



ARKANSAS HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM

Trail of Tears: Native American Removal Routes in Arkansas (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole)

By the Staff of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program

This information was originally presented online and in brochures developed in conjunction with the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism and the Arkansas Department of Transportation under a mandate from the 87th Arkansas General Assembly, under Act 728 of 2009, the Heritage Trails System Act. This information has been gathered here as an archive document (2020).

This volume is one of a series developed by the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) for the identification and registration of the state's cultural resources. For more information, write the AHPP at 1100 North Street, Little Rock, AR 72201, call (501) 324-9880, or send an e-mail to info@arkansaspreservation.org.

The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program is the agency of Arkansas Heritage responsible for the identification, evaluation, registration and preservation of the state's cultural resources. Arkansas Heritage is a division of the Arkansas Department of Parks, Heritage, and Tourism.





Trail of Tears segment, Village Creek State Park, Cross County, Arkansas
Photograph from the files of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program

The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program worked in conjunction with the National Park Service and the Trail of Tears Association, as well as with State Historic Preservation Offices in other states, to identify and preserve properties associated with the Cherokee Removal of the 1830s.

Online Sources for Additional Information

Trail of Tears National Historic Trail: <https://www.nps.gov/trte/index.htm>
National Trail of Tears Association: <https://www.nationaltota.com/>
Arkansas Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association: <http://artota.org/>
Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock:
<https://ualr.edu/sequoyah/>

INDIAN REMOVAL ROUTES IN ARKANSAS

In 2006, the Arkansas Archeological Survey prepared a study of probable removal routes in Arkansas, funded by the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, an agency of the Department of Arkansas Heritage. Compiled by Amber M. Horne, the study is titled “Footprints Across Arkansas: Trail of Tears Removal Corridors for the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks & Seminoles.”

<u>Contents:</u>	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	4
Map of the Southeastern tribes’ traditional homelands at the time of the Removal Act	8
Map of the designated domains in Indian Territory for the “Five Civilized Tribes”	9
Cherokee Removal	10
Map of the probable Cherokee Removal Routes	19
Chickasaw Removal	20
Map of the probable Chickasaw Removal Routes	25
Choctaw Removal	26
Map of the probable Choctaw Removal Routes	34
Creek Removal	35
Map of the probable Creek Removal Routes	42
Seminole Removal	43
Map of the probable Seminole Removal Routes	50
Appendices & Bibliography	51

Introduction

The involvement of modern American Indians in the review process for various state and federally funded or mandated projects understandably raises the issue of the nineteenth century historical event known as the Trail of Tears. Related archeological sites, including graves, inevitably occur along the numerous routes taken by the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles during their forced removals to the West. Considerations of trail and related site locations have become increasingly important to federal and state land managers and State Historic Preservation Officers in the face of modern construction and mitigations. In order to encompass these potential sites and burials, *Footprints Across Arkansas* delineates “removal corridors” which expand upon existing awareness of removal routes to include not only the roads and rivers used, but also associated adjacent properties.

Footprints Across Arkansas was made possible by a generous grant from the Department of Arkansas Heritage. Over sixty sources, primarily secondary sources and period Arkansas maps, were used to collect information for the location of American Indian removal routes, including landmarks and roads. Newly constructed military roads were heavily used during removals, including the Little Rock-Memphis, the Little Rock-Fort Gibson, and the Little Rock-Fort Towson roads. These roads appear in detail on the Government Land Office (GLO) plat maps and other period maps; they were carefully transferred onto modern maps for this atlas. Segments of many modern roads follow these older roads; also, fragments of major roads that appear on the plat maps are shown as dotted lines, or unimproved roads, on modern USGS maps. Additionally, several old military road fragments remain on the ground today in the same condition in which they would have appeared during removal. Many of these remnants have been nominated for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (i.e., the Village Creek Segment of the Little Rock-Memphis military road, shown in Figure 1).

Using these Maps

Removal corridors for the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles were geo-referenced to modern 1:100,000 minute USGS maps. The National Geographic TOPO!® mapping program was used to create a series of seamless maps for each individual tribe. Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates have been included around the borders of each map. The routes taken by the American Indians are represented by black lines for overland routes and blue lines for water routes. Corridor boundaries are colored red. Both center lines and corridor boundary lines appear dotted where locations are approximate.

Water-route removal corridors are centered over the middle of the river traveled, and land-route removal corridors are centered over the road followed. Arkansas county boundaries that were designated by rivers have been used as the “center line” for water routes because these historic boundaries more accurately reflect removal-period river positions. A width of one kilometer was measured out from either side of the center line for a total corridor width of two kilometers (1.24 miles). The only exception to this rule is

that a width of three kilometers was measured from the removal-period boundary between Arkansas and Mississippi along the Mississippi River routes. Three kilometers was used in this case because of the Mississippi River's more intensive river dynamics, relatively flat riverbanks (compared to the Arkansas and Ouachita rivers), and higher frequency of removal traffic.

Indian Removal

Prior to removal, American Indians had homelands throughout the United States. Many groups were highly mobile, especially after the introduction of Spanish horses, and lacked strict territorial boundaries. Also, many landmarks mentioned in early sources have changed or cannot be matched with certainty to modern equivalents. Therefore, definitive locations of the various tribal entities are extremely difficult to pinpoint on a modern map. However, certain Indian groups did regard specific regions as their homelands (Morris et al. 1986). Land exchanges and cessions to European Americans reorganized existing mobility patterns, defined and enforced exact boundaries, and finally forced American Indians to move to Indian Territory.

The first "Trail of Tears" was actually made by the tribes living in the Old Northwest; by 1825 almost all Indians living north of the Ohio River had been forced to remove to Indian Territory. The Potawatomis (a northeastern tribe) had referred to their journey as the "Trail of Death." But because the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees wept during the long, hard march westward from their southeastern homelands, the name "Trail of Tears" was applied and has endured (Jahoda 1975). The term comes from the Cherokee language: Nuna dat suhn'yi, or, "the trail where they cried" (Holm 1976).

This atlas focuses on the removal of Southeastern Indians, specifically those historically referred to as the "Five Civilized Tribes": the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. The Five Civilized Tribes were so designated because they were deemed by European Americans to have a "character and intelligence far above the average aboriginal" (Foreman 1934). This was because, following contact with white settlers, some Southeastern American Indians adopted several fundamental aspects of the whites' culture, such as metallurgy, spinning and weaving, written laws, and advancements in agriculture (Foreman 1934; Gibson 1976). Tribal leaders also welcomed white missionaries onto their lands and established schools for Indian youths (Gibson 1976). The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole people purposefully modified many of their own age-old ways in hopes that "the white man" would be more willing to accept them as neighbors.

Another strategy for peaceful coexistence on the part of the American Indians was the cession of tribal lands to whites. Since the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and prior to removal, the United States government had ratified nine land cession treaties with the Cherokees, six with the Creeks, four with the Choctaws, three with the Chickasaws, and one with the Seminoles (Foreman 1966). By 1820, the Cherokees had surrendered most of their lands, retaining a domain in northwestern Georgia centering on their tribal capital at New Echota; the Chickasaws had retreated to a small domain in northern Mississippi

and northwestern Alabama; the Choctaws had surrendered much of their territory in central and southern Mississippi and were on the verge of agreeing to another large cession; the Creeks had surrendered their lands in southern Georgia and retained a homeland core in Alabama; and the Seminoles were in the process of accepting reduced territory in Florida, much of which was swampy. On these reduced domains, the Five Civilized Tribes made their last stand to preserve the homelands of their ancestors from the onslaught of the settlers (Gibson 1976; Mills 1919). Map A shows the final frontiers of the Five Civilized Tribes just prior to removal.

While the Indians were laboring to preserve their territories, the settlers were gearing up their own strategies to “encourage” them to move west. The whites believed that any way of life other than their own was to be scorned and rejected, and even regarded the tribes’ “progress” as a threat. Special laws were created and enforced upon the Indians in an effort to make their lives so miserable that they would go away on their own. This device was somewhat successful, for as early as the 1790s Southern Indians had been moving voluntarily westward simply to escape the oppressive effects of the white men on their way of life. Also, tribal agents sent by the United States government tried to persuade tribal leaders to take their people peacefully and without further ado to the removal grounds (Gibson 1976).

By 1825, Congress had designated an area of land identified as “Indian Territory.” White settlers in this colonization zone were required to vacate. It was located west of Missouri and Arkansas extending to the 100th Meridian, and was bounded on the north by the Platte River and on the south by the Red River. The dividing line was the 37th parallel (the dividing line between present-day Oklahoma and Kansas). The tribes from the Old Northwest were assigned land in the northern half, and the tribes from the Old Southwest were assigned to the southern half. Subsequent removals of Indians from the Northeast and the Southeast were also located in the northern and southern halves of Indian Territory, respectively. To further complicate matters, the preexisting tribes in Indian Territory were required to “make room” for the new arrivals, which created even more friction (Gibson 1976).

With the 1828 inauguration of Andrew Jackson, “the Devil became President of the United States,” as some Choctaws of Mississippi phrased it (Jahoda 1975). In his first annual message to Congress in 1829, Jackson called for the removal of all the Southeastern tribes to the lands across the Mississippi (Holm 1976). Jackson had spent much of his life on the frontier in Tennessee, and like the typical frontiersman viewed the Indians as a barrier to further white settlement. Jackson refused to acknowledge the Federal Government’s responsibility to protect the Indians from state and citizen actions. He even refused to enforce the United States Supreme Court’s 1832 declaration (*Worcester v. Georgia*), by Chief Justice John Marshall, that anti-tribal state laws were unconstitutional. Jackson told protesting tribal leaders that he was “powerless in the matter” and that the Indians’ only hope was to “accept their fate and move to the West” (Gibson 1976).

Eventually, treaties and laws legalized the forced removal of the tribes. The Indian Removal Bill (Appendix A) was passed by Congress 102–97 on May 28, 1830 (Green 1990; Jahoda 1975); this document made legal the effective removal of American Indians (Welsh 1976). The leaders of each of the Five Tribes were more-or-less forced into signing final land cession treaties, often by trickery and bribery on the part of the United States. The Choctaws signed away the remainder of their lands on September 27, 1830; the Creeks signed on March 24, 1832; the Chickasaws on May 24, 1834; the Cherokees on December 29, 1835; and the Seminoles and Creeks signed a joint removal treaty on August 7, 1856 (Mills 1919).

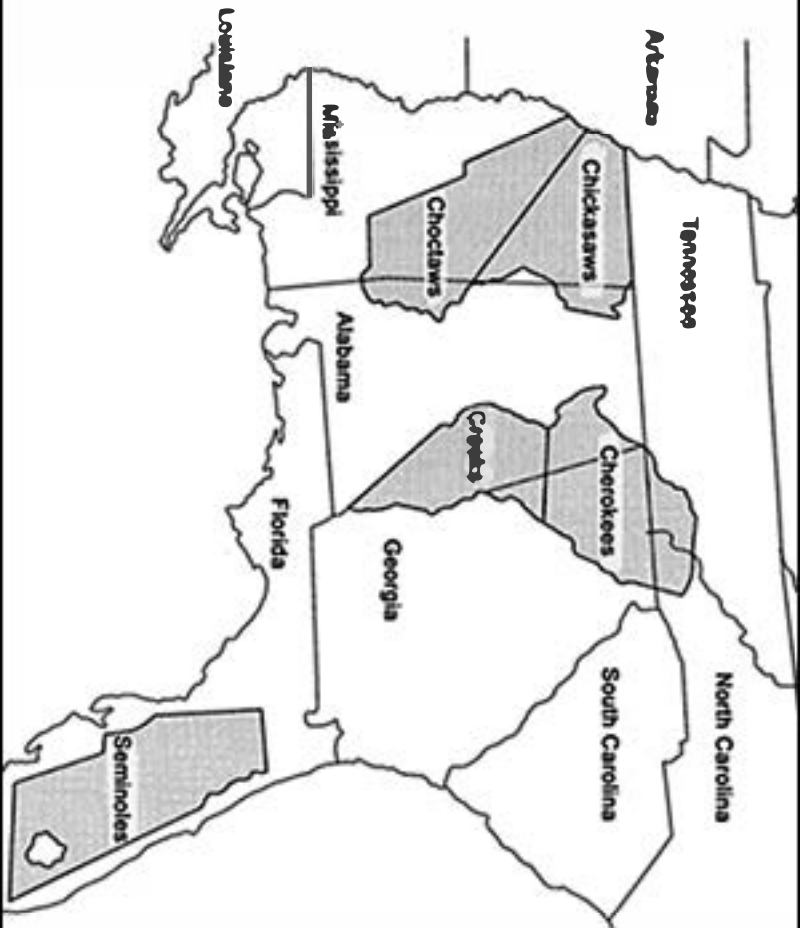
Before 1830, Indian removal had been a matter of choice; there was an unorganized phase of removal whereby a few thousand emigrated independently to Indian Territory. The signing of the treaties finalized the departure of the Indians. Roads in Arkansas Territory were improved in 1831 in order to accommodate the heavy traffic that Indian removal would bring. Three new bridges were built over the Little Cossatot, Big Cossatot, and Saline rivers (DeRosier 1970).

More than 60,000 people were removed to what is now Oklahoma. The journeys that crossed Arkansas during these forced removals took place roughly between 1830 and 1840 (Foreman 1934). Before, during, and after these government-sponsored removals numerous commutation parties found their own way west by their own means; \$10 was promised to each individual who emigrated at his/her own expense (Wright 1928). During removal, suffering was great. Thousands died along the way. The survivors were demoralized, destitute, and devastated. Some of the treaties by which their land had been surrendered were sealed under coercion and bribes paid to leading members of the tribes, which rendered the people suspicious of their leaders (Foreman 1934).

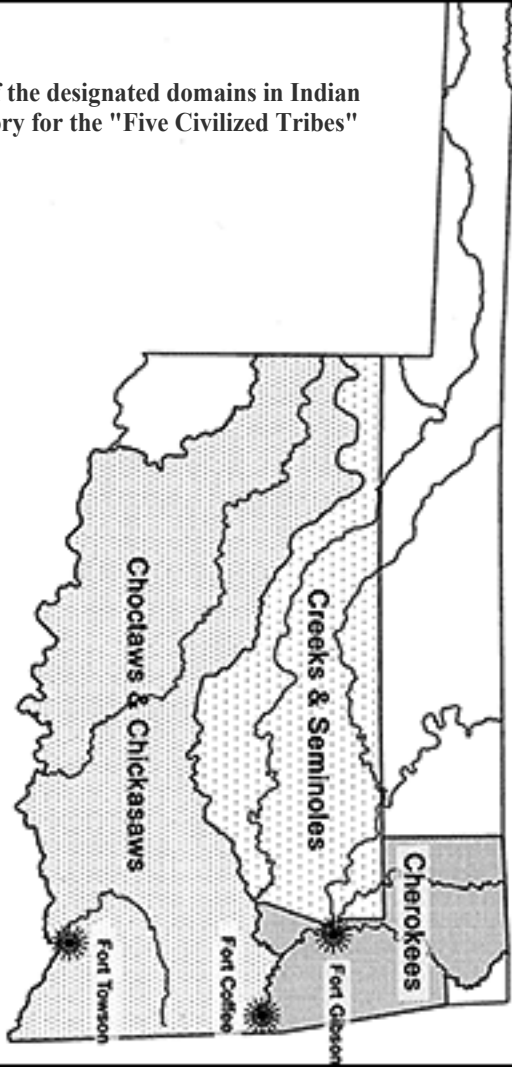
The Stokes Commission, in charge at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory, supervised the settlement of the Eastern tribes in their new land and adjudicated tribal boundaries and domains (Gibson 1976). Map B shows the areas into which the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole peoples initially settled in Indian Territory.

The struggles of the journeys' survivors were far from over. Indigenous tribes as well as people who had emigrated before the 1830 Removal Bill were expected, if not required, to make room for and establish peaceful relations with the newcomers. The new arrivals had to adjust to their strange new country and endured poverty as a result of their displacement (Foreman 1934). The people of Indian Territory were not even classified as citizens of the United States until March 3, 1901 (Mills 1919).

**Southeastern Tribes' Traditional
Homelands at the time of the Removal Act.**



Map of the designated domains in Indian Territory for the "Five Civilized Tribes"



The Cherokees

Migration of the southeastern Cherokees to the West began in the late 1700s. The 1785 Treaty of Hopewell led to a mass exodus and marks the earliest documented crossing of the Mississippi River by Cherokees. The Treaty of May 6, 1828 called for the cession of Cherokee homelands in Arkansas in exchange for new territory in Oklahoma. That same year the Arkansas Cherokees ascended the Arkansas River to Indian Territory (Foreman 1848; Mills 1919).

The Treaty of New Echota, signed on December 29, 1835, ceded to the United States all Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi River. The Cherokee leaders Elias Boudinot, Andrew Ross, Major Ridge, and his son John Ridge were among those who signed, even though they were known to be against removal. It is believed they were deceived or bribed into the agreement (Holm 1976).

In 1836, President Andrew Jackson sent troops to disarm and remove the Cherokees, who were rounded up and imprisoned in specially constructed concentration camps. In 1838, President Martin Van Buren sent Major General Winfield Scott and 7000 troops to expedite further removal (Holm 1976). A few thousand Cherokees were taken as prisoners and put onto steamboats bound for Indian Territory; more than 13,000 Cherokees, however, were escorted by land. The overland parties traveled through Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas on their way to the West; these difficult journeys lasted from three to five months (Foreman 1934). Parties that removed by water typically traveled the Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi, and Arkansas rivers to Indian Territory.

Most Cherokees emigrated west in the 1830s. During this time, several individuals fled into the hills of Tennessee and North Carolina. A few of these eventually emigrated to the West in the 1880s. This marked the last of the Cherokee migrations (Holm 1976).

1829-1830

Small parties of Cherokees departed throughout late 1829 and early 1830 (Carlile 1938). One group, consisting of 113 white men and their Cherokee families, 237 Indian men and their families, and 122 slaves (Foreman 1942; Mills 1919) removing under the Treaty of 1828, boarded 20 flatboats at Gunter's Landing, Alabama in January 1830. This and other Cherokee contingents traveled the Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi, and Arkansas rivers to Indian Territory (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1948; Mills 1919).

