee, I should not have been so much concerned, &  
 would not have been so much troubled, & I should not  
 have taken so much notice of it, & I should not have  
 the gentleman whom I mentioned, & who has been here, & who  
 has been one with Dr. H. & who has been in the country, &  
 who has been one with Dr. H. & who has been in the country, &  
 which Mr. Davis & his lady had invited me to take  
 to Frankfort Kentucky, when they should return there.

I would not take any credit to myself, for any success, or have been  
 have been compared to so, & suffer what I have, by the power of cir-  
 cumstances, & hold on human aid was not effected without the  
 most severe & direct dispensations. Therefore, I could not by your  
 I could tell you all the way, & for it has not in the last year, &  
 of ingratitude & unbelief. Why do we not trust you at all times, &  
 always be happy. The little makes such infinite provisions for  
 us - to exactly suited in its direction, & to our instructions,  
 threatening, & to all the variety of circumstances, & in  
 human life. Then how safe is the Church. O how sweet to know,  
 amidst all the wickedness, that God will cause the wrath of man  
 to praise him, & restrain the remainder. How sweet the promise  
 that Jesus shall have the heathen for his inheritance, & the utter-  
 most parts of the earth for his possession. That he shall see of the  
 travail of his servant, and be satisfied.

I am now spending a short Christmas vacation with  
 Mrs. Bondinot's family. Pointed to remain last week with Mary  
 Field. Was treated with the utmost kindness - & obtained various  
 little aids for our school. Found six of my former scholars

accomplishing the greatest good to the mission the course he has  
 with me; but like the man, I have not sunk beneath the wa-  
 ter hold of the vision of hope, & risen above the tide of in-  
 fluence to overcome me in my labors; the past season  
 I not take any credit to myself, for any success; I have tried, &  
 can compare it to do, & suffer what I have, by the power of a  
 vessel, the hold of a human mind was not strengthened without the  
 severe & direct dispensations of Providence. Could it be by you  
 that you all the way, the Lord has led me the past year,  
 with a great deal of success, & I hope to see you here so far  
 at home - watching. Why do we not trust God at all times,  
 he happens. The Bible makes such infinite provisions,  
 exactly suited in its direction, counsel, & every instruction,  
 to bring us through all the various circumstances of  
 a life. Then how safe is the character; O how sweet to know  
 that all the wickedness, how great God will cause the wrath of  
 his arm to restrain the remainder. How sweet the pro-  
 phets shall have the heathen pour his indignance & the utter  
 parts of the earth for his possession that he shall see of  
 all of his soul and be satisfied.

I am now spending a short Christmas vacation at  
 Bondinot's family. I visited Brauer last week with ch-  
 ild - was treated with the utmost kindness - obtained vari-  
 ous aids for our school - found size of my New Town school

the Miss Sargent - Rejoiced in all I saw at Brian  
 it a kind of discouragement among some of the wife  
 specting their future labors, & a disposition to relinquish  
 bow in prospect of the removal of the Indians. - I was  
 leased with Miss Sargent's teaching, especially in a  
 ck. I wish cannot quit to learn under such instructive  
 hand schools be broken up until the Indians are  
 by the children are as happy as Roman citizens  
 best days - Now is the time for them to learn, ere they  
 re occupied with domestic or public affairs. Then the  
 one of keeping them from surrounding vices while the  
 school, especially a boarding school - I do hope, & pro  
 I trust will be satisfied this season; & the ~~Indians~~  
 & the <sup>from</sup> moral hostility that surrounds us In the  
 time I wish some one who has a mind like Dr. Bee  
 take these words; "It is painful; and he bound his heart, as  
 up the yoke, & preach to missionaries, who are yet  
 iculties. Let us keep two things in view, the value,  
 & prize, & the certainty of success, and then let us  
 the character of Christ - his labors & sufferings  
 the manger to the cross - You bear, perhaps, I shall  
 ing with discouragements to morrow; though not ceas  
 labor. ~~as usual in the~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~Chote~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~January~~ <sup>22,</sup>  
 I received your letter Dec, a few hours, six  
 not.



to Jan. 5th - 30th, 1836.  
 2 Feb. 25th.  
 ans - required.  
 Name of  
 Secretary  
 Rev. David Lyman,  
 Missionary Bureau,  
 Boston, Mass.

The enclosed is a copy of the  
 report of the committee on the  
 subject of the proposed  
 mission to the Sandwich  
 Islands, as given to the  
 Board of Missions, at their  
 meeting on the 10th inst.  
 The enclosed is a copy of the  
 report of the committee on the  
 subject of the proposed  
 mission to the Sandwich  
 Islands, as given to the  
 Board of Missions, at their  
 meeting on the 10th inst.

My mind is constant  
objects, that the imagination  
like rest is banished.  
Sir, have forbearance.  
those quiet people, unless  
myself a few years long  
that remaineth for the  
If I am not deceived  
I seem liberated from  
on, & find it so sweet to  
obtained. Continue to  
relations I sustain towards  
regard of my patrons.

in your school, but I think you now  
 your labors have become kind, I think you now  
 in New York. Oh, perhaps, you could tell  
 cannot, not here. I am in a great deal of  
 labor, I think, to give the children for a few hours  
 in their school. I am in a great deal of  
 the labors of the minister's but I think  
 I cannot mechanically  
 the labors of mind being  
 the mind is conducted, works  
 that the imagination, stands  
 like rest is benefited. I have  
 been long, long performing. I am in  
 of them, I think, unless I have  
 longer when  
 that I am with for the chief of  
 Christ. If I am not content I was not  
 I am glad to be content for a that I  
 I find it so sweet to labor  
 to be obtained. I think to get the  
 the minister's business to rest you in  
 of the way and of my duties. I think  
 I think you have all your rest and peace

a rest is banished. I he  
r, have forbearance. I am  
e quiet people; unless I  
self a few years longer  
t. remaineth for the chief  
I am not deceived. I was  
I seem liberated from the  
I find it so sweet to labo  
tained. Continue to feel the  
lutions. I sustain towards you  
and of my hutrons. If you  
on for all your just reproofs  
on to be constrained so often to  
ness. More than ever affection

until every thing like rest  
ing; but dear Sir, have  
not be one of those quiet  
must manage myself a  
first that rest that is in  
in Christ. If I am  
happy in God, I see  
human approbation, & find  
which Enoch obtained.  
subors, which the relations  
may be of the regard of  
to give it. I thank you for  
must be painful to you to be  
one in my circumstances.

as you say: all this is  
what I am, & I can  
have a new soul. I  
when I trust I shall  
of sinners, who believe  
is never so completely  
that criminal desire of  
for the testimony,  
the interest in me & my  
involved, however unworthy  
need reproof, or you think  
to & denunciations. I know it  
to administer the forgiveness, to  
nately yours in Christ W. Sawyer

Waters Wednesday eve. May 29. 1856

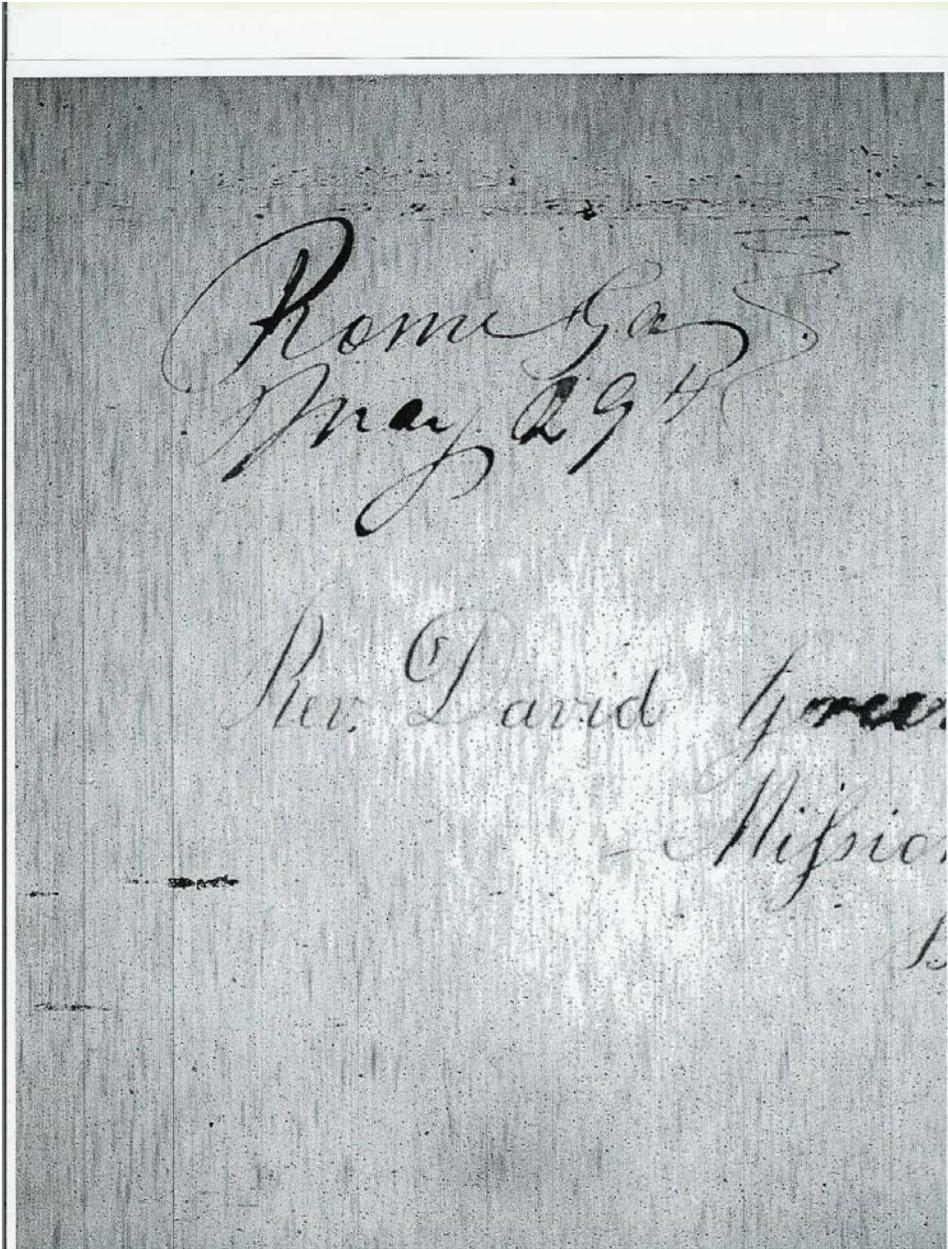
see me, sometimes, when I  
mental efforts; - see how unre-  
you would say, go to your  
old tell me to do, what I  
wish I could have the span of  
a few hours, that I might  
inquiries would be easily answered  
as readily. As it is, I am  
communicate in such a manner as to  
not during the day, that I

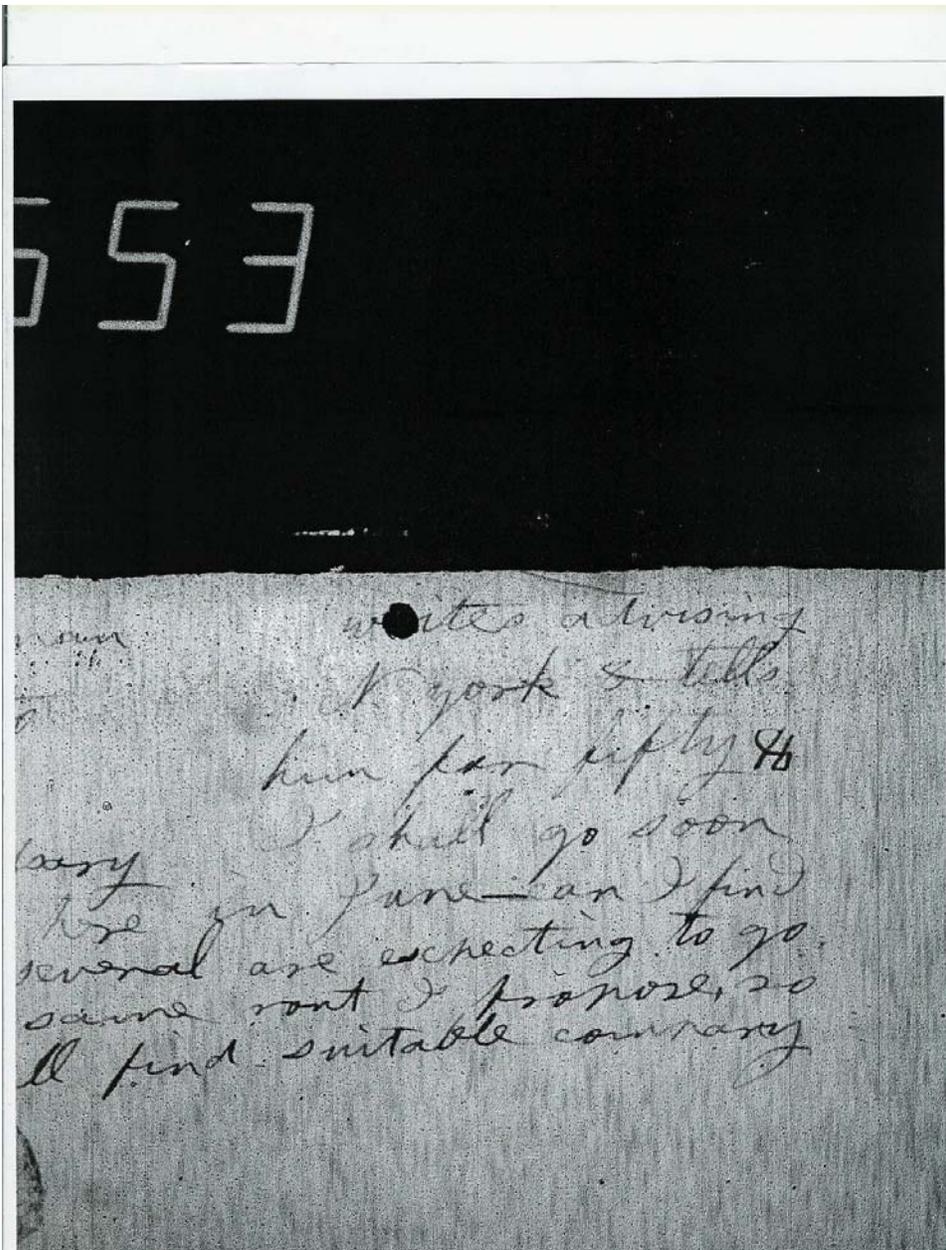
Running Waters Wednesday eve. 1898

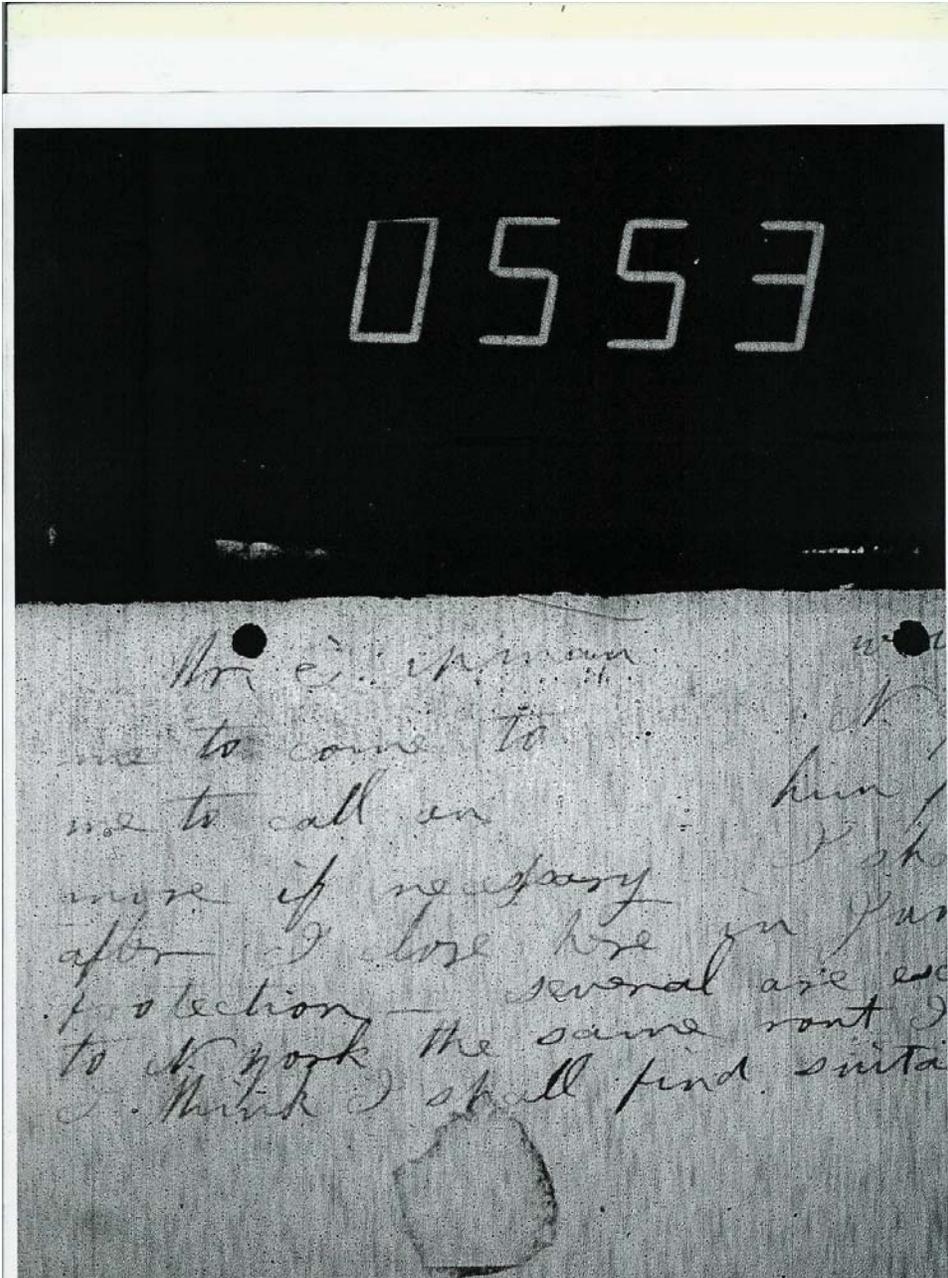
Could you see me, some times,  
from mental efforts & see  
I think you would say, for  
me, you would let me to do,  
times almost, with I could have  
children for a few hours, that  
These inquiries would be read  
& take ideas readily. As  
not communicate in such a  
loss of mind during the day.

Mr. D. Greene -  
Dear Sir,  
My health is  
come in from school, pale  
with my labors have been  
friend in New York. I  
yet I cannot, rest here.  
the Eastern Monarch to give  
rest from their ceaseless inq  
ed, could the scholars all un  
often in mental agony than  
satisfy myself. Such are









to that  
 I had  
 I was  
 kicked while with me by a mule. It was  
 saying I thank a trifle for what you did  
 at child too. They are rich - of mixed blood

so you can acknowledge  
 from Mrs. Martha Tann  
 J. Sawyer  
 handsome frock this morning from M.  
 you recollect the little boy that  
 this morning he gave me a gun  
 had was with only four months

I received a very handsome  
 Martha Vann Perhaps you recol  
 her son When she left this morni  
 for my son The child was with

She is at least worth five dollars  
 so you can acknowledge ten dollars  
 from Mrs. Martha Vann  
 J. Sawyer

took this morning from Mrs.  
 the little boy that kicked while  
 she gave me a que saying I tho  
 only four months old child too

Monday, May 18th, 1861. From Thursday's  
 I must have been in the country some time. The  
 weather was very warm in the afternoon, and  
 all the Cherokees in the country have  
 left to stay in the country here to stay. The  
 of they cannot they will stop.  
 From your young Cherokee friend  
 R. L. Smith

...ment they shall be ...  
 ... scholar she has taken ...  
 ... out of school. With their help ...  
 they ...

David ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

Miss Sophia Sawyer  
 Date ~~June~~ 14, 1855  
 Rec<sup>d</sup> July 30

...  
 ... great blessing ...

What wealth what is talent what is skill  
 to lose of spirit!

What note of sorrow strikes my ear  
 of their <sup>mother</sup> father thus distressed  
 Ah! you and me their father dear  
 This recent and reward to seek their  
 Eleanor S. B.

John Rollin Ridge aged eight  
 of the east of their farms, they see,  
 And wash in all the shores

John Rollin Ridge  
 grant me the rest of thy favor  
 And I desire no more

We are happy to receive so  
 this minute that the handwriting is  
 of great value. The words are  
 to be considered.

David Croasa 25  
 Apr 2 1840

Rev. David Greene  
 Missionary Rooms  
 Boston, No

54

Running Waters, C. T. May 18, 1896  
I am at school here nearly five months to the Alps  
at thirty miles from Running Waters. I am  
of Big-Heart Smith's my father is his son.  
I lived just about two miles from the Alps  
I have been turned out from his

trees  
 and stone.  
 Mrs  
 to you  
 from  
 Eliza A. Northrop.  
 souls are lighted  
 from on high,  
 benighted  
 life deny  
 ablation;  
 and proclaim  
 otest nation  
 Messiah's name.  
 Elizabeth City Admin.

I received a very handsome frock  
 perhaps you recollect the  
 Martha Lane when she left this morning  
 her son the child was with only

Specimens of hand writing  
From Greenland's icy mountains,  
From India's coral strand;  
Where Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sand,  
From many an ancient river,  
From many a palmy plain,  
They call us to deliver  
Their land from error's chain.  
What tho' the spicy breezes  
Blow soft over Ceylon's isle,

one dollar  
ten dollars

Waft, waft; ye winds, his sterner  
 And ye, ye waters, roll,  
 Till, like a sea of glory,  
 It spreads from pole to pole;  
 Till o'er our ransomed nature,  
 The Lamb for sinners slain  
 Redeemer, King, Creator  
 In bliss returns to reign.  
 John Kellin Rudge aged nine years.

This is  
 the  
 picture  
 of  
 the  
 water

This is  
 the  
 picture  
 of  
 the  
 water

**APPENDIX I:**

**The Treaty of New Echota**

(From the GALILEO online research database, [www.galileo.peachnet.edu](http://www.galileo.peachnet.edu): University of Georgia.)

Talman Curley Collection  
University of Georgia

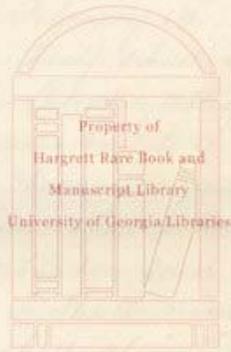
Article 1<sup>st</sup> The Cherokee nation hereby cede relinquish and convey to the United States, all the lands owned, claimed or possessed by them East of the Mississippi River, and hereby release all their claims upon the United States for speculation of every kind for and in consideration of the sum of Five millions of Dollars to be expended, paid and invested in the manner stipulated and agreed upon in the following articles. But as a question has arisen between the Commissioners and the Cherokee, whether the Senate in their resolution by which they advised "that a sum not exceeding five millions of dollars be paid to the Cherokee Indians for all their lands and possessions east of the Mississippi river have included and made any allowance or consideration for claims for speculation. It is therefore agreed on the part of the United States, that this question shall be again submitted to the Senate for their consideration and decision, and if no allowance or consideration was made for speculation, that then an additional sum of three hundred thousand dollars be allowed for the same.

Article 2<sup>nd</sup> Whereas by the treaty of May 6<sup>th</sup> 1828 and the supplementary treaty thereto of February 14<sup>th</sup> 1833 with the Cherokee west of the Mississippi, the United States guaranteed and secured to be conveyed by patent to the Cherokee Nation of Indians the following tract of Country. Beginning at a point on the old western territorial line of Arkansas territory being twenty five miles north from the point where the territorial line crosses Arkansas river, thence running from said north point south on the said territorial line, where the said territorial line crosses Verdigris river. Thence down said Verdigris river to the Arkansas river, thence down said Arkansas to a point where a stone is placed opposite the east or lower bank of Grand river at its junction with the Arkansas; thence running south forty four

acres west one mile; thence in a straight line to a point four miles northerly from the mouth of the north fork of the Canadian; thence along the said four mile line to the Canadian; thence down the Canadian to the Arkansas; thence down the Arkansas to that point on the Arkansas where the Eastern Cherokee boundary strikes said river, and running thence with the western line of Arkansas Territory as now defined to the south west corner of Missouri; thence along the western Missouri line to the land assigned the Senecas; thence on the south line of the Senecas to Grand River; thence up said Grand River as far as the south line of the Osage reservation extended if necessary; thence up and between said south Osage line extended west if necessary and a line drawn due West from the point of beginning to a certain distance West at which a line running north and south said Osage line to said due west line will make seven millions of acres within the whole described boundaries. In addition to the seven millions of acres of land thus provided for and bound, the United States further guaranties to the Cherokee nation a perpetual outlet west, and a free and unmolested use of all the country west of the western boundary of said seven millions of acres, as far west as the sovereignty of the United States and their right of soil extend. Provided however, that if the saline or salt plain on the western prairie shall fall within said limits provided for said outlet, the right is reserved to the United States to permit other tribes of Red men to get salt on said plain in common with the Cherokees; and letters patent shall be issued by the United States as soon as practicable for the land hereby guarantied.

And whereas it is apprehended by the Cherokee that in the above defined there is not contained a sufficient

And whereas it is apprehended by the Cherokee, that in  
the above cession there is not contained a sufficient quantity  
of land for the accommodation of the whole nation on their  
removal west of the Mississippi the United States in consid-  
eration of the sum of five hundred thousand dollars,  
therefore hereby covenants and agrees to convey to the  
said Indians, and their descendants by patent in fee  
simple the following additional tract of land situated  
between the West line of the State of Missouri and the



Osage reservation Beginning at the south east corner of the same and runs north along the east line of the Osage lands fifty miles, to the north east corner thereof; and thence east to the west line of the state of Mississippi; thence with said line south 58 miles; thence west to the place of beginning, estimated to contain eight hundred thousand acres of land; but it is expressly understood, that if any of the lands apportioned the Dupont shall fall within the aforesaid lands, the same shall be reserved and excepted out of the lands above granted and a pro rata reduction shall be made in the price to be allowed to the United States, for the same by the Cherokee.

Article 3. The United States also agree that the lands above ceded by the treaty of February 14. 1833 including the cut-let and those ceded by this treaty shall all be included in one patent executed to the Cherokee nation of Indians, by the President of the United States, according to the provisions of the act of May 28. 1830. It is however agreed that the military reservation at Fort Gibson shall be held by the United States. But should the U. S. abandon said post and have no further use for the same it shall revert to the Cherokee nation. The U. S. shall always have the right to make and establish such post, and military roads and Forts in any part of the Cherokee country as they may deem proper for the interest and protection of the same, and the free use of as much land, timber fuel and materials, of all kinds for the construction and support of the same as may be necessary; provided that if the private rights of individuals are interfered with, a just compensation therefor shall be made.

Article 4th The United States also stipulate and agree to extinguish for the benefit of the Cherokee the titles to the reservations within their country, made in the Osage treaty of 1825 to certain half breeds, and for this purpose

they shall agree to pay to the persons to whom the same belong or have been assigned, or to their agents or guardians, whenever they shall require, after the ratification of this treaty, a satisfactory compensation for the same to the U. S. the sum of fifteen thousand dollars according to a schedule accompanying this treaty, of the relative value of the several reservations.

And Whereas by the several treaties between the U. S. and the Osage Indians, the Union and Harmony (missionary) reservation, which were established for their benefit are now situated within the country ceded by them to the United States, the former being situated in the Cherokee country, and the latter in the state of Missouri; It is therefore agreed that the U. S. shall pay the American board of Commissioners for foreign Missions, for the improvements on the same what they shall be appraised at by Capt Geo Washon Cherokee sub-agent, Abraham Redfield & A. C. Choctaw or such persons as the President of the U. S. shall appoint, and the money allowed for the same shall be expended in schools among the Osages, improving their condition. It is understood that the U. S. are to pay the amount allowed for the reservations in this article and not the Cherokees.

Article 5. The United States, hereby covenant and agree that the lands ceded to the Cherokee Nation in the foregoing article shall in no future time, without their consent, be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but they shall secure to the Cherokee Nation the right, by their national Councils, to make and carry into effect all such laws as they may deem necessary for the government and protection of the person and property within their own country, belonging to their people or such persons as have connected themselves with them; provided always that they shall not be inconsistent with the

Constitution of the United States, and such acts of Congress as have been or may hereafter be passed regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians and also that they shall not be considered as extending to such citizens and any of the United States as may travel or reside in the lands and Country by permission according to the laws and regulations established by the Government of the same -

Article 6<sup>th</sup> Perpetual peace and friendship shall exist between the Citizens of the United States and the Cherokee Indians. The United States agree to protect the Cherokee nation <sup>from</sup> domestic strife and foreign enemies and against intestine wars between the several tribes.

The Cherokees shall endeavor to <sup>preserve</sup> and maintain the peace of the Country and not make war upon their neighbors; they shall also be protected against interruptions and intrusions from Citizens of the United States who may attempt to settle in the Country without their consent, and all such persons shall be removed from the same by order of the President of the United States. But this is not intended to prevent the residence among them of useful farmers, mechanics and teachers for the instruction of the Indians according to the treaty stipulations.