- Descend the Mississippi River (h) (p) (r) (z); arrive at Montgomery's Point at the mouth of the White River (h) (p) (z).
- Transfer from flatboats to steamboats; pass through the White River cut-off (p) (z).
- Ascend the Arkansas River to Indian Territory (h) (p) (r) (z); 200 Cherokees on the steamer *Industry* pass Little Rock Jan. 28, 1830 (h) (p) (z); 200 Cherokees on the steamer *Waverly* pass Little Rock Jan. 29, 1830 (h) (p) (z); 70 Cherokees on the steamer *Reindeer* pass Little Rock in Mar. 1830 (p) (z); 180 Cherokees on the steamer *Industry* pass Little Rock in Apr. 1830 (p) (z).

1832

During the early part of 1832, a commutation party of 170 Cherokees traveled by their own resources to Indian Territory (Foreman 1932, 1942). They descended the Mississippi River to the mouth of the White River. Twenty emigrants then ascended the Arkansas River on the steamer *Elk*; the remainder waited for alternative transportation to arrive (Foreman 1932).

More than 600 Cherokees emigrated by boat in April 1832 (Holm 1976). One group of 380 Cherokees and their slaves left the Cherokee Agency at Calhoun on April 10, 1832 under charge of removal agent Curry (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1932, 1942). These emigrants originated from Tennessee and Georgia (Foreman 1932); the group consisted of a few full-blooded Cherokees, 40 whites, 108 slaves, and the rest were mixed (Carlile 1938). They descended the Tennessee River in nine flatboats to Waterloo, Alabama where they transferred to the steamer *Thomas Yeatman*. They then descended the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to Arkansas (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1932, 1948; Holm 1976).

- Descend the Mississippi River and ascend the Arkansas River (h) (p) (q) (r).
- Arrive at Little Rock (h) (p) (q) Apr. 30, 1832 (h) (p).
- Disembark at the Cherokee agency just above Fort Smith (h) (p) (q).

1834

In February 1834, Cherokees began to arrive at specially constructed barracks near Hiwassee (Starkey 1946). By March, 450–500 people were ready to depart. The emigrants were to travel under the charge of Lieutenant Joseph (John) Whipple Harris and his assistant, John Miller/Mills, who was married to a Cherokee woman (Foreman 1932;

Logan 1997; Starkey 1946). Removal of this group took place in two installments (Starkey 1946). Miller/Mills' group of 72 departed on the steamers *John Cox* and *Sliger* on March 13. The remaining Cherokees awaited an approaching band from the Valley Towns. They soon arrived, and Lieutenant Harris's group left the next day aboard the steamers *Blue Buck*, *Rainbow*, *Squeezer*, and *Moll Thompson* (Foreman 1932; Logan 1997).

The steamers descended the Hiwassee and Tennessee rivers, arriving at Waterloo March 19, where the Cherokees transferred to the steamer *Thomas Yeatman*. They continued down the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. Along the way the party was joined by 67 more Cherokees (Foreman 1932; Logan 1997; Starkey 1946).

- Descend the Mississippi River (p) (q) (z) (dd); arrive at Montgomery's Point, where they find 8 or 9 stranded flatboats carrying a commutation party of about 200 Cherokees infected with measles (p) (z); Harris takes some with him and sends for additional transportation for the rest; the *Cavelier* arrives and follows Harris's party up the Arkansas River (p) (q) (z) (dd) Apr. 1834 (dd).
- Arrive at Little Rock (g) (p) (q) (z) (dd); water levels are low; discard barrels of food and belongings to lighten the boat (h) Apr. 6, 1834 (g) (p).
- Disembark on the north shore of the Arkansas River at Cadron Creek (c) (p) (z) (dd); Harris deems progress too slow; persuades 102 Cherokees to abandon the boats and travel the rest of the way overland; the overland party soon returns to Cadron Creek; the boats continue upstream but become grounded after only 1.5 hours' journey; return to Cadron where they camp for sometime in the abandoned buildings; many, including Harris, are sick with measles and cholera (p) (z) (dd); 11 die of measles and cholera and are buried at Cadron (p) Apr. 1834 (c); Apr. 26, 1834 (g).
- Continue overland from Cadron; cross Cadron Creek and travel a rough and rocky road on the north side of the Arkansas River (g) (p) (z) (dd); 17 Cherokees break from the main group to find their own way West (p) (z) Apr. 27, 1834 (z) (dd); Apr. 26, 1834 (g).
- Cross Point Remove (g) (x) (z); use "the Ferry at Elk's" and camp 1 mile beyond (x) Apr. 28, 1834 (g) (z).
- Instead of following the military road that crosses at Dardanelle Rock, Harris opts for the "upper route" on the north side of the Arkansas River (g) (x) (z).
- Depart Point Remove and travel 3 miles through the Point Remove creek bottoms; travel 11 more miles (x) (z) Apr. 29, 1834 (x) (z).
- Travel via "the new cut" to Williamson's Ford on Manor's Bayou; cross Manor's and camp on a branch 3 miles beyond; travel 11 miles today (x); reach Illinois Bayou near the site of the old Dwight Mission (p) (x); pass Illinois Bayou and camp 3 miles beyond (z) Apr. 30, 1834 (p) (x) (z).
- Travel 9 miles May 1, 1834 (x) (z); camp at branch (x).
- Cross the still-surviving Hickeytown Road Segment of the Dover-Clarksville road (g); reach Park's near Piney River; camp 4 miles beyond Park's on a ridge (g) (x); this ridge would be at present-day Lamar, just west of the road segment (g); travel 8 miles (x) (z) May 2, 1834 (g) (x) (z).
- Travel 4 miles; arrive at "Lee's on Spadney"; travel 7 more miles (x); travel 11 miles; camp on a range that was "probably" Spadra Bluff (z) May 3, 1834 (x) (z).
- Travel 5 miles to Horsehead Ford; travel 7 more miles (x); 12 miles total (z) May 4, 1834 (x) (z).
- Travel 8 miles; arrive at White Oak (west of present-day Ozark); 6 more miles May 5, 1834 (x) (z).
- Travel 7 miles; reach Lasster; cross the Big and Little Mulberry; travel 4 more miles (x); cross the Mulberry River; travel 11 miles total this day (z) May 6, 1834 (x) (z).
- Travel 11 miles to Frog Bayou; then 4 more miles (x) (z); 15 miles total (x) (z); camp at Hancock's, 6.5 miles from Indian Territory (x) May 7, 1834 (x) (z).
- Cross Lee's Creek and at noon enter the new Cherokee homeland (p) (z) (dd); arrive at Dwight's Mission in Indian Territory (g) May 8 (p) (z) (dd); May 10, 1834 (c) (g).

1837

In January 1837, Major Ridge himself emigrated along with 500–600 adherents of the Treaty of New Echota, without United States government assistance. They gathered at New Echota and set out overland with their slaves, horses, and oxen (Evans 1978; Foreman 1932; Gilbert 1996; Hoig 1998). There were no deaths en route. The party stopped in Nashville, Tennessee to shoe their horses (Evans 1978; Foreman 1932). Major Ridge dropped out of the journey to attend the wedding of his daughter (Hoig 1998).

A 1992 National Park Service study traced an 1837 overland route of Cherokees emigrating by themselves. The group presumably traveled through Nashville, Tennessee; Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and southern Illinois. They "likely" crossed the Mississippi River by ferry at Cape Girardeau, Missouri and continued across southern Missouri and into northwest Arkansas. The route across Arkansas was traced as follows and is given in terms of present-day landmarks:

- Enter Arkansas near Sugar Creek in Benton County (z); follow a route south past the western edge of Gann Ridge (z).
- Travel through the southeastern edge of Pea Ridge National Military Park using what was later called Telegraph Road; cross Little Sugar Creek (z).

- Continue southwest at Avoca along the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad (z); turn south just north of Rogers and follow Hwy. 265 around the city's eastern edge (z).
- Continue south along Hwy. 265 through Cross Hollow into Washington County past the eastern edge of Springdale (z).
- Turn southwest near Clear Springs and travel through the heart of Fayetteville (z).
- Travel west-southwest on Hwy. 62 from Fayetteville; pass through Farmington, Prairie Grove, and Lincoln (z).
- Travel north-northwest through Summers and across Ballard Creek into northeast Oklahoma, east of Westville, Oklahoma (z).

On March 13, 1837, about 466 Cherokees left Ross's Landing, near present-day Chattanooga, Tennessee (Carlile 1938; Ehle 1998; Foreman 1932; Hoig 1998; Jones and Faulk 1984; Logan 1997; Starkey 1946). This party was the first to go west using the government assistance under the terms of the Treaty of New Echota (Carlile 1938). The group included Stand Waitie. Major Ridge and his wife joined this group after having dropped out of the January group (Foreman 1931; Jones and Faulk 1984).

This group was under the charge of Dr. John S. Young (King 1996b) and the physician Dr. C. Lillybridge, who kept a diary (Ehle 1998; King 1996b), plus three assistants and three interpreters, one of whom was Elijah Hicks. The Cherokees took 11 flatboats and were divided into three groups. Upon arriving at Decatur, they transferred to a train (in order to avoid the Muscle Shoals rapids) and rode to Tusculum where they boarded the steamer *Newark*. Finally they entered the Mississippi River (Carlile 1938; Ehle 1998; Foreman 1931, 1932; Hoig 1998; Logan 1997; Starkey 1946).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Newark* (j) (o) (p) (v) (z) Mar. 16, 1837 (v).
- Pass Memphis Mar. 17, 1837 (o, p, v, z).
- Arrive at Montgomery's Point at the mouth of the White River (h) (j) (o) (v) (z) Mar. 18, 1837 (o) (p) (v) (z).
- Ascend the Arkansas River (j) (o) (p) (u) (v) (z); stop for the night on the west bank of the river 50 miles below Little Rock (o) Mar. 20, 1837 (o).
- Land on the north bank of the river opposite Little Rock (h) (j) (o) (p) (u) (v) (z) Mar. 21, 1837 (h) (j) (p) (v) (z).
- Transfer to the lighter steamer *Revenue* and continue upriver (o) (p) (z) Mar. 22, 1837 (o) (p) (z).
- Arrive at Van Buren (a) (j) (o) (p) (u) (z) Mar. 27, 1837 (h) (j) (o) (p) (z).
- Arrive at Fort Smith (h) (j) (p) (u) (v) (z) Mar. 27, 1838 (j) (o) (v); Mar. 28, 1837 (h) (p) (u) (z).
- Go ashore 2 miles above Fort Smith; Major Ridge and his party disembark the *Revenue*; the boat continues to Fort Coffee (a) (h) (j) (o) (p); Major Ridge's party travels north from Van Buren following the Line Road (h) (p) (z), an old military highway that ran almost parallel to Arkansas' western boundary; they arrive at Cane Hill and head northwest into Indian Territory (u) (z).

A party of 365 emigrants left the Cherokee Agency October 14, 1837, conducted by B. B. Cannon, the physician G. S. Townsend, and General Smith (Carlile 1938; Evans 1978; Foreman 1932; Logan 1997). This group was routed overland through Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas (Carlile 1938; Evans 1978; Foreman 1932; Logan 1997). The party included the John Ridge and Elias Boudinot families (Hoig 1998). The Cherokees crossed the Tennessee River October 17, and then the Cumberland River at Nashville, Tennessee. They passed through Jonesboro, Illinois and camped at Clear Creek in the Mississippi River bottoms. The party crossed the Mississippi River into Missouri November 12–14 and traveled across Missouri, passing through Jackson, Waynesville, and Springfield (Carlile 1938; Evans 1978; Foreman 1932; Logan 1997).

- Enter northwest Arkansas near William Reddick's homestead Dec. 23, 1837 (e) (h) (m).
- Camp at X Hollows (m) (z); travel 15 miles today (m) Dec. 24, 1837 (m) (z).
- Take the right hand road to Cane Hill; at Fitzgerald's, halt a half mile in advance of Mr. Cunningham's at a branch; travel 15.5 miles today (m) Dec. 25, 1837 (m).
- Camp at James Coulter's at Cane Hill (h) (m) (p) (z); travel 16.5 miles today (m) Dec. 26, 1837 (h) (m) (p).
- Arrive at Mr. Bean's in Cherokee country (h) (m) (p) (z); travel 12 miles today (m) Dec. 27, 1837 (m) (p); Dec. 29, 1837 (e) (h).

1838

In early April, 1838, 250 Cherokees left the Agency for Waterloo under the charge of Lieutenant Edward Deas. They departed Waterloo the next day aboard the steamer *Smelter* and descended the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1932; Journal of Cherokee Studies [JCS] 1978; Logan 1997; Paige et al. 2003; Sequoyah Research Center, University of Arkansas at Little Rock [SRC, UALR] 2005a).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Smelter* (h) (p) (aa) (bb); stop for supplies at Memphis (h) (p) Apr. 9, 1838 (k).
- Arrive at Montgomery's Point at the mouth of the White River (k) (z) (aa); pass through the White River cut-off (h) (k) (p); ascend the Arkansas River (h) (k) (p) (aa) Apr. 9, 1838 (h) (k) (z) (aa).
- Stop about 40–50 miles below Little Rock Apr. 10, 1838 (k).

- Arrive at Little Rock (h) (k) (p) (z) (aa) (bb); travel 5 miles past Little Rock; water level is very low (h) (k) (aa) (bb) Apr. 11, 1838 (h) (k) (z) (aa) (bb).
- Transfer to the steamer *Little Rock* (h) (k) (p) (z) (aa) (bb); travel 5–6 more miles (k) (bb); keelboat springs a leak, forcing the party to go ashore (bb) Apr. 12, 1838 (h) (k) (aa) (bb).
- Travel 10 more miles after lightening the boat Apr. 13, 1838 (k).
- Travel 50 miles (k) (bb); land at the Lewiston Bar (p) (z) (h) (bb); grounded at White's on Lewiston Bar (k) (aa) (bb) Apr. 14, 1838 (h) (k) (z) (aa) (bb).
- Some Cherokees walk to further lighten the boat, which ascends 5 more miles; grounded on another sandbar about 2 miles above Lewiston; camp on the south bank of the Arkansas River Apr. 15, 1838 (k) (bb); remain grounded on the sandbar; rain falls during the night Apr. 16, 1838 (k) (bb).
- Navigate the bar and travel 30–40 miles; camp at the foot of Five Islands Apr. 17, 1838 (k) (bb).
- Camp at Bohlinger's Bar on the south bank of the Arkansas River, opposite Scotia (k) (bb) Apr. 18, 1838 (k) (z) (bb).
- Stop between the mouths of Horsehead and "Spadna" creeks Apr. 19, 1838 (k) (bb).
- Travel 25–30 miles (k) (bb); land at McLean's Bottom (h) (k) (p) (z) (aa) (bb); camp on the south bank at Titsworth's (k) (bb); remain here Apr. 20–23, 1838 (k) (z) (aa) (bb).
- Start overland from McLean's Bottom following a road (h) (k) (p) (z) (aa) (bb); camp at McLean's Prairie (k) (bb) Apr. 24, 1838 (h) (k) (p) (z) (aa) (bb).
- Camp at the edge of Grand Prairie Apr. 25, 1838 (k) (bb).
- Cross the Grand Prairie and travel 5 more miles (k) (bb); stop 16 miles east of Fort Smith (z) Apr. 26, 1838 (k) (z) (bb).
- Travel 11 miles; are now 5 miles from Fort Smith Apr. 27, 1838 (k) (bb).
- Arrive at Fort Smith (h) (k) (p) (z) (bb); cross the Arkansas River and camp "on the Cherokee side of the River" (h) (k) (p) (bb); ferry the Arkansas River to the Cherokee Country (h) (p) Apr. 28, 1838 (h) (k) (p) (z) (bb).

After the final removal date under the Treaty of New Echota, federal troops were sent to round up the remaining Cherokees, who were collected and moved into "emigration depots" along the Tennessee River to be put into boats. Lieutenant Deas had just returned from conducting a party to Indian Territory and again served as guide to this new group (Carter 1976; Fleischmann 1971; Logan 1997). On June 16 this party of 800 took the steamer *George Guess* from Ross's Landing (King 1996b; Paige et al. 2003) to Decatur, and then took a train to Tusculumbia. Here they boarded the *Smelter* and traveled to Waterloo and then Padacuh (Carlile 1938; Fleischmann 1971). At Waterloo, they switched to the *Vesper* (Carter 1976).

- Descend the Mississippi River (h) (i) (j) (z) (aa) (cc).
- Pass Memphis Jun. 13, 1838 (h) (aa) (cc).
- Reach Montgomery's Point at the mouth of the White River Jun. 14, 1838 (h) (z) (aa) (cc).
- Pass through the White River cut-off (h) (i) (aa) (cc); enter the Arkansas River (h) (i) (j) (aa) (cc); ascend the Arkansas River about 70 miles Jun. 15, 1839 (cc).
- Travel 70 miles Jun. 16, 1838 (cc).
- Pass Little Rock (h) (z) (aa) (cc); stop a few miles below Lewisburg (cc) Jun. 17, 1832 (h) (z) (aa) (cc).
- Stop on the north bank opposite McLean's Bottom 2 miles above Titsworth's Jun. 18, 1838 (cc).
- Arrive at Fort Smith and then Fort Coffee (a) (h) (n) (z) (cc); disembark at Sallisaw Creek in Indian Territory where they are greeted by friends (i) Jun. 19, 1838 (h) (n) (z) (aa) (cc).

A group of 875 left the Cherokee Agency on June 13, 1838 on the steamer *George Guess*. They traveled under the charge of Lieutenant R.H.K. Whiteley (Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, State Review Board Meeting [AHPP, SRBM] 2005; Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; Fleischmann 1971; Foreman 1932; King 1996a; Logan 1997; Paige et al. 2003) accompanied by five assistants, two physicians, a hospital attendant, and three interpreters (AHPP, SRBM 2005; Carlile 1938). This group was also joined by Removal Superintendent Nathaniel Smith (Fleischmann 1971).

The *George Guess* descended the Tennessee River and arrived at Decatur on June 20. The next day the group departed by train for Tusculumbia, and from there boarded the steamer *Smelter*, which they rode all the way to the Arkansas River (Carlile 1938; Fleischmann 1971; Foreman 1932).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Smelter* (g) (h) (i) (n) (p) (z) (aa)
- Enter the Arkansas River (g) (h) (i) (j) (n) (p) (z) (aa) by way of the White River cut-off (g) (h) (p) (z) Jul. 4, 1838 (g) (h) (n) (p) (aa).
- Stop 65 miles below Little Rock due to low water levels; transfer to the *Tecumseh*, a much lighter craft (p) (z) Jun. 20, 1838 (p).
- Arrive at Little Rock (h) (j) (n) (p) (aa); camp on the north bank at Little Rock a half mile above the town (g); transfer to the *Tecumseh* here at Little Rock (g) (h) (n) (aa); Superintendent Smith returns to Waterloo aboard the *Smelter* (n) Jul. 6, 1838 (aa);

Jul. 12, 1838 (n).

- Depart Little Rock (h) (p) (aa); become grounded on Benson's/Benton's Bar past Lewisburg (g) (h) (i) (j) (n) (p) (w) (x) (z) (aa) Jul. 12, 1838 (h) (p) (aa).
- Depart overland (g) (h) (i) (j) (n) (p) (w) (x) (z) (aa); use a road on the north bank of the Arkansas River (p) (z) Jul. 20–21, 1838 (g) (n) (p) (z).
- Travel the Hickeytown Road Segment of the Dover to Clarksville Road Jul. 25 or 26, 1838 (g).
- Camp at Piney Creek (g); Josiah Giles and Dr. Robert Hodsden lodge at Moreland's on Piney Creek Jul. 25, 1838 (g).
- Camp at Lee's Creek, just north of Fort Smith (h) (i) (j) (n) (p) (z) Aug. 1–4, 1838 (h) (j) (n) (p) (z).
- Enter the Cherokee Nation (h) (n) (p) (w); camp near the head of Lee's Creek (n) (p) Aug. 1, 1838 (aa); Aug. 4, 1838 (g); Aug. 5, 1838 (n) (p) (w) (x).

On June 17, 1838 a group of over 1000 Cherokees set out from the Ross's Landing Cherokee Agency conducted by Captain G. S. Drane (Carlile 1938; Fleischmann 1971; King 1996a, 1996b; Logan 1997). They traveled on foot because, due to drought, the Tennessee River was no longer navigable. They reached Waterloo on July 14, 1838 where they boarded the steamer *Smelter* (Carlile 1938; Fleischmann 1971; King 1996a; Logan 1997).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Smelter* (n) (z) (aa).
- Enter the Arkansas River (n) (z) (aa); the water is very shallow (n) (aa) Jul. 20, 1838 (n).
- Run aground 30 miles below Little Rock (n) (z) (aa) on July 22 (z); run aground 65 miles below Little Rock (h) (n) on Jul. 20 (h); board the steamer *Tecumseh* (n) (z) (aa) on Jul. 25 (z) (aa).
- Continue aboard the *Tecumseh* to Little Rock (n) (z) (aa); transfer to the *Tecumseh* west of Little Rock (i).
- Arrive at Little Rock Jul. 26, 1838 (aa).
- Transfer to an even lighter craft and continue to ascend the Arkansas River (z); transfer to the *Itasca* and continue up the Arkansas River (n).
- Run aground on the Lewiston Bar just below where Whiteley's group stranded a few weeks earlier (n) (x) (z) (aa) Aug. 13, 1838 (aa).
- Travel overland the rest of the way to Indian Territory (n) (z) (aa); travel along the north bank of the Arkansas River on the road previously followed by Whiteley (n) (z) Aug. 18, 1838 (aa).
- Travel the Hickeytown Road Segment of the Dover to Clarksville Road (g); pass Piney Creek (g).
- Camp at Lee's Creek, just north of Fort Smith (h) (i) (j) (n) (p) (z).
- Arrive at Fort Coffee in Indian Territory (w) (x) (z) Sept. 7, 1838 (w) (z), Sept. 4, 1838 (w) (x) (aa)

On October 10/11, 1838, a party of 650–700 left the Cherokee Agency at Ross's Landing, Tennessee, traveling overland under the charge of Lieutenant Deas and conductor John Bell (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; AHPP, SRBM 2005; Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; Foreman 1932; Hoig 1998; King 1996a; Logan 1997). This group was a part of the New Echota Treaty faction (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; Hoig 1998). They were anti-Chief Ross and had refused to travel under his supervision (Carter 1976; Hoig 1998).

The United States government treated this group well, shipping their baggage separately by boat up the Arkansas River (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; King 1996a; Logan; Paige et al. 2003). They traveled with a show of pride using their own horses and carriages and slaves (Carter 1976; Hoig 1998).

The Cherokees arrived at Memphis on November 22, 1838 (Logan 1997), where they crossed the Mississippi River on November 24 (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1932). This is the only Cherokee detachment that traveled the Little Rock-Memphis and Little Rock-Fort Gibson military roads (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c).

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis (a) (b) (c) (g) (h) (i) (p) (x) (z) (aa); cross just north of the present-day I-40 bridge (w) Nov. 24, 1838 (a) (b) (c) (g) (h) (p) (x).
- Travel through the bottomlands of the Mississippi and White rivers on the Little Rock-Memphis road (b) (c) (g) (x); the road was in pretty good condition that season (x).
- In terms of present-day landmarks: travel northwest along a railroad cut to Marion; turn southwest on Hwy. 218 to Shearerville; pick up Hwy. 70 heading west (w).
- Ferry across Black Fish Lake (a) (b) (c) (g) (w) (x); cross Blackfish Lake using H. N. Ferguson's ferry services (a) (b) (g); Nov. 28, 1838 (a) (b) (c) (g); Nov. 29, 1838 (b) (x).
- Arrive at William Strong's; purchase supplies from him; Strong ferries them across the St. Francis River (a) (c) (g) (aa) Nov. 29–Dec. 2, 1838 (a) (c) (g); continue on Hwy. 70 through the present-day towns of Forest City and Brinkley (w).

- Travel the well-established Little Rock-Memphis Road segment that now traverses Village Creek State Park (a) (b); stop at Dr. Eddington's to sell him some brandy (b) (c) Dec. 1, 1838 (a) (b) (c).
- Pass John Cotton's place, located near present-day Brinkley south of what is now Henard Cemetery Road (a) (b) (c); travel the Henard Cemetery Road Segment of the Little Rock-Memphis road (a) Dec. 4–6, 1838 (a) (b) (c).
- In terms of present-day landmarks: Turn from Hwy. 70 onto Hwy. 302 to Clarendon; cross the White River at the mouth of the Cache River (b, c, w, x); cross the White River at DeVall's Bluff (z) Dec. 8–9, 1838 (b) (x).
- Arrive at Daniel Wilder's in "Munroe County"; obtain corn and fodder Dec. 10, 1838 (b) (c).
- Travel the still-surviving Brownsville Segment of the Little Rock-Memphis road Dec. 11, 1838 (b).
- Arrive at Cy Harris's in Pulaski County Dec. 12, 1838 (b) (c).
- Arrive at Little Rock (c) (g) (h) (i) (p) (x) (z) (aa); remain at Little Rock Dec. 14–17, 1838 (c) (g) (x) (z) Dec. 15, 1838 (aa); Dec. 19, 1838 (h) (p).
- Travel along the north bank of the Arkansas River (g) (z) (aa). In terms of present-day landmarks: from Little Rock, follow Hwy. 365 into Faulkner County and past Conway (w); use the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road (c) (g) (aa).
- Arrive at Cadron (c) (g) (x) (z); travel the still-surviving Cadron Segment of the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road (b) Dec. 21–22, 1838 (c) (g) (x).
- Cross Cadron Creek using Thomas Mather's ferry services (c) (g) Dec. 22, 1838 (g); Dec. 23, 1838 (c).
- Pass the old Dwight Mission (z).
- Follow the military road to Lewisburg, then travel the same roads used by the Harris and Whiteley detachments (g).
- Cross Point Remove Creek (g) (x) using William Ellis' Ferry services (g). In terms of present-day landmarks: roughly follow Hwy. 64 from Conway to Morrilton; ferry across Point Remove Creek (w) Dec. 25, 1838 (g) (w) (x) (z).
- Use the still-surviving Hickeytown Road Segment of the Dover to Clarksville road (g).
- Arrive at Horsehead Creek (g) (x); purchase supplies from A. E. Pace (g) Dec. 31, 1838 (g) (x).
- Arrive at Frog Bayou Jan. 5, 1839 (x) (z).
- In terms of present-day landmarks: follow Hwy. 64 through Russellville, Clarksville, Ozark and Alma (z); turn north instead of going into Fort Smith (x) (z).
- Disband near Vineyard Post Office, site of present-day Evansville (a) (b) (c) (g) (z) (x) Jan. 7, 1839 (a) (b) (c) (x) (z).
- Arrive in Indian Territory Jan. 7, 1839 (h) (i) (p) (u).

The final 13 government-assisted Cherokee removal parties departed their homelands in late 1838. One contingent traveled by water, which included John Ross and his wife Quatie, who was ill. Another group crossed northern Arkansas, passing through Smithville and Batesville. The remaining 11 parties were staggered along a route that crossed the northwest corner of Arkansas.

The water party consisted of over 200 Cherokees. They departed Ross's Landing in Alabama on December 5, 1838 with John Drew as conductor (Carlile 1938; Foreman 1932; Fleischmann 1971; Hoig 1998; JCS 1978:156). This group, comprised of the ill and infirm, traveled to Indian Territory entirely by water on the steamer *Victoria* (Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; Hoig 1998; Fleischmann 1971).

At Padacuh, Kentucky they were joined by John Ross and his family. Ross had started out with Hildebrand's overland contingent, but his wife Quatie had fallen ill (Carlile 1938; Carter 1976; Fleischmann 1971; Hoig 1998). The group descended the Ohio River and the ice-clogged Mississippi River (Carter 1976; Hoig 1998).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Victoria* (h) (i) (n) (u).
- Enter the Arkansas River in the last week of Jan. 1839 (i) (u).
- Stop at Little Rock to bury Quatie Ridge Feb. 1, 1839 (h) (i) (n) (p) (u) (aa).
- Continue up the Arkansas River (u).
- Arrive in Indian Territory (i) (l) Mar. 18, 1839 (l); Mar. 26, 1839 (i).

The Cherokee removal contingent commonly known as the John Benge party departed Fort Payne, Alabama on October 1, 1838 (Carter 1976; Hoig 1998; Logan 1997). Benge was accompanied by the assistant and second chief of the Cherokee Nation, George Lowrey, the physician W. P. Rawles, and the contractor William Shore Coodey (Carlile 1938; Gilbert 1996). The party numbered over 1000 (AHPP, SRBM 2004a; Carter 1976; Foreman 1932; Hoig 1998; JCS 1978:156; Logan 1997).

The Cherokees were delayed at the Mississippi River due to its being clogged with ice; they camped here alongside Bushyhead's and Stephen's parties. Finally, Benge's group was ferried across the Mississippi River at Iron Banks near Columbus, Kentucky. They traveled through the southeastern corner of Missouri (Carlile 1938).

- Cross into Arkansas near Hix's Ferry on the Current River; use a nearby ford to avoid the ferry fee Dec. 8, 1838 (d).
- Camp at Fourche Dumas Dec. 9, 1838 (d).

- Travel toward the White River, crossing the Eleven Point and Spring rivers; pass by the town of Jackson (d).
- Travel through Smithville (d) (h) (n) (p) (s) (t) (u) Dec. 3, 1838 (t); Dec. 12, 1838 (d) (h) (n) (p).
- Split up north of Batesville; some go into town for wagon repair and horse-shoeing, the others continue west to Old Athens where the party eventually rejoins (n); pass near Batesville (d) (h) (p) (s) (t) Dec. 15, 1838 (d) (h) (p); Dec. 5, 1838 (t).
- Travel northwest along the north bank of the White River, which they eventually cross using Talbert's ferry services on the Fort Smith-Jackson Road (d); travel the still-surviving Talbert's Ferry Segment of the Fort Smith-Jackson road (d).
- Cross the White River and camp for the night (d).
- Travel through Carrollton, Osage, Huntsville, and Fayetteville (d).
- Arrive in Indian Territory (d) (h) (p) (u) Jan. 9, 1839 (p) (z); Jan. 10, 1839 (i); Jan. 17, 1839 (l).

Eleven of the final 13 Cherokee parties traveled through the northwest corner of Arkansas; each followed B. B. Cannon's route from the previous year (AHPP, SRBM 2004b; AHPP, SRBM 2004c; Foreman 1942; Hoig 1998). The conductors for the 11 parties were: Hair Conrad, Elijah Hicks (later replaced by Daniel Colston), Reverend Jesse Busyhead, Situwakee, Captain Oil Field, Moses Daniel, Choowalooka (James D. Wofford), James Brown, George Hicks, Richard Taylor, and Peter Hildebrand. The 11 contingents were staggered along the road, departing their homelands at different times from September to November, 1838 and arriving in Indian Territory from January until March, 1839.

The Cherokee groups traveled through Nashville, Tennessee and Hopkinsville, Kentucky (Carter 1976). Due to ice running in the Mississippi River, they were forced to camp for over a month before they could go across (Foreman 1940).

- Enter northwest Arkansas at Gateway, south of Seligman, Missouri (t).
- Cross Pea Ridge and travel west toward Maysville, closely following present-day Arkansas Rt. 72 and a small section of Rt. 62 (t).

1839

Dr. William Isaac Irvins Morrow, who kept a diary, traveled with a Cherokee party that traveled through the corner of northwest Arkansas. According to the diary, the party crossed the Arkansas-Missouri state line near "Mikes and Sugar Creek," 7 miles northeast of Pratt's, on Monday, March 18, 1839. Pratt's was a store which stood a mile south of Elkhorn Tavern; Pratt's property was part of the Brightwater community (Lemke 1957).

- Travel through Washburn Prairie and then to Pratt's Mar. 18, 1839 (y).
- Storming with hail; no travel today Mar. 19, 1839 (y).
- Travel 15 miles to X Hollows; eat dinner at Hornedy's; travel 5 more miles to Fitzgerald's Station (y) Mar. 20, 1839 (y).
- Pass through Fayetteville; then pass Cunningham's 3 miles from town Mar. 21, 1839 (y).
- Travel 16 miles to Colonel Thomasson's Mar. 22, 1839 (y).
- Travel 3 miles; arrive at Woodall in the Cherokee Nation West, 3 miles from the boundary line Mar. 23, 1839 (y).

Cherokee: Keyed Sources

(AHPP=Arkansas Historic Preservation Program)

(a) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003a Memphis to Little Rock Road Segment – Henard Cemetery Road. 2 April:95.

(b) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003b Memphis to Little Rock Road – Brownsville Segment. 6 August:15.

(c) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003c Military Road – Cadron Segment. 3 December:145.

(d) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2004a Fort Smith to Jackson Road – Talbert's Ferry Segment. 4 August:185.

(e) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

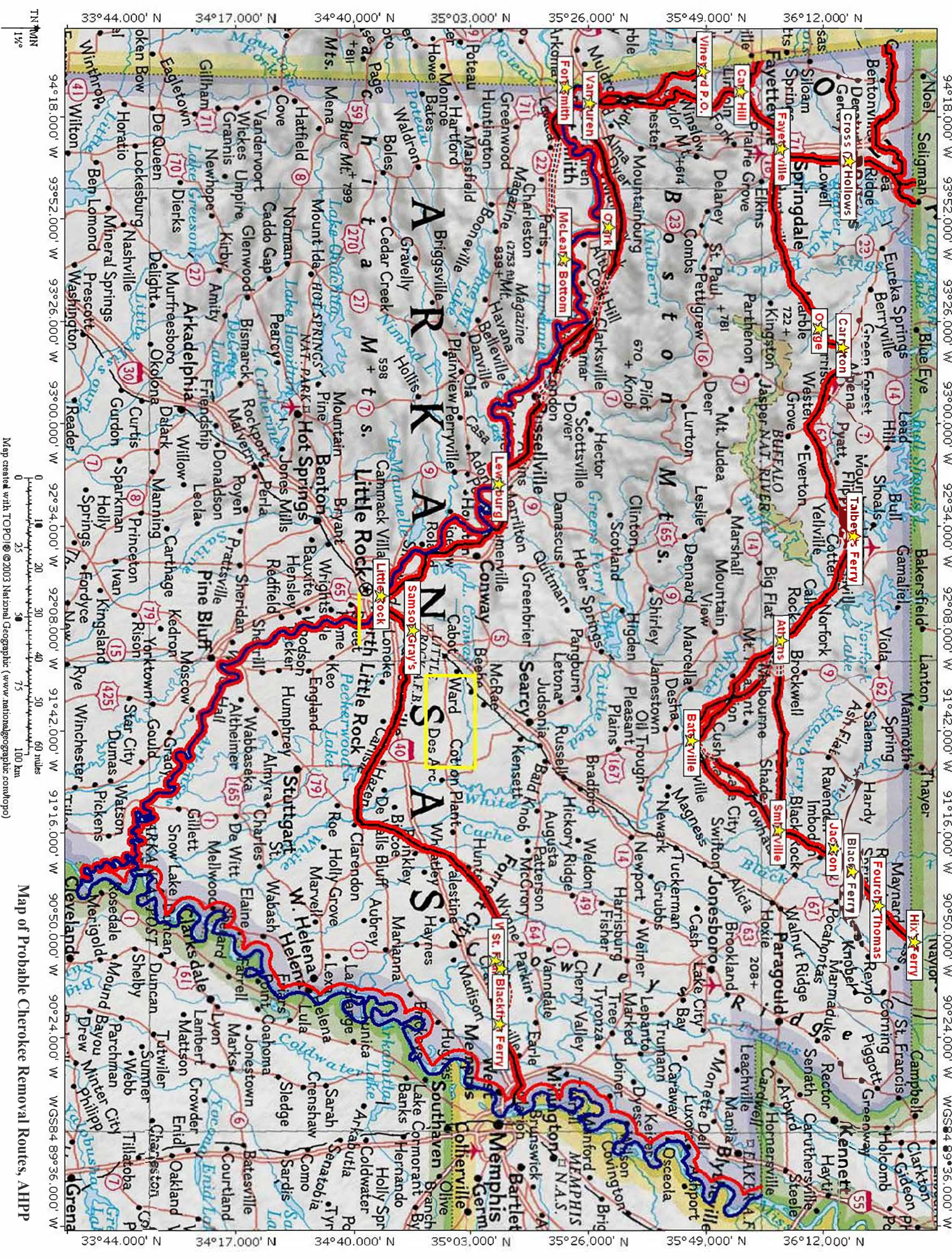
2004b Springfield to Fayetteville Road – Brightwater Segment. 1 December:273.