Article 7 The Cherokee nation having already made great progress in Civilization and deeming it important that every possible and laudable inducement should be offered to their people to improve their Condition as well as to guard and secure in the most effectual manner the rights guaranteed to them in this Treaty, and with a view to illustrate the liberal and enlarged policy of the Government of the United States towards the Indians in their removal beyond the territorial limits of the States it is stipulated that they shall be entitled to a delegate in the House of Representatives of the United States whenever Congress shall make provision for the same.

Art. 8<sup>th</sup> The United States also agree and stipulate to remove the Cherokees to their new homes and to support them one

year after their arrival there, and that a sufficient number of Steam Boats and baggage waggons shall be furnished to remove them Comfortably, and so as not to endanger their health, and that a physician, well supplied with medicines, shall accompany each detachment of emigrants removed by the Government. Such persons and families as in the Opinion of the Emigrating agent are Capable of Subsisting and removing themselves shall be permitted to do so, and they shall be allowable in full for all Claims for the same twenty dollars for each member of their family, and in lieu of their one year rations they shall be paid the sum of thirty three Dollars and thirty three Cents if they prefer it. Such Cherokees also as reside at present out of the nation and shall remove with them in two years west of the Mississippi shall be entitled to allowance for removal and Subsistence as above provided.

Art. 9 The United States agree to appoint suitable agents who shall make a just and fair valuation of all such improvements owned the property of the Cherokees as add any value to the lands and also of the ferries owned by them according to their net income, and such improvements and ferries <sup>as have been</sup> ~~which~~ they have been disposed of in a lawful manner or under any existing laws of the State where the same may be situated. <sup>Indian</sup> The just debts of the <sup>Indian</sup> ~~Indians~~ shall be paid.

out of any monies due them for their improvements and claims; and they shall also be furnished at the discretion of the President of the U. S. with a sufficient sum to enable them to obtain the necessary means to remove them selves, to their new homes, and the balance of their dues shall be paid them at the Cherokee Agency West of the Mississippi. The Missionary establishments shall also be valued and appraised in a like manner and the amount of them paid over by the United States, to the Treasury of the respective Missionary Societies by whom they have been established and improved in order to enable them to erect such buildings and make such improvements among the Cherokees West of the Mississippi as they may deem necessary for their benefit such teachers at present among the Cherokees as the Council shall select and designate shall be removed West of the Mississippi with the Cherokee Nation, and on the same terms allowed to them.

Art. 11. The President of the U. S. shall invest in some safe and most productive public stocks of the country for the benefit of the whole Cherokee Nation who have removed or shall remove to the lands assigned by this treaty to the Cherokee Nation West of the Mississippi the following sum as a permanent fund for the purposes hereinafter specified, and pay over the net income of the same annually to such person or persons as shall be authorized or appointed by the Cherokee Nation to receive the same, and their receipt shall be a full discharge for the sum paid to them, viz. The sum of two hundred thousand dollars in addition to the present annuities of the Nation to constitute a general fund the interest of which shall be applied annually by the Council of the Nation to such purposes as they may deem best for the general interest of their people.

The sum of fifty thousand dollars to constitute an orphan fund the annual income of which shall be expended towards the support and education of such orphan children as are destitute of the means of subsistence. The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in addition to the present school fund of the Nation shall constitute a permanent school fund, the interest

of which shall be applied annually by the Council of the Nation for the support of common schools, and such a literary institution of a higher order as may be established in the Indian Country. And in order to secure as far as possible the true and beneficial application of the Orphan and school fund, the Council of the Cherokee Nation, when required by the President of the U.S. shall make a report of the application of these funds, and he shall at all times have the right, if the funds have been misapplied to correct any abuses of them and direct the manner of their application for the purposes for which they were intended. The Council of the Nation may by giving two years notice of their intention withdraw their funds, by and with the consent of the President and Senate of the U.S. and invest them in such manner as they may deem most proper for their interest. The U.S. also agree and stipulate to pay the just debts and claims against the Cherokee Nation held by the Citizens of the same and also the just claims of Citizens of the U.S. for services rendered to the Nation, and the sum of sixty thousand dollars is appropriated for this purpose, but no claims against individuals or persons of the Nation shall be allowed and paid by the Nation. The sum of three hundred thousand dollars is hereby set apart to pay and liquidate the just claims of the Cherokee upon the U.S. for spoliations of every kind that have not been already satisfied under former treaties.

Article 11. The Cherokee Nation of Indians believing it will be for their interest of their people to have all their funds & annuities under their own direction

And further disposition hereby agree to commate their permanent annuity of Ten thousand dollars for the said of two hundred and fourteen thousand dollars, the same to be invested by the President of the United States, as a part of the general fund of the nation; and their present school fund amounting to about fifty thousand dollars shall constitute a part of the permanent school fund of the nation.

Article 12<sup>th</sup> Those individuals and families of the Cherokee Nation that are averse to a removal to the Cherokee Country west of the Mississippi, and are desirous to become citizens of the United States where they reside, and such as are qualified to take care of themselves and their property, shall be entitled to receive their due portions of all the personal benefits accruing under this treaty for their claims, improvements, & per Capita; as soon as an appropriation is made for this treaty.

Such heads of Cherokee families as are desirous to reside within the states of N. Carolina, Tennessee and Alabama subject to the laws of the United States, and who are qualified or calculated to become useful citizens shall be entitled in the certificate of the Commissioners to a pre-emption right of one hundred and sixty acres of land, or a quarter section at the maximum Congress price, so as to include the present buildings or improvements of those who now reside there and such as do not live there at present shall be permitted to locate within two years any land not already occupied by persons entitled to pre-emption privilege under this treaty - and if two or more families live on the same quarter section and they desire to continue their residence in these states and are qualified as above specified, they shall on receiving their pre-emption certificate, be entitled to the right of pre-emption to such land as they may select not already taken by any person entitled to them under this treaty.

It is agreed stipulated and agreed, between the United

Hays and the Cherokee people, that John Ross, James Starr,  
 George Weeks, John Gantow, George Chamber, John Ridge,  
 Elias Ronanah, George Sanders, John Martin, William Rogers,  
 Romanus Ross, Sitawala and John Timpson, shall be a  
 Committee on the part of the Cherokee, to recommend such  
 persons for the privilege of preemption rights as may be  
 deemed suitable to the same under the above articles, and  
 to select the Meponanias who shall be removed with the  
 Nation, and that they be hereby fully empowered and authorized  
 to transact all business on the part of the Nation which may  
 arise in carrying into effect the provisions of this Treaty & settling  
 the same within the United States. If any of the persons above  
 mentioned should decline acting or be removed by death,  
 the vacancies shall be filled by the Committee themselves.  
 It is also understood and agreed, that the sum of One  
 hundred thousand dollars shall be expended by the Commis-  
 sioners in such manner as the Committee shall deem best  
 for the benefit of the persons of Cherokee as shall be re-  
 moved with or have removed with and are entitled to  
 the benefits of this Treaty. The same to be delivered at  
 the Cherokee Agency as soon after removal of the  
 Nation as possible.

**Article 13** In order to make a final settlement of all  
 the claims of the Cherokee for reservations granted under former  
 treaties to any individual belonging to the Nation by  
 the United States, it is therefore hereby stipulated and agreed  
 and expressly understood by the parties to this Treaty that  
 all the Cherokee and their heirs and descendants to whom  
 any reservations have been made under any former  
 treaties with the United States, and who have not sold  
 or conveyed the same by deed or otherwise, and who  
 in the opinion of the Commission have complied with  
 the laws

in which the reservations were granted as far as practicable in the  
 several cases, and which reservations have since been sold by the U. S. shall  
 constitute a just claim against the United States, and the original reservee  
 or their heirs or descendants shall be entitled to receive the present value  
 thereof from the U. S. as unimproved lands - and all such reservations  
 as have not been sold by the U. S. and where the terms on which  
 the reservations were made in the opinion of the Commissioners have  
 been complied with as far as practicable they or their heirs or de-  
 scendants shall be entitled to the same. They are hereby granted and  
 confirmed to them - and also all persons who were entitled to reservations  
 under the treaty of 1817 and who as far as practicable in the opinion  
 of the Commissioners have complied with the stipulations of said treaty;  
 although by the treaty of 1819 such reservations were included in the un-  
 ceded lands belonging to the Cherokee Nation, are hereby confirmed to them  
 and they shall be entitled to receive a grant for the same, and all such  
 Reserves as were obliged by the laws of the State, in which their reserva-  
 tions were situated, to abandon the same or purchase them from the  
 State, shall be deemed to have a just claim against the U. S. for the amt.  
 by them paid to the State, with interest thereon for such reservations,  
 and if obliged to abandon the same to the present value of such  
 reservations as unimproved lands. But in all cases where the  
 Reserves have sold their Reservations, or any part thereof, and con-  
 sidered the same by deed or otherwise and have been paid for the same,  
 they, their heirs or ~~persons~~ descendants, or their assigns, shall not be  
 considered as having any claim upon the United States, under  
 this article of the treaty, nor be entitled to receive any compensation  
 for the lands thus disposed of. It is expressly understood by  
 the parties to this treaty that the amt. to be allowed for reser-  
 vations, under this article shall not be deducted out of the con-  
 sideration money allowed to the Cherokees for their claims for  
 Spoliations, and the cession of their lands; but the same is to  
 be paid for independently by the United States, as it is only  
 a just fulfillment of former treaty stipulations.

Article 13. It is also agreed on the part of the United States, that such Warriors of the Cherokee nation as were engaged on the side of the United States, in the late war with Great Britain and the Southern tribes of Indians, and who were wounded in such service shall be entitled to such pensions, as shall be allowed them by the Congress of the United States, to commence from the period of their disability.

Art. 15. It is expressly understood and agreed by the parties to this treaty that after deducting the amount which shall be actually expended for the payment for improvements, ferries, claims for expatriation, removal, subsistence and debts and claims upon the Cherokee nation, and for the additional quantity of lands and goods, for the poor Cherokees and the several sums to be invested for the general national funds, provided for in the several articles of this treaty, the balance, whatever the same may be shall be equally divided between all the people belonging to the Cherokee nation east according to the Census just completed, and such Cherokees as have removed west since June 1839 who are entitled by the terms of their enrollment and removal to all the benefits resulting from the final treaty resulting between the U.S. and the Cherokees East. They shall also be paid for their improvements according to their appraised value before their removal where same has not already been shown in their valuation.

Article 16 It is hereby stipulated and agreed by the Cherokee  
 that they shall remove to their new homes within two years from  
 the ratification of this treaty, and that during such time the  
 United States shall protect and defend them in their pos-  
 session and property and free use and occupation of the  
 same, and such persons as have been despoiled of their  
 improvements and houses, and for which no grant has ac-  
 tually issued previously to the enactment of the law of the  
 State of Georgia of December 1835 to regulate Indian oc-  
 cupancy shall be again put in possession, and placed  
 in the same situation and condition in reference to the  
 laws of the State of Georgia as the Indians that have not  
 been despoiled, and if this is not done, and the people  
 are left unprotected, then the United States shall pay the  
 several Cherokees for the losses and damages sustained by  
 them in consequence thereof, and it is also stipulated &  
 agreed that the public buildings and improvements, and  
 which they are situated at New Echota for which no grant  
 has been actually made previously to the passage of the above  
 treated Act, if not occupied by the Cherokee people shall  
 be reserved for the public and free use of the United States  
 and the Cherokee Indians for the purpose of settling and  
 closing all the Indian business arising under this treaty  
 between the Commissioners of Claims and the Indians.  
 The United States and the several States interested in the  
 Cherokee lands, shall immediately proceed to survey the lands  
 ceded by this treaty, but it is expressly agreed and understood  
 between the parties that the agency buildings and that  
 tract of land surveyed and laid off for the use of Colo  
 R. J. Allens Indian agents, or heretofore employed and  
 occupied by his successor in office shall continue subject  
 to the use and occupancy of the United States or such  
 agent as may be engaged specially superintending the  
 removal of the tribe.

Article 17 All the claims arising under or provided for in the several articles of this treaty shall be examined, as a arbitrators by Genl. William Carroll and John A. Schomberger or by such Commissioners as shall be appointed by the President of the United States for that purpose, and their decisions shall be final, and on their certificate of the amount due the several claimants they shall be paid by the United States. All stipulations in former treaties which have not been superseded or annulled by this, shall continue in full force and virtue.

Article 18 Whereas in consequence of the unsettled affairs of the Cherokee people, their crops, their crops are insufficient to support their families and great distress is likely to ensue, and whereas the Nation

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will not until after their removal be able advantageously to expend the income of the permanent funds of the Nation. It is therefore agreed that the annuities of the nation which may accrue under this treaty for two years, the time fixed for their removal, shall be expended in provisions and clothing for the benefit of the poorer class of the nation; and the United States hereby agree to advance the same for that purpose as soon after the ratification of this treaty as an appropriation for the same shall be made. It is not however intended in this article to interfere with that part of the annuities due the Cherokee Nation, by the Treaty of 1819.

Article 19. This treaty after the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, shall be obligatory on the contracting parties.

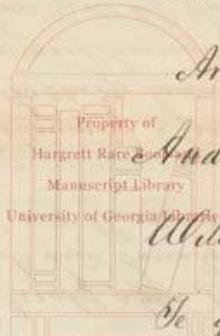
In testimony whereof the Commissioners and the Chiefs, head men and people, whose names are hereunto annexed, being duly authorized by the people in General Council assembled, have affixed their hands and seals for themselves and in behalf of the Cherokee Nation.

J. F. Schermerhorn	Feb
Geo. T. Lee <sup>his</sup> mark	Feb
John Gunter	Feb
John A. Bell	Feb
Charles F. Foreman	Feb
William C. Rogers	Feb
George M. Adair	Feb
Chas. Boudinot <sup>his</sup> mark	Feb
James Starr <sup>his</sup> mark	Feb

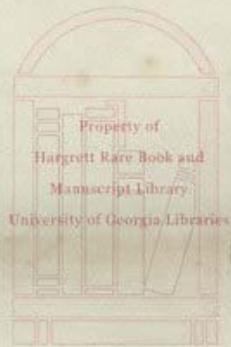
Jesse Halfbrad <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Major Ridge <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 James Foster <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Jesse Taesty <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Charles Moore <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 George Chambers <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Tah ze ske <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Archilla Smith <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Andrew Rop Seal  
 William Sapley Seal  
 He gab e ske <sup>his</sup> ~~X~~ <sub>mark</sub> Seal  
 Robert Rogers Seal

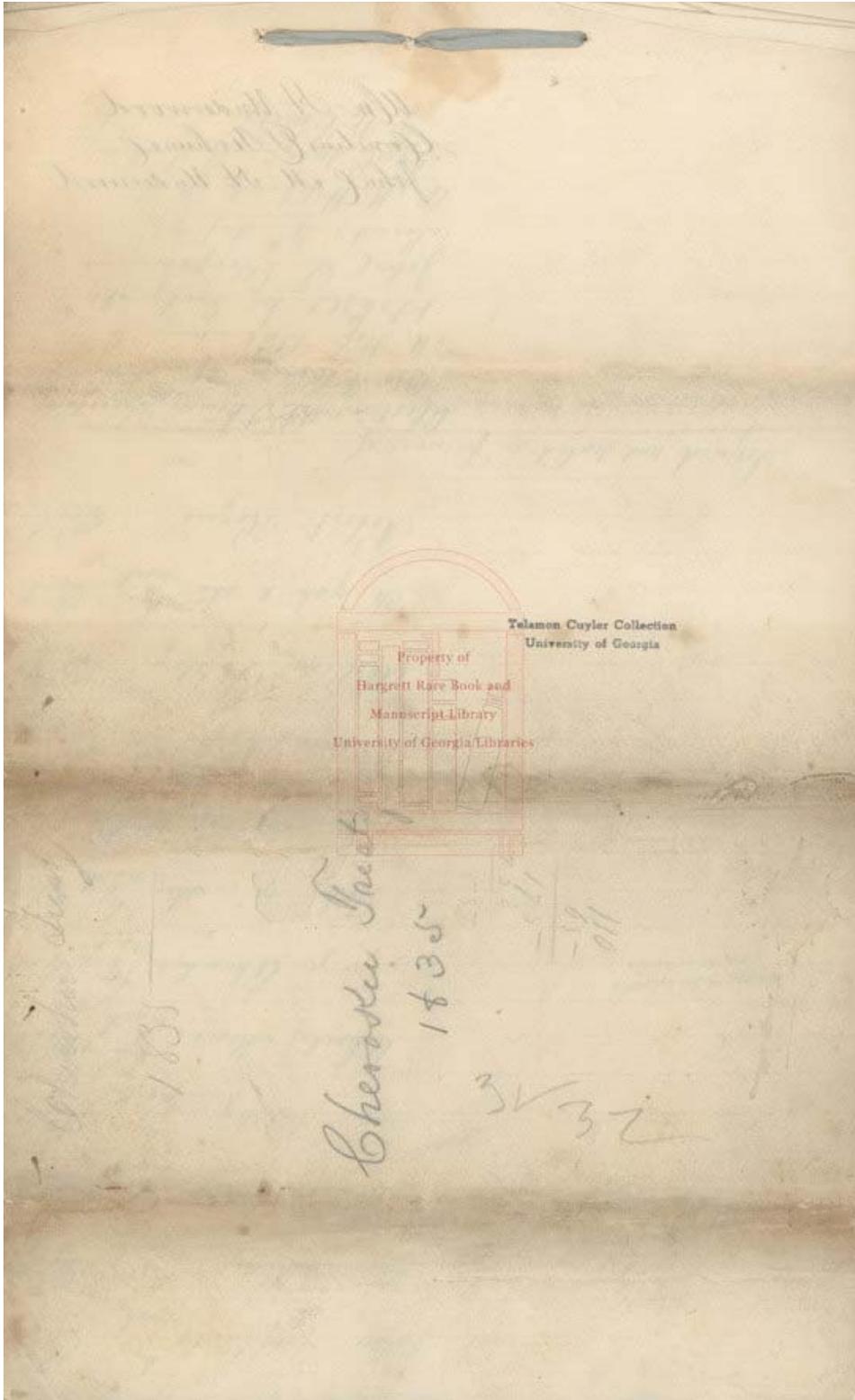
Signed and sealed in presence of  
 Western R Thomas, Secretary  
 Ben F. Currey, Special agent  
 M. Mof Bat an  
 H.S.W. by Duty of  
 John L. Hooper  
 Sicut 4<sup>th</sup> Inf. of  
 G. M. Hitchcock M.D.  
 Appt<sup>d</sup> Surg<sup>n</sup> U. S. Army  
 G. M. Currey

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University of Georgia



*Wm H Underwood  
Gardner P. Torhune  
John H. Underwood*





**APPENDIX J:**

**The Papers of John P. Rush**

(From a private collection kept by Thad Rush in his home.)

## History of My Life

In the town of Tuskegee, Ala., in the home of my maternal grandmother Mrs. Nancy Basson I was born on June 5th 1867. Three and a half pounds of unpromising humanity was all that was of me for a start in life. At six weeks of age my mother brought me to my father's home in Floyd County, Georgia. They say I was so small that a large spin cushion served as my traveling baby pillow on the trip. Having no recollection of the incidents of the trip, I can not dispute that statement.

The first three years of my life were spent with my Aunt in the home of my Grandfather Bush, on the back-  
 road, seven miles north of Rome. This place had been the home of the

(2)

Indian Chief John Ridge prior to the Cherokee removal, 1835-7. My grandfather had occupied the Indian house when he first settled there, and my father was born in that house. Later, about 1842, the present building was erected and in that house I spent my first three years. Then, my grandparents being old, their children all married, decided to live with their eldest daughter, Aunt Julia Kichey, three miles north of the old home. The home place was then rented out, and my father lived a year in the house with his older brother Hosea. The year we lived with my uncle father built a home for himself on a lot of land joining my grandfather's place on the east. To this we moved when I was four years old. We lived there three years,

[3]

During the time we lived at this  
 home occurred an incident, seem-  
 ingly of little importance at the  
 time, that has impressed, and  
 to some extent, influenced me  
 more than any event of my child-  
 hood. The house had not been  
 completed when we moved into it,  
 and my father had two young men  
 of the neighborhood, - John B. Duffield  
 and James Sharp - helping to finish  
 it, or, at least doing some finishing  
 work on it. One Saturday they quit  
 work at noon, leaving their tools  
 in a chest on the porch. My father  
 cautioned me not to open the chest  
 or to touch any of the tools. But  
 the temptation to try a sharp, light  
 hatchet I had seen one of the young  
 men using, was beyond my power

(21)

of resistance, and as soon as no one was watching, I got out that wonderful hatchet, so bright and sharp, and proceeded to a thicket of bushes in front of the house. With half a dozen licks I cut a notch something near the size of a man's wrist. Then as a further test, I began cutting the stick into short pieces. Just a few licks of the ox went on the wood, and then the keen edge slipped onto my bare foot and the big toe on my right foot was almost cut off. The whole performance <sup>cutting ~~of the~~ cut</sup> took perhaps less than fifteen minutes, but I have suffered physical pain from that act to distance nearly every day of my life all the years since. The knot on my foot, making necessary an ugly and larger shoe, was very embarrassing to me all my boyhood days - and is



(6)

looked at my eyes, <sup>at</sup> my teeth and asked about my general health. Then he examined my hands and found a crooked finger. The finger, however, he said he could straighten and a little defect of the eyes he said he could overcome. Then I was told to take off my shoes. So far, I was in good spirits, but now I knew the worst was to come. The Dr. looked at my foot, shook his head and said he could do nothing for that. So I had to step aside & hand the red-headed boy from Cedar town or Peter Harris got the appointment. But I have gotten ahead of my story and have skipped twelve years of my boyhood. Now let me go back. I while I've lived at this or this place - now the home of Mrs. W. J. Watson - there <sup>were</sup> several other experiences of my childhood that impressed me singularly. Two of those experiences always recall the re-

(7)

ollection of my cousin, Albert Burney,  
 who was the chief actor in both. It  
 was the first time I can remember  
 the feeling of being lost. Albert Burney,  
 Willie Coe, Jeff Burney, my brother  
 Howard and I, were wandering about in  
 the strip of woods east of the house  
 when Albert suggested that we ~~to~~ go  
 over to my father's gin house, some-  
 thing near half-a-mile away. So we  
 struck out through the woods in  
 the direction we thought it was.  
 Either purposely or otherwise - I have  
 never known just which - Albert  
 led us so crooked a way we  
 were soon completely lost, and even  
 Al himself did not know where  
 he was. Then some of the younger  
 ones began to cry. We knew we could  
 not be far from where old Mr Brinspill  
 lived, so Al began to call at the  
 top of his voice "O Mr Brinspill, O Mr.

(87)

"Bingfield." But to all his calls there was no answer. After a while we heard the crowing of a rooster. Then we decided to go in that direction. In just a little way we found ourselves in the road, but none of us knew which end to take. At the crow of the rooster and that point was settled for us. We went in that direction, and soon got home for we had never been more than a quarter of a mile away.

The same year, on Christmas day, Albert and Jeff were at our house on a visit, and suggested we all go over to the gin-house and go in bathing in the mill-race just below the gin's wheel. No boy ever misses a chance to go in bathing, so we three young ones all agreed. We were soon

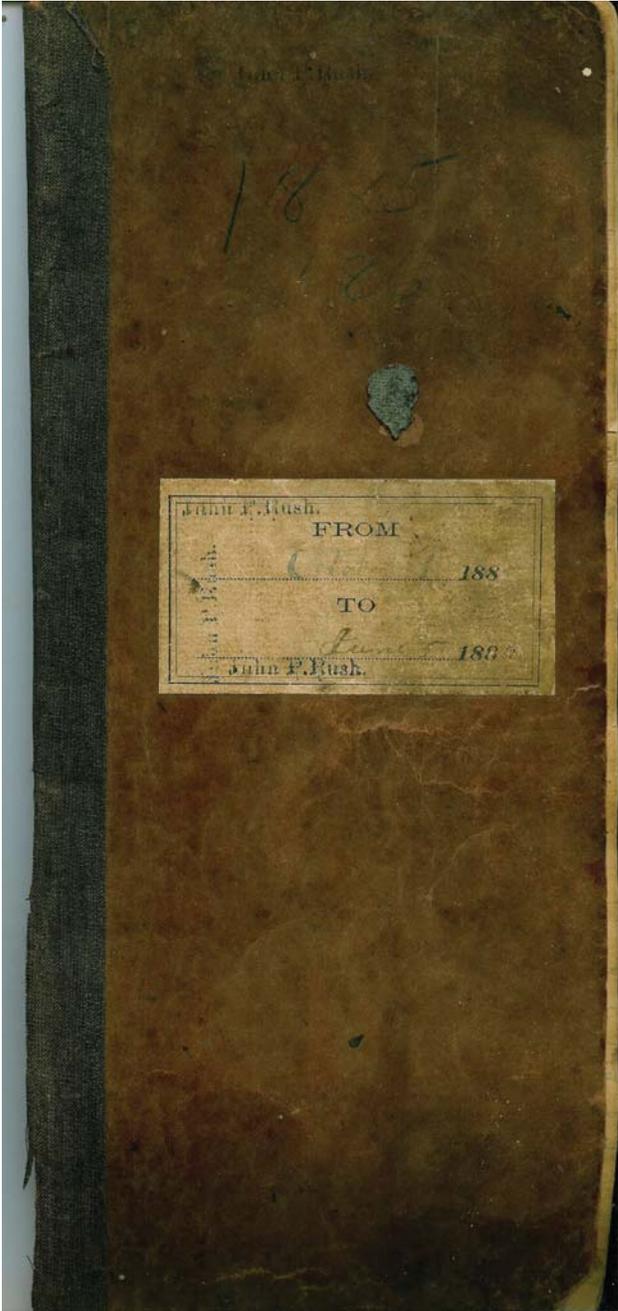
(9)

over there, undressed, in the water  
- and soon out. I haven't been  
in bath since Christmas day since

I found my first turkey  
nest while out blood at this  
place. Some large fine trees had  
been cut in clear up for a  
horse-lot and in one of these  
green tops a turkey had made  
a nest. Clinging over the body of  
the tree one day I suddenly  
spied the nest of pretty spotted  
eggs among the green fine  
needles. It was a very exciting  
find to me and I ran with all  
my might to tell my mother.

Once while living here I learned  
how raw egg tastes. I had been in  
the loft of the stable to gather eggs from  
a nest and there my feet were full  
full and both hands. When I came to  
climb down on the ladder the eggs in

(110)  
my hands had to go somewhere. Crowding  
my pockets all they would hold there was still  
one egg too many. I put that one in  
my mouth! I was in a hurry to get  
to the house and I shot I wish  
how many I had, I jumped from the  
ladder to the ground. My teeth were  
harder than the egg-shell, and I spat  
for the next half-hour.



October 1, 1885 Thurs.  
 Wet & gloomy. Rain by 11 AM  
 Bud carried some corn &  
 wheat to mill this morn.  
 & when he came back he  
 went to the gin with  
 Billy to carry a load of  
 cotton. P.M. I went to  
 town for Father. He has  
 been on the G. jury, but  
 is off now till next week.  
 Bud went to P.O. Got letters  
 Sister & G. at school. Emma  
 still very pale & weak. Dr.  
 Nims stopped this morn to see

October 2, 1885 Friday  
 Raining, now & then, all  
 day. Sister & Geo did not  
 go to school. Bud went  
 for our grinding in the AM.  
 P.M. he took his gun &  
 went through the woods  
 to P.O. Brought home the  
 Weeliam. Early this morn  
 ing I helped Jim get one  
 of Mrs. Kimbrian's hogs  
 out of his corn. About 1/2  
 acres of corn have been  
 totally destroyed by the hogs.  
 They get over our fence  
 however, & it is G's own  
 fault for ought to have  
 put on rails at the low  
 places. Very wet & slippery

October 3, 1885 Sat.  
 Cloudy, windy & showery.  
 Bud carried the remainder  
 of Billy's bale of cotton to  
 the gin this morning. Then  
 Billy went to town & Bud  
 went over the mountain for  
 some boards. Mr. Underwood  
 has split for a while.  
 I went horse back to  
 Church, but Mr. Underwood  
 did not preach - only 4  
 persons being present.  
 I've spent most of the  
 day hunting. About all  
 I've was to build a log  
 pen & clean out the stove.

October 4 1885 Sun -  
 Perfectly clear. Very cool.  
 All went to church. No  
 S.S., as nobody had the  
 papers to learn the lessons.  
 Small congregation.  
 Mr. Underwood came  
 home to dinner with us.  
 He took the cong. collec-  
 tion, \$25.00 for our church,  
 to day, & having no  
 money I subscribed 25¢.  
 Bud put down 50 cts.  
 I was tempted to subscribe  
 as much, but resisted -  
 to put down an evil spirit  
 that prompts to such actions.