(f) AHPP Program, State Review Board Meeting

2004c Springfield to Fayetteville Road – Cross Hollow Segment. 1 December:281.

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Map of Probable Cherokee Removal Routes, AHPP

The Chickasaws

Although the Chickasaw Indians were the smallest of the Five Civilized Tribes, they were the last to sign a removal agreement and accept a home in the West (Clark 1976; Jahoda 1975; Savage 1976). The Chickasaws' final relinquishment of their lands was due to the relentless oppression by white settlers: the destruction of their land base and beloved soils; the depletion of game, which forced the Chickasaws to adopt the agricultural ways of the whites; and Mississippi's extension of its laws over the Chickasaws (Clark 1976; Foreman 1934).

A Chickasaw exploration party accompanied by United States Army officers left their homelands in the fall of 1830 to inspect the relocation grounds in Indian Territory. They passed through Little Rock in November of 1830 (Paige et al. 2003). The Chickasaws rejected the proposed territory, which nullified their current treaty and postponed removal (Agnew 1980).

The Treaty of Pontotoc Creek was signed on October 20, 1832 on the council grounds at Pontotoc Creek, Mississippi. This treaty ceded to the United States all the Chickasaw lands east of the Mississippi River and provided for government-assisted removal to Indian Territory. It also provided for another exploration party to visit the new country (Foreman 1932, 1934; Gibson 1976; Savage 1976). This second exploration party returned, again unsatisfied with the land (Foreman 1942).

Two more exploration parties departed in November 1835 and November 1836, respectively (Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, State Review Board Meeting [AHPP, SRBM] 2003a; Paige et al. 2003). The 1836 party met Choctaws at Doaksville near Fort Towson in Indian Territory. Here on January 17, 1837 the Chickasaws agreed to pay \$530,000 to the Choctaws for the central and western portion of the Choctaws' region in southern Indian Territory (Foreman 1942; Savage 1976). The United States government sought to unite the Chickasaws and Choctaws under one tribal government. The Chickasaws were not pleased with this plan; thus, though their formal removal took only a year, it did not begin until 1837 (Foreman 1934).

1833

The exploration party allowed by the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek consisted of 21 Chickasaw chiefs and a leader named Reynolds (Foreman 1832). They departed Tuscumbia on October 16, 1833 (Foreman 1832; AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b).

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis (a) (b) (d) October 21, 1832 (d).
- Travel the Memphis-Little Rock military road (a) (b).
- Pass through Little Rock (a) (b) (d); cross the Arkansas River using Rorer's Ferry (h).
- Arrive at Fort Towson (a) (d) December 4, 1833 (d).

1837

A party of 450–500 Chickasaws removed to Indian Territory during the summer of 1837. They were conducted by A. M. M. Upshaw, who had just been appointed superintendent of Chickasaw removal (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1832; Gibson 1976; Paige et al. 2003; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service [USDI, NPS 1986]).

The Chickasaws left their homes traveling overland and passed through Memphis on July 4, 1837 (AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1832). Here the party's conductorship was taken over by John M. Millard, who was assisted by W. R. Guy, Joe A. Phillips, and Dr. C. G. Keenan (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932).

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis (a) (b) (c) (d) (f) (h) July 4, 1837 (b) (c) (d) (h).
- Depart traveling overland (d) (f) (h); travel west on the Memphis-Little Rock military road (a) (b) (c).
- Arrive at Black Fish Lake (a) (d); continue another 5 miles (d) July 8, 1837 (d).

- Travel through swamplands; arrive at the termination of the newly constructed road (d).
- Cross Black Fish Lake (a) (b) (d); spend the night at “Camp Guy” (d) July 9, 1837 (a) (b) (d).
- Travel 8 miles over boggy roads July 10, 1837 (d).
- They are now through the Great Mississippi Swamp (d); camp for 2 days at “Camp Marietta,” 3 miles west of St. Francis and Strong’s (a) (b) (d); by now they have traversed the section of road that runs through Crowley’s Ridge (a) (b) July 11, 1837 (b) (d).
- Arrive at the Languille River and camp for one night, July 13, 1837 (a) (b).
- Travel the still-surviving Henard Cemetery Road Section of the Memphis-Little Rock military road (a); travel 11.5 miles today, July 14, 1837 (a).
- Arrive at the White River at the mouth of Cache Creek; cross the White River and proceed four miles southward to Rock Roe bridge (a) (d). Arrive at the site of present-day Clarendon (b) July 17, 1837 (d).
- Arrive and camp at Rock Roe bridge July 19, 1837 (b).
- Depart Rock Roe in the evening July 20, 1837 (b) (d).
- Travel 4 miles through the White River bottoms and reach the prairie (d); travel 25 miles through the “great Prairie” (b).
- Arrive at Mrs. Black’s (a) (b) (d) (h) July 20, 1837 (h); July 21, 1837 (a) (b) (d); July 22, 1837 (d).
- Travel 9 miles July 22, 1837 (b) (d).
- Travel the still-surviving Brownsville Segment of the Memphis-Little Rock road July 22–23, 1837 (b).
- Reach the Arkansas River opposite Little Rock (b) (c) (d) (f) (h); here the group splits three ways (a) (b) (c) (d), July 24, 1837 (a) (b) (d), July 25, 1837 (c) (h).

Overland Faction:

- 30 Chickasaws and 100 horses with W. R. Guy in charge continue overland (a) (b) (c) (h) (i) via the military road for Fort Coffee, which takes them along the still-surviving Cadron Segment (c) (h).
- Arrive at Fort Coffee (a) (b) (c).

Water Faction:

- 150–170 Chickasaws board the steamer *Indian* and leave for Fort Coffee (a) (b) (c) (d) (g) (h); Millard, Morris, and Keenan are in charge (a) (b) (c) (g) (h).
- Arrive at Fort Coffee (a) (b) (c) (d) (f) August 2, 1837 (a) (c) (d), August 1, 1837 (f).

A third Chickasaw party, which included Chief Sealy (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; Paige et al. 2003), detached itself from Millard’s group at Little Rock, determined to travel West on their own terms. They planned to go southwest through the Red River country to Indian Territory (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). Chief Sealy’s party had traveled about 35 miles beyond Little Rock before they were forced to stop due to most of them being ill. Millard returned from Fort Coffee with Lieutenant Governor Morris and the Choctaw interpreter Daniel McCurtain and found the stranded Chickasaws. Millard escorted them the rest of the way to Indian Territory following the Road to Fort Towson (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Clark 1976; Foreman 1932; Gibson 1971; Paige et al. 2003).

- Cross the Arkansas River at Little Rock (a) (b) (d) (h) using Rorer’s Ferry (h) July 25, 1837 (d).
- Travel overland going southwestwardly (a) (b) (d).
- Depart Little Rock; travel 10 miles overland and camp (d) August 10, 1837 (d).
- Travel 6 miles August 11, 1837 (d).
- A group is sent back to Little Rock for supplies August 12, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at Benton and camp an extra day August 13–14, 1837 (d).
- Travel 2.5 miles; horses are stolen in the night August 15, 1837 (d).
- Travel 3 miles; arrive at Hot Springs August 16, 1837 (d).
- Travel 12 miles; arrive at the Ouachita River and camp on the right bank (d) August 17–20, 1837 (d).
- Travel 5 miles, passing through Prairie Bayou August 21, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at the Caddo Crossing on the Caddo River August 22, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at the Antione Bridge August 25, 1837 (d).
- Travel 11 miles; arrive at Little Missouri River August 27, 1837 (d).
- Travel to Murphreesborough (d).
- Arrive at Brier Creek; travel 11 miles August 28–31, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at Rock Creek and Ultima Thule September 3, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at Rolling Fork September 4, 1837 (d).

- Arrive at Fort Coffee (a) (b) (f); arrive at David Folsom's, 22 miles west of the line (d) September 5, 1837 (f); September 10, 1837 (a) (b).

By November 9, 1837 about 4000 Chickasaws had assembled at Memphis after traveling overland from their homes. Most of the group traveled to Indian Territory by steamer under charge of Captain Simeon Buckner (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932; Savage 1976). The steamers reached Fort Coffee in eight to ten days (Foreman 1932).

Water faction:

- Descend the Mississippi River starting from Memphis (d) (h) aboard the steamers *Fox*, *DeKalb*, *Kentuckian*, and *Cavalier* (h) November 25, 1837 (d) (h).
- Ascend the Arkansas River (d) (e).
- Pass Little Rock (d) (e) December 22–29, 1837 (d).
- Arrive at Fort Coffee (d) (e) December 2–4, 1837 (d).

The rest of the group traveled by land and was divided into three parties led by Langtree, Welbourne, and Millard respectively (Foreman 1932). The Chickasaws brought their horses, oxen, and wagons (Paige et al. 2003).

Land faction:

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis December 2–3, 1837 (b) (c) (d).
- Travel on the Little Rock-Memphis road (a) (b) (c) (d).
- Arrive at the St. Francis River; camp at Strong's (b) (d); remain here several days to await those struggling through the swamps (b) (d) December 10–11, 1837 (a) (b) (d).
- Cross the White River at the mouth of the Cache River December 7, 1837 (d).
- Continue down the Little Rock-Memphis road (b).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River opposite Little Rock (a) (b) (c) (d) December 13, 1837 (d).
- Millard and Welbourne and some Chickasaws board the steamer *Cavalier* at Little Rock and travel the rest of the way to Indian Territory by water (a) (b) (d) December 17, 1837 (d).
- Those who do not board the *Cavalier* travel overland (a) (b) (d) on the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road (c) (d) under charge of Captain Phillips (d).

Several other government-sponsored Chickasaw parties moved to Indian Territory during 1837. Around the first of December, Upshaw departed Memphis with 227 Chickasaws aboard the steamer *Fox*; they arrived in Little Rock on December 7 and reached Fort Coffee on December 12 (Foreman 1932). In mid to late December, 1837, 1938 Chickasaws, 4098 horses and oxen, and 61 wagons ferried across Cadron Creek and Palarm Bayou on the north side of the Arkansas River. Another Millard party consisting of 1220 Chickasaws, 902 ponies, 246 oxen, and 39 wagons crossed the White River on December 24 and arrived opposite Little Rock in early January, 1838 (Paige et al. 2003). The Bear Creek Chickasaws left Memphis for Fort Coffee on December 28, 1837 under charge of Captain J. A. Phillips (Foreman 1932). Also in 1837, the steamer *Itaska* arrived at the end of year in Fort Gibson under charge of R. B. Crockett (Foreman 1932).

Followers of Kin-hi-cha, or the “Cleanhouse Indians” traveled overland from their homes with 206 horses and oxen. They arrived at Memphis on January 18, 1838. The Chickasaws boarded the steamer *Itaska*, and the animals were loaded onto flatboats that were towed behind. The party was forced to travel by water because the Mississippi swamps were impassable (Foreman 1932).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Itaska* (d).
- Disembark at Arkansas Post (d).
- Travel overland to Little Rock (d).
- The party divides at Little Rock:
 - Conductor Vanderslice departs by steamer, taking the women and children; they arrive at Fort Coffee in February 1838 (d).
 - Captain Phillips departs overland, taking Chief Kin-hi-cha and the remaining Chickasaws and the animals; they arrive at Fort Coffee on March 16, 1838 (d).

On June 9, 1838, Chief Ishtehopa left Pontotoc Creek with 130 followers (Foreman 1932; Gibson 1971; Savage 1976). Upshaw was their conductor. They arrived in Memphis on June 24 and departed Memphis July 2 (Foreman 1932). This party probably traveled overland, since they used the ferry to cross the river.

- Depart Memphis July 2, 1838 (d).
- Arrive at Little Rock June 15, 1832 (d); cross the Arkansas River using Rorer's Ferry (h).
- Depart overland from Little Rock going southwestwardly (d).
- On the way, the group is turned over to Millard (d).
- Arrive at Fort Towson (d) June, 1838 (f); August, 1838 (d).

Several more Chickasaw parties traveled to Indian Territory in 1838, although the routes they traveled are recorded in less detail. Captain Phillips led a group of 979 emigrants from Memphis on January 6, 1838; this party was supposed to leave December 2, 1837 but was delayed. They crossed the White River and traveled to Little Rock with 888 ponies, 63 oxen, and 8 wagons. A party of about 799 under charge of R. B. Crocket departed the Chickasaw Nation on January 15, 1838; they arrived opposite Little Rock in early February 1838 (Paige et al. 2003).

In March, 1838 Colonel Upshaw left Fort Coffee to return to Memphis. At Helena, he found a commutation party of 450 Chickasaws who were emigrating themselves and refused any help. They told Upshaw that they planned to go to Arkansas Post and cross the river and then go on to Fort Towson, taking their time. Upshaw left them at Helena (Foreman 1932).

A Chickasaw party of 200 arrived opposite Little Rock in mid-May, 1838. John Millard arrived in Little Rock at the same time and convinced half of the group to accompany him along the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road; Chief Ishtehotopa was among those who went with Millard. Others had already crossed the Arkansas River; these Millard left to go southwest at their own expense (AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Paige et al. 2003). Millard's party departed Little Rock and started up the military road on May 30, 1838 (Paige et al. 2003).

Another overland party arrived opposite Little Rock on July 16, 1838 with Upshaw as their conductor. The group numbered 300 and had with them their cattle, horses, and wagons. They crossed the Arkansas River using the ferry and continued southwest to the Red River country (Paige et al. 2003).

1839-1850

Following the government-sponsored removals, several more parties of self-emigrating Chickasaws moved to the West. In 1839, 300 Chickasaws arrived in Indian Territory. In 1841, 145 Chickasaws emigrated (Gibson 1971; Savage 1976); 198 emigrated in 1842, and 62 emigrated in 1843 (Gibson 1971). In 1844, 138 Chickasaws and 56 slaves moved west. During 1850, only a few trickled in, sometimes just one family at a time (Gibson 1971; Savage 1976).

Chickasaw: Keyed Sources

(AHPP = Arkansas Historic Preservation Program)

(a) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Memphis to Little Rock Road Segment – Henard Cemetery Road. 2 April:95.

(b) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Memphis to Little Rock Road – Brownsville Segment. 6 August:15.

(c) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Military Road – Cadron Segment. 3 December:145.

(d) Foreman, Grant

1932 *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. University of Oklahoma

Press, Norman.

(e) Foreman, Grant

1942 *A History of Oklahoma*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

(f) Gibson, Arrell Morgan

1971 *The Chickasaws*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

(g) Little, Carolyn Yancey

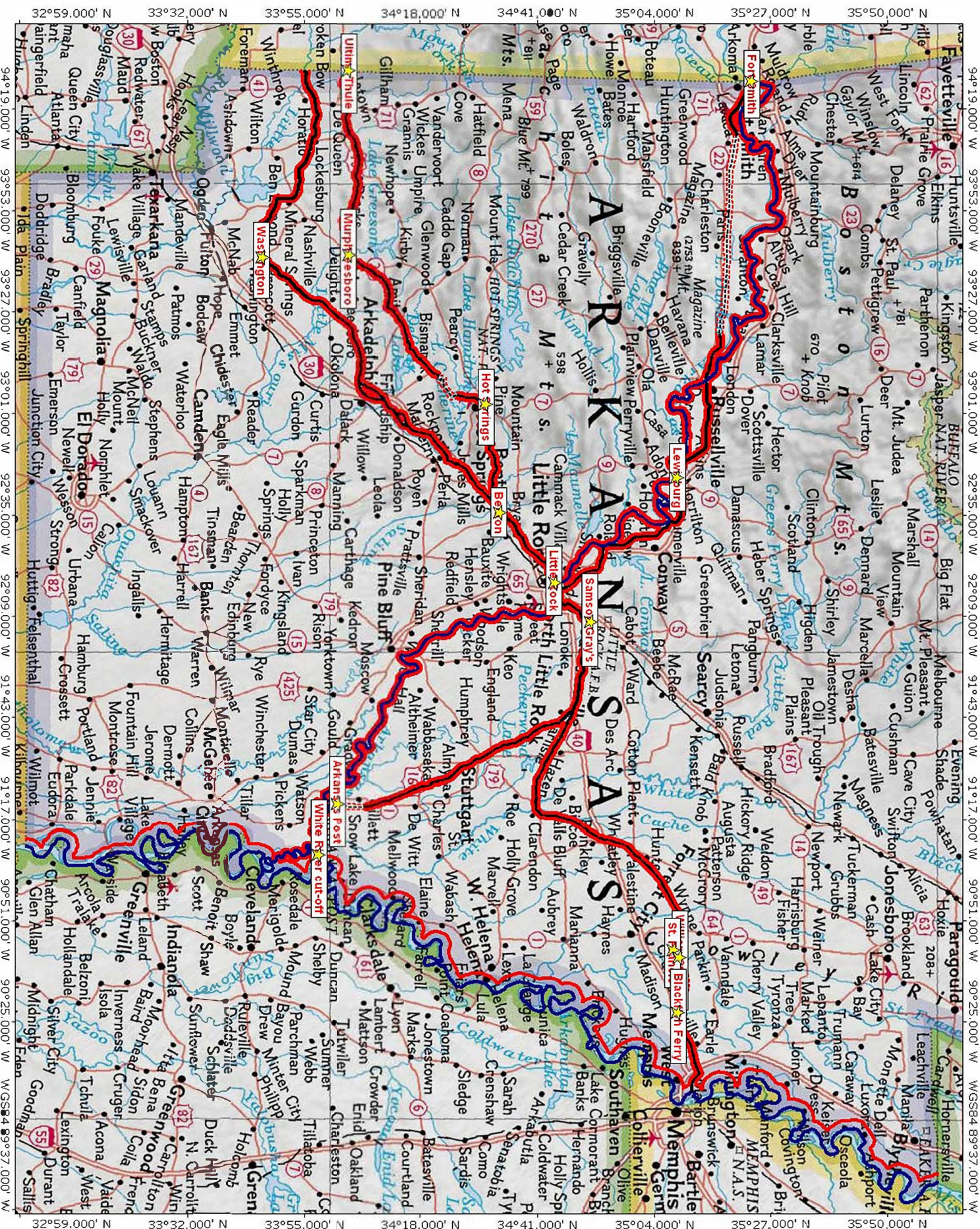
1984 Samson Gray and the Bayou Meto Settlement, 1820–1836. *Pulaski County Historical Review* 32:2–16.

(h) Paige, Amanda L., Fuller L. Bumpers, and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.

2003 North Little Rock Site on the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail: Historical Contexts Report. American Native Press Archives. University of Arkansas at Little Rock.

(i) Savage, William W., Jr.

1976 Creek Colonization in Oklahoma. In *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma*, edited by Arrell Morgan Gibson, pp. 34–43. Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.



The Choctaws

The first removal treaty to be made under the 1830 Indian Removal Bill was with the Choctaw Indians because of the long history of the tribe's cooperation with the United States government (Foreman 1934). The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed September 27, 1830 and finalized the relocation of the Choctaws to Indian Territory. By the terms of the treaty, the tribe surrendered 10,423,130 acres in Mississippi. The treaty provided for an exploration party to appraise the proposed Choctaw country prior to removal. It also stated that removal would take place over a three-year period, moving about one-third of the Choctaws each year (Foreman 1934; Jordan 1976). Parties were sent on different routes and on different schedules to avoid congestion and depletion of the supply depots (Jordan 1976).

By March 1, 1832, the first phase of removal was complete. About 4500 Choctaw Indians had registered in Indian Territory at four stations: Horse Prairie, Fort Towson, Old Miller Courthouse, and Mountain Forest; about 1000 of these had removed themselves in commutation parties (Jordan 1976).

By February 1833, the second removal was complete. About 5000 Choctaws had been removed by the government, and another 1000 removed on their own (DeRosier 1970; Jordan 1976). The second removal phase was less expensive than the first in part because the routes were changed, and President Jackson had dismissed all civilians and put the United States Army in charge (DeRosier 1970; Jordan 1976). The second phase was also more efficient because emigration was started earlier in the year to avoid travel during the winter weather. Also, the emigrants were vaccinated prior to departure (Foreman 1946).

The third removal phase occurred even more rapidly and followed the same routes as the second. Emigrants of the third phase had arrived in Indian Territory by December 20, 1833 (Jordan 1976; DeRosier 1970).

On November 22, 1833, the Secretary of War ordered that no more Choctaws could be removed under the terms of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which had allowed three years for that purpose (Foreman 1966; Jordan 1976). Consequently, by 1836, there were still around 7000 Choctaws living in Mississippi under the provision of their treaty permitting them to become citizens of that state. During this time, the United States Government tried to make several new removal treaties with the Choctaws of Mississippi; all failed. However, some of the Choctaws continued to migrate independent of treaties (Foreman 1966).

1830

In 1830, though the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek had been signed but not yet ratified, the government provided for a group of 400 Choctaws to emigrate early. This group consisted of followers of Chief Greenwood LeFlore, who favored removal. They wanted to settle on the choicest places in the new Choctaw country and to take advantage of high land prices in Mississippi.

In November and December of 1830, two small Choctaw parties totaling 400 people started west without waiting for government assistance; they were led by a preacher named Alexander Talley and a school teacher and interpreter named Myers (Foreman 1932; Wright 1928).

The two parties traveled overland with their ponies to the Mississippi River (Wright 1928). They crossed the Mississippi River at Vicksburg, Mississippi and traveled overland to the Saline River (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932; Jordan 1976; Paige et al. 2003; Wright 1928). After the parties crossed the Mississippi River, Myers took his family and a few others ahead of the group to book ferriage across the main rivers; they remained at the Saline River for five weeks while building a ferry. Myers arrived in Indian Territory a few days ahead of the main body of emigrants (Wright 1928).

- Cross into southern Arkansas from Louisiana (c) (e) (g) (j).
- Travel overland to Ecote a' Fabri, on the Ouachita River, and ferry across (e) (g).
- Travel through Washington (g).
- Travel overland to the Little River and ferry across (e).
- Reach ruins of Fort Towson (e) (j) February 1831 (j)

After the signing of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Chief Harkins, Robert Folsom, Josiah Doaks, A. Turnbull, and

11 Choctaw warriors embarked on an independent exploring party to the new Choctaw lands in Indian Territory. They departed October 10, 1830 and returned with a favorable opinion.

An official exploration party set out for Indian Territory in October, 1830 (Paige et al. 2003). The party consisted of Nitakechi, Mushulatubbe, and 16 warriors led by the white man George S. Gaines, an honest merchant with whom the Choctaws had previously dealt and had learned to trust (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932). The party traveled across Mississippi through the swamps and arrived somewhere on the bank of the Mississippi River; here they boarded a flatboat (DeRosier 1970).

- Descend the Mississippi River (c).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River; meet Chief Harkins and his party, who are returning from the informal exploring trip (e).
- Travel overland on foot following the north side of the Arkansas River (c).
- Cross to the south side of the Arkansas River at Fort Smith (e); camp here several days (e) November 28, 1830 (c) (e).
- Ascend the Arkansas River to the Illinois River and camp at the Salt Works at Webbers Falls on the Illinois River December 6, 1830 (e).
- Ascend the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers; arrive at the Canadian River fork (e).
- Depart Canadian south fork and strike southwest across the headwaters of the Boggy River and Blue River and on toward the Washita River (e).
- Arrive at the Red River January 17, 1831 (e).
- Depart the Red River country and go back east (e).
- Arrive at Washington (e) (g) January 29, 1831 (e).
- Arrive at Little Rock (g).
- Arrive back home in February, 1831 (c) (e) (f).

1831

Jeremiah Folsom and his son Robert Folsom took a party of 200 emigrants, belonging to Mushulatubbe's district, overland to Point Chicot, Arkansas. Here an agent was issuing commutation certificates, whereby each individual who removed at his/her own expense would collect ten dollars upon arrival in Indian Territory. Two more commutation parties that came to Point Chicot for certificates were led by Robert M. Jones and Thomas McGee; McGee's group numbered 450 and did not trust steamboats (Foreman, 1966).

- Folsom party and Jones party cross the Mississippi River at Helena (e).
- Travel overland to Ecote a Fabri (e).
- Travel overland through Washington (e).
- Reach home on Red River February, 1832 (e).

Another commutation party of about 300, along with horses, was ferried across to Lake Providence, Louisiana, and from there traveled through northern Louisiana and across southern Arkansas to Indian Territory (Wright 1928).

November 15–25, 1831, about 4000 Choctaws traveled overland to the Mississippi River. The 500 members of the Northeastern District crossed at Memphis, Tennessee and the remainder crossed at Vicksburg, Mississippi (Wright 1928). George Gaines discovered he had overlooked providing transportation; it took two weeks to secure the steamboats. The *Brandywine* was hired to carry the Choctaws down the Mississippi River from Memphis. The *Walter Scott*, *Reindeer*, *Talma*, and *Cleopatra* arrived at Vicksburg to transport the Choctaws up the Mississippi River (DeRosier, 1970; Jordan, 1976; Wright, 1928). It was also arranged for two parties to bring the horses overland from Memphis and Vicksburg (Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, State Review Board Meeting [AHPP, SRBM] 2003c; AHPP, SRBM 2004c; DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932).

The *Reindeer*, *Walter Scott*, and *Brandywine* arrived at Arkansas Post at the same time. The Post was swamped with more emigrants than it was prepared to handle (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1966). The extreme winter weather added to the difficulties; on December 5, six inches of snow fell; on December 10, the temperature fell to 0 degrees, and that week the average was only 12 degrees (Foreman 1966).

The party at Memphis boarded the *Brandywine* and departed under the charge of Thomas Wall and Samuel Garland (DeRosier, 1970; Foreman 1932; Jordan 1976; Wright 1928).

- Depart Memphis on the *Brandywine* (e) (f) (g) December 1, 1831 (e); descend the Mississippi River (e) (f) (g).
- Arrive at mouth of the White River (e).
- Arrive at mouth of the Arkansas River (c) (f).
- Arrive at Arkansas Post (e) (f) (g) (j); wait 6 weeks for the Arkansas River water levels to rise (e); remain here November 30–December 8, 1831 (j).
- Board the steamer *Reindeer* (e) (f) and ascend the Arkansas River (e) (f) (g) January 1832 (e) (f).
- Arrive at Little Rock (e) (f) (g) (j); remain in camp for one day (e) (f) (g) January 22, 1832 (e) (g) (j).
- Ascend the Arkansas River (e) (f) (g) (j).
- Stop 90 miles below Fort Smith; camp for one month to again wait for the water levels to rise (e) (f); this was one of the coldest periods remembered in the region (e).
- Arrive at Fort Smith February 20, 1832 (e) (f).

The *Reindeer* and the *Walter Scott* departed Vicksburg in late November. The *Reindeer* was under charge of Van Rensselaer (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). The *Walter Scott* carried 1000 Choctaws including Nitakechi; Lieutenant W. S. Colquhoun and George Gaines were in charge (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932).

Although the more straightforward route would have been to go up the Red River to the mouth of the Kiamichi, Boggy, and Blue rivers, this was impossible due to the Great Raft (a huge logjam) in the Red River. The boats therefore ascended the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River and arrived at Arkansas Post on November 30 (DeRosier 1967; 1970; Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). The Choctaws remained in camp several weeks waiting for the water level to rise on the Arkansas River (Foreman 1932; Wright 1928).

The steamer passengers split upon leaving Arkansas Post. The *Reindeer* party took off overland while the *Walter Scott* party continued up the Arkansas River. Both parties rejoined at Camp Pope just south of Little Rock and continued overland to Indian Territory.

- The *Reindeer's* passengers leave Arkansas Post traveling overland with 44 wagons and 150 horses; they are under David Folsom and his brother Israel, the interpreter (e) (g) December 31, 1831 (e) (f) (g).
- Travel the road from Arkansas Post to Little Rock, which joins the Little Rock-Memphis road (e) (f) (g) (j).
- Arrive at Little Rock (e) (f) (g) (j); spend 7–8 days transporting wagons and horses across the Arkansas River (e) (g) December 21, 1831 (g); December 22, 1831 (e) (j); January 20, 1832 (f).
- Depart Little Rock under charge of Captain Jacob Brown; arrive at Camp Pope 3 miles south of Little Rock (e) (j); travel down the new road from Little Rock to Washington; a party precedes the main group to make repairs on the road (e) (j) December 29, 1831 (g).
- Travel through Washington to the Choctaw line at “the lick” on the military road; cross Mine Creek, the Big and Little Cossatot rivers, the Saline River, the cut-off of Little River, and Antione Creek (e) Mid-January, 1832 (e).
- Arrive in Indian Territory in the Red River country (e).

The *Walter Scott* party continued up the Arkansas River by boat. They boarded the *Reindeer* and traveled under Wharton Rector to Little Rock where they were discharged. The *Reindeer* then returned to Arkansas Post to carry the Northeastern District emigrants who had traveled from Memphis (Foreman 1932).

- Ascend the Arkansas River on the *Reindeer* (e) January, 1830.
- Disembark at Little Rock (e) (f); disembark about a half mile below Little Rock (g) January 15, 1832 (g); January 16, 1832 (e).
- Travel overland to Camp Pope (g); arrive at Camp Pope; wait here for the arrival of their wagons from Arkansas Post (e).
- The wagons arrive along with 400 Choctaws and 200–300 horses under charge of Colonel Childress and Robert M. Jones; over 100 horses have died en route (e).
- Depart Camp Pope with 1300 Choctaws and 50 wagons; leave behind 200 emigrants, including Nitakechi and his family, who are ill and cannot find room in the wagons January 22, 1832 (e); Nitakechi and the rest finally follow on February 5 when they are picked up by a party led by S. M. Rutherford (e)
- Travel southwest to Washington and to Red River country over the road previously used by Folsom’s party (e).
- Arrive in Indian Territory (e).

The *Talma* and *Cleopatra* left Vicksburg carrying 600 Choctaws headed by George W. Harkins of LeFlore’s Western District, and 564 Choctaws headed by Joel H. Nail of Nitakechi’s district. They descended the Mississippi River under the charge of Captain Cross; their horses were ferried over the Mississippi River and

brought overland (DeRosier 1967, 1970; Foreman 1932; Wright 1928).

- Descend the Mississippi River on the *Talma* and *Cleopatra* (c) (e) (f) (j) November, 1831 (e) (f) (g).
- Ascend the Red River and the Ouachita River (c) (e) (f) (j).
- Arrive at Ecure a Fabri and disembark (c) (e) (f) (j); no agent is there to meet them (c) (j); receive word that an overland commutation party of 200–300 has been lost in the swamps west of Lake Providence, Louisiana; Cross returns to Louisiana and rescues them and yet another small removal group; he recharter the *Talma* to bring both groups to Ecure a Fabri (c) (f) (j).
- Travel overland to Fort Towson (c) (f) (j) early February, 1832 (c) (f).
- Pass through Washington (e).
- Arrive in Indian Territory (e) (f).

Of the 500 members of the Northeastern District who arrived at Memphis in mid-November, about 18–20 marched overland with the horses. The horses were taken across the Mississippi River by ferry (Foreman 1932).

- Depart Memphis December 1, 1831 (e).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River opposite Little Rock (a) (b) (e) December 18, 1831 (e); early December (before the 14th), 1831 (b).
- Leave overland for Fort Smith (b).
- Travel the Cadron Segment of the military road (b).

Another land party left Vicksburg with 400–500 horses and about 400 Choctaws (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932). They were under the charge of Robert M. Jones and Colonel Childress; they were the remainder of Wharton Rector's party (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

- Depart Vicksburg with several hundred horses and about 400 people (e) (g); cross the Mississippi River and travel overland November 1831 (e) (f).
- Arrive at Arkansas Post (e) (g).
- Arrive at the North Little Rock site January 22, 1832 (g).
- Cross the Arkansas River at Crittenden's Ferry (g).
- Arrive at Camp Pope to join the main body of emigrants who had gone by boat (e) (g); about 100 horses have died of exhaustion and starvation, January 22, 1832 (e).

A Choctaw party of 300 became separated from the overland party at Vicksburg (Foreman 1932; Jordan 1976). They had crossed the Mississippi River and had traveled 68 miles from Vicksburg with ox teams through the swamps between the White and St. Francis rivers. They entered the swamp December 5, 1831 (Foreman 1932).

They were rescued by Captain Cross, who had been begged by the Choctaws under his charge to try to find word about their friends. Cross halted the *Cleopatra* and the *Talma* at Ecure a Fabri and with the assistance of the *Talma's* Captain Shirley, found the stragglers in the swamp. The Choctaws and their horses and cattle were brought to Ecure a Fabri on the *Talma* where they rejoined their friends and traveled together to Indian Territory (Foreman 1932).

Another overland party of 300 Choctaws departed Vicksburg October 1831. They were ferried across the Mississippi River and then traveled to Lake Providence, Louisiana. From here they traveled overland through northern Louisiana and across southern Arkansas to Indian Territory (DeRosier 1967).

1832

A group of 500 Choctaws who were followers of Mushulatubbe went to Indian Territory independently of the government in late 1832 (AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis and proceed overland (e) (b) (g).
- Struggle through the swamps 40 miles from Memphis and finally abandon the effort; build huts and hunt for food (b) (e) (g).
- Discovered by William Armstrong in mid-December (b) (e) (g).
- Armstrong brings them into St. Francis (e).
- Transportation is organized by Armstrong; Wharton Rector takes charge (e) (g).

- Travel through the Big Prairie (g).
- Travel through Erwin's Stand and Crossroads (g).
- Arrive at Cadron (g); cross the still-surviving Cadron Segment of the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road (b).
- Arrive in Fort Smith January 20, 1833 (e).

In the Fall of 1832 Captain Page left the Choctaw Agency with about 1000 emigrants and arrived at Memphis 18 days later. There, 300 women and children boarded the steamer *Thomas Yeatman* bound for Rock Roe; the wagons and 600 horses were ferried across the Mississippi River and taken overland (Foreman 1932). The two groups left Memphis on November 1, 1832; they rejoined at Rock Roe on November 9 and traveled together to Mrs. Black's.

The group split again at Mrs. Black's. Those bound for the Red River country continued in that direction under Captain Page, passing through Little Rock and using Rorer's Ferry; they arrived at Fort Towson on December 11, 1833. Those going to Fort Smith continued west under charge of John M. Millard; they reached Indian Territory on December 2, 1832 (Foreman 1932).

On October 3, 1832 about 2000 Choctaws from Mushulatubbe's district assembled at the Old Council House where they organized for removal. They traveled together to Memphis, arriving October 31, where they were joined by another Choctaw party led by Wharton Rector. Many Choctaws had died en route of the cholera, or had become too sick to travel. Many remained behind to be picked up by later removal groups (Foreman 1932).

The cholera epidemic had sent several Choctaws into a panic and they refused to board the waiting boats (DeRosier 1970; Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003); therefore, the group was divided into water and land parties. Six hundred Choctaws, including David Folsom, departed on the *Reindeer* bound for Fort Smith under charge of Wharton Rector and Mr. Irwin. Four hundred, including Chief Mushulatubbe, traveled through the swamps headed for the Red River country under Lieutenant J. A. Phillips and William Armstrong (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). Both parties met at Rock Roe.

Mushulatubbe's party:

- Descend the Mississippi River and ascend the White River on the *Reindeer* (e) (g) November 1, 1832 (e) (g).