October 5 1855 Monday  
 Frost / Yes & a good deal  
 for the first morning. Cool  
 all day. Being on gins  
 again this week Father was  
 in town all day. Bud goes  
 covering cotton house, walk  
 to P.O. & gin. I was in the  
 cotton field most of the  
 day but picked only 35 lbs.  
 The cotton dark & stringy  
 The locks are very small  
 hard to get out. Poor lint.  
 Negroes all picking. Sister & G.  
 at school. E. is again getting plowed

October 6, 1855. Tuesday  
 Not quite cool enough for  
 frost. In P.M. became clear  
 & warmer. Father has to  
 be in town by 8 1/2 & soldiers  
 gets home before dark.  
 This morning Bud went  
 to mill & to the gin, P.M.  
 he plowed - with double  
 team. I went to the  
 cotton field about ten &  
 picked 50 lbs during the  
 day. The lint is so short  
 & hard to get out. Worms  
 have bored into many of  
 the bolls & made the cotton  
 black & sticky. Hunt  
 Pinson died last night  
 & was buried to day.

October 7, 1855 Wed.  
 held this morning but became cloudy & warm during the day. Seed flowing as yesterday & is still on the jury. Before M. I was busy here at the house - picked cotton after Uncle Dick, Aunt Sally Aunt Mary & Cousin Harriet. Came here about ten A.M., ate dinner & went up to Uncle Hickey's in the P.M. Father brought Cousin Annine home - from the Lewis just this. Spent the night here also.

October 8, 1855 Thurs.  
 Warm. Very pretty day. Father was off to town about the usual hour but a little later getting getting home. Uncle De see came & carried Cousin Annine home with him this morning. Dad plowed before M. & hauled a load of boards in P.M. I commenced going out to cotton 2nd time. Miss Berta Kinnabow & Ed Wood came from school with Sister & bro. & spent the night with us. All the negroes picking cotton.

October 9, 1855. Friday.  
 Cool, pretty day. Clear  
 Father off to town immediately after breakfast & back  
 about 5.30 P.M. Miss Puta  
 & the children left for school  
 about 8. Bud hauled a  
 load of boards from over  
 the mountain this A.M.  
 & a load of slabs from the  
 saw-mill P.M. I stacked  
 some boards this morning  
 & picked cotton rest of  
 day. Sister & her are troubled  
 just now with chapped feet

October 10, 1855 Saturday  
 cool & clear. Father went  
 horseback this morning.  
 Bud carried 1500 pounds  
 of cotton to the gin for Lin  
 when he came back Ma  
 sister Bro & I myself went  
 to town. I carried one pound  
 of butter - 30 cts. I went  
 up to the Court House at  
 2 P.M. & heard the Grand  
 Jury Presentments read Mr.  
 Sproul was foreman. Judge  
 Estes was on the bench  
 & made a few remarks  
 that pleased me very  
 much. Bud went to P.O. where  
 we were gone & got our letters  
 The falling sun found us at home

October 11 '85 Sunday

Very nice morning! Rainy P.M.  
 All went to church except  
 Mother & Enou. Att. about 30  
 Visitors from Pinson, Aunt  
 Mary & Cousin Annie. Dr.  
 began his Bible Teaching  
 He has the Bible class. Those  
 were the members to day:-  
 The Misses O'Hanlon, Leona  
 Nora & Ella Hickey, Lora  
 & Minnie Walters, Leona  
 Julia & Jeff. Burney, Miss  
 Anna Pinson, Leona  
 Willard & myself + Bud  
 Dr. Watson was not per-  
 fectly at ease & did little  
 more than ask the ques-  
 as printed in the Mag.  
 One or two songs were sung  
 after recitations & then Fath.  
 announced that the Sch.  
 was invited to a S.S. reunion  
 at Forestville next Sun.  
 It was then decided to  
 have no epines at our  
 church next Sun. Aunt  
 Mary came back with  
 us & Bud went to Mrs.  
 Brinsfields. Rained all P.M.  
 I am opposed to having  
 S.S. reunions etc on Sun-  
 days for it so greatly with the  
 schools suspended for  
 that occasion. Watson

October 12, '85 Monday.

Fore noon rainy & became clear P.M.  
 The negroes took a few hundred  
 pounds of cotton to the gin  
 this morning, but did not  
 pick any else rest of the day.  
 Father went to the P.O. this  
 morning this & to the saw  
 mill this P.M. Late in the  
 afternoon Bud carried Aunt  
 Mary to Uncle Lorr's. I spent  
 most of the forenoon writing  
 & helped Bud haul some  
 shucks out of the crib P.M.  
 Sister & George were at school.

October 13 1885 Tuesday  
 cloudy & a very cool wind  
 from the S.W. all day.  
 As soon as the dew was  
 off, about ten, I went to  
 the cotton patch & picked  
 50 pounds during the day.  
 Bud was at work cover-  
 ing the smoke house.  
 Negroes picking cotton  
 Sister & Geo at school. Sister  
 went home with the  
 Kinniburgh children. Father  
 went to P.O. about noon.  
 Mrs Kinniburgh boys all  
 till in the corn. Lin  
 pretends he has fixed the  
 fence, but I am almost  
 sure he has not. Truth is not in  
 his hands.

Oct 14 1885 Wed

Cool morning, cloudy day  
 Jim pulled & hauled what  
 is left of his corn in the  
 tan yard. Mrs. Kern. hogs  
 have destroyed 25 or 30 bush  
 Bud & I gathered part  
 of ours in there, also,  
 for the hogs will come  
 to it when the other is  
 gone. Billy picking cotton  
 A good deal is going  
 to market now. The  
 worms are still on ours  
 but have not gotten quite  
 all the leaves off yet.

Oct 15 1885 Thurs

Cool, pretty day Heavy  
 fog early in the morning  
 Bud caved some on the  
 smoke house & helped me  
 pull the rest of the corn  
 before noon. After noon  
 we hauled it up & I pick-  
 ed cotton till night.  
 Bud spent the night at  
 Uncle Gorn's. Sister & Geo  
 at school. Two Germans  
 with four boxes spent the  
 night here. Father went  
 to the P.O. to day & brought  
 me a letter containing 40-14  
 stamps for some cotton  
 rolls - Gorn a boy in Mich

October 16 1855 Friday  
 Clear & pleasant. Heavy dew  
 I was somewhat surprised  
 to find Bud in bed with  
 me this morning. On the way  
 to Uncle Tom's last night he  
 heard Mr. Kinsbauer wanted  
 him to run the engine today  
 so he came home. He went  
 to Uncle Tom's to go with them  
 to a negro school exhibition.  
 From what he said I judged  
 that it was very good.  
 In respect to such entertain-  
 ments the negroes are ahead  
 of the whites here. When  
 the Demmeasons left this  
 morning they paid us 2.50  
 for them selves & this four  
 hours. Father gave me  
 25¢ of this. Jim went to  
 mill pretty soon after  
 & as soon as he came back  
 hitched up the wagon  
 he & Billy carried their  
 two bales of cotton to town.  
 Father went home.  
 Sold the cotton for 9/8  
 Bud went to the gin  
 this morning & staid most  
 all day but only ran the  
 engine P. M. I picked 20  
 pounds of cotton after dinner.  
 Sister & Bob at school. Ev. well.

October 17 1885 Sat

A very pretty & pleasant day  
 Bud was running the  
 gin engine. Before the dew  
 dried this morning I walk-  
 ed to the P.O. & mailed a 3 lb  
 box of cotton bolls to William  
 Bell, Romeo Mich. Picked  
 cotton rest of the day.  
 Father went to mill before  
 11:30 to the P.O. after noon  
 We put up our hogs sev-  
 eral days ago & they are in  
 very good order already.

October 18 1885 Sunday

This was the S.S. Union  
 meeting of our district at  
 Forestville & there could  
 hardly have been a better  
 day. Clear & cool. All of  
 us except Father went.  
 Mr. Underwood preached  
 at 11 AM. Lee made an  
 address in the PM. His  
 subject was "What God  
 has for man to do"  
 "1st Help feed this people  
 2nd Help educate them  
 3rd Help redeem them  
 It was interesting & full of  
 thought. The cong. very  
 large. All took dinner  
 Quite many people from Michigan  
 all the people were social & went to

October 19 1885 Mon.

Clear - Cool - Fine day for picking cotton & we, hissing, did it - all hands being in the field before or very soon after sunrise. As 'twas cloudy last night was no dew. Sister & Geo. were at school & Bud run the gin engine. I picked about 75 pounds to day. The leaves are all off now but the locks are hard to get out. Father picked some in the morning & Sister & G. some late in P.M.

October 20 1885 Tuesday  
 commenced raining about 4 this morning & sprinkled now & then all day. Sister & Geo did not go to school & Bud only run the gin engine P.M. We were shucking some not well ripened corn this morning. In the P.M. I went to town Charley going with me to field. The boxes I carried 3 doz eggs, 50 q, & some butter which I sold for 30 q a pound. Did not get home till late & it had burned pretty cool.

October 21, '85 - Wed

Cloudy last night & I commenced picking cotton soon after sun up this morning. Bud running the gin engine S. & G. at school. Negroes very busy picking cotton. A great many bales went to market to day. Price: 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  - for fairly good. Aunt Mary & Cousin Annie came down from Uncle Hicks's in P.M. & spent the night - with us.

October 22 1885 Thurs

"Killing" frost, & cool day. Bud still running the gin engine S & G at school. When the frost died off - about ten o' - I went to picking & kept at it the rest of the day. In the P.M. Father carried Aunt Mary & Cousin Annie to Uncle Dorris. A man, has back from Gilmer, & spent the night here.

Bud did not come home but staid at Mrs Kinnel's cotton that opens after this will be yellow. Some bolls now open have streaks of yellow about the cracks from the frost of the 5<sup>th</sup>.

October 23 1885 Friday

Another frosty morning & cool day. When the dew dried off Father & I went to the cotton patch. We picked till noon & F. helped me some in the P. M. also. And at the girls & boys at school. Negroes all picking. Soon as possible after supper Bud & I went down to Uncle Tom's to a party we had been invited to attend. About 25 young people were there & I enjoyed the first part of the evening very well but about ten or several couples of boys & girls sat down together & kept up a ceaseless & senseless jabber for an hour. I soon got tired of this & we left at 11 & several amusing & old time games were played & these I enjoyed but such things as stealing partners etc I have no use for. Miss Mann, Volleyman & Miss Arora Pinson both were there. Neither took a very active part. Their bodies were conveyed as well as their hearts.

October 24 1883 Sat  
 Warmer than last few days. I was busy from about ten this morn till after dark digging & hoising our select potatoes. Our private patch made about 15 bus & Billy & Jim made each about the same on their patches - giving us in all about 40 bus. The ground was rather wet & the dirt stuck to the potatoes. Bud at his cousin Ed Coulters ate dinner with us & went to Uncle Nosed's P.M. Meth. had toothed

October 25 1883 Sun.  
 clear, cool. All of us went to S.S. except Mother & Cora. Alt. - fair. Dr. Watson was promptly on hand & well prepared to hear our recitation. It is our custom to read the lesson in concert & it is very hard for all to keep together. Dr. Watson soon discerned this & seems very much embarrassed reading & singing. How sadly we need some one in our S.S. with "brains"! Bud spent P.M. at Un. Lodge

Oct 26 1885 Monday  
 cool but no frost - clear.  
 Bud left for the gin immediately after breakfast & did not come back at night - staying at Mrs Kinnebrews to go possum hunting. Sam & Billy finished digging their potatoes this A.M. I in the afternoon carried the clothes to town & went to the convict camp to try to engage some potatoes but Mr. Moore was already supplied. I picked cotton most of the day. Sister & Geo. at school.

Oct 27 1885 Tuesday  
 cool - cloudy. Began raining just at night. Bud run gin engine & sister & Geo at school. I carried 6 1/2 bus of S. potatoes to town & sold them for 2.75 - one lady taking them all - except aft. Some people have been selling potatoes at 30 cts per bus. Carried 2 lbs of butter also - 60 cents. While in town I spent hours in the Bulletin office - just looking around.

October 28 1885 Wed  
 raining the greater part  
 the day. Sister & Geo.  
 at school - Bud at gin  
 shucked some corn  
 sorted some apples & read  
 during the forenoon.  
 went to P.O. & for sister  
 Geo P.M. Feathers went  
 mill after dinner.  
 in hauled a load of  
 cotton seed this morning  
 and 17 to day. He & I  
 have severe colds.

October 29 1885 Thurs  
 raining the entire fore-  
 noon & very cloudy - damp  
 disagreeable P.M. Turned  
 out toward night. This  
 morning I was sorting  
 cotton & P.M. I went  
 to mill. Bud was at  
 the gin but sister & G.  
 did not go to school  
 Feathers shucked some  
 more corn & went to  
 the office P.M. Lin  
 was working at the  
 gin - Billy doing nothing  
 The leaves seem to be  
 falling very fast just  
 now. The ground has  
 become covered so quickly  
 are all very well now.

Oct 30 1885 Frid  
 Windy & cold this morn-  
 ing - cool all day - clear  
 Bud running the eng-  
 sister & Geo at school.  
 went to town & Billy  
 Lin carried 3 bales of  
 cotton. I took 4 1/2  
 of potatoes & sold them  
 for 1.50. Sold the cotton  
 for 8 1/8. The price was  
 said to be "off" some  
 Mother & Annie were to  
 by themselves till sister  
 Geo came from school  
 When we came back  
 went to office Bud & Mrs

October 31 1885 Saturd  
 some frost. Clear, cool day  
 Bud still running the  
 gin engine. They give  
 sixty cents & board, and  
 Lin this force picked  
 us to day. They got out  
 pounds & I picked later  
 10 A.M. & 4 1/2 P.M. Feat  
 went to preaching in  
 morning. To the P.O. &  
 the clothes afternoon.  
 A sight not then seen  
 & much to be regretted  
 was that of Yarnas Joe  
 coming from town to  
 drunk! Oh! the example

November 1, 1885 Sun

Rained till nine O.C.  
 After that Father Bud  
 & myself went to church.  
 The rain that had been  
 in the clouds that remain  
 ed kept back some  
 made those that come  
 so late we had n.s.s.  
 The cong. was small  
 but Mr. Underwood  
 preached & took the Cong  
 collection again. I gave \$52  
 Uncle Tom came here  
 with us & spent the  
 P.M. here. At church he  
 made a statement of  
 what had been paid  
 the preacher (about \$100)  
 & urged the young mem  
 bers to stir up & pay  
 more. The assessment  
 for support of the preach  
 for our church, is \$200  
 Missions Cong. collectins,  
 etc, add \$50 making  
 in all we have to raise  
 for the cause of the mas  
 ter, \$250. Our visitors  
 to day were Jno Pinson  
 & young man & his sister  
 from Lily Pond - relatives  
 of the O'Hairlands.  
 P.M. was clear & cool.

November 2 1885 Mo

Frost. Windy & cool  
 Bud run the gin en  
 sister & her. at school  
 Father & I picked cot  
 from nine O.C till  
 Afternoon Father w  
 by the P.O. up to Mo  
 I picked till ne  
 sun down. All the  
 goes picking. I th  
 I never saw befo  
 dew as we have to  
 mornings. The cotton  
 wet till eleven O.

November 3 1885 Tu

Heavy Frost - some  
 Father went to town  
 day. Got home at 2  
 Bought some lard -  
 the third time since  
 our own game out.  
 & I went around to  
 morning to several of  
 negro families in  
 neigh hood to get  
 to pick cotton, but  
 did not succeed as  
 of them were pick  
 for Mr. Kimbrell. I  
 get more hands than  
 body around here. At  
 a whisky corn shucking  
 Bud & I picking cotton

<p>Nov 4 1885 Wed                  Clouds &amp; sunshine                  Terr. Mod. Sam Jubert                  two of his children &amp; Mrs                  Tom Braden &amp; one of his                  children picked cotton                  for us to day. They got                  out in all about 400                  In the forenoon Bud &amp;                  I carried a load to the                  gin &amp; we carried one P.M.                  also. Whole amt. caid 1650                  On the way this morn-                  we came up with some                  negroes who had stalled,                  &amp; hitching our team to                  their load pulled them out                  I could not pass without                  helping them. Oug some 6. pass</p>	<p>November 6, '85 Fri                  Rained hard early                  morning &amp; late this                  A very dark, threaten                  Father rode to town                  Billy carried 1100 lbs                  of cotton to gin &amp; he                  brought back the                  from our bale. I                  some apples &amp; fruit                  cotton about an 7                  Bud run the gin.                  part of the P.M. sister                  were at school. I                  their last day &amp; they                  a candy pulling. It                  hard about 5 or 6 &amp; I                  in the back for to</p>
<p>Nov 5 1885 Thurs                  Raining all morning                  P.M. dark &amp; windy.                  Bud &amp; I shucked                  corn this morning, I                  picked cotton P.M.                  Jim picked too. Uncle                  Terrel King came this                  P.M. to rent land from                  Father several have                  spoken for wheat                  land. Weather not very                  well - sister &amp; G. at scho.                  I spent to day careless                  sloverly &amp; with no air</p>	<p>November 7, 1885 Sat                  Rained almost all                  &amp; very steadily till                  to day. It is the gre                  rainfall we have                  in a long time. I                  rarely seen so muc                  ter in ditches &amp; gul                  as to day. P.M. was                  but did not rain I                  to town to carry chics                  &amp; butter. sold Chic. at                  15 ¢ each, butter 30 ¢                  Charley went with me                  branches were higher                  I ever saw them. All of us we</p>

November 8, 1885 Sun.  
 level, windy day. All  
 of us went to church  
 & only a few were there  
 when we arrived but  
 after about an hour's  
 waiting there were 24  
 or firm persons present  
 & we went in good.  
 We have no regular  
 order of exercises, but  
 this is the way we  
 usually do: 1 Reading  
 lesson in concert (very  
 little concert about it,  
 however) 2 song; 3 prayer  
 4 Recitations; 5 song, or two  
 & then dismissions. This  
 was the order to day  
 Twenty firm persons is  
 enough to make an  
 interesting school but  
 we have no life at all  
 weather is always embar-  
 rassed & so is Dr. Wat-  
 son - the only men there  
 to day. We have nobody  
 to teach us music & so  
 our singing is very poor  
 & we seldom have a  
 new song. Bud went  
 to Uncle Hara's to dinner  
 P.M. Father went to see  
 a sick man - Mr. Geo. Peck.  
 Mrs. is up over Mr. W's medicine

November 9 1885 M.  
 clear & cool. A year  
 here at home. Father  
 in town to meet some  
 from N.Y. here look  
 for land. They were  
 down the Coosa, he  
 & he did not see  
 Sam Zuber & his  
 children picked  
 for us Bud & I  
 did this morning  
 in P.M. Bud was  
 the office at two o'clock  
 the mail & waited  
 till nearly five  
 went to Mrs. Kim

November 10 '85  
 A day very much  
 yesterday. Mother  
 Bud went to  
 Went to have M  
 teeth pulled. I do  
 not, assisted by  
 G. W. Holmes, of  
 them - 9. Aunt  
 went with M  
 Sam Zuber for  
 for us again  
 They picked near  
 600 pounds. I  
 picking too  
 took a bale of  
 to gin.

November 11, 1855 Wed

Clear & pleasant. No frost. I was picking cotton all day. Sister, Bud & Enoree were out in P.M. Father commenced sowing wheat this afternoon. He boiled some copras in water, dipped the wheat in it & spread it out a few minutes before sowing. We are putting it in with Mrs. Watson's Disc Harrow. We worked only Tom & Jack but it is too heavy for

Nov. 12 85 Thurs.

Cloudy, unsettled day. Father continued sowing wheat this morning & finished - for the present - about 4 o'clock P.M. Bud drove all three horses to the harrow part of the time, but not succeeding in getting the lead mule to work satisfactorily, finally took out the one in front & drove the two remaining ones.

Four of Henry Jubber's children picked for us today & Lin after dinner. In P.M. Mother & chil - went to see Mrs. Sells & John

Elected SS Supt

November 13, 85 Friday.

Cloudy & warm morning. Rained till 9 o'clock. After that Bud & I carried 400 pounds of cotton to gin. It was cooler & clear when we got back & Father concluded to go from the gin to town after the next load. So Lin helped us load & unload 900 pounds more of our own cotton & he & Billy carried 3 bales to town from the gin. Sold it for 88 1/2%. Got home late. Brought out a bureau & divan. Aunty shipped us from Tuskegee. Bud & I pulled some corn P.M.

November 14, 1855 Satur

White Frost. Clear all day. Bud & I pulled some corn this morning & then hauled it - 2 loads - finishing about one o'clock. Father rode to town this morning & then came back to Forestville to Local meeting. The Cong. was a long one & he did not get home till after night. Much to my surprise & discomfort I was told they elected me Supt of our S.S. P.M. Bud went to Mr. Lowery's & spent the night. Lin & Henry Jubber picked c. for us today.

November 15 1885 Sun

Some frost & a slight  
fuge. Cool all day. Bud  
came from Mr. Lowery's  
to the church this morn  
& started home before  
we got there. Our att.  
was very small & cold  
as it was we had no  
fire, yet our singing  
& every thing else was  
better than usual. This  
perhaps was because I  
now feel more interested  
Dr. Watson seems more so  
too. Soon after dinner Bud  
left - walking - to go to  
Mr. Lowery's & run his  
gin engine this week  
He is to pay him \$15  
per m. I spent part  
of the P. M. "sitting up"  
next Sunday's lesson  
I am very anxious to  
see our S. D. alive & flour-  
ishing & I have been  
thinking to day about  
how to rouse some  
interest in it. Our  
aver. att. now is hardly  
20, while it was about  
40 a year ago under Mr.  
Brinsfield. Lately I have  
taken little interest in it  
We maybe this election is for my good

Cousin W. Couster

Nov 16 1885 Mon

Very cool morning; pleasant day. Father not well. I pulled two loads of corn this morning & hauled them up P.M. Geo. drove - only help I had. Father rode around to see several negroes who still owe for S.W. to get them to pay by pulling corn for us. He went to P.O. in P.M. Brought me some circulars from Thaboran Rubber Stamp Co & a lot from Cousin W. Couster.

Nov 17 1885 Tuesday

Warmer. Clear. Little frost 4.30. Father went to town. Got back about 2 P.M. Then went to P.O., carrying mother along to see Mrs. Jos. Waters. As yesterday I pulled two loads of corn in morning & hauled them up P.M. Sam Jones & his children picked a little more than 200 pounds of cotton for us. Great deal went to market to day. Best price: 94. More negroes came than I ever saw before. M.

November 18, 1885 Wed

cool - cloudy. Raining now & then all day, after ten A.M. Billy's boys helped me pull & haul two loads of corn before it commenced to rain. Jim had pulled three loads & hauled it in the rain. In the afternoon I shelled some corn, which Father took to mill, & went to the Post office. Almost as much cotton passed as yesterday. Price 94.

November 19, 1885 Thurs.

Very cloudy all day, but no rain. Morning - foggy. P.M. - turned cool. Father & I shucked out the wet corn Jim hauled up yesterday. Soon after 12 O. I started to town - with some chickens, butter & eggs & 5 bus. of cotton seed. Sold the chickens at 15, 20 & 25 c. apiece; butter 80c & eggs 25 per doz. Sold the five bus. of seed to the oil mill for 45 c. It is no common sight to see the cotton seed they have there; thousands upon thousands of bus. Billy hauled a bale of cotton to gin

Nov 20 1885 - Friday  
 A cloudy - cool morning  
 P.M. - Clear & cool. This  
 A.M. I fastened Mr. Wat-  
 ter's disc harrow behind  
 the wagon & carried it  
 home. From Mr. Water's  
 I went to the sawmill

near Mr. Fuller's for some  
 oak slabs for a meat  
 block. Father went too  
 horseback. They gave us  
 & I came back as I went  
 by Mr. Popis. Billy hauled  
 corn P.M. I shucked corn  
 cut wood, etc. Mother expect  
 Mrs. P.M. but she did not come

Nov. 21 1885 - Saturday  
 Frost & ice. Pleasant day  
 Billy pulled corn this  
 morning & hauled this  
 afternoon. - Father sick  
 Had head ache & sore  
 throat. Ben. & I went to  
 town this morning to  
 get some medicine for  
 for him. came back  
 before one o'c. While in  
 town I spent a few min-  
 utes at the Pub. Library  
 Smaller of fair than I  
 supposed. Aunt Julia H.  
 spent part of day here  
 Bud came home late in P.M.

Nov. 22 1885 Sun.

Cloudy - moderately warm  
 Raining till noon. Fath.  
 not at all well. Dad  
 took Charley with him  
 on one of the mules &  
 went nearly to the river  
 this morning on his  
 way back to Mr. Sings  
 I went horseback  
 to the church, but after  
 waiting in vain an  
 hour or so came home  
 It was raining part of the  
 time & that kept people  
 vi. away. Learned raining against

November 23 '85 Mon.

A cloudy day - cold P.M.  
 This morning I spent  
 stopping holes around  
 the barns to keep the  
 pigs out, and then going  
 to the woods & mountains  
 to look for 9 of the 14  
 pigs. Did not find 'em  
 their mother, of cholera  
 we supposed, a few  
 days ago & they are al-  
 most wild. Having  
 to kill hogs tomorrow  
 Father & I spent most  
 of P.M. making a hop  
 block, etc. I carried the  
 clothes to Oza just before

Nov. 24, 1885 Tues.

Cold, cloudy & windy  
 Being clear when we  
 got up, Father decided  
 to kill hogs. Our scald-  
 ing barrel was soon  
 found to be too small  
 & I went to three of the  
 neighbors without get-  
 ting one. Finally Fath.  
 got in the back went  
 to town but could get  
 none there & so brought  
 home a large dry-goods  
 box. In the P.M. Billy &  
 his boys, Jim & Fred,  
 helping, we killed our  
 7 hogs, using the box  
 to scald in. It was near  
 9 o' when we finished.  
 Used torches for a light.

November 25 1885 Wed

Another cloudy, windy  
 & cold day. Father & Billy  
 cut up hogs this A.M.  
 Largest weighed 215.  
 I was in kitchen all  
 day helping Mother & Lizzie  
 make lard. Jim & Liza  
 cleaned the fat, scraped  
 the entrails, etc. P.M. Fath.  
 hauled our load of Billy's  
 corn. To day was very  
 cold - wind & no sun

November 26 1885 Th.

Thanksgiving Day!  
Clear cold. A freeze!  
Father salted his meat  
this morning. I cut &  
ground sausage meat  
Lizzie helped us again  
to day & we finished  
meat. There was a  
show in town to day  
but none of the negroes  
from here went. More  
less no. of people than  
usual. I went by. Billy  
was at work pulling  
his corn & Lin was  
pulling some for us.

V. P. Hendricks

Mother sent her, on  
Morgan, to several of our  
neighbors with a rib  
or a backbone P.M. he  
went to the P.O. Father  
hauled up some corn  
for Billy P.M. Soon  
after dinner I was put  
to pounding some red  
pepper for the sausage  
& by carelessness got  
some in my eyes & was  
blind in consequence for  
an hour. The pain was  
intense - proper pay for  
a very ill spent day.  
Heard V. P. Hendricks was dead  
& at. went for Prohibition by 350 m

November 27 1885 Fri

Very heavy frost and ice  
I was hauling corn  
all day. Lin finished  
pulling for us in the  
morning & as it looked  
like rain in the P.M.  
he helped haul. Billy's  
truss were with me all  
day. Hauled 7 loads - last  
in, one of finishing.  
Father was in town  
most of the day. He learned  
for certain that V. P. Hen-  
dicks was dead, & that St.  
Lanta had gone dry - 288  
Old aunt Lizzie scoured for us.

November 28 1885 Sat

Raining all day long - but  
This morning I did some  
sweeping, etc. at the house  
P.M. I went to the P.O.  
& then up to Uncle Moses  
& spent the night. I took  
some ribs & backbones  
to our kin up there.  
Going up to Uncle Al  
I met Bud coming home  
from Mr. Lowery's. He was  
riding Mr. G's horse & said  
he must be back by  
1 P.M. to morning. All of them  
His family were at home  
well, & they seem v. happy

Nov 29 1855 Sun

Raining for an hour or more after day this morning. Leason Willard & I were waked by a boy who came to get Leason Willard to make a coffin for an old man who had died on Mrs Ed Pinsons place. Being wet & muddy none of Uncle Aschs family could come & I came on to the church by myself. I made a coffin & we had a service of some songs & recitations. Visitors - Missis Green, A. S. D. And went to Mr. Es bigre M.

Nov. 30 1855 Mon.

A cloudy, cool, unsettled day. Ground, or reground sausage all morning could not stuff it as the negroes had "blown" the entrails with pipe stems, or something very like them. P.M. I went to church to cut up some wood & Mother, Sister & E. went to Uncle Aschs. Geo. had a severe cold & it. suffering with tooth ache, or neuralgia of the face.

December 1, 1855 Tues.

Very cool & uncertain. Sprinkled rain sev. times. The negroes carried three bales of cotton to town - one ours & one for each of the negroes. Sold two bales for 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> & 4 for 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>. It was all very dusty & made a poor sample. Best was selling for 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>. Father & I went just before the wagon in the hack. I carried & sold some eggs & butter - 25c per doz & 80c per pound. I sent \$2.25 to C. H. W. Bates & Co. for an organetta to be given Sister Christmas. V. P. How was to have been buried to day. A flag & a pine of crape were flying from the water tower. - The municipal election was an absorbing topic of street conversation to day. Mrs. Sam Knox & Mrs. M. M. Pepper were candidates for mayor. Mr. Knox had 3 carriages & quite a no. of men at work & it was thought he would be elected. I spent about an hour at the Publicin office. Father had a tooth plugged.

Dec 2 1885 Wed

cool - cloudy - windy  
 Lin pulled & hauled corn  
 to day. Early this morning  
 I cut & hauled a load of  
 ash, for stove wood. Path  
 carried the back to the  
 shop to have a wheel  
 mended. About noon  
 one of Billy's boys cut  
 down a dead tree right  
 on their house breaking  
 in one end & making  
 two or three days work.  
 P.M. I cut wood, did chow

Dec 3, 1885 Thursday

clear - cool. some fog  
 Lin finished hauling in  
 his corn this morning  
 & P.M. he & Billy plowed  
 in wheat for us. I was  
 plowing all day. Sister  
 & Geo. both have severe  
 colds - almost croup. Great  
 deal of cotton passed to  
 day. Also saw 12 or 14  
 head of beef cattle.

Wheat sowing is now  
 in full progress - several  
 weeks later than last  
 year. Much complaint  
 is being made against  
 contractors about the road  
 near the branch at the hay p.

Dec 4 1885 Friday

A clear, cool windy  
 day. Lin & Ed Walters  
 plowed in wheat for  
 us to day to pay their  
 SouthWest subscription.  
 I plowed all morning  
 though very unwell.  
 Billy plowed some P.M.  
 Lin plowed some P.M.  
 Lin & Geo. & one of  
 his boys picked cotton  
 for us. Lin's face pick-  
 ing in this field. Yes  
 today a drive of cows  
 went to home; to day  
 they all came back, being  
 of feed only \$8.00 picked

Dec 5 1885 Saturday

Very cold & windy. When  
 show only at intervals  
 Ed & Lin plowing again  
 to day. I went to town  
 before noon for some lough  
 syrup & lemons for colds.

It was a very cold ride  
 About noon two young  
 German tin peddlers came  
 by & mother gave them  
 change for a 35-cent gal  
 bucket. In the P.M. I cut  
 & hauled in the back some  
 house wood, & went to the  
 P.O. and came from Mr  
 Foreveys just before night

Dec 6 1885 Sunday

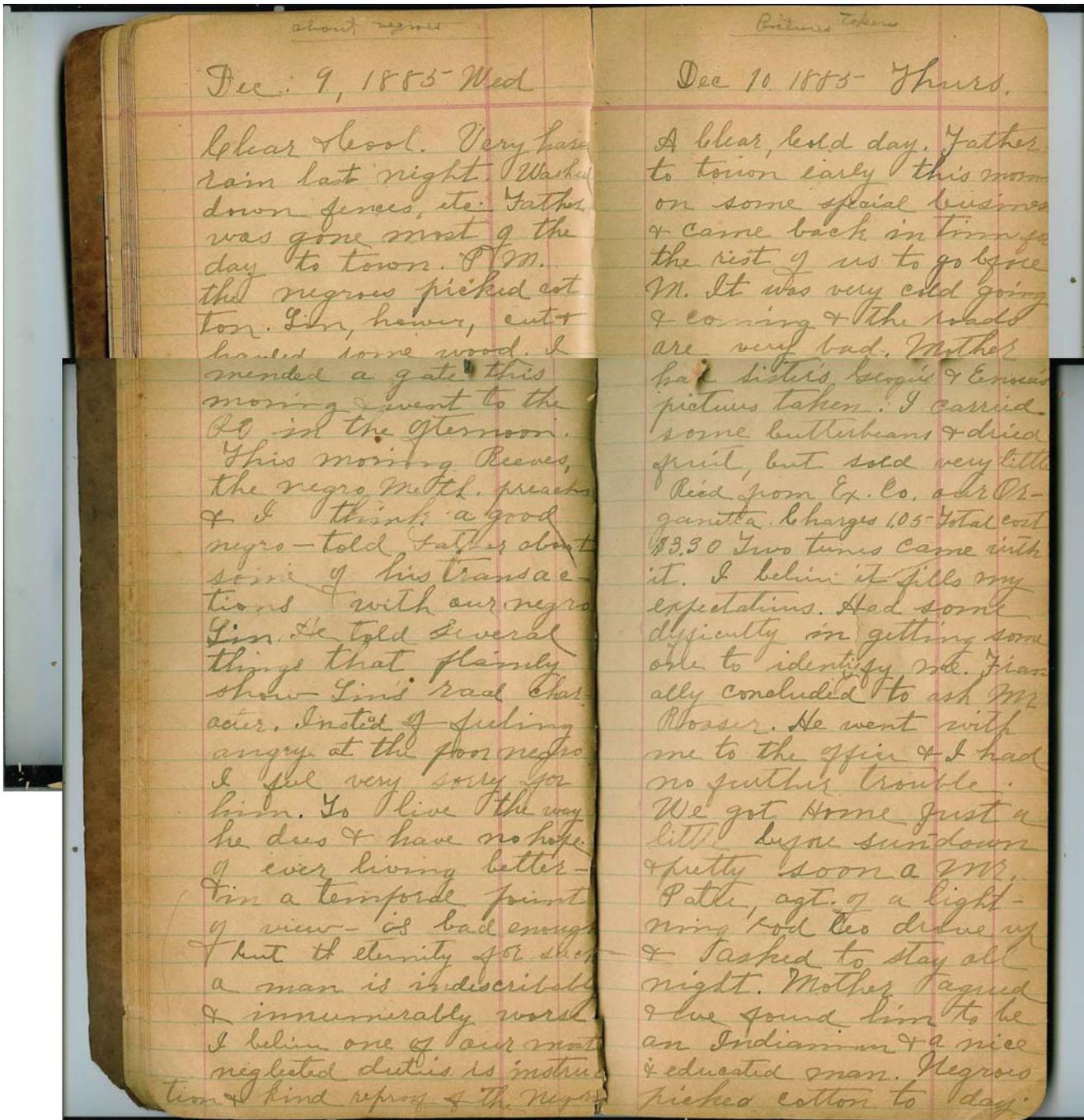
The sun shone, but it was windy & very cold. Hard freeze this morning. All the children except Co. went to S.S. When we got there a fire was made. Uncle Dickey & Dr. Watson with several others were present. After singing one or two songs Uncle Dickey called me into the hall & told me to "Go on". This marks an era in my Sunday-school life. I would not have had it so, but I suppose it is Providence. & of course I must accept it. I have little hope of doing good, my prayer is that I do no harm. As one afraid or ashamed I read the alternate verses of the lesson gave out & started one or two songs & said something about providing teachers for some classes of small children. Uncle Tom & Aunt Fanny Burney spent from ten A.M. till 4 P.M. with us. Bud started, walking - to Mr. Lowrey's about 8 o'clock in the afternoon.

Dec 7 1885 Monday

Clear & somewhat cloudy. Sowing wheat. Robert Zuber plowed for us all day: Giss in the morning & Giza in the P.M. I ate day. Not soaking wheat now - sowing it. Ed. Water's sowing - on the place this - all day. Billy finishing cotton for us. Sister, Geo, & Cousin Douglas have very bad colds.

Dec 8 1885 Tuesday

The day opened very cloudy & drizzling. Notwithstanding the weather indications however, Billy took out some to commence sowing some wheat for himself & Ed came & went on with his sowing. Robert Zuber was here a few minutes after sun up & went to the field to lay off some lands for Father to sow. I carried the clothes to Doru & it was raining when I got back. The rain continued up to 11. Compelling us to stop about 11. P.M. however, was windy & did not rain again at night.



about negroes  
Dec: 9, 1855 - Wed

Clear & cool. Very hard rain last night. Washed down fences, etc. Father was gone most of the day to town. P.M. the negroes picked cotton. Lin, however, cut & hauled some wood. I mended a gate this morning & went to the P.O. in the afternoon.

This morning Reeves, the negro Meth. preacher & I think a good negro - told Father about some of his transactions with our negro Lin. He told several things that plainly show Lin's real character. Instead of feeling angry at the poor negro I feel very sorry for him. To live the way he does & have no hope of ever living better - in a temporal point of view - is bad enough but the eternity for such a man is indescribable & innumerable words. I believe one of our most neglected duties is instruction & kind reproof of the negroes.

Pictures taken  
Dec 10 1855 - Thurs.

A clear, cold day. Father to town early this morning on some special business & came back in time for the rest of us to go before 11. It was very cold going & coming & the roads are very bad. Mother had sister's, Sophie & Emma's pictures taken. I carried some butterbeans & dried fruit, but sold very little. Recd from Ex. Co. adv. Organetta. Charges 1.05 - Total cost \$3.30. Two times came in with it. I believe it fills my expectations. Had some difficulty in getting some one to identify it. Finally concluded to ask Mr. Bossier. He went with me to the office & I had no further trouble. We got home just a little before sundown & pretty soon a Mr. Patten, agt. of a lightning rod Co. drove up & asked to stay all night. Mother agreed & we found him to be an Indianian & a nice & educated man. Negroes picked cotton to day.

Dec 11 1885 Friday

Hard freeze. Very cold morning. Cold all day. Mr. Pott went off for breakfast. Billy & Ed Walters commenced plowing this morning but Father did not begin till P.M. Jim & I plowed for us. Lynn & her mother were picking cotton for us. The ground was really too wet to plow but we cannot wait.

Dec 12 1885 Saturday  
Cold & windy. Owing to the freeze we did not commence plowing this morning till ten O.C. At noon - about 15 with us to day - Father brought over to the place some fodder for the horses & dinner for Jim Billy & myself. I have seldom been as hungry as I was then & my beautiful supply of boiled turnips, baked potatoes, biscuits & pie soon disappeared. On examination this day we found our pigs & chickens had come from Mr. Low. Just a

Dec. 13, 1885 Sunday

Turned warmer last night & was raining this morning. None of us went to Church, for it was raining continually all morning & part of the afternoon.

Thursday night a loose horse came here & Friday morning seeing him at the lot I turned him in the stable & have been feeding him some since then.

To day a young man named Montgomery from near Floyd Springs came & said the horse was his. He seemed anxious to pay something for the care of the horse & wanted to know what it was worth. I told him ten cents & he paid me. But thinking of it since I am not sure that it was exactly proper for me to have accepted anything. We were all daily confined to the house till 10 P.M. when Bud started out for Mr. Lowery's. Woodard's creek, how, was too high to cross.

Dec. 14, 1885 Mon.

Cold & windy. Little sun-  
shine. Snowing some this  
morning. While making a  
fire in the stove this  
morning & get sick at  
the stomach, & felt very  
unwell all the rest of  
the day. Walked to P.L.  
however, in the afternoon.  
Bud spent most of the  
day at the mill. Took  
four or five hours to  
grind 3 bus. of wheat  
owing to lack of water  
from the river. Father  
suffered last night with  
severe pains in the back  
& sides - supposed to be  
from sawing wheat & such

Dec 15 1885 Tues

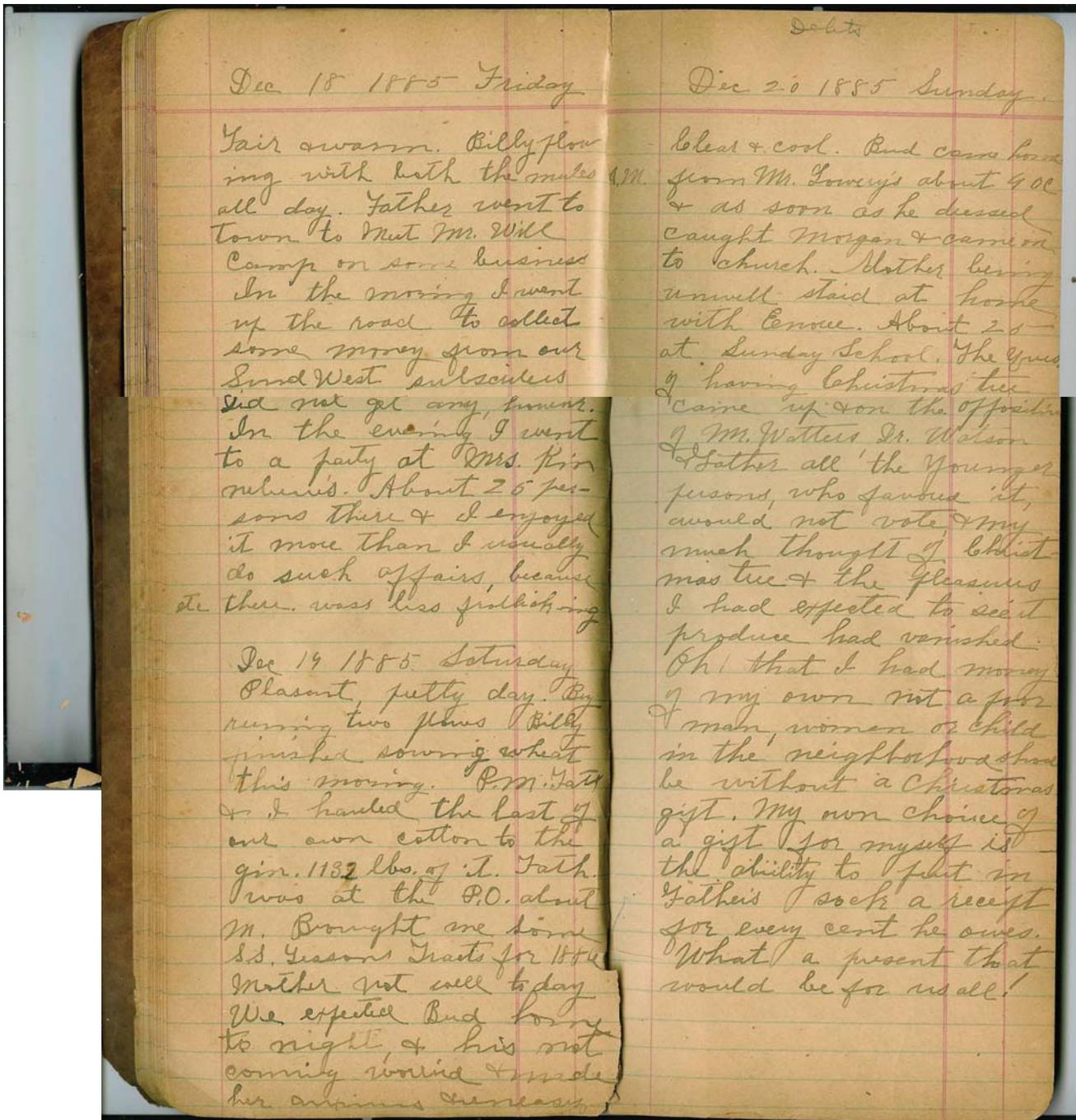
A very cold night was  
the last, & a cold day  
was this. - I went in  
the back to town - sold  
butter, chickens, & Potatoes  
& cotton seed (250 lbs) sold  
the butter for 30c, chicken  
19c, potatoes 60c, & cotton  
1/2 c. a pound. Was consider-  
ably troubled to sell the  
chickens & potatoes. Sent off  
2 orders for Xmas presents.  
P.M. Bud walked to Mrs. Lowrey's

Dec 14 1885 Wednesday

A gloomy, cool day. Owing  
to the freezes we are now  
having the thaws last  
all day, making it very  
muddy. Father rode to  
town to day. Heard of  
the death of Gen. Goonals  
which occurred yesterday  
& of the terrible R.R.  
accident at Austell.  
Twelve persons lost their  
lives by it. Jim finished  
picking cotton to day.  
Billy plowed in wheat  
after dinner, though it  
was really too wet.  
P.M. Mother & the chil-  
dren went to see Mrs.  
Ed. Kinnibur. I did not  
well feel & did little during day

Dec 14 1885 Thursday

Cloudy & warmer. Billy  
used both mules before  
noon, plowing, but P.M.  
one of his boys helped  
me, & Father finished  
sawing his own wheat.  
Jim's Grace picking  
cotton at Mrs. Kisher.  
Father went to P.O. 2  
to day. Heard of W.M.  
Van Dusen's death. He  
was worth \$200,000.00



Dec 18 1885 Friday

Fair swann. Billy plow  
ing with both the mules <sup>all</sup>  
all day. Father went to  
town to meet Mr. Will  
Camp on some business  
In the morning I went  
up the road to collect  
some money from our  
Sand West subscribers  
did not get any, however.  
In the evening I went  
to a party at Mrs. Kim  
ruber's. About 25 per-  
sons there & I enjoyed  
it more than I usually  
do such affairs, because  
there was less fiddling

Dec 19 1885 Saturday

Pleasant, pretty day. By  
running two plows Billy  
finished sowing wheat  
this morning. P.M. Father  
& I hauled the last of  
our own cotton to the  
gin. 1132 lbs. of it. Father  
was at the P.O. about  
11. Bought one home  
S.S. Tracts for 1884  
Mother not well today  
We expected Bud home  
to night, & his not  
coming would make  
her anxious & nervous.

Debts

Dec 20 1885 Sunday

Clear & cool. Bud came home  
from Mr. Lowry's about 4 o'clock  
& as soon as he dressed  
caught Morgan & carried  
to church. Mother being  
unwell staid at home  
with Anne. About 2 o'clock  
at Sunday School. The question  
of having Christmas tree  
came up. On the opposite  
of Mr. Watters Dr. Wilson  
& Father all the younger  
persons, who favour it,  
would not vote, & my  
much thought of Christ-  
mas tree & the pleasures  
I had expected to see it  
produce had vanished.  
Oh! that I had money  
of my own not a job  
& man, woman or child  
in the neighborhood should  
be without a Christmas  
gift. My own choice of  
a gift for myself is  
the ability to get in  
Father's & seek a receipt  
for every cent he owes.  
What a present that  
would be for us all!

Dec. 21-1885-Mon-

A frosty morning - a clear warm day. Cloudy before night. Billy & Jim each hauled a load of cotton to the gin to day. Bud & I sawed & cut up a dead ash in the morning & hauled it when the negroes finished with the wagon. Father rode to town in the P.M. I went to P.O. just before night. Billy still picking cotton.

Dec 22 1885 Tues-  
cool morning. Clear, pleasant day. At sun-up I was on Morgan for a trip over the mountain to collect the money on our South West Subscriptions. I got cold several times in the early morning but a short walk soon warmed me up enough to remount again. My first stop was at Mr. John Garban. I halloed several times but as nobody seemed to be at home, I went on the Camp-ground where I expected to see Mr. Brown.

Subscriptions

Tuesday continued

Riding up to the gate a little boy who was on the porch ran into the house & returned in a moment followed by two old women. I asked if Mr. Brown was at home. One of the women said Brown was not now. "When was he ever living there - moved 2 months ago. Exchanging "good morning" with the woman I rode on. Very soon I caught up with a young man I recognized as "J. H. Carver" as he gave me his name last spring. He was hauling a load of crosses. After enquiry if his name was not Carver, I talked of few minutes about his load asking who he was hauling for, etc & then stated my errand. He then began to complain that he had not received the paper regularly. I told him it surely must have come, as we had never missed a no. of ours. He said he had gotten all the nos. but the last

Tuesday - continued

I suggested that the PM might have misplaced or destroyed them, as they sometimes do when not called for soon after being received. He did not know whose fault it was but he had not gotten the last 3 issues. Seeing the young man was disposed to wander from that part of the subject most interesting to me, I again stated that my object was to collect the money due me for the paper. "I haven't got any money myself," was his reply. Then after a short silence he added: "But I reckon I'll get some when these ties are taken up." "Well" said I "when you get the fifty cents just leave it at Mr. G. Swarth's store & I can get it there." He agreed to do so, & I soon parted company - coming to the end of my time in that direction. The house where I left him was Mr. W. Moore's. The wife of Mr.

Tuesday - continued

more soon told me her spouse was in town. I then stated her my business. She again told me Mr. Moore was in town. "Ain't he leave the money somewhere in town? for you?" she asked, some-  
 "Yes mam, he can leave it there at the Fourhill P.O. - at Mr. Swarth's store. If you please just tell him to leave it there for me, will you?" Good morning, mam." Then I turned & came back to Mr. Garhan's. His was just going in with the breakfast cream when I rode up (about 9 o'clock). She told me her husband was at the mill but would pay me if she was at home. Would pay me herself but had no money at the house said he I had the money & he himself had sold only a few days ago. That when he paid for the paper he would be "straight with the world".  
 "That is a great thing

Tuesday - concluded

To be", I replied, as I rode away. The next place I had business at was Mr. Shugarts. He too was gone to home & leaving the same directions for him as for Mr. Moore I came on to Mr. Mc Curry's. Mr. M.C. had no money - having sold no cotton but gave me an order - I struck across the mountains for home. It was a rough ride & longer than I thought. Going down the mountain was both slow & tiresome - being at a steep place. Though feeling very unwell I went with Mother & the child to Mr. Pope's in the P.M. From Mr. P's I rode up to Mr. Jas. Mc Curry's to see him about his subscription, but he was in town - checking in a bar his wife said. This morning Jim hauled some wood - Billy Paul the last of his corn. Bud hauled it P.M. Father not well to day.

Dec. 23 1855 - Wednesday

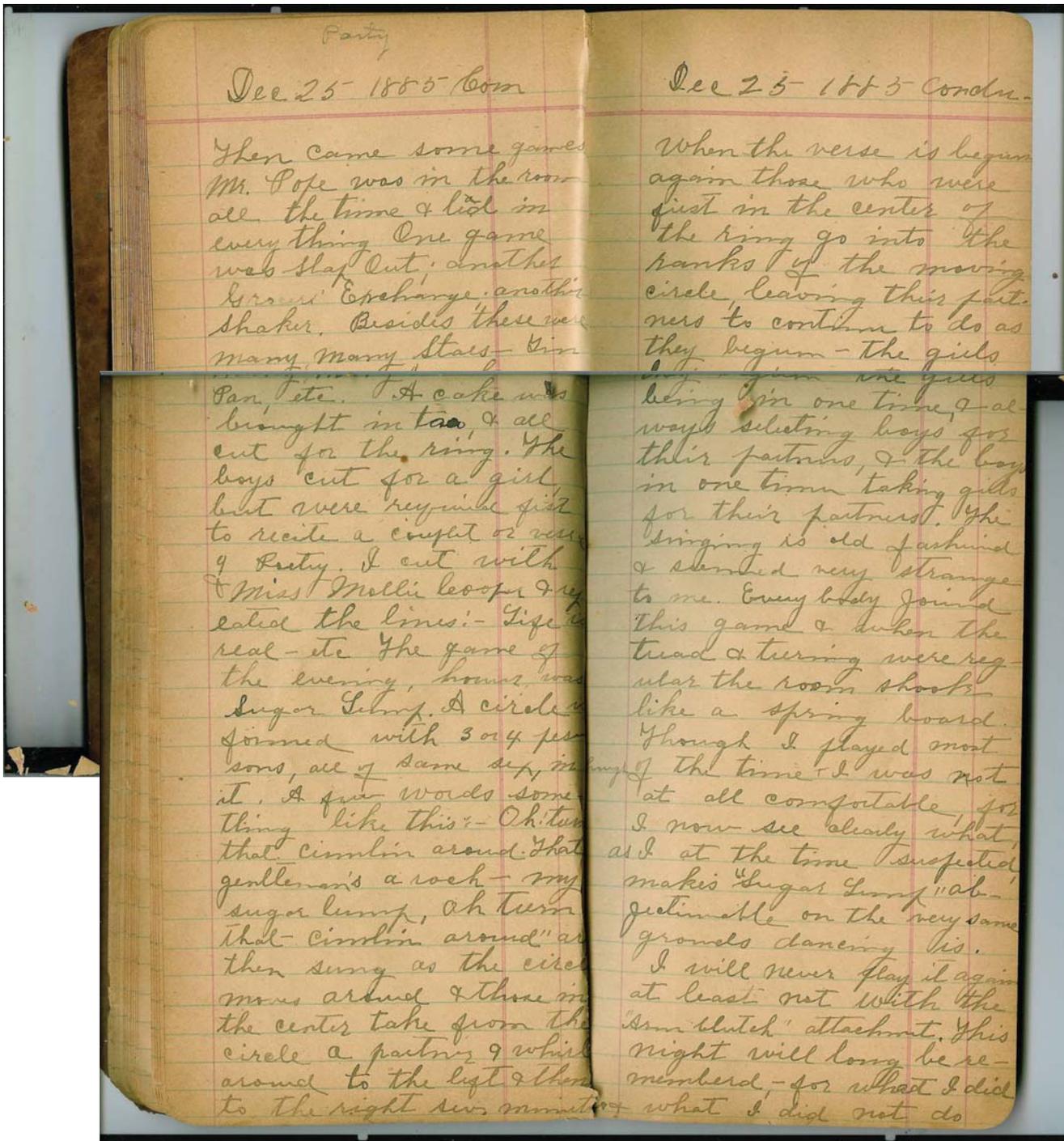
Cloudy warm. Sprinkled some about 4 P.M. Father went to town on the wagon with 2 bales of cotton. Sold it for 7 cents. I had expected to go to day & carry some turkeys to sell, but feeling too unwell to make the trip, Mother & Bud went leaving me with the children. Before starting to town Bud walked to the Furnace to tell Mr. Smith the fine Father was willing to sell Mr. Nichols' dead rail timber at. Mr. N. wants to build a fence near some of our wood land & wants to get rail timber from us. Father concluded to sell him fallen timber that was stripped of bark several years ago at the rate of 25¢ per 100 rails. A good deal of cotton passed to day. Mother went principally I think, to see Santa Claus & from the bundles she brought home he must have come. Spent the day "cleaning up" boxes.

Dec 24 1883 - Thurs.

A Spring like day. Just warm enough to make one lazy & lifeless. The frogs were croaking & I thought it would rain. The sun shone some & soon after sundown it turned cooler. Some rain last night. <sup>in the</sup> morning I got on Morgan to go to town & bring an overcoat. Father bought for me yesterday. It was too small & I wanted to get a larger size, but as they had no others of that kind I was obliged to exchange for another suit of the same price - 4.50. I stood on the street some time watching for S.W. subscribers. Saw several but collected nothing. Bud spent most of the day riding on the sand strand - collected 50 cents. While in town I spent an hour at the hall of the Y.M.C.A. But it was by no means a pleasant one I felt like it was throwing away time. Bud spent night at Uncle Sam's.

Dec 25 1883 - Friday

Christmas Day. - Cold. Windy. Not all sunshine. I was waked this morning by the sound of streetackers. Sister & Bro. had gotten up early to see what Old Santa Claus had brought them. Coming down stairs I found an orange & a pair of wristers the jolly old fellow had left in my hat. About 9 O.C. Bud came home from Uncle Sam's. An hour or two towards Tom Watters came over & after staying a while he & Bud rode over to Mrs. Kinniburgh. I was at home all day except an hour P.M. going to the Post Office. A little before night Bud & I began our preparations for attending a party at Mr. Pop's. The ride was very cold, but the flays of the evening soon warmed us. When we arrived most all the young folks were there. Mrs. Jas Mc. Curry performed a no. of pieces on piano.



Party

Dec 25- 1885- Corn

Then came some games  
 Mr. Pope was in the room  
 all the time & hid in  
 every thing. One game  
 was slap out, another  
 Brown Exchange, another  
 shaker. Besides there were  
 many many stas, - Jim  
 Pan, etc. A cake was  
 brought in too & all  
 cut for the ring. The  
 boys cut for a girl  
 but were required first  
 to recite a couplet or verse  
 of Poetry. I cut with  
 Miss Nellie Cooper & re-  
 called the lines: - Life is  
 real - etc. The game of  
 the evening, however, was  
 Sugar Lump. A circle  
 formed with 3 or 4 per-  
 sons, all of same sex, in-  
 cluding a few words some-  
 thing like this: - Oh turn  
 that Cimolin around. That  
 gentleman's a rock - my  
 sugar lump, Oh turn  
 that Cimolin around" as  
 then sung as the circle  
 moves around & those in  
 the center take from the  
 circle a partner & whirl  
 around to the left & then  
 to the right & so on until

Dec 25- 1885- Condu...

When the verse is begun  
 again those who were  
 first in the center of  
 the ring go into the  
 ranks of the moving  
 circle leaving their part-  
 ners to continue to do as  
 they begun - the girls  
 being first - one guess  
 being for one time, & al-  
 ways selecting boys for  
 their partners, & the boys  
 in one turn taking girls  
 for their partners. The  
 singing is old fashioned  
 & seemed very strange  
 to me. Every body joined  
 this game & when the  
 tread & turning were reg-  
 ular the room shook  
 like a spring board.  
 Though I played most  
 of the time I was not  
 at all comfortable, for  
 I now see clearly what  
 as I at the time I suspected  
 makes "Sugar Lump" ab-  
 justifiable on the very same  
 grounds dancing this.  
 I will never play it again  
 at least not with the  
 "arm clutch" attachment. This  
 night will long be re-  
 membered - for what I did  
 & what I did not do

Dec. 26, 1885. Sat.