David Folsom's party:

- Ferry across the Mississippi River on the government snag boat *Archimedes*; travel through the swamps (c) (e) November 1, 1832 (e) (g).
- Both parties arrive at Rock Roe; camp 4 miles distant and wait for 3 days while the overland march is organized by Armstrong, November 5, 1832 (e) (g).
- At Rock Roe they are joined by a party of 617 who had traveled on the *Harry Hill* and the *Archimedes* from Vicksburg (g) (i); they are from Chief Greenwood LeFlore's district and are conducted by Captain S. T. Cross (e) (g) (h) (i) November 12, 1832 (h) (i).
- The group splits again at Rock Roe (e) (i).
 - one group travels to Little Rock using the Little Rock-Memphis military road (b) with Lieutenant Phillips in charge (e).
 - one group travels to Fort Smith by way of the Crossroads under charge of Wharton Rector and Captain John Page (e) (g) November 14, 1832 (g) (i); November 15, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at the Creek Au Gree in the Grand Prairie (e) (g) (i); forage in the Grand Prairie for 2 days (g) (i) November 14–15 (e) (g) (i).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River (e) (g) (i); camp on the Arkansas River to await the remainder of the party (e); some Choctaws remain behind due to wagons mired in the mud (e) (g) November 18, 1832 (e) (g) (i).
- Some Choctaws begin crossing the Arkansas River at Rorer's Ferry (e) (g) (i) November 19, 1832 (e).
- Mushulatubbe and his original group travel overland north from Little Rock, pass through Erwin's Stand and Crossroads, and rejoin the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road at Cadron; here they travel the still-surviving Cadron Segment (b).
- Meanwhile, Folsom's and LeFlore's parties are split into 2 groups with a day's interval between them for easier traveling (b) (e) (g); Captain Cross's group crosses the Arkansas River (e) at Rorer's Ferry (g); Phillip's group crosses the Arkansas River the next day (e) (g) at Rorer's Ferry (g) November 20–21, 1832 (e) (g) (i).
- Travel 10 miles (i); arrive at Three Mile Creek (e) November 21–22, 1832 (e) (i).
- Travel 11 miles (h) November 22–23, 1832 (i).

- Cross the Saline Creek (i); travel 12 miles November 23–24, 1832 (i).
- Travel 10 miles November 25–26, 1832 (i).
- Arrive at the Ouachita River; cross at the ford; reach camp 3 miles beyond (e); travel 16 miles (i) November 26–27, 1832 (e) (i).
- Cross the Caddo River (i) (e); some Choctaws ride the ferry across (i) (e).
- Travel 16 miles (i) November 27–28, 1832 (e) (i).
- Travel 13 miles (i) November 28–29, 1832 (e) (i).
- Travel 13 miles November 29, 1832 (i).
- Cross the Little Missouri River (e) (i) November 30–December 1, 1832 (e) (i).
- Travel 10 miles December 1–2, 1832 (i).
- Arrive at Washington (e) (i); travel 9 miles (i) December 2–3, 1832 (e) (i).
- Arrive at Mine Creek; camp here for the night (i).
- Travel 9 miles (i) December 3–4, 1832 (i).
- Cross the Cossatot River (e) (i); cross using the ferry (i); travel 14 miles (i) December 5–6, 1832 (e) (i).
- Ferry across the Little River December 6–7, 1832 (i).
- Arrive in Indian Territory December 7–8, 1832 (e) (i).

A group split from the above contingent at Rock Roe and headed toward Fort Smith under charge of Captain John Page and Wharton Rector (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

- Depart Rock Roe (e) (g) November 14, 1832 (g); November 15, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at Mrs. Black's (g).
- Arrive at Erwin's Stand and Crossroads (g); arrive at Cadron and intersect the Little Rock-Fort Gibson military road (g).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River and cross at Dardanelle Rock (e) (g); cross the river using the steamboat *Volant* (e) December 6, 1832 (e) (g).
- Arrive in Indian Territory December 14, 1832 (e).

In the fall of 1832, about 3000 more Choctaws remained in Nitakechi's district. On October 1, 1832, a large group of Choctaws assembled at the appointed rendezvous. On November 4, they arrived at Vicksburg; there had been rampant cholera outbreaks, so they camped at a point above Vicksburg in hopes of escaping infection.

From here they boarded the steamboats *Volant*, *Reindeer* and *Thomas Yeatman* and traveled to Rock Roe. The *Volant* departed November 12; those on board included Netachanche's party of Coonches and Hoo-wan-nees with Captain Lake's company of Chikasawhays, totaling 565 people. The *Reindeer* and *Thomas Yeatman* departed November 13 and contained Robert Nail's party under charge of Colquhoun, who was later discharged from service and replaced by Lieutenant Isaac P. Simonton. A party of Mettahoma's Choctaws started overland with 140 horses and 114 oxen to rejoin the main party on the Fort Towson road (Foreman 1932).

Water faction:

- The *Volant*, *Reindeer*, and *Thomas Yeatman* arrive at Rock Roe (e) (g) November 21, 1832 (e) (g); here the Choctaws organize into two groups led by Lieutenant William R. Montgomery and Lieutenant Isaac P. Simonton (e) (g).
- Depart Rock Roe, traveling overland November 22, 1832 (e) (g).
- Arrive at Mrs. Black's; many are suffering from cholera and some have died (e) (g) November 24, 1832 (e).
- Depart for Little Rock; many more die along the way; pick up about 200 stragglers (e).
- Arrive at Samson Grey's November 26, 1832 (g).
- Arrive at the Arkansas River opposite Little Rock November 27, 1832 (e) (g).
- Cross Arkansas River at Rorer's Ferry; divide into 2 parties and depart Little Rock at intervals of one day November 30–December 1, 1832 (e) (c) (g).
- Arrive at the Ouachita River December 5–6, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at the Little Missouri River December 6–7, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at the Saline River December 13–14, 1832 (e).
- Reach a water mill on Mine Creek; purchase meal for the teamsters (e).
- Stop at the salt works on the Second Saline Creek December 14, 1832 (e).
- Cross the Cossatot River; pass through the Cossatot swamp; ferry across the Little River December 15, 1832 (e).
- Both parties arrive in Indian Territory December 17, 1832 (e).

While the bulk of Choctaws from Nitakechi's district ascended the Mississippi River on the *Volant*, *Reindeer*,

and *Thomas Yeatman*, about 47 members of Mettahoma's Choctaws traveled overland with hundreds of horses and cattle. They camped above Vicksburg, along with the rest of the party, but departed almost two weeks earlier than the steamboats.

On November 2–3, 1832, the overland party crossed the Mississippi River about 8 miles above Vicksburg on the *Heliopolis*. With Lieutenant Jefferson Van Horne as their guide, they struggled for 56 miles. Upon arriving at Bayou Macon in Louisiana on November 6, they had to drive the animals across as there was no ferry boat available. The overland party eventually reached the Fort Towson road where they joined the parties of David Folsom and Greenwood LeFlore's just south of Little Rock (Foreman 1932).

Land faction:

- Intersect the road to Fort Towson being traveled by LeFlore's and Folsom's parties (e); Van Horne is sent back to Little Rock by Major Armstrong to guide the Nitakechi's Six Towns party of who had just arrived from Rock Roe, November 23, 1832 (e).
- Start from Little Rock with the Six Towns group with 14 hired teams and 9 native teams; cross the Arkansas River; camp 4 miles from Little Rock (e); Cross the Arkansas River via Rorer's Ferry (g) November 29, 1832 (e).
- Travel 15 miles; arrive at the supply depot on Hurricane Creek November 30, 1832 (e).
- Travel 11 miles; discover that Lieutenant Montgomery's party is one day ahead; join the main party east of Little Rock December 1, 1832 (e).
- Travel 12 miles; 6 people and 24 horses join from the horse party December 2, 1832 (e).
- Travel 12 miles; ferry across the Washita River: 584 people, plus children, plus 65 of David Folsom's party, being unable to get across, December 3, 1832 (e).
- Travel 12 miles; issue to 634 people December 4, 1832 (e).
- Travel 9.5 miles; cross the Fournois River December 5, 1832 (e).
- Travel 12 miles December 7, 1832 (e).
- Travel 13 miles; cross the Little Missouri River with about 340 people December 8, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at Washington and camp there for the night December 10, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at Little River December 14, 1832 (e).
- Cross Little River December 15, 1832 (e).
- Arrive at supply depot established by David Folsom December 17, 1832 (e).
- Camp 4 miles east of Clear Creek; 648 people; December 18, 1832 (e).

1833

About 1000 Choctaws from Greenwood LeFlore's district emigrated themselves during 1833. On February 23, they crossed the Mississippi River at Chicot and Helena (Foreman 1932).

1838

Small Choctaw parties continued to remove during the late 1830s and through the 1840s, after the Dancing Rabbit Creek provisions had ended. Each of these contingents crossed Arkansas by boat (Paige et al. 2003). Some of these parties moved under government sponsorship (Foreman 1966; Jordan 1976).

Captain S. T. Cross removed a party of 177 Choctaws in 1838. They left the rendezvous in Mississippi on March 23 and arrived at Natchez April 17. From Natchez they traveled to Vicksburg and boarded the steamer *Erin*. They ascended the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers, passing Little Rock on May 8. These Choctaws landed in Indian Territory on May 12, 1838 (Foreman 1932).

In April, 1845 the pace of emigration was revived somewhat, and 1280 Choctaws moved to Indian Territory. In 1846, 1786 more moved, and again in 1847, 1623 moved. Several hundred Choctaws moved annually for the next several years (Foreman 1966; Jordan 1976).

Choctaw: Keyed Sources

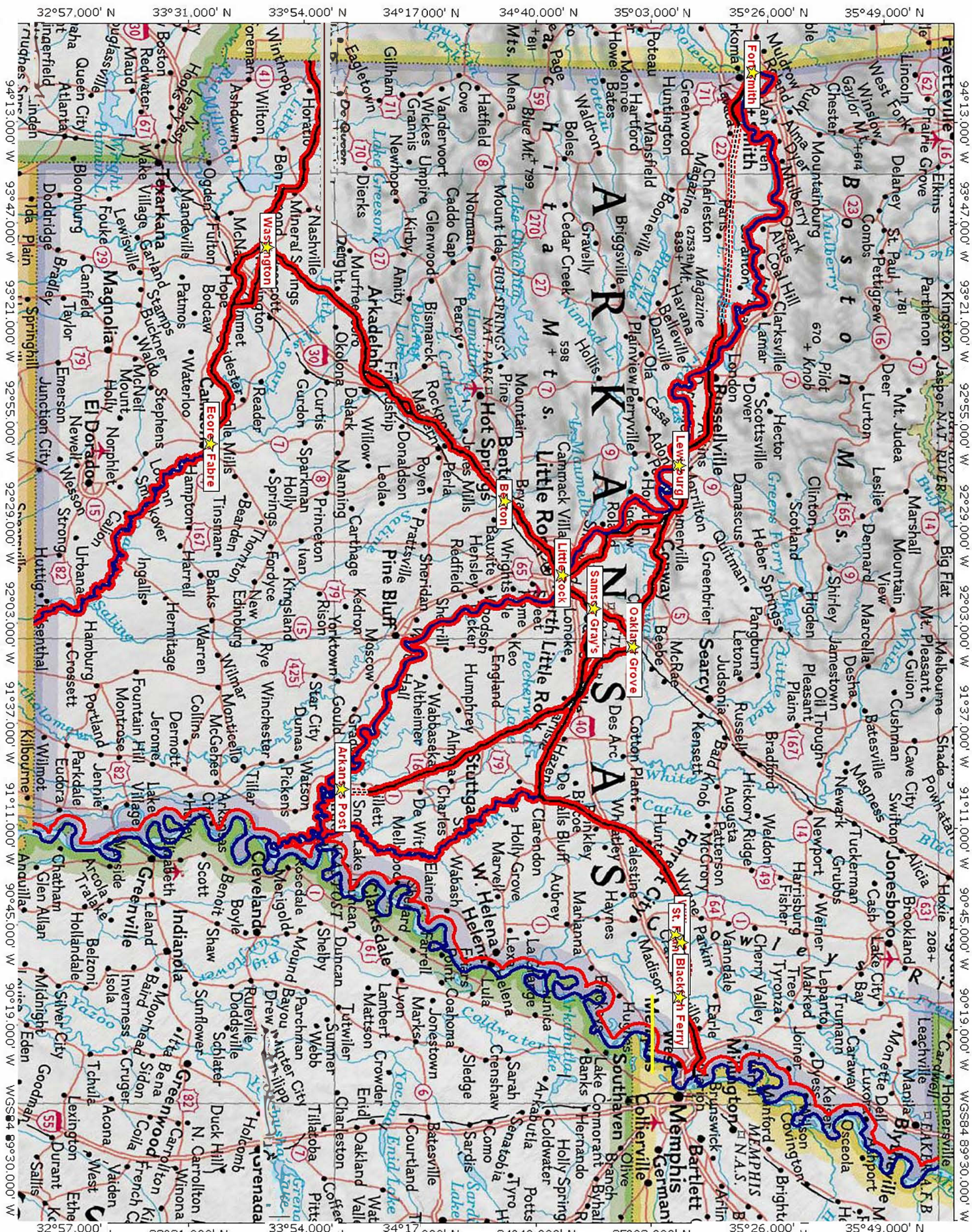
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The Creeks

The Creek Indians were historically divided into the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks. The Upper Creeks, who comprised about two-thirds of the tribe, were settled along the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in what is now the state of Alabama. The Lower Creeks lived on the lower Chattahoochee and Ocmulgee rivers in the present-day state of Georgia (Foreman 1932; Savage 1976). The Creeks were given their name by white settlers because most of their people lived on rivers and streams (Jahoda 1975).

Due to a history of tribal factionalism, the Creeks were not very effective at collaborating against the oppressive white settlers. Benjamin Hawkins, appointed in 1796 as the Superintendent of the Southern Indians and Agent to the Creek Nation, somewhat successfully persuaded the Creeks to adopt many of the white settlers' practices. Around the early 1800s, the Creeks divided into progressive and conservative factions (Jahoda 1975; Foreman 1932; Savage 1976). The Upper Creeks wished to adopt the white settlers' ways of life and recognized the necessity of removal. The Lower Creeks vied to keep their traditions, opposed removal, and destroyed properties of the whites, which only exacerbated frictions (Foreman 1932; Savage 1976).

The Treaty of Washington was signed on January 24, 1826, ceding all Creek lands in Georgia to the United States while saving their lands in Alabama. The treaty was signed by the Creek progressive leader William McIntosh, who was assassinated for the act by outraged conservatives. McIntosh's followers immediately began leaving for Indian Territory in order to claim the most desirable areas. They settled on the Arkansas River near the mouth of the Verdigris River (Foreman 1934).

The Treaty of March 24, 1832 surrendered the remaining Creek lands in Alabama to the United States. That same year 2500 Creeks emigrated west (Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, State Review Board Meeting [AHPP, SRBM] 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Savage 1976). The treaty provisions did not force all of the Creeks to leave; instead, every second family was allowed to select and live on an allotment from the former tribal lands. Three years of turbulence followed, resulting in the Creek Wars. The United States government tried to end the war by sending out several thousand troops and volunteers under Brigadier General Winfield Scott in 1836 (Savage 1976).

While many Creeks escaped to Florida to join the Seminoles (Foreman 1932), General Scott's army captured more than 14,500. Those who were considered hostiles were put into chains and marched to Indian Territory during 1836 and 1837 (Green 1990; Savage 1976). McIntosh's followers had been living there for almost a decade; thus the conservatives were forced to resign their leadership and accept direction from the progressives (Savage 1976). Small Creek parties continued to emigrate until about 1850 (Debo 1941).

1827-1828

The Treaty of Washington, which ceded the Creek lands in Georgia, provided for a Creek delegation to travel to Indian Territory to inspect the proposed relocation lands. They departed in early May of 1827 (Agnew 1980; Debo, 1941; Savage 1976) and were escorted by Colonel David Brearley. The Creeks toured the territory along the Arkansas and Canadian river valleys (Agnew 1980). The settlement area chosen was located in what is now the eastern part Oklahoma near the forks of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand rivers (Debo 1941).

After William McIntosh, leader of the progressives and signer of the Treaty of Washington, was assassinated, his followers set out from Georgia almost immediately. This faction included about 700 men, women, and children (Agnew 1980; Debo 1941). Their leader, Roley McIntosh, brought the emigrants up the Arkansas River on the steamboat *Fidelity* (Debo 1941). The party arrived at Fort Gibson in February 1828 (Agnew 1980; Debo 1941).

Colonel David Brearley returned from leading the 1827 Indian Territory exploration trip to escort another

faction of McIntosh followers to Indian Territory. This party of 500 arrived in Indian Territory in the fall of 1828 (Agnew 1980).

1833-1834

In September of 1833, 40 Creeks emigrated to Fort Gibson. Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent to the Creek Nation, brought 20 more a few months later (Foreman, 1932).

A party of 630 Creeks and their slaves moved to Indian Territory in December, 1834 under the charge of Captain John Page. They traveled overland from Alabama, passing through Alabama's capital, Tuscaloosa, and Columbus, Mississippi (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1932; King 1996b). The party averaged 10 miles a day (Foreman 1832). Sources do not agree when the party arrived at Memphis; some (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1832) state that they arrived December 4, 1834 while, according to AHPP, SRBM (2003c), they arrived sometime in January, 1835. All agree, however, that this was the first major Creek removal party to travel through Arkansas, and that the group arrived in Indian Territory on March 28, 1835.

From Memphis, they divided into water and overland contingents. The water party boarded the steamer *Harry Hill* and ascended the Mississippi River (Foreman 1932). They accessed the Arkansas River through the White River cut-off and arrived at Little Rock on February 14. The Creeks camped on the north bank of the river, opposite Little Rock, to await the overland party.

The remainder of the group traveled with the horses and ponies along the Little Rock-Memphis military road under the charge of William Beattie of the Sanford Emigrating Company. They joined the steamer party at Little Rock. Due to shallow water levels on the Arkansas River, they were forced to abandon the *Harry Hill* (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1932). Foreman (1932) states that the party arrived at Little Rock on December 24, 1834; others (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003c) say they arrived on February 24, 1835.

The two parties departed Little Rock together on March 1. They followed the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road, which at that time was in bad condition for traveling. This route would have led them along the still-surviving Cadron Segment of the military road. The party arrived at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1835 (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932).