A clear, cold day. I was at home all except the time spent in going to the P.O. in the afternoon. Father went to town. In the morning, Bud & Tom Waller went over the river to invite a girl - Lizzie Smalley - to a party at Mr. Waller's Monday. I did not do much to day. Felt very lazy & aimless. Kept thinking of that frolic last night.

Dec. 27 1885 - Sunday  
Clear and cold.

All except mother & E. went to church. The people were late getting there. Two faces not seen there much I later though very familiar to all were those of Jas O'Haron & pro. Pina. We had our usual exercises & after them a talk from Uncle Hicks upon the text: Remember now thy Creator, etc. I went to his house for dinner. The att. to day was about 20. Dr. Watson was absent. Fire in store

Dec. 28, 1885. Mon.

A frosty morning & a pleasant day. I was on another collecting expedition to day. Carried Mother & the children to Uncle Hickey's & then put a saddle on the horse & by Dr. Nixon's to Mr. Otts. I found him about half a mile from home but he had no money. Promised to leave it just time he came to Rome. Then I went to Mrs. Beards & Mr. Hatches. Neither of them had any money but both made same promise Mr. O. had. Next I went to Mr. Newman. He did not know we wanted the money till the subscription was paid. Mr. Akin's was the next house. He was not at home & I left a note with his children. But soon the appearance of his home, the dress of his children, etc. I readily saw he was a very poor man & I doubt if he ever pays us. All these persons live

Dec 2 & Contin.

On the roads to Plainville & Adamsville, above Uncle Asa's. Coming back I stopped to see Mr. F. H. Hall & Jerry Phelps but neither of them were at home. After getting to Uncle Hickys I again missed Tom & we came home. Father went to town & did not get back till late. Bud was at home while he was going & coming from the P.M. Returning mother stopped a few minutes to see Mrs Jimmie Watters. The sun was shining to day & an overcoat was not necessary. This evening Bud, Sister, & myself attended a party at Mrs. Wm. Watters. Thirty of the young people of the neighborhood were there, but most all of them were younger than myself. Every thing was very slow & until refreshments came around after that we had 2 or 3 turns at dancing - just & then at 10.20 left for home. Not very satisfactory.

Dec 24 1885 Tuesday

Frost & a freeze. Ice all about. I carried the clothes to Mary Jones this morning. Geo. went again to Guilmore in P.M. but he sent me some more of the things I had ordered to put on the Christmas tree. In the morning Bud carried Father to home to go to Atlanta. He had expected to get an excursion ticket but was obliged to pay full fare because this was not one of the days on which excursion tickets are sold. Bud got home about 4 O.C. & went right off to dress up a party at Mr. Ed. Kinnelbos. Mrs. Wm. Watters & Jimmie spent part of the P.M. with Mother. I did very little to day; cut some stove wood & shucked some corn being about all. Mother had a turkey gobbler killed for me to take to town tomorrow. Gross weight 20 lbs. net 15. Bud spent several hours at a party at Mrs. Armstrongs & then came on to Mr. Kinnelbos.

Dec 30 1855 Wed

Raining nearly all day after 9 this morning. About that hour I started to town with my three turkeys, (the gobbler dressed) 3 lbs. of butter & three doz. of eggs. Besides these I carried a basket full of sweet & Irish potatoes, & turnips to our new preacher, Mr. Ballenger. The ride coming & going was a real one, for it was raining nearly all the time. Without much difficulty I sold the gobbler for 1.75 - 12 1/2 cents per pound. The 2 others were much harder to dispose of & bring me only 60¢ & 55 cents apiece. With considerable trouble I sold the butter at 20¢ & the eggs at 16 2/3¢. As I could not dine for Morgan or myself I came back immediately getting home at 3 P.M. Raining as it was he was hauling sails to sea since he could easily see a doz. times in better

Dec 31 1855 Thurs-

The opened foggy & very like rain, but turned out to be clear & pretty. Bud & I hauled a load of wood this morning & Lin then hauled a load for us. He was repairing some fence part of the morning & in the P.M. he rode to Mr. Shannon's. Bud went to town for Father after dinner & came home in about 4 hours. Father had gotten in from Atlanta on a morning train. I went to the P.O. in the P.M. & got two papers. We also read a letter from Mr. Rankin telling us he had sent us a box of clothing that he had worn some. At the first reading Father seemed amused but I soon saw he did not at all enjoy the situation; & indeed later in the day he said he would not begin to wear "Rankin's clothes" Messrs Pate & Juwall Lightning rod man staid all night with us.

A. D. 1886.

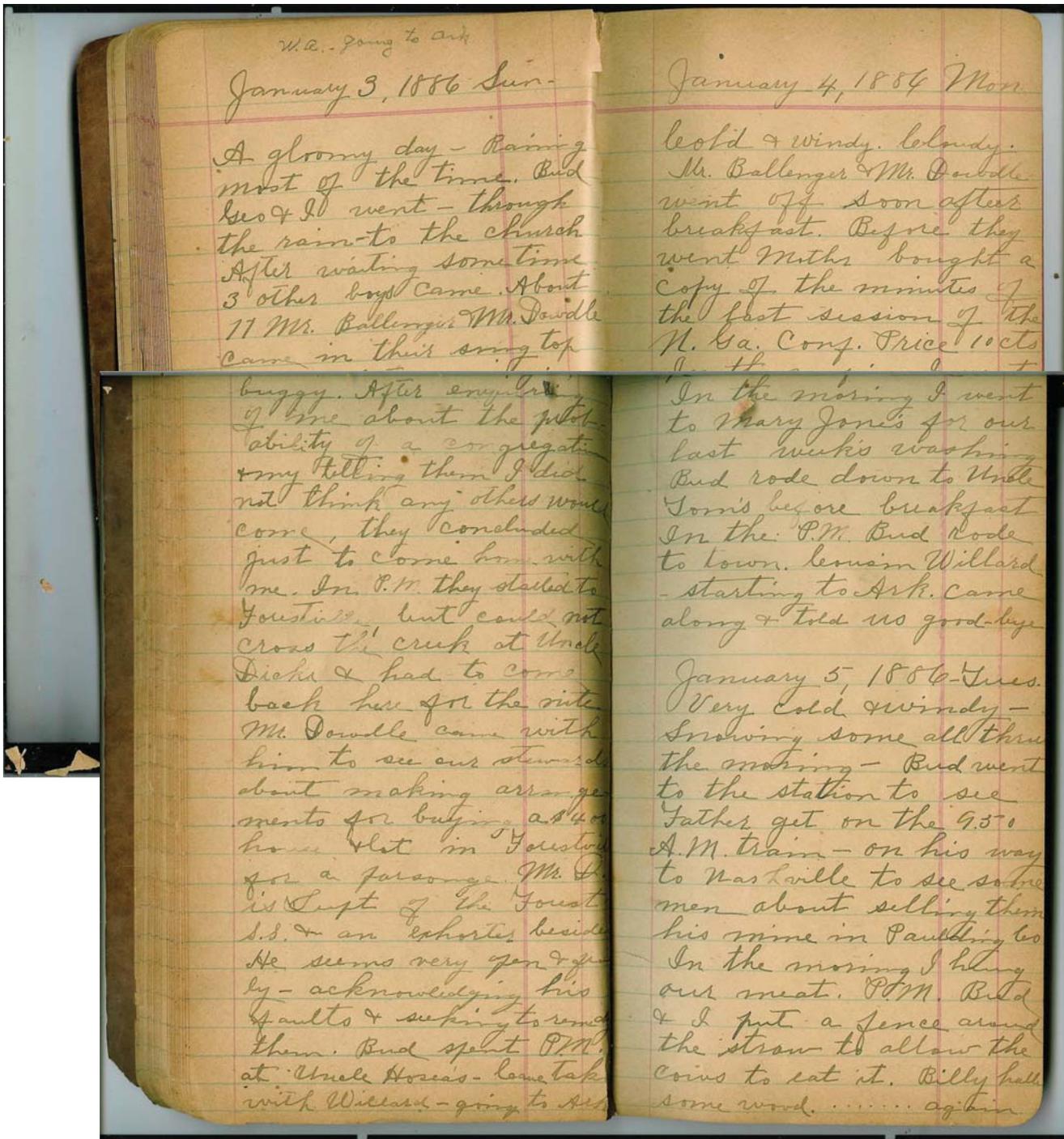
Resolutions for the year: 1st - Not to give way to my temper, 2nd To give strict attention to the channels of my thought; 3rd In all things to heed the Golden Rule. All these are surely given in the Bible, and they will require the use of more "every-day Christianity" than I have ever made use of before.

January 1, 1886 Fri.  
Clear this morning somewhat cloudy P.M. cool. Messrs. Pate & Durr paid us 2.50 & were off soon after 5 P.M. I went to the P.O. before noon to mail a letter & Bud came home by the way from Mr. Brinsfield P.M. Brought me a little from boucin Arine & In the morning I cut up some stove wood & shucked some corn. In the afternoon I cut & helped Bud haul a load of ash from the woods. We were all as well as is usual - None sick.

January 2 1886 Sat

Warm & cloudy. Raining all day after noon. I was at church this morning to hear our new pastor J. M. Ballinger. He seemed much embarrassed, but I was greatly pleased with the

Conclusion of the sermon - On New Resolutions I came back by the P.O. was in the same. Bud carried 58 burs of cotton seed to the Oil mills in Boone. They pay 12 cent per pound. He went to the depot & recievd the box Mr. Rankin sent us. It contained a coat vest of fine material worn only once or twice a pretty good overcoat pair of good mens shoes heavy pair of pants, some slippers for Muths picture of one of his children New Year card & a box of fine candies. Father was much disappointed at finding the shoes too small for himself. The att. at church was only 15-16.



W.E. - going to Ark

January 3, 1886 Sun.

A gloomy day - Raining most of the time. Bud & I went - through the rain - to the church. After waiting some time 3 other boys came. About 11 Mr. Ballenger, Mr. Dowdle came in their song top

buggy. After enquiring of me about the probability of a congregation, my telling them I did not think any others would come, they concluded just to come here with me. In P.M. they started to Forestville but could not cross the creek at Uncle Dick's & had to come back here for the night. Mr. Dowdle came with him to see our steward about making arrangements for buying a 4000 house plot in Forestville for a parsonage. Mr. D. is Supt of the Forest S.S. & an exhorter besides. He seems very open & friendly - acknowledging his faults & seeking to remove them. Bud spent P.M. at Uncle Horas - came back with Willard - going to see

January 4, 1886 Mon.

Cold & windy. Cloudy. Mr. Ballenger & Mr. Dowdle went off soon after breakfast. Before they went Muths bought a copy of the minutes of the last session of the N. Ga. Conf. Price 10cts

In the morning I went to Mary Jones for our last week's washing. Bud rode down to Uncle Tom's before breakfast. In the P.M. Bud rode to town. Lemm Willard - starting to Ark. came along & told us good-bye.

January 5, 1886 Tues.

Very Cold & windy - Snowing some all thru the morning - Bud went to the station to see Father get on the 9.50 A.M. train - on his way to Nashville to see some men about selling them his mine in Paulding Co. In the morning I hinged our meat. P.M. Bud & I put a fence around the straw to allow the cows to eat it. Billy hauled some wood. .... again

January 6 1884 Wed

Bright & cold. Some clouds could be seen most any time of the day, but the sun was seldom obscured. Bud carried the clothes to Mary Jones this morn. & carrying back told

old Aunt Lizzie that Mother wanted her to dress a turkey. She came pretty soon & prepared the turkey - which I carried to town in the P.M. & with 2 cakes of butter, some popcorn & some scaly barks sent by express to Mr. Rankin, saw. The box weighed 14 1/2 pounds & cost 65 cents. While in town I bought a P.O. order - with Mother's money - to pay for the Constitution 1886. Was surprised to see cousin Willard & Ed Wright in town.

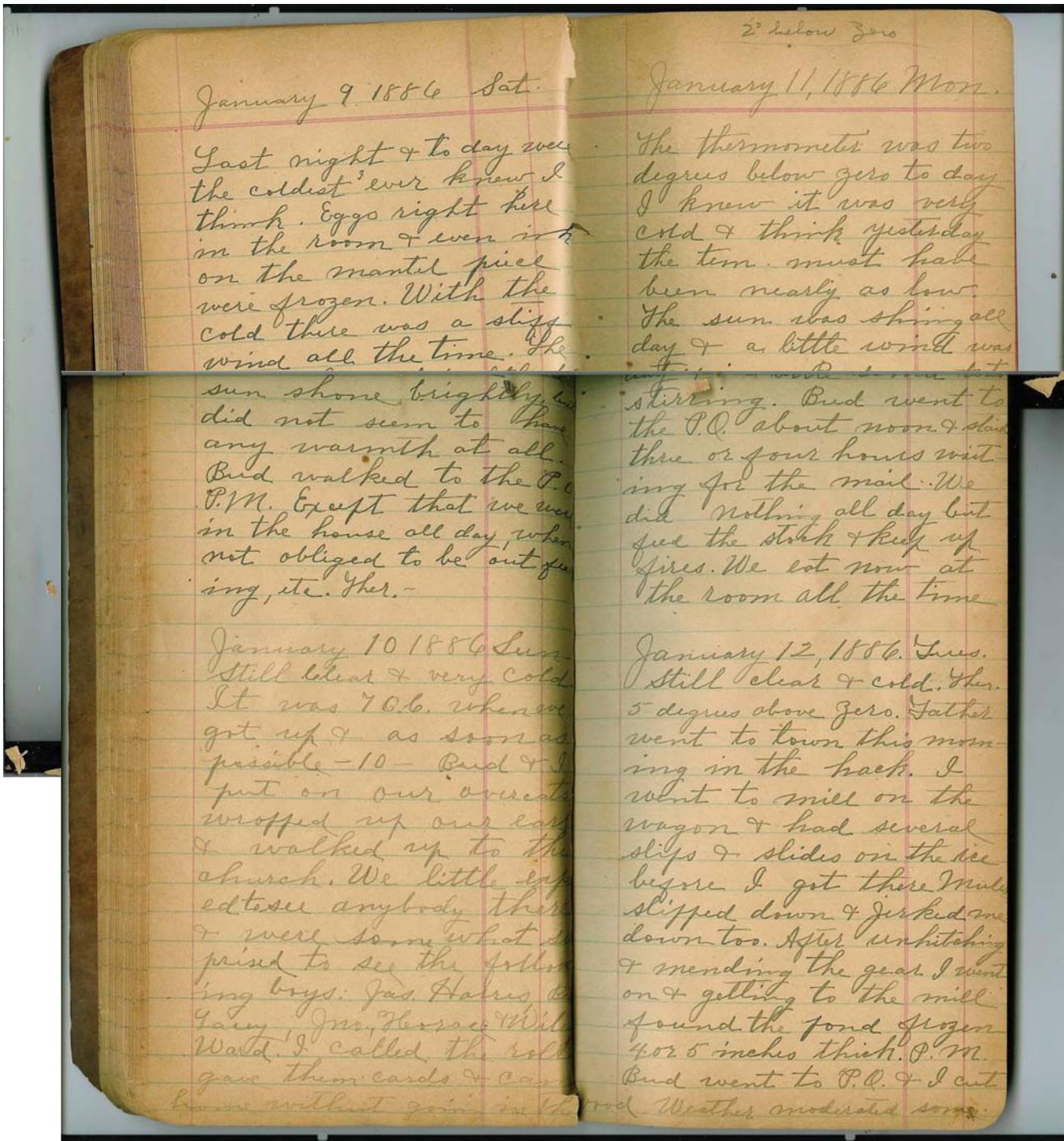
They did not get off yesterday - said they were going to day. - I saw in one of the papers that Mr. Bob. Hoydt shot & killed himself sun morning. I saw the Chinese laundry

January 7, 1884 Thurs.

A very pretty & pleasant day, though cool, yet warmer than for several days past. Very quiet & still here at home. Bud went to mill in the morning & in P.M. carried Mother & the children on a visit to Mrs. Kinnibur. He also went to the P.O. & was invited to a party at Mr. Smith's, but did not attend. I was at home all day - cutting wood, eating walnuts, etc. Billy still picking cotton.

January 8 1885 Fri-

This was the most mixed up day I ever saw. First we had rain, then hail, & snow the rest of the day, with a hard wind all the time. A very disagreeable day! At 9 P.M. Bud went to the depot for Father but he did not come till 1 & then he had to walk home. The men he went to see promised to write something in a few days. Very hard day!



January 9, 1886 Sat.

Last night & to day were the coldest ever known I think. Eggs right here in the room & even in to on the mantel piece were frozen. With the cold there was a stiff wind all the time. The sun shone brightly, but did not seem to have any warmth at all. Bud walked to the P.O. P.M. Except that we were in the house all day, when not obliged to be out foring, etc. Ther. -

January 10, 1886 Sun.

Still clear & very cold. It was 70.6 when we got up & as soon as possible - 10 - Bud & I put on our overcoats & wrapped up our ears & walked up to the church. We little expected to see anybody there & were somewhat surprised to see the following boys: Jas. Halrus & Gary, Jnr., Hersey, Wil. Ward. I called the rolls & gave them cards & came home without going in the

2° below zero

January 11, 1886 Mon.

The thermometer was two degrees below zero to day I knew it was very cold & think yesterday the tem. must have been nearly as low. The sun was shining all day & a little wind was stirring. Bud went to the P.O. about noon & stayed three or four hours waiting for the mail. We did nothing all day but see the stock & keep up fires. We eat now at the room all the time

January 12, 1886 Tues.

Still clear & cold. Ther. 5 degrees above zero. Father went to town this morning in the hack. I went to mill on the wagon & had several slips & slides on the ice before I got there. Mule slipped down & jerked me down too. After unhitching & mending the gear I went on & getting to the mill found the pond frozen 4 or 5 inches thick. P.M. Bud went to P.O. & I cut

January 13, 1886. Wed.

Clear & considerably moderated. In the morning Bud & I provided us with stout sticks about 3 feet long went out to the cotton stalks. They were easily broken off till about noon, when the

ground began to thaw some. I was by myself P.M. - Bud being at the office sev. hrs. I went for the mail. Father was most of the P.M. at Henry Woods, having Jack shod & some work done on a pair of and irons. He heard that Dr. Ballenger was dead.

The Dr. was so much liked by everyone & so kind it seems strange he was not a Christian.

Ponds & other places where water stands continue frozen - some to a depth of 4 or 5 inches.

I see a great many of our chickens have frost bitten combs & fear all our S. potatoes are frozen. The courier states that there was a zero in Rome this morn.

January 14 1886 Thurs.

Clear morning, cloudy P.M. Windy & cool. Bud & I knocked stalks before noon & "jobbed around" afternoon.

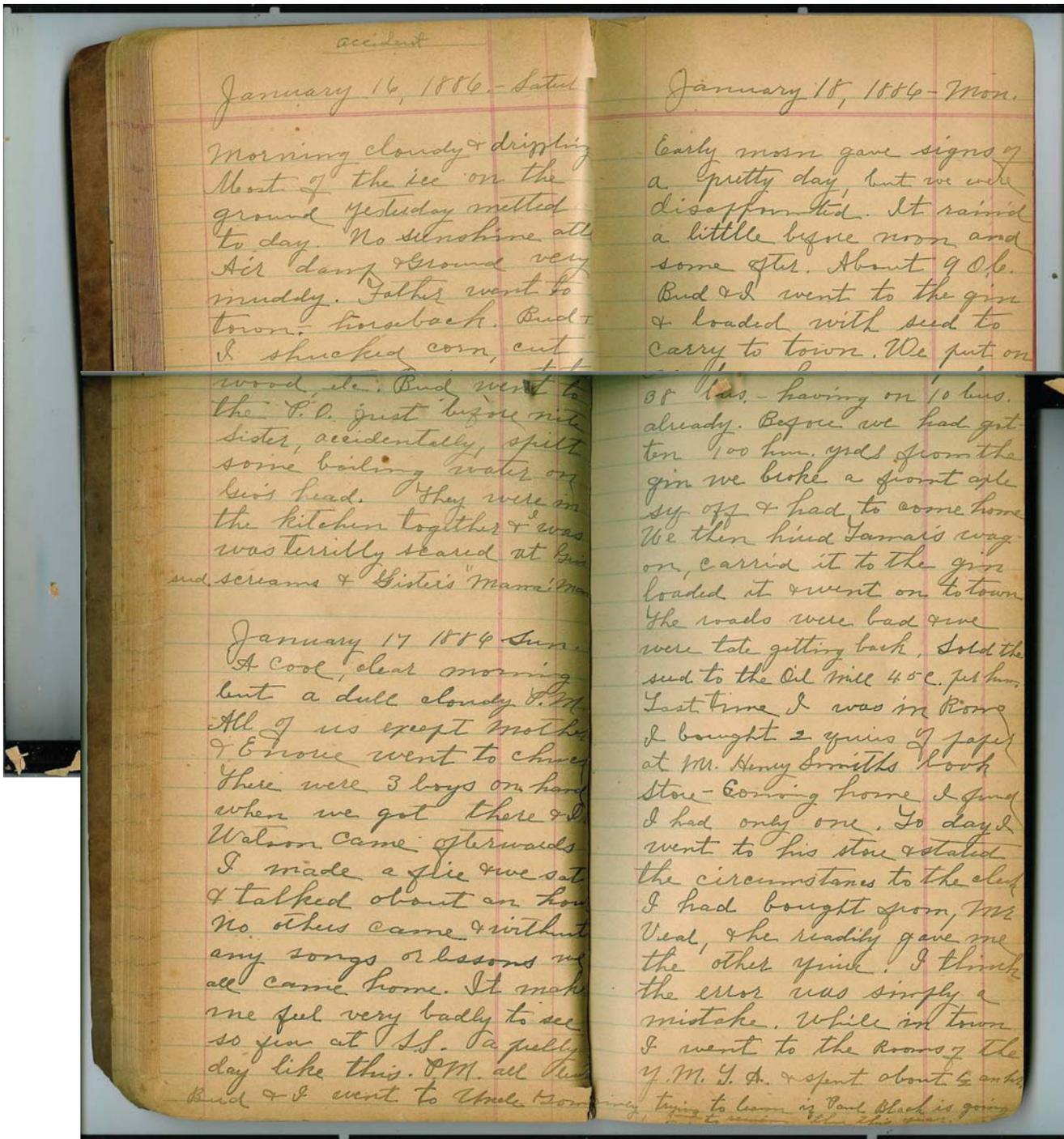
Father, like Bud yesterday, spent several hours at the P.O. waiting for the mail.

Billy is still picking cotton. He hauled two loads of wood to day. Uncle Sam stopped here a few min. this morn.

January 15, 1886 - Friday

Sleeting & raining all day. Mr. Ed Kimmber came by & spent 3 or 4 hours of social chat with us in the morning & Bud spent an hour or two of the P.M. at the P.O.

It began to sleet about 7 A.M. During this turned into rain, which froze as it fell & formed a crust of ice on top of the ground. This sort of weather is very hard on cattle, & we keep our milk cows stalled day & night. With me to day was idly & very poorly spent. What loss!



accident

January 16, 1886 - Sat

Morning cloudy & dripping  
Most of the ice on the  
ground yesterday melted  
to day. No sunshine all  
Air damp & ground very  
muddy. Father went to  
town. Simbach. Bud &  
I shucked corn, cut  
wood, etc. Bud went to  
the P. O. just before my  
sister, accidentally, spilt  
some boiling water on  
his head. They were in  
the kitchen together & was  
was terribly scared at his  
and screams & Sister's "Mama! Mama!"

January 17 1886 Sun.

A cool, clear morning  
but a dull cloudy P.M.  
All of us except Mother  
& Ernie went to church.  
There were 3 boys on hand  
when we got there & D.  
Watson came afterwards.  
I made a fire & we sat  
& talked about an hour.  
No others came & without  
any songs or lessons we  
all came home. It makes  
me feel very badly to see  
so few at S.S. So pearly  
day like this. P.M. all the  
Bud & I went to Uncle Tom's

January 18, 1886 - Mon.

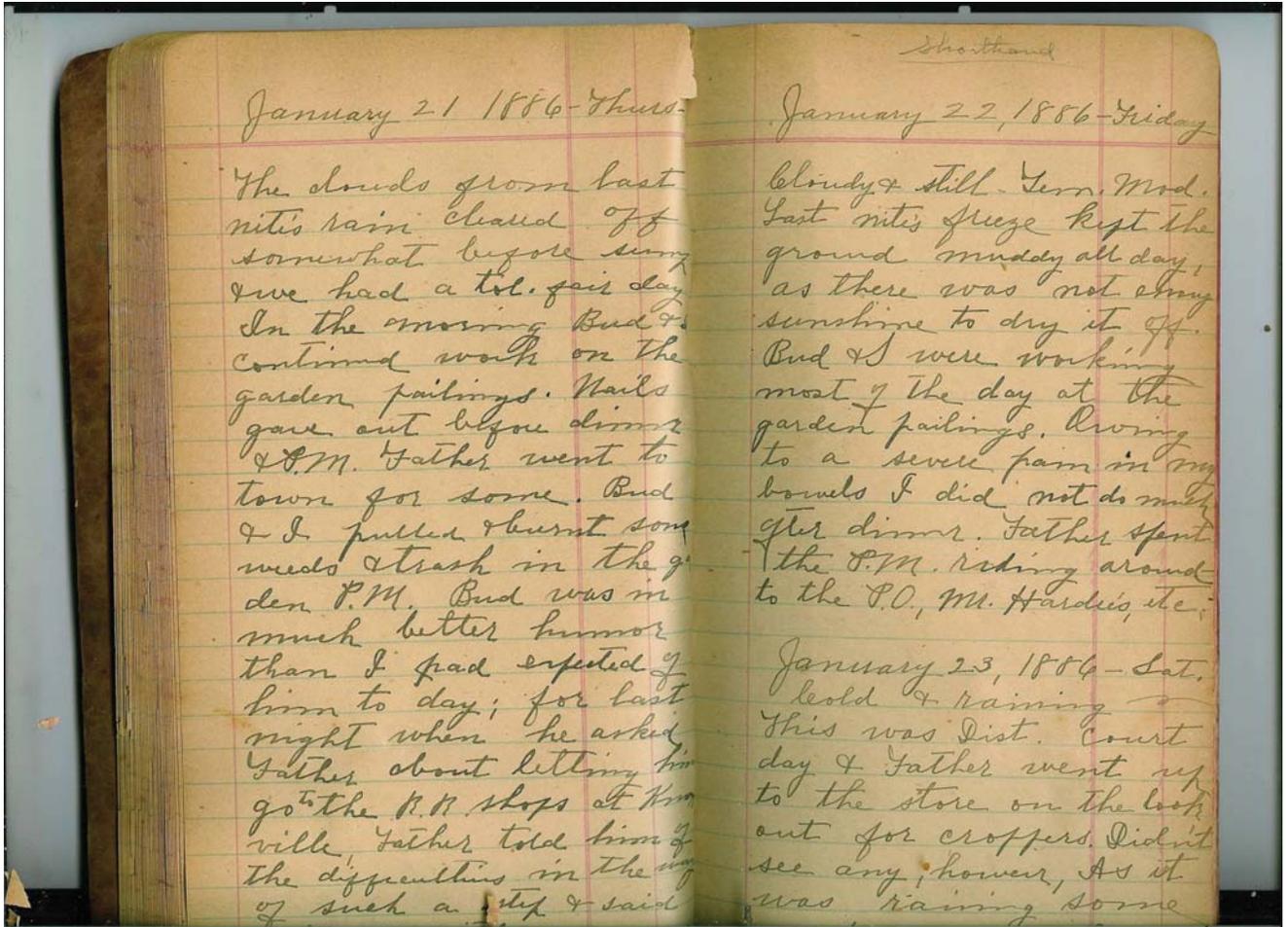
Early morn gave signs of  
a pretty day, but we were  
disappointed. It rained  
a little before noon and  
some after. About 9 O.C.  
Bud & I went to the gin  
& loaded with seed to  
carry to town. We put on  
35 lbs. - having on 10 lbs.  
already. Before we had got  
ten 100 lbs. yds from the  
gin we broke a front axle  
off & had to come home.  
We then hired Sam's wag-  
on, carried it to the gin  
loaded it & went on to town.  
The roads were bad & we  
were late getting back. Sold the  
seed to the Oil Mill 45c. per bu.  
Last time I was in Rome  
I bought 2 quins of paper  
at Mr. Henry Smith's book  
store - Coming home I found  
I had only one. To day I  
went to his store & stated  
the circumstances to the clerk  
I had bought from, Mr.  
Veal, & he readily gave me  
the other quink. I think  
the error was simply a  
mistake. While in town  
I went to the rooms of the  
Y.M.C.A. & spent about 2 weeks  
trying to learn if Paul Black is going

January 19, 1886 - Tues.

To day was cool, but bit  
 & cherry. Father rode horse  
 in the back to Rome to  
 carry some part of the  
 front of the wagon to fit  
 on the new axle, which  
 Mr. Wimpe made & charged  
 \$3.50 for. We could have  
 had the work done any  
 had the work done any  
 where else in town for  
 a dol. less, & at two places  
 for \$2.00. Bud went to  
 the P.O. during the day.  
 Rest of the time he was  
 hunting & helping me sh  
 corn. While we were  
 together at the crib sh  
 ing corn - having come  
 into full knowledge of  
 what Bud supposed was  
 one of his own private  
 affairs - I talked to him  
 half an hour - in the fear  
 of God & in my deepest  
 sympathy for him - ab  
 out our conduct toward  
 one another & our poor  
 example to our little  
 brother, George. It took  
 all my courage to say so  
 I did, but after it was  
 over & I had told him  
 my own ex. upon the same  
 thing, I felt more like a brother

January 20 1886 - Wed.

cool & frosty. Strong indi-  
 cations of rain, however,  
 before night. 1st thing  
 this morning Bud & I went  
 to the gin & put on the  
 new axle. Then, bring in the  
 wagon home we went  
 to the woods for some  
 posts & railings to mend  
 some cranky panels in the gate  
 den fence. P.M. we skin  
 ned off the bark & store  
 down some of the old  
 railings. Father went to  
 the office soon after the  
 mail came expecting to  
 get some answer from  
 the Nashville men in  
 relation to the mine,  
 but no letter came.  
 For a week we have been  
 watching anxiously for a  
 letter from these men.  
 It is so unsatisfactory  
 to him in such suspense.  
 One day we have bought  
 visimot of an early and  
 profitable sale. The next  
 all hope is gone we are  
 flat. Father Mother Bud  
 & I seem to him in it.  
 when our hopes of selling  
 are bite, we are cheap when  
 we are all dependent & lifeless



January 21 1886 - Thursday

The clouds from last night's rain cleared off somewhat before sun. We had a tol. fair day. In the morning Bud & I continued work on the garden pailings. Nails gave out before dinner. P.M. Father went to town for some. Bud & I pulled & burnt some weeds & trash in the garden. P.M. Bud was in much better humor than I had expected of him to day; for last night when he asked Father about letting him go to the P.O. shops at Knoxville, Father told him of the difficulties in the way of such a job & said

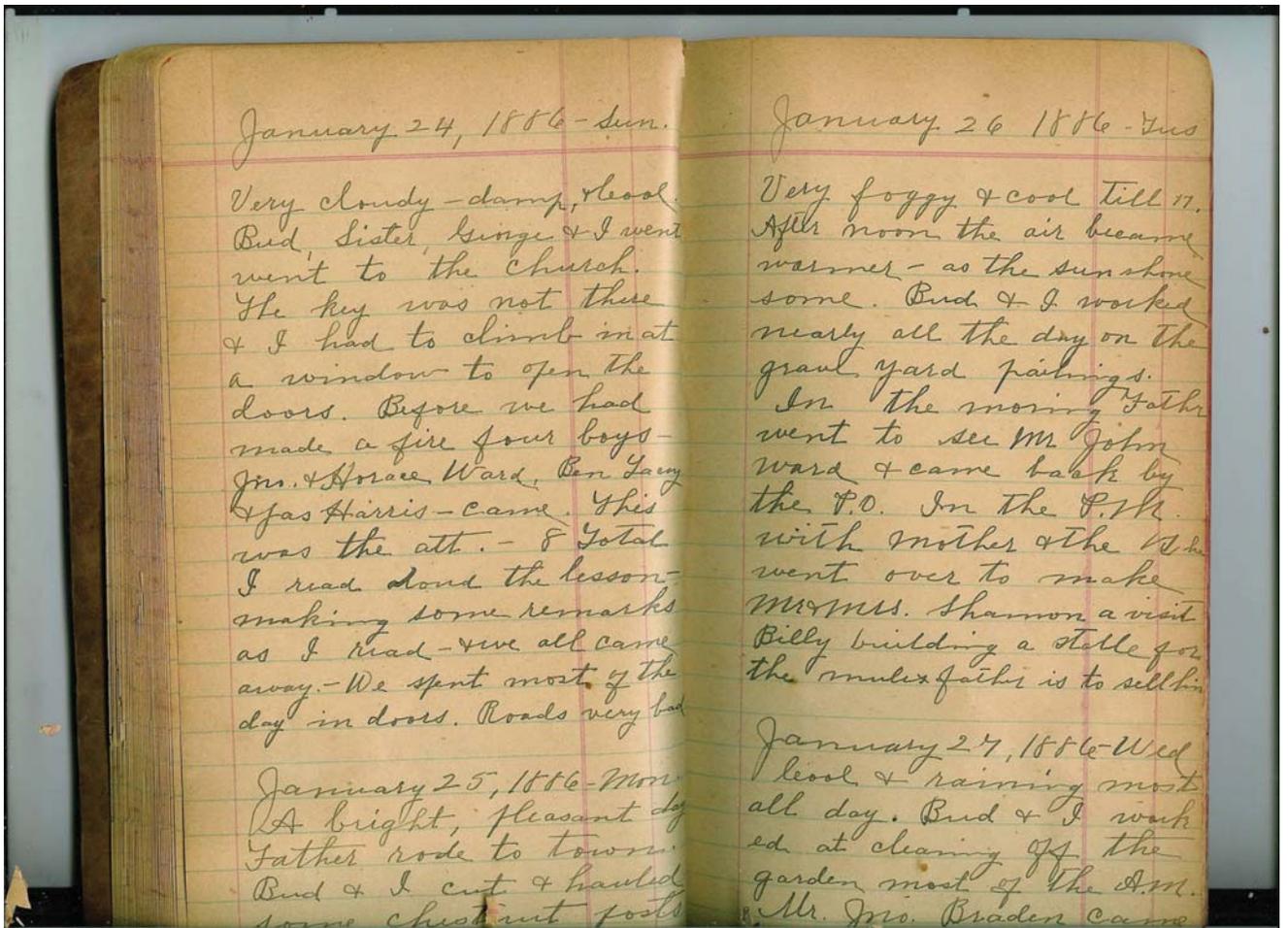
Shorthand

January 22, 1886 - Friday

Cloudy & still. Tern. Mod. Last night's freeze kept the ground muddy all day, as there was not enough sunshine to dry it off. Bud & I were working most of the day at the garden pailings. Owing to a severe pain in my bowels I did not do much after dinner. Father spent the P.M. riding around to the P.O., Mr. Hardie's, etc.

January 23, 1886 - Sat.

bold & raining. This was Dist. Court day & Father went up to the store on the look out for croppers. Didn't see any, however, As it was raining some



January 24, 1886 - Sun.

Very cloudy - damp, & cool.  
 Bud, Sister, George & I went  
 went to the Church.  
 The key was not there  
 & I had to climb in at  
 a window to open the  
 doors. Before we had  
 made a fire four boys -  
 Geo. & Horace Ward, Ben Lacey  
 & Jas Harris - came. This  
 was the att. - & Total  
 I read aloud the lesson -  
 making some remarks  
 as I read - & we all came  
 away. - We spent most of the  
 day in doors. Roads very bad

January 25, 1886 - Mon

A bright, pleasant day  
 Father rode to town.  
 Bud & I cut & hauled  
 some chestnut posts

January 26 1886 - Tues

Very foggy & cool till 11.  
 After noon the air became  
 warmer - as the sun shone  
 some. Bud & I worked  
 nearly all the day on the  
 gravel yard pairings.  
 In the morning Father  
 went to see Mr. John  
 Ward & came back by  
 the P.O. In the P.M.  
 with Mother & the W. he  
 went over to make  
 Mr. Mrs. Shannon a visit  
 Billy building a stable for  
 the mule, father is to sell his

January 27, 1886 - Wed

cool & raining most  
 all day. Bud & I work  
 ed at cleaning off the  
 garden most of the A.M.  
 Mr. Mrs. Braden came

January 28 - 1886 Th

cool & cloudy. No sun-  
shine at all. Forenoon  
I cleaned off the gran-  
yard & stopped some  
cracks in the fence  
to keep the pigs off  
our wheat. P.M. Fath-  
er & I made a change  
of the railings & gate

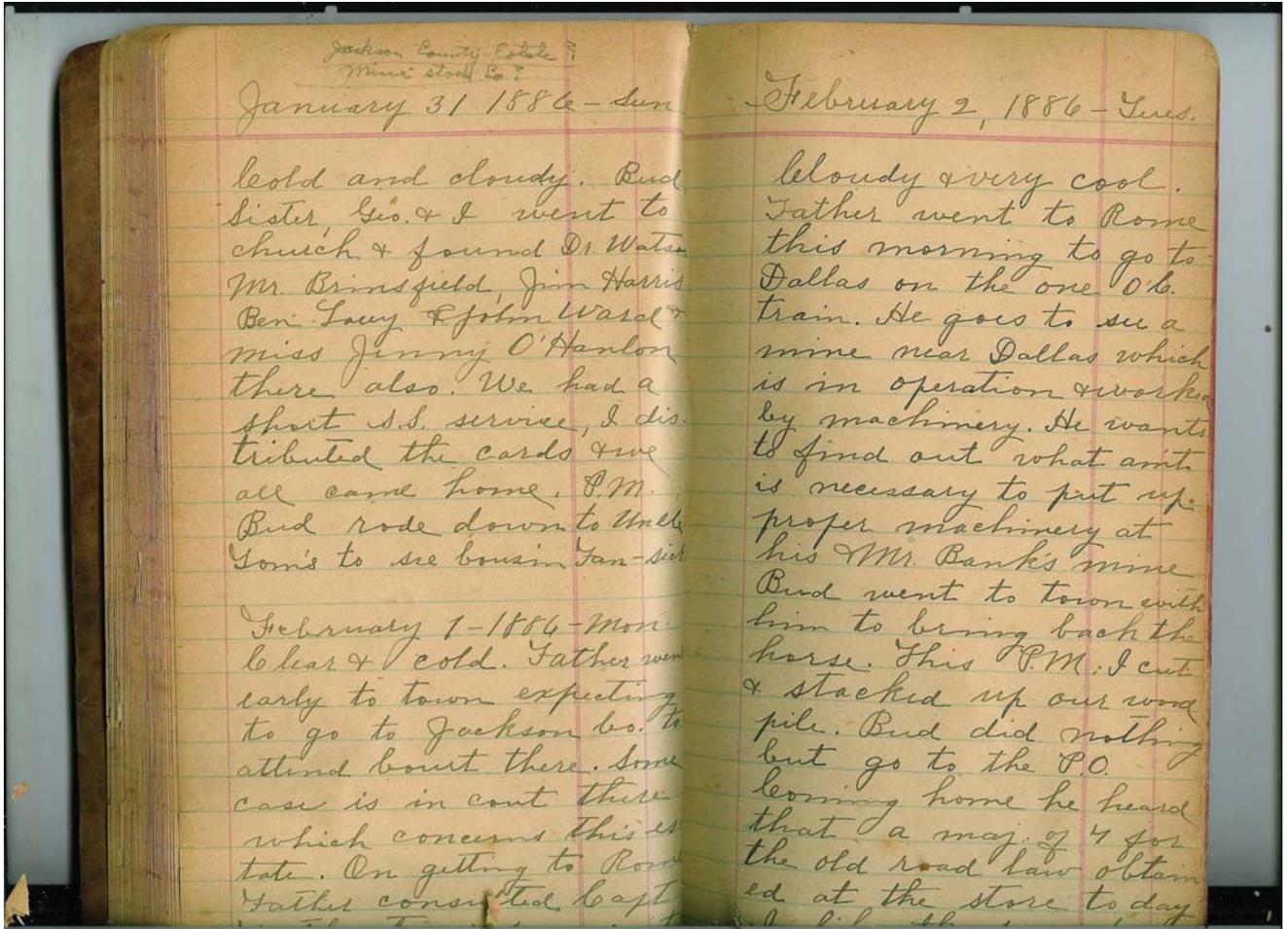
in the front yard.  
At night two young men  
horseback - came along  
& we let them stay over  
night with us. Soon  
after supper three men  
in wagons stopped to  
get feed for their mules  
& some supper for them-  
selves. I made up a fire  
in the stove cooked 15  
biscuits, some meat, & gave  
them sweet milk & some  
homemade. I had to carry  
all this to them - about  
200 yds from the house  
& do the necessary clean-  
up besides. When I came  
away from where they were  
I told them I charged  
65 cents. One of the men  
a Mr. Mc. Due gave me  
a half dollar & said he  
would pay the rest if I  
would bring him the change

January 29, 1886 - Fri-

Very cloudy & pretty cool  
A little rain. We were  
at work all morning  
cutting down a tree &  
mending the negro yard  
fence. P.M. we did very  
little. I run some  
pigs out of the wheat  
field. Father rode to the  
P.O. & while he was gone  
Uncle Dick Zuber came  
He remained over night  
I did not attempt to get  
the remaining 15 cents from  
from the campers this morning

January 30 1886 Sat

Very cool and cloudy  
As Father was going  
to town Uncle Dick wait-  
ed till about nine o'clock  
& they went together  
as far as Uncle Morris.  
Uncle J. & Aunt Garry  
are very much troubled  
just now on account  
of Cousin Al. going off  
suddenly to Madison.  
They think perhaps he  
has gone to marry his  
cousin, Miss Julia Reese  
This Am. Bud & I knuck  
some cotton stalks P.M. he  
went to mill & to the P.O.



Jackson County Estate?  
Mines & Stock Co?

January 31 1886 - Sun

leold and cloudy. Bud  
sister, Geo. & I went to  
church & found Dr. Water  
Mr. Brinsfield, Jim Harris  
Ben Lacy & John Ward &  
Miss Jimmy O'Hanlon  
there also. We had a  
short S.S. service, I dis-  
tributed the cards & we  
all came home. P.M.  
Bud rode down to Uncle  
Tom's to see Cousin Jan - sick

February 1 - 1886 - Mon  
le clear & cold. Father went  
early to town expecting  
to go to Jackson Co. to  
attend court there. Some  
case is in court there  
which concerns this es-  
tate. On getting to Rome  
Father consulted Capt

February 2, 1886 - Tues.

le cloudy & very cool.  
Father went to Rome  
this morning to go to  
Dallas on the one O.G.  
train. He goes to see a  
mine near Dallas which  
is in operation & worked  
by machinery. He wants  
to find out what amt  
is necessary to put up  
proper machinery at  
his Mr. Banks' mine  
Bud went to town with  
him to bring back the  
horse. This P.M. I cut  
& stacked up our wood  
pile. Bud did nothing  
but go to the P.O.  
Coming home he heard  
that a mag. of 4 for  
the old road law obtain-  
ed at the store to day

February 3, 1886 - Wed

Raining all forenoon  
Dark and threatening  
P.M. Bud & I shucked  
corn most of the morn-  
ing. I also wrote a  
letter - to Miss Mina  
In the P.M. Bud went  
to the P.O. Just before  
night we were sur-  
prised to see Father  
walk in. We had not  
expected him home till  
tomorrow. He brought  
a sack of ore with  
him & Bud went on the  
horse to the sta. for it

February 4, 1886 - Th.  
Clear & windy, but very  
cold - Freezing all day.

I walked to town -  
carrying 3 doz. eggs & 2 lb  
of butter. Sold the eggs  
at 20c. per doz. & butter  
at 30c. a pound. Not many  
people in town. In the  
country very few at home.  
Bud knocked a few cot-  
ton stalks & went twice  
to the P.O. during the day.  
For sev. weeks now I have  
been studying Shant-Ham  
almost every night, but  
reading the paper is so much  
pleasant

February 5, 1886 - Friday

Clear & very cold. I  
finished knocking  
our cotton stalks  
this morning. Billy  
knocked some of his  
P.M. Bud & I cut &  
hauled some wood  
Billy & his boys were  
cutting board, or rail  
timber. Mr. Alex John-  
ston came this morning  
to see if Father would  
sell him some corn  
on credit. Father told  
him he was not able to.

February 6, 1886 - Sat  
Clear & cold. Bud & I were  
engaged all morning  
hauling & throwing iron  
ditches some cane "chaws"  
Father rode up the road  
to see some parties &  
then went to church for  
preaching. At the church  
the Palsonage matter  
was brought up by Mr.  
Ballinger. A very good  
house on an acre lot  
in Forestville is offered  
for about \$400 & our ch.  
has 100 to pay. Oastman  
has to raise 40 & the  
other three 100 apiece.

February 7, 1886 - Sun.

A very pretty, pleasant day. All of us went to church. We had a short s.d. service. There was a short s.d. but all else was long. We commenced late - from waiting to get in as many as possible. Mr. Ballenger's prayer was very long & so was the sermon. After the sermon he made some remarks about paying for the parsonage. Said he knew it would be crippling his own chances of support for at least a time, but he was doing for the future good of

February 8, 1886 - Mon.

A bright, warm day. Father went to town & back before 2 P.M. Bud & I hauled out some manure in the morning. P.M. Bud tried to plow but found it too wet. Billy plowed all P.M. & I saw Mr. Kinnebrew was using both his horse plows. About 2 P.M. Bud went off to the blacksmith shop & went out to get up some hands to split rails. I saw four who agreed to split some

February 9, 1886 - Tues.

Clear, cool morning, warm P.M. Bud carried the clothes to Mary Jones just after breakfast & I went to Henry Wood's for some plows he had sharpened for us. Bud went to Turing with the 2 horse plow as soon as I came back, but soon broke the double tree & stopped till after dinner. In the A.M. we opened our sweet potato bank & found most all of them rotten & mushy.

February 10, 1886 - Wed.

7/1 2 1/2 2 1/2 1/4  
Bud plowing all day. I was at work in the same field cutting briars out of the fence corners. Father came out about 9.30 A.M. & Mr. Ed. Kinnebrew came across the field soon after ward, & then they stood & talked - on all subjects - till twelve. Mother sent Sister & Gus. to Mrs. Wm. Walters on an errand, & in the afternoon. On nearly every place around you can now hear the old "Luce & Hair"

February 11, 1886 - Thurs.

✓ 1/10 or 2/10 9/10  
 Bud was flowing with the  
 double flow all day. I was  
 cutting briars & bushes.  
 Dave Grimes & Stephen Mc-  
 Leuire split 100 rails apiece  
 to pay their subscription  
 to South & West. Capt.  
 Williams came to see if

he could buy corn for  
 Father. Mr. Aleck Johnson  
 wants 50 bus. & that is  
 all Father wants to see

February 12, 1886 - Friday

Hard rain last night  
 No flowing to day. Turned  
 cool soon after breakfast  
 I carried to town 3 roasts  
 & pounds of butter & 1 doz  
 eggs. Found it very hard  
 to dispose of the butter &  
 eggs. I sold the chickens  
 for 60 cents, the eggs for  
 45, & the butter for 50.  
 Eggs are selling on the  
 flats at ten cts & butter at  
 ten to 15 cents per pound.  
 I once thought I would  
 have to bring the butter  
 home, but finally sold  
 it at the rate of 18 1/2 cts per  
 lb. Between here & Rome are  
 23 the worst flans I ever saw  
 in a road

February 13, 1886 - Satur-

✓ 2/10 or 2/10 9/10  
 Father went to Rome &  
 was gone most of the day.  
 Bud & I hauled rails all  
 morning. In the afternoon  
 Mother, Bud & Ernie went  
 up to Uncle Hosea's. Cousin  
 Sally came back with them.  
 Father heard in town that  
 Gen. Hancock & Gov. Sey-  
 mour were dead; a riot was  
 being made on the chineston  
 Billy plowed some in P.M.

February 14, 1886 - Sun.

✓ 2/10 or 2/10 9/10  
 Bud, Sister, Cousin Sally  
 & myself went to church.  
 Father thought it was  
 not safe for all to go  
 in the hack, when the  
 roads are so bad. At the  
 church we found about  
 25 persons. After waiting  
 some time we went in  
 the house for S.S. Our  
 Programme: - 1st A song, 2nd  
 reading Gisson, 3rd Roll call  
 & distribution of cards, 4th  
 prayer (by myself to day 1st time  
 ever in public) & resolutions,  
 5th a song or two (half a doz. to  
 day), was gone through & we  
 came home

Before we get home it  
 gan to rain & continued  
 about an hour. We spent  
 several hours shuckin  
 corn. Afternoon Bud &  
 the 2 horse plow, & I cut  
 briars & cleaned out fence  
 corners. Very cool winds spring  
 up

February 16, 1886 - Tuesday  
 clear & cold. Ice & some  
 frost this morning.  
 Bud plowing again to  
 & I cleaning out fence  
 corners. Billy turning with  
 single plow. Mr. Ed. &  
 nebun killed some hogs  
 to day. - Uncle Tom & our  
 pastor Mr. Ballenger came  
 around collecting subscrip  
 tions to the parsonage fund.  
 I paid a dollar last week  
 Father did not pay to day  
 says he cannot give more  
 than five dollars now.  
 Mr. Wm. Walters subscribed 25

the fence corners. Two  
 men from near Siltton,  
 with some mules for  
 sale, staid here over  
 night. Father brought  
 home with him from  
 the office a spec. copy of  
 The N. Y. Ledger. I do not  
 envy Mr. Bonner his  
 million made off of such  
 a paper. Nearly all novels,  
 love stories, or adventures.

February 18, 1886 - Thurs.  
 7, 2, 1/2 Mr. Frady sent  
 this morning for ten bush  
 of corn. Father sold it  
 at 50 cts per bushel.  
 Bud plowing & I cutting  
 & burning briars. Mr.  
 Himmelstein commenced  
 turning the 20 acre piece  
 he has rented from us.  
 He pays 30 dollars rent  
 & does some fencing.

February 19, 1886 - Friday

Cool, clear morning; cloudy  
windy afternoon. Bud  
flowing all day. I burnt  
brush & briars in the  
morning, & raked off  
the garden after dinner.  
Eddie Woods brought us  
some fresh pork from  
Mrs. Kimmel, & Mrs. Ed.  
Kimmel sent us  
some sausage. Mother  
Sister & Ernie spent the  
P.M. with Mrs. Wm. Watter

February 20, 1886 - Sat

A clear, cold day. Windy.  
Father went to town to  
carry his money for the  
parsonage. He did not  
stay long enough to learn  
what amount was raised.  
The cash price of the house  
is \$375.00. Mother put  
up a large ham, some  
butter, hickory nuts, pop  
corn, etc, for Aunt Mary  
to be sent to Cousin  
lie, as Ex. Agt., & thus avoid  
Express charges, as they  
told us we would, but  
the Ex. Co would not accept  
it, unpaid - on grounds of  
"perishable" Bud broke up the  
garden & went to mill. I put down

February 21, 1886 - Sunday

Cloudy and cold. Every  
one of us went to church  
to day. Bud, as usual when  
we all go, rode horseback.  
We had the usual S.S.  
services. Father & Doyle O'Hara  
the only men present. Mrs.  
Pinson & Mother only mar-  
ried ladies. Total att 25  
married ladies. Total att 25  
Dr. Watson told me yesterday  
he would not be there to  
day, so Father heard the 1st class.  
I am afraid the Dr. intends to  
stop coming altogether. We is!

February 22 - 1886 - Mon

Rather cloudy and warm.  
Washington's birthday!  
Well I celebrated it by  
working hard all day.  
In the morning I was  
repairing fence. Also some  
P.M. I burnt some brush  
& did some sprouting.  
Bud flowing. Billy was  
flowing also. sin. flow.  
Mr. Kimmel's two flows  
turning the land he has  
rented from us. Bud & I  
were asked to day to come  
"over & get acquainted with"  
Miss Ella Brooks, a niece of  
Mrs. Kimmel's. Father not  
well. Suffering from nervousness

... Mrs. Co  
 Kimmelbus sent us  
 some sausage. Mother  
 Sister & Ernie spent the  
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 our meat

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 over & get acquainted with  
 Miss Ella Brooks a niece of  
 Mrs. Kimmelbus. Father had  
 well. Suffering from Nervousness

February 23, 1886 - Tuesday

Bright warm Windy 5-7  
I worked in the garden all morning. Planted 6. Peas mustard, cals, lettuce & onions. The ground was a little too damp, besides being very cloddy & full of trash. I put hen house manure & cotton seed ashes under

the peas, & hen house manure only under the onion seed. At noon I walked to the P.O. Brought Father a letter, Mother one, & myself a paper. Bud flowering. I cut bread 9 M. Father not at all well.

February 24, 1886 - Wed

Cloudy. Tem. Mod. Dull day. Bud flowering; I cleaned out fence corners. Father still sick. He is greatly troubled about his mind. The long silence of parties who were to write to him about buying it.

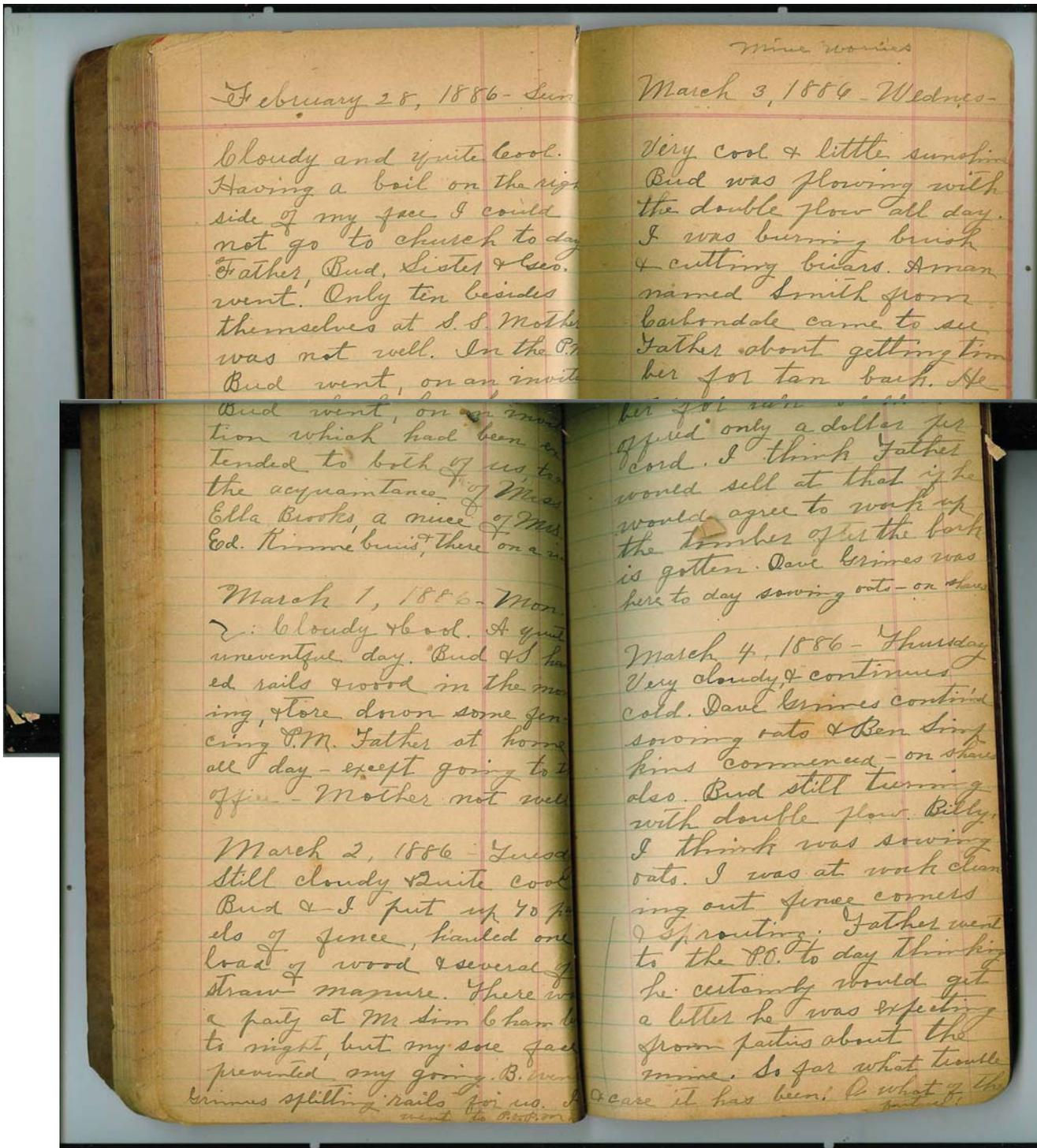
February 25, 1886 - Thursday  
Mod. Tem. - Hazy most of the day. Bud & I shueked some corn in morning. P.M. he went to the P.O. & then carried some wheat to mill. Father was better to day.

February 26, 1886 - Friday

Clear & cold. Fall of tem. last night was considerable. I went to Boone to day with 5 bus. of wheat, some butter & eggs. Being unable to sell the wheat I had it made into flour & brand it back. Wheat is poor sale. Out of 7 work hours not 1 made on eggs. Sold the eggs at ten cents a doz & the butter 30 cts per pound. Bought Mother some 1-cent packages of c. seeds & some onion sets - could not get buttons. Did not get home till night. Billy hauling wood.

February 27 1886 - Sat.

cloudy, cool morning. Bud carried 7 1/2 bus. of wheat & 31 bus. of cotton seed to town. Father went horseback. Sold the wheat at 90 cts & exchanged the seed for 6. S. meal. Billy took along some corn & sold it for 50 cts per bushel. Almost all P.M. it was snowing. Commenced to rain at night. All morning I was cleaning off some weeds, sprouting etc. from the back of the yard. I went to P.O. late in P.M.