1835

On July 2, 1835, 2498 Creeks were captured in Alabama and marched overland to Montgomery. Their women and children followed in horse-drawn wagons. At Montgomery, the Creeks were put onto steamboats. They traveled south to New Orleans, then ascended the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers to Indian Territory on the *Lamplighter*, *Majestic*, and *Revenue* (Ehle 1988).

Benjamin Marshall was a half-blood Creek and an influential, slave-owning member of the tribe. In 1835, he organized a removal party that included his family of eight plus his 19 slaves. The party totaled 511 and was conducted by Lieutenant Edward Deas and William Beattie. They left their Alabama homes on December 6/7 and made their way first overland and then by steamer to the mouth of the Tennessee River (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; Litton 1941).

They arrived at Tuscumbia on December 22; here, the group divided. The horses and ponies were marched overland to Memphis, while the remainder of the party boarded a steamboat. Both arrived at Memphis on December 31, 1835, where they again divided into water and land parties (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; Litton 1941; Lemke 1957).

Water faction:

- Arrive at Memphis (a) (b) (f) December 31, 1835 (a) (b) (f).
- Descend the Mississippi River by steamer (a) (e) (f) December 31, 1835 (a) (e) or January 1, 1836 (f).
- Reach Montgomery's Point at the mouth of the White River; enter the Arkansas River through the White River cut-off (a) (e) (f); travel 40 miles above the mouth of the Arkansas River and camp for the night (f) January 2, 1836 (f).
- Travel 120 miles upriver, averaging 40 miles per day, January 3-5, 1836 (f).

- Travel 130 miles upriver, averaging about 43 miles per day (f) January 6–7, 1836; travel 90 miles (f).
- Arrive “near Little Rock” (a) (b); pass Little Rock and camp a few miles above (f) January 8, 1836 (a) (b) (f).
- Continue up the Arkansas River (f); travel 22–23 miles January 9, 1836 (f).
- Travel 30–40 miles January 10, 1836 (f).
- Travel 20–30 miles January 11, 1836 (f).
- Travel 40–50 miles January 12, 1836 (f).
- Travel 6 miles; become grounded on a sandbar and camp for the night; here the overland faction catches up with them, January 13, 1836 (f).
- Travel 40 miles January 14, 1836 (f).
- Travel 10 miles and hit a sandbar January 15, 1836 (f).
- Travel 25–30 miles January 16, 1836 (f).
- Travel 5–6 miles and hit a sandbar January 17, 1836 (f).
- Navigate the sandbar January 18, 1836 (f).
- Travel 20–30 miles and hit another sandbar January 19, 1836 (f).
- Navigate the sandbar January 20, 1836 (f).
- Arrive at Van Buren (f); travel 12 miles January 21, 1836 (f).
- Pass Fort Smith and proceed to Fort Gibson January 22, 1836 (f).

Land faction:

- Arrive at Memphis and cross the Mississippi River December 31, 1835 (a) (b) (e) (f).
- Travel west through the Mississippi Swamp (a) (b) (f) January 1, 1836 (b).
- Arrive at Little Rock January 9, 1836 (e).
- Catch up with the stranded steamer party, which has grounded on a sandbar on the Arkansas River January 13, 1836 (a) (b) (f).
- The steamer navigates the sandbar and the two parties proceed up the Arkansas River (a) (e).
- Arrive at Fort Smith (a) (b); stop at a point 2 miles above Fort Smith (e) January 22, 1836 (a) (b) (e).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson February 2, 1836 (e).

1836

In an effort to end the Creek War, Brigadier General Winfield Scott brought several thousand troops and volunteers to Alabama in 1836 (Savage 1976). More than 14,500 Creeks were captured. About 2500 Creeks were considered hostiles; they were put into chains and escorted overland to Indian Territory during the final months of 1836 and through the summer of 1837 (Agnew 1980; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; Green 1990; Savage 1976).

On July 14, 1836, 2498 Creeks boarded the steamers *Lewis Cass* and *Meridian* and descended the Alabama River under charge of Lieutenant J. Waller Barry (Foreman 1932). At New Orleans, the charge of the group was given to the J.W.A. Sanford Emigrating Company (OO; PP). From New Orleans, the Creeks embarked on the steamers *Lamplighter*, *Majestic*, and *Revenue*. On July 21, 1836 they started up the Mississippi River (Foreman 1832).

- Ascend the Mississippi River from New Orleans (b) (c) (e).
- Enter the White River (c).
- Arrive at Rock Roe; remain for 8 days (b) (e) July 29, 1836 (b); July 28–August 8, 1835 (c).
- Depart Rock Roe, traveling overland August 8, 1836 (b) (c) (e).
- Follow the Little Rock-Memphis Road (b) (c).
- Arrive at Little Rock on the opposite bank of the Arkansas River August, 1835 (c).
- Follow the Little Rock-Fort Gibson military road toward Fort Gibson (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson September 3, 1836 (b) (c) (d) (e).

The remainder of the “hostiles,” including women and children, were removed under the charge of Captain F. S. Belton. They left their homes on August 2, 1836 on the steamer *Lewis Cass*. They arrived at Mobile four days later where they transferred to another steamer, the *Mezeppa*. From there, the party traveled to Lake Pontchartrain and boarded a train bound for New Orleans. They stayed at the old barracks while awaiting transportation to Indian Territory. Finally they boarded the steamer *Mobile* (Foreman 1932).

- Ascend the Mississippi River from New Orleans on the *Mobile* (e).

- Pass Montgomery's Point (e).
- Ascend the Arkansas River (e).
- Arrive at Arkansas Post and disembark August 25, 1836 (e).
- Travel overland from Arkansas Post on a road in bad condition September 6, 1836 (e).
- Travel 15 miles; arrive at Robins (e).
- Arrive at Mrs. Black's (e).
- Arrive at the old home of Major William Lovely; cross the Illinois Bayou on the ferry below the site of old Dwight Mission (e); Captain Belton becomes ill and remains behind; his assistant, Dr. Jones, takes charge (e).
- Arrive at Indian Territory October 3, 1836 (e).

Lieutenant Deas conducted a group of 2320 Creeks from Alabama in the fall of 1836. The group arrived at Memphis and divided into water and overland parties. Deas appointed a conductor to lead the land contingent with the horses; most of the Creeks were afraid of the steamers and chose to go overland (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b).

Water faction:

- Descend the Mississippi River (a) (b) (c) (e) with Lieutenant Deas (b) (c).
- Arrive at Rock Roe; wait 2 weeks for land party; only a few arrive (a) (b) (c).
- Deas travels east along the Little Rock-Memphis road toward Strong's; locates 300–400 Creeks, including some from Batman's and Screven's parties, brings them to Rock Roe where they join Deas' party (a) (b) (c).
- Depart Rock Roe and travel the Little Rock-Memphis road (b).
- Arrive opposite Little Rock and wait, November 27–December 9, 1836 (a) (b) (c).
- Travel 3 miles along military road to Fort Gibson and then wait till December 17 for other Creeks to catch up (a) (b) (c).
- Continue along the military road to Fort Gibson (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson January 23, 1837 (a) (b) (c).

Land faction:

- Cross the Mississippi River November 5, 1836 (a) (c) (e).
- Travel the Little Rock-Memphis road (a) (c).
- Only a few make it to Rock Roe; Deas comes back along the road and finds them and brings them to Rock Roe (a) (c).
- Arrive opposite Little Rock and wait, November 27–December 9, 1836 (a) (c).
- Move 3 miles along the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road and then wait till December 17, 1836 (a) (b) (c).
- Continue along the military road to Fort Gibson (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson January 23, 1837 (a) (b) (c).

A group of 2000 Creeks and their 500 ponies left Tallassee on September 5, 1836 under the charge of Lieutenant J. T. Sprague (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1932). They arrived at Memphis on October 7, 1836. Gibson and Gilman joined the party as assistants to Sprague (Foreman 1932).

The contingents of Lieutenant Screven and Captain Batman also were at Memphis waiting to cross the Mississippi River (AHPP, SRBM 2003a). The three groups totaled about 13,000 Creeks (Foreman 1932).

Sprague's party divided into water and land contingents (Foreman 1932). The women and children, numbering 1300, boarded the *John Nelson* and started down the Mississippi River. The remaining 600 Creeks drove their horses overland through the Mississippi Swamp (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b; AHPP, SRBM 2003c). The land party traveled under the charge of Freeman (Foreman 1932). Screven's and Batman's overland factions followed Sprague's group on the military road to Rock Roe.

Water faction:

- Descend the Mississippi River on the steamer *John Nelson* (a) (b) (c) (e) October 11, 1836 (e).
- Ascend the Arkansas River; arrive at Little Rock November 3, 1836 (e).
- Joined by the overland contingent November 4, 1836 (e).
- Follow the Little Rock-Fort Gibson military road (c).
- Camp at Pott's near Lewisburg (e); arrive at Kirkbride Pott's at Pottsville (c).
- Camp near the river Spadra (e); the original water party boards a steamer that arrives from Fort Gibson; the original land party continues overland with the horses November 24, 1836 (e).
- The steamer becomes grounded due to low water levels on the Arkansas River; the passengers disembark and walk the rest of the way (e).

- Arrive at Fort Gibson (a) (b) (c) (e) December 10, 1836 (e); November 27, 1836 (a); November 7, 1836 (b) (c).

Land faction:

- Cross the Mississippi River at Memphis (a) (b) (c) (e) October 11, 1836 (e).
- Drive the horses through the Mississippi Swamp (a) (b) (c) (e); follow the Little Rock-Memphis road (a) (b) (c); some emigrants remain in the swamp to hunt bear; Sprague sends Lieutenant Deas, who was at Rock Roe with his own group, to find them; Deas rescues 300–400 and takes them to Little Rock with the rest of his party (a) (b).
- Arrive opposite Little Rock; rejoin the water party (a) (c) November 4, 1836 (a) (b) (c).
- Depart Little Rock together (a) (c); follow the Little Rock-Fort Gibson road (b) (c).
- Camp at Potts, near Lewisburg, Arkansas (e); arrive at Kirkbride Pott's place at Pottsville (c); here the water party boards a steamer and departs upriver (e).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson December 7, 1836 (b) (c).

On August 1, 1836 a removal faction of “friendly” Creeks and their ponies were led from their homes by their chief Opothleyaholo (Foreman 1932). They were conducted by Lieutenant M. W. Batman, who brought them to Memphis. Here they met Sprague's and Screven's parties. Some of the Creeks boarded the steamer and descended the Mississippi River; the rest departed overland following Sprague's and Batman's contingents (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1932).

Water faction:

- Depart Memphis on the steamer *Farmer* with 1200–1300 people (c) (e) October 13, 1836 (c).
- Arrive at Rock Roe 4 days later (c) (e).
- Travel overland from Rock Roe (c) (e).
- Arrive at the crossroads at Irwin's supply depot, 20 miles north of Little Rock November 8, 1836 (c) (e).
- Join the military road at Cadron (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson December 7, 1836 (c) (e).

Land faction:

- Depart Memphis (a) (e); travel overland via the Memphis-Little Rock road (a).
- Become lost along the way and begin to starve; Lieutenant Deas returns from Rock Roe to near Strong's and rescues 300–400 Creeks, who join the rest of Deas's party (a).
- Arrive at Little Rock December 9, 1836 (a).
- Travel with Deas' party 3 miles beyond Little Rock; hear of another large group a few days behind; remain in camp until December 17 to await them (a).
- Depart camp December 17, 1836 (a).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson with Deas's party January 23, 1837 (a).

A party of more than 3000 Creeks departed their homes on August 6, 1836 under the charge of William McGillivrey (Foreman 1932) and Lieutenant R. B. Screven (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; Foreman 1932). More Creeks joined them along the way. The group arrived at Memphis in October (AHPP, SRBM 2003b; Foreman 1932). The party divided into water and land factions at Memphis; Screven's overland party followed those of Batman and Sprague.

Water faction:

- Depart Memphis by water (b) (c) (e).
- Arrive at Rock Roe (b) (c) (e).
- Leave overland for Little Rock (e).
- Arrive at Little Rock November 20, 1836 (e).
- Cross the Arkansas River (e).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson; from this party, only 2000 make it to Indian Territory (e).

Land faction:

- Depart Memphis traveling overland on the Memphis-Little Rock road (a) (b) (c).
- Several become lost on the road and in the swamps; Lieutenant Deas, who had already arrived at Rock Roe with his party, returns to near Strong's and finds 300–400 starving Creeks; he joins them with his own group of emigrants (a).
- Arrive opposite Little Rock November 20, 1836 (a) (b) (c).
- Move 3 miles beyond Little Rock toward Fort Gibson; after hearing about another large group still a few days behind, wait here until December (a).

- Arrive at Fort Gibson with Deas's party January 23, 1837 (a).

Another group of Creeks left their homes in the fall of 1836; they were led by John A. Campbell (AHPP, SRBM 2003a; AHPP, SRBM 2003b). This group numbered 1170. They arrived at Memphis in October of 1836. Here Campbell split the group into a water party and a land party (AHPP, SRBM 2003c).

Water faction:

- Travel the Mississippi and White rivers to Rock Roe November 5, 1836 (c).
- Take the "northern route" above Little Rock, passing through Crossroads; join the Little Rock-Fort Gibson military road at Cadron (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson early December, 1836 (c).

Land faction:

- Depart Memphis overland through the Mississippi Swamps November 5, 1836 (c).
- Take the "northern route" above Little Rock, passing through Crossroads; join the Little Rock-Fort Gibson military road at Cadron (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson (c) Early December, 1836 (c).

1837

A party of Creeks left their Alabama homes on May 16, 1832. They descended the Mississippi River on a steamboat, passed Memphis on May 27, and went through the White River cut-off the next day. The group traveled up the Arkansas River and passed Pine Bluff on May 30, Little Rock on May 31, and Fort Smith on June 2. They arrived at Fort Coffee on June 3, 1837 (Sequoyah Research Center, Native American Press Archives [1837]2005).

In April, 1837, Lieutenant Deas conducted 500 Creeks to New Orleans where they were quartered in the old barracks to await transportation. The next month, they boarded the steamer *Black Hawk* and ascended the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers, again using the White River cut-off. They arrived at Little Rock on June 2 and continued upriver to Fort Gibson.

Another group of Creeks left their homes on May 28, 1837. They ascended the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to the Arkansas River, which was accessed through the White River cut-off. The party ascended the Arkansas River and on June 4 entered the mouth of the Verdigris River in Indian Territory (Foreman 1932).

The families of 776 Creek warriors, who had been recruited to fight Seminole Indians in Florida, were transported to Fort Gibson by the United States government. They arrived at New Orleans in October, 1837; from here, they ascended the Mississippi and White rivers by steamer to Rock Roe. The group started overland from Rock Roe, opting for the "northern route" in order to bypass Little Rock. This trek took them almost straight west through the Cross Roads and Cadron. (AHPP, SRBM 2003c).

Creek: Keyed Sources

(AHPP = Arkansas Historic Preservation Program)

- (a) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Memphis to Little Rock Road Segment – Henard Cemetery Road. 2 April:95.

- (b) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Memphis to Little Rock Road – Brownsville Segment. 6 August:15.

- (c) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting

2003 Military Road – Cadron Segment. 3 December:145.

- (d) Agnew, Brad

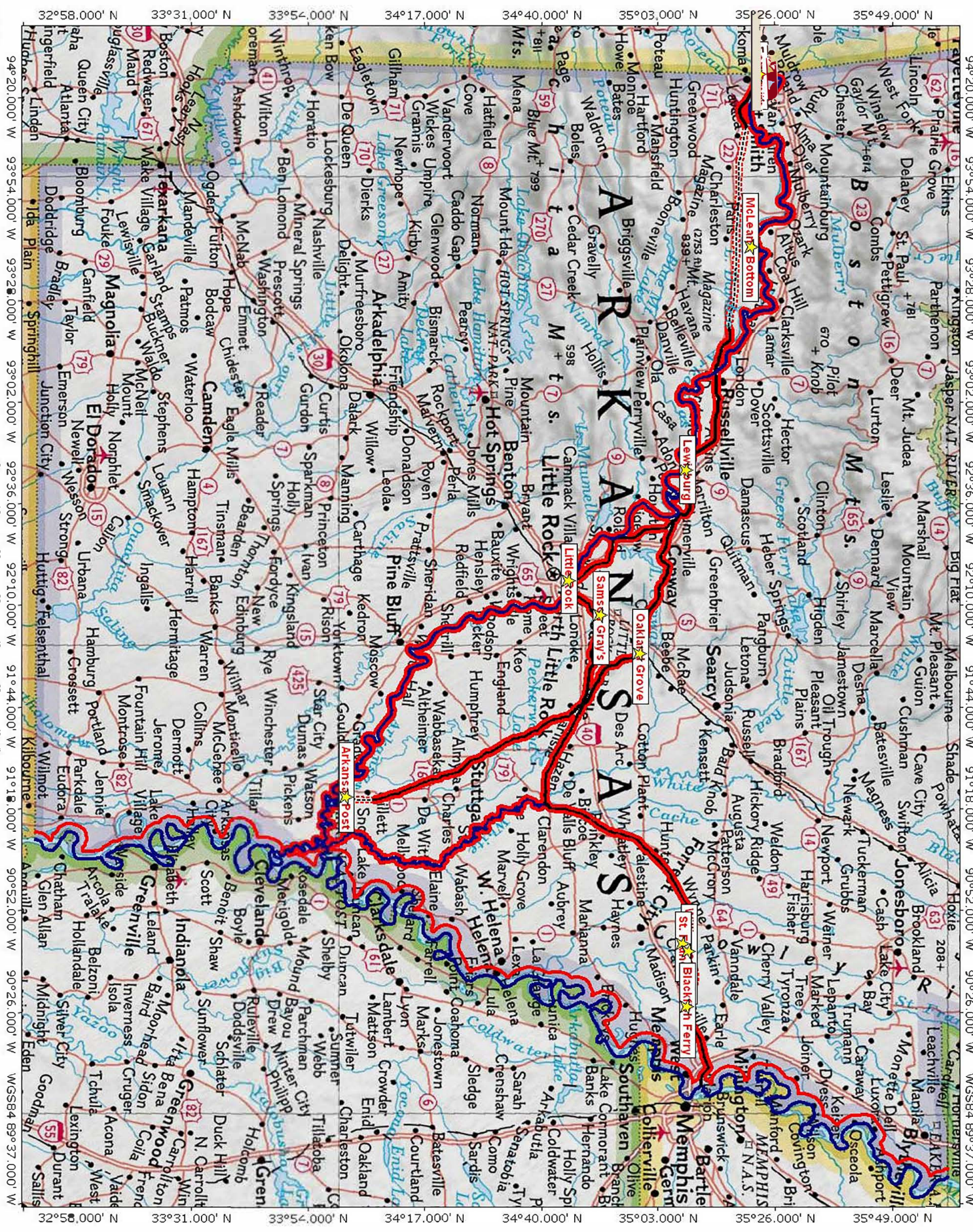
1980 *Fort Gibson: Terminal of the Trail of Tears*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

- (e) Foreman, Grant

1932 *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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The Seminoles

The Seminole Indians who lived in Florida just prior to removal had mixed origins, including a severed branch of Lower Creeks from the Chattahoochee River and runaway black slaves from the nearby plantations of white settlers. The Florida Indians and the Spanish government received the slaves as free people and, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Seminoles had broken all connection with the Creeks (Foreman 1932; Welsh 1976). The word “seminole” actually means “separatist” or “runaway” (Foreman 1932).