February 28, 1886 - Sun

Cloudy and quite cool. Having a boil on the right side of my face I could not go to church today. Father, Bud, Sister & Leo went. Only ten besides themselves at S. S. Mother was not well. In the P.M. Bud went, on an invitation which had been extended to both of us, to the acquaintance of Mrs. Ella Brooks, a niece of Mrs. Ed. Kimmie's, there on a

March 1, 1886 - Mon

Cloudy & cool. A quiet uneventful day. Bud & I hauled rails & wood in the morning, & laid down some fencing P.M. Father at home all day - except going to office - Mother not well

March 2, 1886 - Tues

Still cloudy & quite cool. Bud & I put up 40 posts of fence, hauled one load of wood & several of straw manure. There was a party at Mr. Sim's home to night, but my sore face prevented my going. B. & I were

mine woods

March 3, 1886 - Wednes

Very cool & little sunshine. Bud was flowing with the double flow all day. I was burning brush & cutting bitars. Arman named Smith from Carbondale came to see Father about getting timber for tan bark. He

but got only a dollar per cord. I think Father would sell at that if he would agree to work up the timber after the bark is gotten. Dave Grimes was here today sowing oats - on

March 4, 1886 - Thursday

Very cloudy & continued cold. Dave Grimes continued sowing oats & Ben Simpson commenced - on share also. Bud still turning with double flow. Billy I think was sowing oats. I was at work cleaning out fence corners & sprouting. Father went to the P.O. today thinking he certainly would get a letter he was expecting from parties about the mine. So far what trouble & care it has been

March 5, 1886 - Friday

Bright & pleasant. I saw some signs of Spring to day. Grass is beginning to grow & our gooseberry bushes are budding.

Ben Smith is running his 3 flows - putting in oats - again today. Ben turning. I was sprouting morning. I was sprouting before noon & got some after. Planted 2 kinds of cabbage, beets, radishes, tomatoes & some onion sets. All are now well.

March 6, 1886 - Saturday

Cloudy & very cool. Windy. I cleaned out a ditch this morning, & Father & Mr. Ballenger came a little late, bringing his family the first time. His sermon was about sorrow in tears weeping in joy. All our brethren worked self denial - sorrowing in tears. After preaching a church conv. was held. We learned from Mrs. Walters that brother Barney was in town very sick with Pneumonia. Going to Uncle Tom's in P.M. I learned the report was that

I came down church by the P.O. -

March 7, 1886 - Sunday

A clear, cool morning, cloudy & warmer P.M. Father rode to town in the forenoon to learn how cousin Jeff was. He found him somewhat improved, but still very sick & at times unconscious. Several days last week he was not expected to live.

The sickness is Pneumonia. Pretty soon after Father had gone all the rest of us went in the back to church. Going early I had time to give the church a much needed sweeping. About ten we began our S.S. exercises. The order of our work, to day, was: a song (no 81), Prayer (By Uncle T.), Roll call, Distribution of cards, Reading the Lesson, Recitation & another song (No 85) - & one other, no. I have forgotten. Teachers & pupils seemed more interested than I have before noticed this year. For penitential attend. I gave two pieces: To J. no. Ward of 3rd class an ivory pen, & to Ben Lacey of 4th class a leather pencil. Mr. Ballenger preached after S. P.M. Father & Mother went to see Mrs. King

March 8, 1886 - Mon.

Clear & pleasant. Spring is being heralded by a few forward flurn<sup>truss</sup> & other kinds of early kinds of vegetation. Only the very first & slightest evidence of the approach of this most joyous of all seasons however, can be seen.

Ben Simpkin finished sowing his oat land here. Bud was turning & I was sprouting to day. Father quite unwell. Not as well even as usual.

March 9, 1886 - Tuesday  
 Tim. Moderat - cloudy  
 Bud flowing with two horses before noon & I was sprouting & burning beans. Afternoon Father took one horse to go to town & Bud flowed a little in the garden to plant some Irish potatoes & spent the remainder of the P.M. flowing in oats with the other horse. After dinner Mr. Jno. Braden came over & took up, as rations, one gal. of syrup & one bus. of corn. He is now at work getting cross ties for Father's

March 10, 1886 - Wednesday

Clear, windy & real winty weather. Almost before we had finished breakfast Mr. Smith, the man who was here a few days ago, called to see Father. Father had been up most of the night, being sick, & was just up of the bed. I was just up of the bed. I asked Mr. Smith to come in & he staid till the middle of the P.M. He came to see about buying tan bark, but he is evidently a man of leisure & of a social temperament, & talked about a hundred things besides the tan bark. About 3 o'c I stopped flowing in oats to allow Father to take him in the hack to Uncle Tom's. From Uncle Tom's Father came back around by the mill. He had just traded with Mr. Smith! Bud was flowing in oats with Jack all day. - Billy killed a pig this morning that weighed about 25 or 30 lbs. He was getting hungry I reckon. Every thing is still bleak & dead.

March 11, 1886 - Thursday

Ground was frozen this morning & there was considerable frost. - clear, level & windy. Bud was at work part of the morning mending a broken flow stick. I was flowing in oats several hours. After 10:00 we hauled "shave".

P.M. Bud run the 2 horse flow & I chopped corn. Father walked to the P.O. Mother, Sister & Eunice to Mr. Jas. Waller's. & Geo. to Mr. Cowan's - at the mill. Mr. J. Smith, the bark man from Love City, spent the n. here.

March 12, 1886 - Friday

Soon after breakfast Father & Mr. Smith started off to work to the saw mill. Bud went to flowing with the 2 horse & I to cutting briars. But about 9:00 it commenced to rain & Bud & I came to the house. Father got back soon after eleven. P.M. he rode through the rain to the P.O. to where Mr. Braden is getting his. He now has out about 45. - During the rain Bud & I sheathed some corn. P.M. Billy hauled wood.

Mr. Rankin continues to send us the S.S. names & birth. Pres.

Saturday, March 13, 1886

Cold, windy, and clear. Bud & I went to town in hack. I sold some butter & eggs then came back to Forestville to attend Luce's Conf. Day being cold a fire was necessary & as no men were about I helped a lady - shang into me - make a fire.

Soon Mr. Pierce came & Mr. Cary from Deets & Dr. Kendall from Ross were out. Dr. K. preached. I liked his sermon very much. He seems so kind kind & courteous to everyone. The burden of his sermon was to draw out an ans. to the ques.: Do I serve God from fear or personal interests only or from love of God? After Bud & I left home Father came down on the wagon with Billy - bring the preacher some corn. He stopped at the Church & at noon I went back to town with him. Staid only a short time & came back to house. My first trim in an o. state. During the session Uncle Tom hunt Mr. Ballenger's feelings by a remark about his (Mrs.) long prayers. Y. & I came back together, Bud on the wagon.

March 14, 1886 - Sunday

cool, but very bright & fair. Mr. Ballenger so insisted on Father's going back to Forestville to day, that, after much consideration he concluded to go, but came home to dinner. All the rest of us went to S.S. Total att. 23. Misses Jenny O'Hanlon & Anna Pincason & Doyle rode right by the church on their way to Forestville. What do they care for their S.S.? Leonard Willard, just back from school was out. He says "old ba. is the best".

March 15, 1886 - Tuesday

A clear, warm day. Quite warm. First day I have perspired this year. Elder Alder bushes have some leaves on them, & trees of same name are budding. Briars are turning out. Their little spots of green-leaves. George found a turkey nest to day. Mr. Smith was here again both before & P.M. The only hindrance to a trade is that Father will not sell the bar unless he will work up the timber - Bud turning with double flow - I was speaking

March 16, 1886 - Tuesday

Another clear, warm day. Bud went to Mr. Jas. Waters early this morning to get a hay rake to drag into piles some corn stalks on the land Father wants to put his premium oats - or rather the oats he is going to fertilize wanted for the purpose of getting a premium. It took only a short time to drag up the stalks & Bud & I plowed in oats the rest of the day. Father sick - from severe cold.

March 17, 1886 - Wednesday

A clear warm. Mr. Smith came to see Father again to day, bringing with him a saw mill man named Guillain. Father, being sick, was not up when they came & they walked by themselves over the mountain to look at the timber. P.M. Mr. Smith went to see Uncle Tom. Father did not come to any understanding with the men, but is to write them his decision. Mr. S. wants to get about 200 cords of bark & Mr. L. 200 cords of L. Bud & I plowing in oats all day.

March 18, 1886 - Thursday

Bright & very warm. Some wind. We sowed our premium oats to day. The land lies on the left of the tan yard branch. In the morning Bud & I broke it with a scotch P.M. Bud sowed 200 pounds of Scott's Grassim on the land - about 1 1/3 acres - & Billy sowed nearly 4 bushels of Rust Proof Oats. One of Billy & I sowed nearly 4 bushels of Rust Proof Oats. One of Billy & I plowed in the oats with the scotch used in breaking. Part of the ground was wet and cloddy, & that part we harrowed. I. still very hoarse. I saw some peach blossoms to day.

March 19, 1886 - Friday

Cloudy, windy, and warm. I planted some Irish potatoes this morning & Bud covered them when he came up with the horses at noon. P.M. he continued plowing with the double flow & I sowed where we sowed our oats yesterday. Mr. Henry Sharp came along this A.M. & told us his son, Mr. Jas. Sharp, was dead. We had been expecting to hear this several days. From Kinabur. planting corn

March 20, 1886 - Saturday

Raining nearly all day - Warm. Father's hoarseness getting no better he sent me horseback to town for some cough syrup. Bud left home a few minutes before I did to go to the church & help dig a grave for Mr. Jas. Sharp. On the way to town I met the funeral cortege - composed of a way to town I met the funeral cortege - composed of half a doz. buggies & several other vehicles. As soon as I could I left town for home but did not stop - going right on to the church. The grave was dug yesterday & several masons - friends of Mr. Sharp - were on hand to day to make a vault. Notwithstanding the almost continual rain a great many people - many of them Prof. Ballinger was finishing the sermon when I reached the church. As soon as the remains were lowered into the grave most of the people went home, leaving the masons & a few others, principally boys & young men - to fill the grave. It was raining nearly all the time making it

March 21, 1886 - Sunday.

At sun-rise twas perfectly clear, but soon became very cloudy & windy. Cold. All of us but Father went to S.S. About 25 persons there. Father being too unwell to go. Mother heard the recitation of his class. Dr. Watson heard his regular class. Mrs Pinson & Cousin Mathie & Hickey the two others. Bud went to Uncle Hooper to dinner.

March 22, 1886 - Monday

Clear & very cool - Windy. Bud is very anxious to get a Waterbury watch & as this morning was too wet to flow Father consented for him to carry a load of clover to town to get money enough to send for the watch. Billy went on the wagon with a few bus. of corn. Bud sold the hay at 85 cents per hundred. Soon after Bud had started to town I hitched up the horse & carried down six bus. of wheat, which I sold for 90 cts a bus. About 40 or 50 excursionists were in town.

Cousins Ella H. & Belle R. spent the morn.

March 23, 1886 - Tuesday

Cool, windy & a little cloudy. Bud was turning land all day. I was sprouting before noon & jolting about the house & garden P.M. Mr. Jno. Braden was here part of the forenoon & P.M. hewing some logs. Father wants to put in front of the yard by the road. Cousins Ella & Belle did not go home till P.M. Father's cold still troubles him. He does not go out much.

March 24, 1886 - Wednesday

Clear & warm. We were up early this morning for Father to be ready to go to town with Mr. Mat. Penn on the jury. - Bud was turning. A.M. I cut some biars and corn stalks on oats P.M. I was sprouting. Father was late getting home. He went to town to get money for his trip to Boston. Will go to Alland. to mow & on to Boston from there. The R.R. fare alone will be a bout sixty dollars. I have I have very little hope of good to come from it.

"Thy Will Be Done"

March 25, 1886 - Thursday

Clear & warm. We were up very early this morning for Fat to get off in time to be on time for the six o'clock train at the station. He decided, however, not to go, as his cold seemed worse & his head was aching. Forenoon I walked up to Mr. J. J. Watter's to get a bush of sweet potatoes to see. Paid \$1.00 for them. Rained P.M. I also burnt some brush & briars. - Bud turning. Billy commenced planting corn. He was bedding cotton g-today

March 26, 1886 - Friday

A pleasant, though somewhat cloudy day. We were up again very early this morning to get Father off to the station in time. Bud & I went with him, & they had to wait about an hour for the train. Bud was turning stubble in the morning & harrowing P.M. I did some sprouting & put up two water gops. Mr. Kinnear is planting corn in the field next to ours. Billy is preparing cotton land. Peach trees in full bloom. Small apple leaves

March 27, 1886 - Saturday

Rained all last night & till 9 o'clock to day. Bud rode up to Mr. Brinsfield's this morning to have some shoes mended, but Mr. B. being away from home he did not get them mended. About half past ten, A.M., I hitched Morgan to the back & went to town to the back & went to town with some butter & eggs. Sold the butter at 30 cents a pound & the eggs at ten cents a doz. Superior leant was in season & I spent about an hour there. Mr. Smith, the bark man, was here to see F. again today

March 28, 1886 - Sunday

Cool, clear, early morning; hot about noon, and very cloudy windy & cool before night. All of us went to church. Att. (total) 32. Not a single regular teacher. 'Twas Rev. Sum. & as is usual, the pupils were not much interested in their recitations. I still feel very awkward & out of place as deat. May my efforts for good cause all this! Bud staid at church till P.M., attending the burial of a child. P.M. rest of us went down to Uncle Tom's

March 29, 1886 - Monday

Almost all day the rain was falling thick & fast. Before noon Bud carried to the office a letter which had written Father & then he & I shucked & shelled some corn. During a lull just before noon Bud went to mill with the corn. The rain detained him there till about three o'clock. When he left, the river was at the foot of the dam and rising rapidly. Warm

March 30, 1886 - Tuesday  
Rained all of last night & I think every minute of to day. I spent the am. sweeping and cleaning up. Bud was reading, and shucked some corn. He spent all P.M. at the P.O. waiting for the mail.

The rains I suppose are interfering with the train. The mail had not come when Bud left the office. While waiting there a man came by and said water was all over Rome. I was in the house most all the time - being afraid to go out on account of a cold & sore throat.

March 31, 1886 - Wednesday

Cloudy, windy & very cool. During the day we had sunshine, rain, snow & hail. Bud rode horseback to town - P.M. George & I rode down to the mill to see the back water. It was in all around the mill & inside backed only about three feet of being in the three feet of being in the left. The high water mark was about three feet under water. In Rome the water was in Broad Street up to the Central Hotel - five feet higher than ever before. Broad St Bridge, across the Etowah, and Howard St. bridge, across the Etowah, both owned by the Co., and one, perhaps two, R.R. bridges had been washed away. A no. of houses were reported to have floated off and others washed off their foundations. DeSoto was almost completely submerged, and E. Rome was inundated. The rise in the river was so sudden that many of the merchants had no time to prepare for it, and their goods are all in the water. Not a train passed today.

April 1, 1886 - Thursday.

Bright & pleasant. Ground very wet, but drying fast. Water in the well is going down. Yesterday it backed less than a yard of being to the top. - All the family except myself went up to Uncle H. sea's Uncle Hickij's to day. I was feeling very unwell all day, and <sup>did</sup> scarcely anything besides cut some bushes <sup>in</sup> our way, and <sup>did</sup> scarcely anything besides cut some bushes & stick our Eng. Beas. Good many people going to Rome. The water had gotten to a stand still - being about six ft. higher than ever before. - Billy hauling wood

April 2, 1886 - Fri.

Warm & somewhat cloudy. Too wet to flow or do any other work of that kind. I was taking medicine for my cold and was in the house nearly all day. Bud hauled some rails this morning & P.M. he loaded the wagon with clover hay to carry to town to morrow. Mr. Waters was in town to day, and he said the rivers were falling. - Mr. Ballenger he said was quite sick. No trains have passed now since Tues. P.M. - Bridges gone <sup>water all out & broke.</sup>

April 3, 1886 - Saturday

Warm very cloudy. Several showers during the day. Bud carried a load of hay to Rome to day. There was about 7 or 8 hurn. fowds, and the only offer he had was from a man who agreed to take the load at \$4.00. That was only fifty cents per hurn, but he agreed to take that rather than bring the load home. <sup>if</sup> he agreed to take that rather than bring the load home. The rivers have fallen about seven feet, and are now as high as they ever were before. In the A.M. I went to church to hear Wade H. preach, but he did not come. I was very weak all day, had headache

April 4, 1886 - Sunday

Warm, and raining most of the day. We were all ready to go to church when a hard rain came up and continued till it was too late to go. I am very sorry to be away from our S.S. a single day, but I suppose it was a Providence of God. I did not spend the day well, however, and it will be no help the coming week. - Reading the Bible I find so many things affirmed of God that <sup>seem so contradictory & various</sup>

April 5, 1886 - Monday.

Rained part of last night and most of to day. In evening it became cooler and a few snow-flakes fell.

Bud & I spent the forenoon shucking & shelling corn - P.M. Bud carried the bus. to the Nichols mill - Mr. Watters being still under water - I rode to the P.D.

under water - I rode to the P.D. waited - all in vain several hours for the mail. We

have gotten none now - Engines were going up & down the R.R. all day - repairing rails, etc., to repair a

break in the road near Skelley's. While at the Fair

see Morrison told me that the W. & A. R.R. was also torn up very badly, and trains are running only on parts of it.

We are getting very anxious to get a letter from Father as we have not heard from him since he left Atlanta. He expected to arrive at New York Sun. Morning Mar. 28, & spend the day there. We think perhaps he spent yesterday on the "Monumental"

city. - Apple leaves are now showing, & pear blossoms.

mine business?  
April 6, 1886 - Tuesday

Very cool and windy. Ice this morning - Last night about twelve we were all waked by Father knocking at the front door. He and old Mr. Brinsfield had walked all the way from Rome, through the mud & the dark. Mr. B. was very tired and muddy and we all laughed heartily at his description of the trip.

and we all laughed heartily at his description of the trip.

Father left Boston Sat. night and came to Atlanta yesterday morning. He succeeded while in Boston in selling & buying Mr. Gregory's interest for Mr. Banks - the amt. paid being 1000 dollars. Sun. the 28 of Mar. Father spent in N.Y.

Sun. April 4<sup>th</sup> he was on the way home - Expenses of the trip were about \$75.00

All of us need some present  
Buds: A Waterbury Watch, with  
A pair of shears, Sister a bottle  
of Perquim, bio. & I each a  
kimp.

- This morning Bud carried Mr. B. home & then Father & I went to Rome.

Such a sight! Mud, mud, and the st. full of all sorts of rubbish. Thousands of yds of cloth on houses & in yards drying. Groceries being thrown

April 7, 1886 - Wednesday

A cold, windy morning - P.M. warmer - Mr. Alex. Johnson came twice with his wagon for 30 bus. of corn Father had sold him at 55 cts. per bus. - Mr. Correll was here most all day looking at Father's tan bark Bud went with him over the mountain in the A.M. Father in the afternoon Mr. Correll offers \$1.60 for the bark, & not saw the timber. - Too wet to do any work.

April 8, 1886 - Thursday  
Frost vice / Pleasant day  
Mother & Bud went to town I cut stove wood most of the morning. P.M. I hauled some fence corner cleanings & helped load up ten bus. of corn Father sold Mr. Shannon. Geo. went to the P.O. & brought back half a doz. letters and as many or more papers. - Mother & Bud were late getting home on account of stopping to see Aunt Sally, who was very sick. - The mountains are now looking very green. Apple trees are in bloom. Oats look well what things & etc.

April 9, 1886 - Friday

Very cool morning, but pleasant day. I think the peaches are killed. Young leaves on locust bushes crumble like they had been in the fire. Bud & I were turning in the orchard all day with scotches. Father went to Rome on a passing wagon - Bought Bud & myself each a pair of iron wagon - Bought Bud & myself each a pair of brogan shoes - a little injured by the overflow. Paid 1.20 per pair. They are a little wet.

April 10, 1886 - Saturday  
Cloudy & warmer - Bud & I were breaking for the orchard till noon. P.M. Father & Billy carried a load of cotton seed to the Rome Oil Mills to exchange for damaged seed - getting 2 1/2 bus. for one. In the afternoon I was cleaning out some hill side ditches & Bud was breaking with Morgan sometime before night. Grove seemed unwell had some fever. - Our garden is very backward this yr. Some Peas and onions are about all you see. Cabbage seemed to have died or never come up.

April 11, 1886 - Sunday.

Warm & gloomy - Several sprinkles during the day. Fath. Sister, Geo. & I went to church. Bud being unwell staid at home & Mother did not go because Enore was sick.

Only seven at S.S. - Teachers:

Dr. Watson, Father & Cousin Matt Hickey. What I most want to see in our S.S.

want to see in our S.S. a regular & punctual attendance - if that is only 15.

Little good is done unless there is a regular att. - I saw to day some well advanced hickory buds killed by frost. Lilacs in bloom. So are

some

April 12, 1886 - Monday

Warm & cloudy - Several showers - Bud & I were laying off - checked - corn land in the morning - P.M. Enore was quite sick & Father went to

Dr. Nixon's for some medicine for her. Bud was laying off but I was at the house most of the time. Once or twice Enore was unconscious & had high fever. - Mr. Smith was here again to day - about the 7th time - to see about the tan bark. Father agreed to take

\$250 for the bark on two lots, they

April 13, 1886 - Tuesday

Clear & warm. We commenced planting our corn crop to day. We are checking the land & had one of Billy's boys most of the day dropping a handful of cotton seed at every cross where the land was thin.

Bud laid off, Father dropped the corn & I covered it with the double foot plow.

with the ~~new~~ We ate dinner out there and it seemed to me one of the longest days I ever saw.

We all worked very hard. Enore has a chill regularly now every morning. - Father

let Dr. Nixon have 15 bush of corn. Mrs. Wm. Waters spent part of am.

April 14, 1886 - Wednesday

Another clear, warm day. We planted a little corn am. Hearing that Aunt Sally was very sick Father had to have Morgan to go to Rome

P.M. She was not as sick as we had heard. - P.M. Bud went on at laying off & I

put up some washed out water gaps - Sister & Geo. commenced going barefooted -

Lime trees, tame cherries & wild plum look beautiful now - in full bloom with

April 15, 1886 - Thurs-

clear, and but for some occasional gusts of wind - very warm. Father went to town with Mr. Jimmie Watters to be a witness in the cases of the Co. against the road contractors. In the morning Bud & I were both laying off corn land. P.M. we had one of Billy's boys to drop, & I covered. Billy is planting some cotton seed. There are teams on most all kinds of trees & bushes now.

April 16, 1886 - Friday

A little cloudy & somewhat windy. Not so warm as yesterday. We were very busy all day laying off land & planting corn. I covered. Father drops, or, rather vice versa. Father drops & I cover. Mr. Jno. Braden came to day for corn & syrup. Says he has out 200 trees. - Eleven of Mr. Smith's hands came down this morning and commenced on the bark. Miss Berta Kimmber sent over a negro girl this morning to scour the house. Father has let her have to teach school in

April 17, 1886 - Saturday

Windy; very cloudy & threatening of rain all day. Had a nice shower last night. We were very busy again today planting corn. I laid off, Father dropped, & Bud covered. At places the ground is very hard & it is very heavy on the horse that "lays off." It is now high time our crops were planted, for we are to have about 40 acres in corn & 10 in cotton, besides the wheat, oats, & clover.

April 18, 1886 - Sunday

Cloudy, with sun shine most of the time, windy, & warm. All of us, except Father, went to church. He was unwell. Mother went to hear the lesson of his class - No 2. Dr. Watson was on hand & commenced his new plan of recitation. He calls on some member of his class to read the questions, as printed in the Standard - and if the answers are not satisfactory he assists the leader in explaining them. P.M. Bud rode over to Oostanaula to a singing & remained till after prayer meeting. His uncle broke loose. She had to







April 28, 1886 - Wednesday

Raining, or threatening to rain, most all day. Bud carried some plows to the shop early this morning. P.M. we commenced plowing, but rain soon soon drove us in again and we shucked corn most of the remainder of the day. Father, Mother & Enore went to Uncle Hoan's for a very short time P.M. came home in the rain.

April 29, 1886 - Thursday

Warm & cloudy - Joe went to plow - Bud & I hauling rails all day. Joe & I was resetting some fence for us. - In the morning, Father went to Mr. Arnold's, near the Camp Ground, to get him to come here & survey a line between two lots of our mountain land. Mr. A. was not at home, but he came by here just as Father got back & they then went over & run the line. - I see Rev. Sam Jones has given up tobacco. do not see how he ever could use it & preach as he does

April 30, 1886 - Friday

Cool, windy & threatening rain all day. A shower about noon. Father & Enore went to town this morning. Sister & I were at school & Bud & I were at work cleaning & plowing in the orchard near the stable. P.M. finished at the house & went to work on a lame cotton patch about 2 hours before night.

May 1, 1886 - Saturday

Mr. Wm. Walters said there was some frost this morning but I did not see it. A cool day. Bud went to get a ticket to Atlanta before breakfast. Father a ticket to Atlanta. He was obliged to go soon & took advantage of the 2 o'clock train to the Unveiling of the statue. I would have gone all I have to have gone Jefferson Davis, who was at the Unveiling. Hon. J. C. Black of Augusta made a speech & Mr. Davis made remarks. Father said he spent the night at Uncle Hoan's. came in from the stable about

May 2, 1886 - Sunday.  
 Somewhat cloudy & a little cool. All of us at church. Bud came with Cousin John & ran. went back with them as Uncle Tom & Aunt I were away from home and they were afraid to be by themselves. Mr. Ballenger preached a good sermon on Missions & took that collection today. At this family came from Uncle A. H. Guy's in the P.M. & spent the night with us. Bud came from U.S. just at 11.

Monday, May 3, 1886  
 Clear and warm, though almost frost this morning. Mr. Ballenger & family left about 9 a.m. Bud & I listing & bedding in the morning & planted some seed in the P.M. Father showed most of the notes. Geo. went to the P.O. after his school was out. John & Ann both sick today.

May 4, 1886 - Tuesday  
 Warm and bright. We at work listing, bedding & planting seed to do. Wheat looks very low & thin, but will soon be heading. I went to P. for the cows just at noon.

May 5, 1886 - Wednesday  
 Warm & somewhat clear. Father went to the store this morning to go to the drug co. - Bud was in the planter all day, which did some listing, beat out & cross breaking, sold cotton seed just a week ago. Now will have enough for our 3.

May 6, 1886 - Thursday  
 Clouds begun to cover sky about 9 O'Clock and in very short time it was raining. We were bedding & planting at the time we were obliged to come to house. The rain continued about 2 1/2 hours - During this time Bud carried pack to Henry Woods & shod. P.M. we went to the field & remained there all night, when rain drove

May 7, 1886 - Friday  
 Commenced raining before breakfast and continued several hours. I was leaning up in the house during the rain when it was over I went to work in the garden. - Father & Bud hauled some pine poles to mend a bad place in our road. P.M. we mended the bad place, hauled some rails & repaired some fences & harrowed some - Strawberries are now ripening. We had a goose berry pie & other things this m. Bud went to a party at

May 8, 1886 - Saturday  
 Cool morning; warm, clear day. Father rode up to Mrs. Armstrong's early this a.m. P.M. he went to Rome, with Sister & Broome going to Uncle Tom's. Bud & I were at home finishing the planting of the 8 acre piece of cotton in the lane, "dipping" our meat to kill the skippers & putting out some potato slips. Bud was with us & went to the P.O. P.M. We had a strawberry pie for dinner - Honey suckle is so sweet now. -

May 9, 1886 - Sunday.  
 Cool morning; bright, clear day. All of us at Sun. school. Owing to the foot washing the Wardshell Church some of our members were there instead of 88 to day. Our Lesson - Sheeping - Jno. 21, was an interesting & important one & most of the pupils seemed well prepared on it. I believe our school is doing pretty well except the singing. Our song books are New Sign, which we have now had five years but do not know half the songs, and some - who do not sing much any time - want to get a new book - "Prayer & Praise" I raise most of the tunes but as I know nothing of music often get them wrong. When Father begins a song it is likely to be too low when Bud commences one it is most always too high. Very few others can ever be relied upon to lead. We have much musical talent in the school & still lack of leadership. After S.S. Uncle H. preached a short sermon Mrs. Mary they followed with an extemporaneous P.M. Bud, Sister, Bro. & I went to a singing & B. to a sing. & I

May 10, 1886 - Monday  
 Clear & very warm. Before M.  
 Bud & I bedded up a small  
 piece of cotton ground in  
 the orchard & there planted  
 it. The ground was very  
 rich but we put in some  
 Gressypium to make it  
 open before the frosts begin.  
 Afternoon we planted a  
 piece of low ground out  
 in the lane in corn. We  
 have several acres yet to  
 break & plant. - The fruit  
 crop will be very light but  
 Mother unwell all day.

May 11, 1886 - Tuesday.  
 Morning cloudy & still;  
 P.M. clear & very warm. I  
 was hardly ever more tired  
 than I was both A.M. & P.M.  
 sprouting in the spring  
 bottom, where Bud was  
 plowing all day. Father  
 was cutting sprouts out of  
 wheat - The wheat is very  
 thin & poor, but heading.  
 I sent to the office to deliver  
 my book "How to Write  
 for the Press", which I am  
 exchanging with H.W. Lane  
 back, Cathage, Ind., for  
 Harris's system of Phonography.  
 I added it in "Exchange Mail" & it is

May 12, 1886 - Wednesday  
 Clear hot. I worked  
 the garden till the dark  
 of this morning, & then  
 cut bushes out of  
 till 11. Bud was busy  
 with the double flow  
 the spring bottom.  
 with three of Aunt's  
 girls we had hired  
 hoeing & replanting  
 Bud & I went to  
 around after noon.  
 Miss Porta made a  
 our new neighbor, Mr.  
 rough, after school, &  
 little Olivia then came  
 to stay spend the night.

May 13, 1886 - Thursday  
 Another clear, very hot  
 Occasional breezes were  
 that kept me from  
 doing part of the house  
 some kindly work on  
 Bud & I rearing  
 corn all day. - Aunt  
 girls hoeing. - Father  
 them fifty cents in  
 two gals. of syrup per  
 Our corn has not  
 well at some places, &  
 of that that is up to  
 yellow & sickly. Cur  
 beginning to burst.

May 14, 1886 - Friday  
 clear, but considerably cooler  
 than yesterday - Bud & I  
 running around corn all  
 day. Patsy's girls hoeing before  
 us. - Morgan was showing  
 some signs of an early  
 wash down and I let take  
 his time - Jack keeps a fat  
 lively as ever. - We had  
 a nice dish of strawberries  
 again to day - As I write  
 these lines - 10.30 P.M. - a  
 log, a whiffpoor will & a  
 mocking bird are breaking  
 the stillness of the night  
 by their respective bark, rep-  
 etition & song.

May 15, 1886 - Saturday  
 cloudy all morning and  
 sprinkles a little. - Bud & I  
 running around corn. Aunt  
 Patsy's girls finished replanting  
 the corn by noon. - About one  
 hard wind came up, bring-  
 ing with it a two-horned  
 After the rain Bud & I went  
 to town to sell some butter  
 eggs, & buy us each a Sunday  
 straw hat. Bud paid 50 cents  
 for his & I 35 for mine - Sold  
 the butter at 25 c. & eggs at 10 c.  
 more myself both unwell -

May 16, 1886 - Sunday  
 A cool, clear, windy day  
 Enore being unwell, her  
 mother did not go to  
 school. Attendance about  
 mostly young people from  
 15 to 25 years of age. It  
 a fact that increases  
 more and more - that  
 attendance of little children  
 is too small. I have to  
 get several parents that  
 not now attend to be  
 or send their children, but  
 can get them to do now  
 There are a no. of Baptist  
 children right at and at  
 our church who go now  
 Does such denomination  
 please God? Ought there  
 to be more agreement  
 in the Christian church  
 It seems to me that so  
 wise and holy men sug-  
 gest themselves apart for  
 purpose of bringing in  
 harmony and closer union  
 all Christian denominations  
 An heathen coming an  
 we would think that  
 denomination had a dif-  
 end in view. - P.M. we  
 all at home - reading,  
 singing and strolling. I

May 17, 1856 - Monday.  
 Forenoon clear & rather cool,  
 P.M. cloudy & warmer. Father  
 was most of the A.M. at the  
 mill. Though very unwell -  
 headache - I was at work  
 in the garden forenoon & ran  
 round the orchard corn P.M.  
 Bud running around out  
 in the main crop all day.  
 We sold ten bus. of corn -  
 bid - at 60 cts per bus. to  
 Mr. Marion Shulton - Our  
 "Nuly" cow brought up a  
 fine male calf. - E. very unwell.

May 18, 1856 - Tuesday.  
 Raining every minute, I  
 think from sun up till sun  
 down. In the morning we  
 shucked ten bus. of corn for  
 M. Howell, who sent for it  
 P.M. - I rode to the P.O. to  
 mail some letters & read the  
 book "Graham's Phonography"  
 which I got from H. W. Fine  
 back, Carthage, Ind., in ex-  
 for my "How to Write for the  
 Press." I was a little disap-  
 pointed because it was so  
 old - published in '58 - though  
 I was in a state of good pre-  
 vention. P.M. we shucked  
 corn & did other chores. - E. con-  
 tinues very unwell & fretful.

May 17, 1856  
 Father went down to the  
 this morning. Expects to be  
 way sev. days - Goes to buy  
 some samples gotten on  
 Billy & Bud took a load  
 closer to town. Sold it for  
 75 cts per bus. P.M. two  
 back men came here to  
 some hay & fodder. I sold  
 them 300 pounds of hay  
 1.75 + 50 bundles of fodder  
 for 80 cents. - Had a  
 showers & one hard rain  
 during the day. - I went  
 to P.O. P.M. - Bud got back 4

May 20, 1856 - Thursday  
 cloudy & warm. Bud & Billy  
 carried hay again to day. I  
 at same price. In the A.M.  
 I did work in garden. Bud  
 back about 3 & we hauled a  
 rails & stove wood. E. impro-

May 21, 1856 - Friday.  
 We loaded up 500 pounds  
 of breakfast & Billy went re-  
 Bud again to day. Got for  
 2.30 P.M. - I let M. Trud  
 15 bus. of corn this A.M.  
 per bus. I was all morning  
 ring butter beans. When Bud  
 got home we went to Har-

May 22, 1856 - Satur  
 Farm + cloudy - Bud & I shelled some corn this morning took it to mill on our way to the Quarters - at Costanauka Only about half the official members were there very few others. Mr. Pierce preached on the necessity of keeping in the way we commenced when first converted. Made the remark I have often heard him make before that all Christians are entitled to share every joy of their Savior & Master.  
 90 Dols. Quartersage - 12 Missions  
 We were in a rain coming home - about 3. - Father came in from Paulding about 5. He went down Wed. to superintend getting out some samples of ore - succeeded in getting some very fine ones - sent 23 pounds to Mr. Gregory of Boston & a good deal more to Mr. Banks.  
 Delegates elected to day to go to the Dist. Conf. at Kingston in July Uncle Tom & Mr. Brandon; Alternates - Mr. Lewis Russell & Mr. E. P. Treadaway.  
 I had a headache P.M. & not well.

May 23, 1856 - Sund  
 A beautiful though a day - Bud, Sister, Geo. & I to S.S. Very few there - account of - Quarterly Meeting at Costanauka. When we came home I was family except - went to Costanauka to hear Mr. - sick & with headache besides being very weak the effects of some cold - took 6. While writing in my P.S. record P.M. - obliged to stop.

May 24, 1856 - Mon  
 Sat. before noon, 1/2 P.M., cloudy & some Bud & I plowing corn - 1/2 Early 6 morning, a flat load & store & a piece, with - 1 Nixon & get medicine - 1/2 Mr. for - 1/2 Hill Bradens, & - 6 doses of Quinine & came - leaving Father, about Ground. Just - of we sent Geo. - Morgan - it was very late when they got back, 1/2 a case between Mr. Penn & 1/2 Morrow about a road - 1/2 the land, & both the lumps made long streaks.

May 25, 1856 - Tuesday  
 clear, but, cooler than 6. Father ran around orchard cotton - 1. Sav. Hight, a Negro woman, chopping it. Bud & corn & feeling very unwell. - house most - 1. Just got to work. felt better. Taking 3 doses of Quinine per day. 6 morning we Uncle Hickey (17 bbls. & 26 lbs. of corn) went - July - Simon Chambers.

May 26, 1856 - Wednesday  
 clear and pleasant. worked an hour or two - garden 6 morning. then chopped corn orchard. Savannah co chopping cotton - 1. harrowed some corn 6 morning. P.M. plowed some in cotton - orch. went to town P.M. - got kind of cotton hair just - prepared some sweet potato hills. Put stand cotton but Billy very poor stand. now ripen & many gone. Sister went with Miss Berta.

May 27, 1856 - Thursday  
 clear tem. moderate. worked - garden (6 & 6) heard - 1. Dr. Galloway of Dr. Hendrix of Mo. Dr. Dr. Duncan of S.C.

May 28, 1856 - Friday  
 very warm. A shower 6 - Aunt Fanny came - brought Mrs. Everett - Uncle Tom.

May 29, 1856 - Saturday  
 Since supper I have been reading some about Dr. Jas. C. Evans, who died very suddenly two weeks ago. Four or five years ago he was at our Camp Grove. After one of the sermons he asked all the children who wanted to love & shake hands with him. I went up & he said to me: "May you become a great and good man."

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Very warm - some clouds  
 May 30, 1886 - Sunday.  
 Very warm, & cloudy, with  
 uncle Tom's family  
 under Tom's  
 about 6  
 May 31, 1886 - Monday.  
 Very warm, & Patsy  
 While we were  
 June 1, 1886 - Tuesday.  
 Very pretty day, though  
 There were 30  
 65 cts.

June 3, 1886 - Thursday  
 June 4, 1886 - Friday  
 Very like rain all day.  
 Bud ran round, or  
 "disting", cotton just  
 Patsy's girls hold  
 8 acre piece  
 Part of  
 corn rows  
 breaking  
 Just as we were going  
 bed man came  
 went with them  
 fed their horses, etc., & the  
 showed  
 wheat  
 now headed out  
 ready cut. Wheat generally  
 very poor stand  
 pretty good - Oats fine  
 We had a dish of raspberries  
 & dewberries for  
 to day - Her has a

June 28 a very well  
 dressed young negro  
 came along hunting  
 work. Father hired him  
 and put him to cutting  
 rats. I went along to  
 see & soon saw that he  
 was pretty lazy. During the  
 P.M. he had several spells  
 of cramp in his hands  
 & arms & I was obliged  
 to cut. - At night he  
 noticed he had a watch  
 next morning - he asked  
 me to see it. He hesitated  
 a moment, & then took  
 it out - an old, almost  
 worn out, silver case  
 watch just from shop.  
 I said he gave Jack  
 fireman on the boat  
 for it. Later in the  
 day having nothing to  
 do with, he spoke about  
 throwing it away. He  
 staid with us till  
 Sunday. During this  
 time he told me a  
 number of contradictory  
 statements about his  
 past life. Fri. morn  
 ing father paid him  
 before night he was  
 in jail for stealing  
 watch.

It is some yrs ago  
 another town - Texas.  
 130'clock, a well  
 dressed man  
 stroller  
 public square  
 perfectly open  
 center of town  
 and horse  
 square  
 some 150 yards  
 West obstructed  
 came down  
 sidewalk  
 the police  
 W corner  
 square  
 together  
 with fifty yards  
 with looking man  
 dark face, blue sack  
 straw hat  
 sidewalk  
 side  
 I did  
 the ordinary height  
 usually well developed  
 man, gloved  
 that a great  
 courage  
 walked  
 perhaps  
 the  
 only  
 broke  
 the  
 started  
 toward

the taking of the ...  
 the coast front began ...  
 a highly dusty toward ...  
 ... stopped ...  
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 ... officer ...  
 ... left ...  
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 ... or ...  
 ... go ...  
 ... had ...  
 ... now ...  
 ... of ...  
 ... rapidity ...  
 ... of ...  
 ... gave ...  
 ... the ...

Mail received - 1880 -

18 J. C. Heath & Hall, G. Rapids.  
19 P. H. W. Limbach, Carthage, Mo.  
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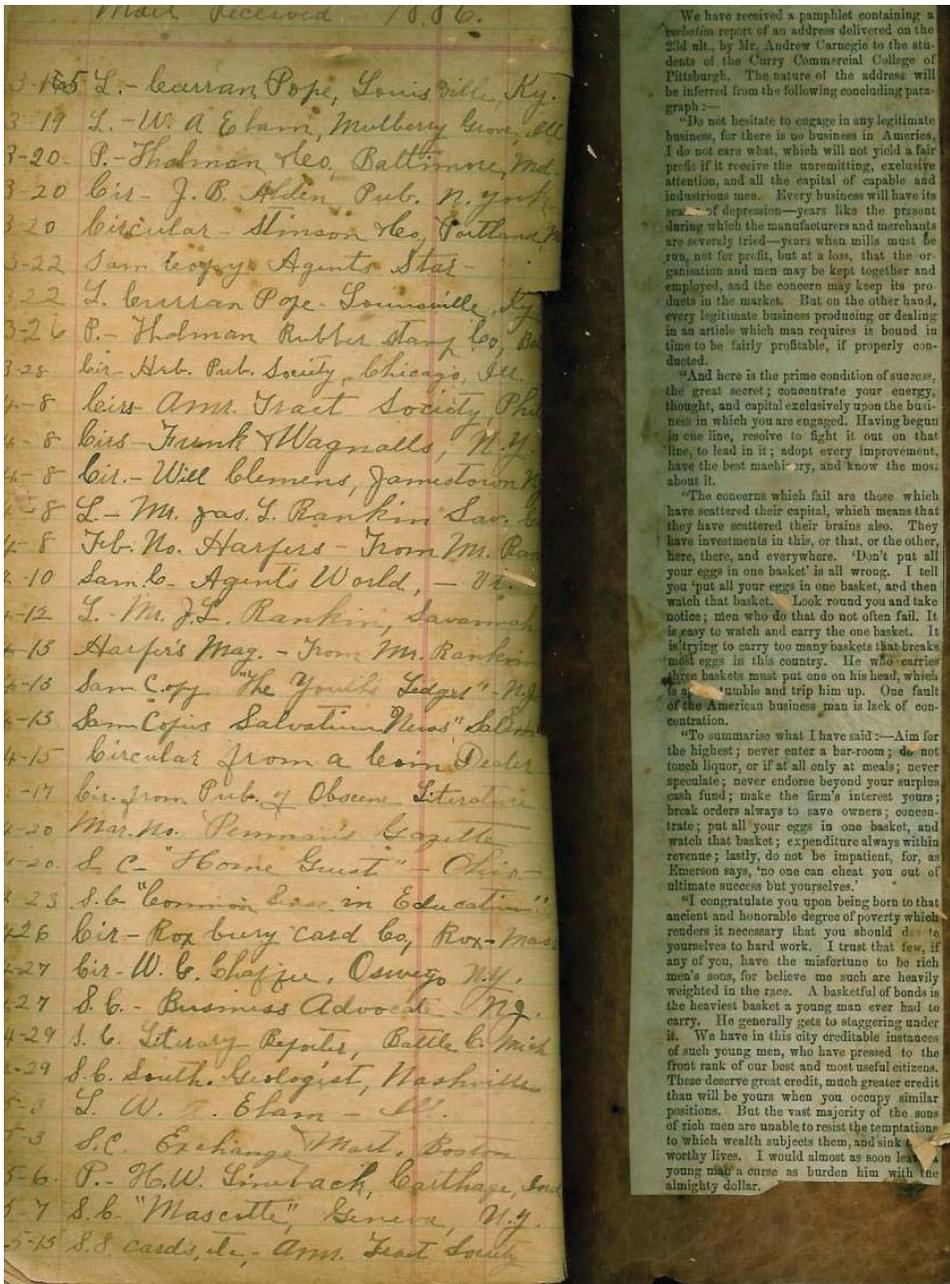
Mail Sent Off. 1856  
 1 - L. Exchange Mart, Boston  
 2 - H.W. Lincol, Carthage, Ind.  
 3 book to ex. with Mr. Lincol.  
 4 - Walter A. Taylor, Atlanta, Ga.  
 5 - W.A. Eham, Mulberry St, Ill.  
 6 - G.D. Morley, Jefferson, Mo.

Letters sent off.  
 1 Cousin Willie Leavelle, "Exchange Mart" Boston  
 2 Confederate Rice to Willie  
 3 Rome, Mass. to Mich  
 4 Henry J. West, Fairburn, Ga.  
 5 Dr. J. B. Sells, Willie Rolls,  
 6 Leavelle - J.M. Wilson, Phila  
 7 Thalsman Co, Balt. 80 cts.  
 8 Leavelle - J.M. Wilson Phila  
 9 Postal - W.A. Eham Mulberry  
 10 Postal - Willie Rolls, Rome,  
 11 O.E. Brooks, Farmville, Ill. book  
 12 Cousin Amos  
 13 W.A. Kelsey Co Meriden  
 14 Thalsman Co & Co Baltim  
 15 Cousin Willie Leavelle -  
 16 O.E. Brooks Farmville, book  
 17 F.W. Bishop, Lagrange, Ga.  
 18 W.A. Jardess, Chatham, Ga.  
 19 W.A. Eham Mulberry  
 20 O.E. Brooks, Farmville,  
 21 - Publ. Society of Helon, Ohio  
 22 Publ. Society of Helon, Ohio  
 23 O.E. Brooks Farmville  
 24 H.H. W. Bates Co, Book  
 25 J.P. Holcomb Co, Book  
 26 Cousin Julia Curney -  
 27 Houghton Mifflin, Book  
 28 L. O.E. Brooks Farmville  
 29 Mr. Hay near Dallas  
 30 told father that Paul  
 31 Co was much changed  
 32 for the better - since  
 33 out

Letters Sent Off. 1886	Letters Received
W. A. E. Lam, Mulberry Grove	Willie Rolls, Rome, Miss
J. B. Alden New York	Med. Circular, Dr. Fraischild
Post. Pennmans Gazette - N.Y.	From Cousin Annie, pro
Post. Perry Mason, Boston	Dr. Butts Jersey cattle
Perry Mason Co., Boston	Sunny I West, Fairburn
Post. - Mr. Rankin - Sav. Ga	an invalid S. & W. Conn
Cousin Willie Coulters	copy Am. Exchange & Ma
Cousin Annie Howard - Tus	Willie Rolls, Rome, Miss
Letter to South & West	J. W. Wilson Phil. Pa
So. Prof W. D. Bridge - N.J.	B. D. West - visiting Co
L. - Pennmans Gazette N. York	J. M. Wilson Philadelphia
Rennie Sprague, Rockland, Maine	C. E. Brooks Farwell, Ill
L. Miss Arinna Smith, N. York	Circular - World Magg. &
L. C. L. Downes & Co N.Y. City	Comp. stick - Thalman
L. Miss Edgie Prather Havana, Fla	S. copy "Naturalists Comp
L. Cousin Jule Burray, Fla	Letter from Cousin W. C.
L. W. H. Bishop, Galvange, Ill.	J. M. Wilson Phila
L. To Aunty, Tuskegee	W. A. E. Lam Mulberry
L. Pennmans Gazette N. York	Post card - Willie Rolls,
L. - W. A. E. Lam, Mulberry Grove	Sam. copy Philatelic Mon
L. Frank Carey, Rome, Ga	Letter - C. E. Brooks, Farwell
L. Curran Pope, Louisville, Ky.	Catalogue of books - J. B. H.
L. To Aunty, Tuskegee	Font of type - Kelley & Main
L. Curran Pope, Louisville, Ky.	Letter from Cousin W. C.
L. - Mr. J. L. Rankin - Savannah, Ga	Pennmans Gazette
L. - Cousin Annie Howard	Catalogue from Thalman
L. - G. A. Gaskell, Co., Chicago	Letter - Cousin Willie b
P. Ann. Tract Society, Philadelp	Letter - O. E. Brooks, Far
G. Frank Wagnalls, N. York	Letter - W. A. Dardess, Che
L. - W. A. E. Lam, Mul. Grove, Ill.	Postal - Mrs B. Alden
Postal - G. A. Gaskell Co., Chic	Circular - S. H. Ins.
L. "Exchange Mart" Boston	W. H. Bishop, Galvange
L. Mr. J. L. Rankin, Sav. Ga	Cousin Jule Burray, Fla
L. Ann. Tract Society, Philadelp	Mag. Pub. Soc. of the

Zellus Reed		Receipts 1880-1	
W. A. Elam Mulberry Grove, Ill.	15	15¢	for compensated bill
O. C. Brooks, Farmwell, Ill.	15	25¢	present from Father
Sam. copy Philatelist Monthly	16	15¢	another 25¢ from Father
Postal J. B. Alden N. York.	15	15¢	com. bill. Ind. source
Circular - Hallett also cont. Me	15	40¢	for box of cotton balls
Four copies of "S. S. Essays, 1850"	10	15¢	for compensated bill, etc
"On Time" cards for S. S.	10	10¢	for selling some potato
Two Patent Pencil Pencilers	10	10¢	for compensated bill, etc
Circular - Phono. Ins. Cincinnati	10	53.00	my part of cotton
Circular - Dealer in Mineral Spec.	7	25¢	borrowed from F
Sam. copy Hortic. Naturalist.	17	75¢	sale of 5 bus of cotton
Some ores from Ill. Iowa, Kan.	17	25¢	for selling butter, eg
Circulars from South West	10	10¢	for putting up string
Some plants & seeds for London	10	36¢	for compensated money
Some more of same.	10	140¢	for some sausage & d
Sample "Mich. Philatelist"	15	45¢	for selling some like
	15	5¢	for 1 doz small ap
A. D. 1880		A. D. 1880.	
Letter - Cousin Amos H.	Jan 1	25¢	cash on hand
.. Cousin Willie Lemler	20	50¢	cooking for some ca
Catalogue - Houghton, Myrtle	Jan 1	15¢	for compensated bill,
Catalogue - J. B. Alden, N. Y.	2	25¢	for selling some bu
Sam. Naturalists Companion	2	2¢	for selling
Sample juvenile paper.	7	50¢	for for Domestic Mis
Letter from J. B. Alden	10	20¢	given me by Mother
Catalogue from J. B. Alden	22	15¢	for compensated bill, etc
Circulars - Perry Mason the	27	10¢	for selling some eg
Card Adv. - Mason & Co. Boston	11	5¢	given me by Mother
S. Copy Pennman's Gazette	15	10¢	for selling butter &
Circular - J. B. Alden, N. Y.	15	15¢	for compensated bill, etc
Catalogue - True & Co, Aug 1880			
S. C. Capital City Philatelist.			
S. Copy Rural Home - Phil. Pa			

Mar Received - 1886	Expenses
Letter from cousin Jule Burney	15¢ to "Am. Exchange" 17th
From South West.	Boston, to adv. George's mem.
bir. - G. B. Thurber, Bay Shore, N.Y.	22¢ to H. D. West, Fairbury
L. Miss Arminda Smith	for visiting cards for sister &
L. O. E. Brooks, Farnell, Ill.	10¢ for postage on box bot.
L. - Annie Sprague, Mass.	18¢ for postage on box bot.
bir. A. M. Eddy, Albion, N.Y.	25¢ - gave to Grather's
bir. - Prof. Bridge, Plainfield, N.J.	25¢ - for Conf. chairman
bir. From J. B. Alden, N.Y.	25¢ - to Baltimore for printer
Sam. copy Heath & Harbo.	\$1.25 to Kelsey & Co. for post. of
L. - From Pub. Associer Natural	\$2.00 for the preacher's
Card - W. F. Bishop, LaGrange, Ill.	50¢. - for conference chairman
bir. - E. C. Allen, Augusta, Me.	25¢. - Paid dr. borrowed from
bir. - True & Co. Augusta, Me.	35¢ - 4 pamphlets - S. S. Leonard
Sam. C. "Collector's Monthly", Phila.	\$2.00 order - for Christmas
Sam. C. "Peoples Press", Glushing, N.Y.	13 cents for envelopes, stamps
Jan. No. Pennan's Gazette.	4 cents for some stamps
Some papers from Aunt	
bir. - G. L. Dawnes - Type Writer	A. D. 1886
Longfellow's Poems - from Aunt	Feb. 5¢ - Pennan's Gazette
L. - W. A. Blam, Mabley, W. Va.	2¢ - for letter postage
Sam. copy "Plain Talk", Brooklyn.	12¢ \$1.00 - For Circuit Parson
bir. - J. B. Alden, New York.	23¢ 10¢. For Pennan's Gazette
bir. - Will Clemens, Jacksonville, Fla.	7¢ 50¢. For Missions.
L. From Aunt, Tuskegee	27¢ 10¢. For March No Pennan's Ga
Postal W. F. Bishop, LaGrange, Ill.	13¢ 5¢. 8 Copy "Exchange Mart", B
Sam. Copy Philatelic Magazine.	1 10¢. For 5 two cent stamp
Circulars from J. B. Alden.	6 30¢. For S. S. Reward Pict
S. C. "The Student's Aquarium	11 5¢. For postage on a book
cousin Jule Burney, Illa.	18 10¢. For 4 copies "Geoged. Sou
P. - G. A. Washburn, N. Y.	
copy Pennan's Gazette	
L. Cousin Annie Howard.	
bir. - J. B. Alden N. York	



at Received - 1886.

Leurran Pope, Louisville, Ky.  
 W. A. Elam, Mulberry Green, Ill.  
 Johnson Lee, Baltimore, Md.  
 J. B. Alden, Pub. N. York  
 ular - Stinson Lee, Portland, Me.  
 Copy Agents Star  
 urran Pope - Louisville, Ky.  
 Johnson Rubber Stamp Co. Bal  
 Pub. Society, Chicago, Ill.  
 Am. Tract Society, Phil  
 Frank Wagnalls, N. Y.  
 Will Clemens, Jamestown, N. Y.  
 Mr. Jas. L. Rankin Sav. Soc.  
 No. Harpers - From Mr. Rank  
 Agents World, - Vt.  
 W. J. L. Rankin, Savannah  
 his Mag. - From Mr. Rankin  
 Copy "The Youth's Ledger" - N. Y.  
 Copies "Salvation News" - Cal  
 ular from a Loan Dealer  
 on Pub. of Obscene Literature  
 Ms. Pennants Gazette  
 "Home Guest" - Ohio  
 "Common Sense in Education"  
 Roxbury Card Co, Rox - Mass.  
 V. G. Chaffin, Oswego, N. Y.  
 Business Advocate, N. Y.  
 Literary Reporter, Battle C. Mich  
 outh. Geologist, Nashville  
 W. A. Elam - Ill.  
 Exchange Mart, Boston  
 G. W. Simbach, Carthage, Ind  
 Mascotte, Geneva, N. Y.  
 ubs, etc. - Am. Frat. Socy

We have received a pamphlet containing a  
 report of an address delivered on the  
 25th ult. by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the stu-  
 dents of the Curry Commercial College of  
 Pittsburgh. The nature of the address will  
 be inferred from the following concluding para-  
 graph:-

"Do not hesitate to engage in any legitimate  
 business, for there is no business in America,  
 I do not care what, which will not yield a fair  
 profit if it receive the unremitting, exclusive  
 attention, and all the capital of capable and  
 industrious men. Every business will have its  
 season of depression—years like the present  
 during which the manufacturers and merchants  
 are severely tried—years when mills must be  
 run, not for profit, but at a loss, that the or-  
 ganisation and men may be kept together and  
 employed, and the concern may keep its pro-  
 ducts in the market. But on the other hand,  
 every legitimate business producing or dealing  
 in an article which man requires is bound in  
 time to be fairly profitable, if properly con-  
 ducted.

"And here is the prime condition of success,  
 the great secret; concentrate your energy,  
 thought, and capital exclusively upon the busi-  
 ness in which you are engaged. Having begun  
 in one line, resolve to fight it out on that  
 line, to lead in it; adopt every improvement,  
 have the best machinery, and know the most  
 about it.

"The concerns which fail are those which  
 have scattered their capital, which means that  
 they have scattered their brains also. They  
 have investments in this, or that, or the other,  
 here, there, and everywhere. 'Don't put all  
 your eggs in one basket' is all wrong. I tell  
 you 'put all your eggs in one basket, and then  
 watch that basket.' Look round you and take  
 notice; men who do that do not often fail. It  
 is easy to watch and carry the one basket. It  
 is trying to carry too many baskets that breaks  
 most eggs in this country. He who carries  
 three baskets must put one on his head, which  
 is apt to tumble and trip him. One fault  
 of the American business man is lack of con-  
 centration.

"To summarise what I have said:—Aim for  
 the highest; never enter a bar-room; do not  
 touch liquor, or if at all only at meals; never  
 speculate; never endorse beyond your surplus  
 cash fund; make the firm's interest yours;  
 break orders always to save owners; concen-  
 trate; put all your eggs in one basket, and  
 watch that basket; expenditure always within  
 revenue; lastly, do not be impatient, for, as  
 Emerson says, 'no one can cheat you out of  
 ultimate success but yourselves.'

"I congratulate you upon being born to that  
 ancient and honorable degree of poverty which  
 renders it necessary that you should devote  
 yourselves to hard work. I trust that few, if  
 any of you, have the misfortune to be rich  
 men's sons, for believe me such are heavily  
 weighted in the race. A basketful of bonds is  
 the heaviest basket a young man ever had to  
 carry. He generally gets to staggering under  
 it. We have in this city creditable instances  
 of such young men, who have pressed to the  
 front rank of our best and most useful citizens.  
 These deserve great credit, much greater credit  
 than will be yours when you occupy similar  
 positions. But the vast majority of the sons  
 of rich men are unable to resist the temptations  
 to which wealth subjects them, and sink to un-  
 worthy lives. I would almost as soon leave a  
 young man a curse as burden him with the  
 almighty dollar.