When the War of 1812 broke out, white Georgians revitalized efforts to reclaim Florida from Spain in order to eliminate it as a possible haven for runaway slaves. The First Seminole War began in 1817, and in 1819 Florida fell to the United States (Welsh 1976). The Treaty of Camp Moultrie, signed September 6, 1823, moved the Seminoles to a reservation in the interior of Florida below Tampa Bay. The region lacked abundant game and its soils were too sandy and marshy for agriculture. Severe droughts created widespread hunger amongst the Seminoles, which played a large role in their decision to move to Indian Territory (Foreman 1932; Garbarino 1989; Welsh 1976).

After the passing of the Indian Removal Bill in 1830, the Seminole Indians fought perhaps harder than any other tribe to defend their lands. The Seminoles’ homes and settlements were destroyed and the inhabitants were driven into the nearby swamps where they were hunted for six years. Those who were captured were carried away as prisoners to Indian Territory (Foreman 1934).

The Treaty of Payne’s Landing, signed May 9, 1832, surrendered the remaining Seminole lands in Florida. A provision of the treaty allowed for the Seminole chiefs to tour Indian Territory for their approval of the proposed relocation grounds. The exploration party reached Fort Gibson in the fall of 1832. The Seminoles were not pleased to see that they would be living next to the Creeks. Nevertheless, the Seminole leaders were forced to sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson, which required the Seminoles to settle in the Creek Nation (Welsh 1976).

The struggle of the Seminoles against the United States Government to hold on to their land resulted in the Second or Great Seminole War. In January 1837, 10,000 American soldiers were sent to Florida. The Seminoles were defeated; more than 250 Seminoles and Black Seminoles, as well as Seminole prisoners being held at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, were marched to New Orleans and held at Fort Pike to await transportation to Indian Territory. The prisoners were loaded onto boats that arrived at Fort Gibson in June of 1838 (Welsh 1976).

1832

The exploration party provided by the 1832 Treaty of Payne’s Landing left for Indian Territory late that same year. Seven Seminole leaders, including John Blunt, Charley Emathla, Hohahte Emathla, Jumper, and the interpreter Abraham, traveled under the leadership of Colonel James Gadsden. While in Indian Territory they signed the Treaty of Fort Gibson, which was a further agreement to Seminole removal. The treaty was signed even though these seven leaders did not have authority to act on behalf of the entire Seminole tribe (Foreman 1932; Garbarin 1989).

The party traveled across the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans and then ascended the Mississippi River on the steamer *Little Rock* (Covington 1993; Foreman 1932).

- Ascend the Mississippi River and the Arkansas River on the *Little Rock* (b).
- Arrive at Little Rock (b) (c) November 3, 1832 (c).
- Depart overland, riding horses, from Little Rock (b) (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson (b) (d) a few weeks later (c).
- Sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson March 28, 1833 (b).

1836

During the fall of 1835, a Seminole favoring removal was murdered, and his followers fled to Tampa Bay for protection and to await removal (Welsh 1976). They were members of Emathla's "friendly Indians" including Fukeluste Hadjo, who was also known as Black Dirt (Foreman 1932). Paige et al. (2003) refer to this group as Holata Imata's pro-removal Indians.

They left for New Orleans by steamer on April 11 or 12, 1836 (Covington 1993; Foreman 1832; Paige et al. 2003), conducted by Lieutenant Joseph W. Harris (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). The party arrived at New Orleans on April 23. There they boarded the steamer *Compromise* with a keelboat in tow (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

Twenty-five passengers died along the way, and many were sick upon arrival due to heavy rains and poor traveling conditions. Upon reaching their new home, only 320 of the original 407 had survived (Paige et al. 2003; Welsh 1976).

- Ascend the Mississippi River on the *Compromise* (b) (c) (d).
- Arrive at Montgomery's Point and ascend the Arkansas River (c) (d).
- Arrive at Little Rock (b) (c) (d); Harris is ill and stays at Little Rock (d); Captain Jacob Brown takes charge; he stations the group one-quarter mile below Little Rock to wait for the water level to rise (c) May 5, 1836 (b) (c) (d).
- Ascend the Arkansas River under Lieutenant George G. Meade May 7, 1832 (c) (d).
- Disembark at McLean's Bottom below Fort Smith due to low water levels May 9, 1836 (d).
- Lieutenant Jefferson Van Horne arrives at the camp and takes charge May 13, 1836 (d).
- Depart McLean's Bottom, traveling overland on bad roads (d).
- Travel 4 miles May 14, 1836 (d).
- Travel 6 miles May 15, 1836 (d).
- Travel 10 miles; enter a prairie May 18, 1836 (d).
- Travel 10 miles; reach the Vache Grasse Creek (15 miles southeast of Fort Smith) May 20, 1836 (d).
- Travel 5 miles; stop at Barlins' May 21, 1836 (d).
- Arrive at Fort Smith May, 1836 (d).
- Travel 10 miles; reach the Poteau River and go across (d) May 22, 1836 (c).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson (d) (b) May 23, 1836 (d).

A small Seminole family of eight passed Little Rock on June 1, 1836. They were led by Mr. Sheffield, who was acting superintendent for the removal of the Seminoles. The family was originally assigned to Holata Imathla's party (above) but had missed the boat at Tampa Bay while they were out fishing (Paige et al. 2003). In the summer of 1836, a group of Seminoles that had agreed to leave Florida voluntarily began arriving in Indian Territory (Agnew 1980). Ninety Black Seminoles were taken by Jesup's command during the winter of 1836–1837. They were shipped to New Orleans on June 2, 1837 (Covington 1993).

1838

Two years after the 1836 emigration the next group of Seminoles arrived in Indian Territory (Agnew 1980). In 1838 many Seminoles were captured by the United States Military and were transported by water to New Orleans. Here they were held in the barracks at Fort Pike to await transportation to the West. By May 1, 1838, 1000 Seminoles, one-third of whom were Black Seminoles, had arrived. On May 14, 1838, Lieutenant John G. Reynolds reached New Orleans with about 160 more people.

A dispute arose between the Indians and the whites as to the ownership of the Black Seminoles. The Seminole Indians were forced to sail from New Orleans, leaving the Black Seminoles behind. The dispute was finally settled in the Seminoles' favor, and Nathaniel Collins brought them up the Mississippi River by boat following the rest of the Seminoles. Collins' party arrived at Little Rock on June 9, 1838 and reached Fort Gibson on June 12, 1838 (Agnew 1980; Foreman 1932).

The Seminole Indians left New Orleans on the *Renown*, which departed May 19 (Foreman 1932; Littlefield, Jr. 1977), and the *South Alabama*, which departed May 22 (Foreman 1932). The *Renown* carried 453 passengers and was conducted by G. Y. Adde with the assistance of Dr. S. S. Simmons. The *South*

Alabama held 674 passengers, including 249 slaves and chiefs Micanopy, Coa Hadjo, and Philip; Reynolds was the conductor and had the assistance of Lieutenant Terret and Dr. James Simmons (Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003).

- Ascend the Mississippi River May 19–22, 1838 (d) (i).

South Alabama party:

- *South Alabama* reaches Vicksburg May 26, 1838 (c).
- Enter the Arkansas River (f).
- *South Alabama* arrives at Little Rock; passengers transfer to lighter craft, the *Liverpool* and the *Itasca* (d) (i) June 1, 1838 (i).
- Depart Little Rock June 4, 1838 (i).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson without incident (c) (i).

Renown party:

- *Renown* arrives at Little Rock (c) (f) (i) May 26, 1838 (c) (i).
- *Renown* arrives at Ft. Gibson (f) (i) June 12, 1838 (f).

A party of 117 Seminoles and two Black Seminoles (Foreman 1932; Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003) departed Charleston, Florida and arrived at New Orleans on May 28, 1838 (Foreman 1832; Paige et al. 2003). The group's interpreter was named Samuel (Littlefield, Jr. 1977). They departed New Orleans on the steamer *Ozark* and ascended the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

- Capsize on the Arkansas River just below Pine Bluff; transfer to the steamer *Mt. Pleasant* (c) (i).
- Continue to ascend the Arkansas River (c) (i).
- Arrive at Little Rock June 11, 1838 (c) (i).
- Transfer to the steamer *Fox* and depart Little Rock (c) (i) June 13, 1838 (i).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson (f) (i) June 19, 1838 (f).

Another party of Black Seminoles, numbering 33, had been detained in New Orleans due to the attempt of some white people to claim them as slaves. The Black Seminoles were finally allowed to leave. They departed up the Mississippi River and were conducted by J. B. Benjamin (Paige et al. 2003).

- Ascend the Mississippi River from New Orleans and enter the Arkansas River (i).
- Arrive at Little Rock somewhere between July 7 and July 10, 1838 (i); board the steamer *Tecumseh* with Whiteley's party of Cherokees (i).
- Continue to ascend the Arkansas River (i).
- Arrive at Lewisburg and become stranded due to low water (i); remain until July 18, 1838 (i).
- Continue overland to Fort Gibson (i).

On July 11, 1838, 66–67 Seminoles, including Alligator and his family and one Black Seminole, departed New Orleans (Foreman 1932; Littlefield, Jr. 1977). They were conducted by Lieutenant John G. Reynolds (Foreman 1932; Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003). A slave was brought along as an interpreter (Littlefield, Jr. 1977). Paige et al. (2003) refer to this group as Halpata Hadjo's (Alligator's) Party.

- Depart New Orleans by boat (c) (f) (i); travel aboard the *Itasca* (i) July 11, 1838 (c) (f) (i).
- Enter the Arkansas River (c) (f).
- Arrive at Little Rock (c) (f) (i); delay temporarily due to low water levels; cannot find overland transportation (i) July 19, 1838 (f) (i).
- Resume journey up the Arkansas River (c) (f) (i) July 22, 1838 (c).
- Reach Clarksville; pick up some Black Seminoles who had been forced to abandon their boat due to low water levels (c) (i).
- Continue to ascend the Arkansas River (i).
- Disembark at a point 2 miles below Fort Coffee (c) (f) (i) due to low water (f); disembark on the north side of the Arkansas River (f) July 27, 1838 (i); July 29, 1838 (c).
- Continue the journey overland (f) (i).
- Arrive at Fort Gibson (c) (f) (i) August 5, 1838 (f); August 6, 1838 (i).

A party of 250 Seminoles departed Pensacola, Florida on November 29, 1838. The group consisted of the

few remaining members of the Apalachicola Tribe and 34 Muscogees from Dog Island (Paige et al. 2003). They were conducted by Major Daniel Boyd (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). The group left Florida on the steamers *Vesper* and *Octavia* and arrived at New Orleans November 2, 1838. Here they transferred to the *Rodney* and started up the Mississippi River (Foreman 1932).

- Ascend the Mississippi River on the *Rodney* (c) (i).
- Arrive at Montgomery's Point on the White River (c); wait here for the water level to rise on the Arkansas River (c).
- Arrive at Little Rock (c) (i) November 22, 1838 (c); transfer to the steamer *North St. Louis* (c) (i).
- Depart Little Rock (c) (i) December 23, 1838 (i).
- Run aground below Cadron (i); run aground 50 miles up the Arkansas River (c).
- Leave overland for Indian Territory from Cadron (c) (i).

Many other Seminole parties left New Orleans in 1838. A party consisting of 305 Seminoles and 30 Black Seminoles moved to Indian Territory under charge of Captain Pitcairn Morrison. They arrived at New Orleans on June, 14, 1838 where they boarded the *Livingston* and ascended the Mississippi River. They passed Little Rock June 23, 1838 and arrived at Fort Gibson June 28, 1838 (Foreman 1932; Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003). On October 28, 1838, the entire group of Apalachicola Seminoles and a small number of Creeks departed Florida for the West on one steamer and two schooners (Covington 1993). Thirty-one Seminoles and two slaves left Florida in November 1838 and arrived in Fort Gibson February 13, 1839 (Lemke 1957).

1839

General Taylor conducted 96 Seminoles to Tampa Bay on February 25, 1839. They were then brought west by Captain Pitcairn Morrison. The party ascended the Mississippi River, stopping at Fort Jackson, Louisiana to switch to the *Buckeye* (Paige et al. 2003). They passed Natchez on March 28, 1839, where a boiler on the steamer exploded and killed a number of passengers (Foreman 1932). The party arrived at Little Rock on April 2, 1839 (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003), where they were delayed by low water levels (Foreman 1932). They arrived at Fort Gibson April 13, 1839 (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

Another 1839 removal party consisting of 48 Seminoles departed St. Augustine aboard a schooner conducted by Lieutenant B. Board. They reached New Orleans on November 28, 1839. Here they boarded the steamer *Orleans*. They passed Little Rock in mid-December. Because the Arkansas River was so low, the boat could go no higher than Fort Smith. Here Lieutenant Board put the Seminoles in the charge of Arnold Harris. The water levels rose a few days later, and they continued upriver and arrived at Fort Gibson December 23, 1839 (Paige et al. 2003).

1840

Several more Seminole parties left Florida for Indian Territory in 1840. On March 21, 220 captive Tallahassee Indians embarked from Tampa Bay and reached New Orleans on April 4. They ascended the Mississippi River on the steamer *President* under charge of Major William B. Belknap. On April 19 they landed on the Arkansas River opposite the mouth of the Grand River in Indian Territory (Foreman 1942).

On April 13, 1840, a party of 205 Seminoles, including several Black Seminoles, left Florida. The group's interpreter was named Abraham (Littlefield, Jr. 1977). Another party, conducted by disbursing agent L. E. Capers, left Florida on May 7, 1840 and reached New Orleans six days later. They departed May 16 on the *John Jay* under charge of Captain H. McKavett and arrived at the Choctaw Agency June 13, 1840 (Foreman 1832).

A delegation of 14 Seminoles, who had already arrived in Indian Territory, returned to Florida to convince more Seminoles to remove. They traveled under Captain John Page and took two interpreters (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003). Two of the Seminoles were chiefs Hohahtochee and Nocoseohola (Foreman 1932). The party left Fort Gibson on October 1, 1840 and descended the Arkansas and

Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. From there they traveled to Tampa Bay, arriving on November 7, 1840 (Foreman 1932; Paige et al. 2003).

1841

In late March, 1841 a party of 221 Tallahassee Indians left Tampa Bay, arriving at New Orleans on March 29. Here they boarded the steamer *President* and departed up the Mississippi River on April 4. They were under charge of Major William G. Belknap, Lieutenant John T. Sprague, and Dr. Barnes. The group included the band of Echo Imathla and his subchiefs. They passed Little Rock April 10 or 11 and reached Fort Gibson on April 19, 1841 (Paige et al. 2003).

Also in late March a group of 205 Seminoles and seven Black Seminoles left Florida conducted by LeGrande G. Capers. They landed at Fort Gibson on June 13, 1841 (Littlefield, Jr. 1977).

In early June, 1841 Wildcat and his men traveled by boat to New Orleans. They were sent back to Florida to help induce other Seminoles to surrender. On October 11, about 200 Seminoles, including Wildcat, left Florida (Covington 1993; Paige et al. 2003). The party rode on the steamer *Laurence Copeland* to New Orleans, where they switched to the *Little Rock* and ascended the Mississippi River. They passed Little Rock in early November, 1841 and arrived at Fort Gibson November 12 (Paige et al. 2003).

A party of 206 Seminoles departed Tampa Bay and arrived at New Orleans May 13, 1841 (Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003). Here they boarded the *John Jay* and descended the Mississippi River under charge of Captain Henry McKavett. They passed Little Rock June 1, 1841 (Paige et al. 2003) and arrived in Indian Territory on June 13 (Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003).

In October, 1841 a party of 200 left Tampa Bay and arrived at Fort Gibson in November 1841. The party included 15 Black Seminoles and Billy Factor the interpreter (Littlefield, Jr. 1977). In early November, 1841, 207 Seminoles passed Little Rock on the steamer *Little Rock*. They reached Fort Gibson two months later. They had been detained at Little Rock due to low water levels on the Arkansas River (Foreman 1932).

1842

In the fall and winter of 1841, about 300 Seminoles and their slaves were rounded up and gathered at Tampa Bay. Here they boarded the steamer *Laurence Copeland* and traveled to New Orleans in the spring of 1842. At New Orleans they boarded the steamer *President* and ascended the Mississippi River under the charge of Captain T. L. Alexander (McReynolds 1957).

- Ascend the Mississippi River, Spring 1842 (g).
- Enter the Arkansas River (g).
- Land at a point 60 miles below Little Rock to wait for the water level to rise (g).
- Arrive at Webber's Falls in Indian Territory June 1, 1842 (g) .

More Seminoles were captured during 1842. In April, a party of 102 left Tampa Bay under the charge of Second Lieutenant E. R. S. Canby. They left New Orleans on July 21/22, 1842 on the steamer *J. B. Swan* (AHPP, SRBM 2003c; Foreman 1932, 1934; Paige et al. 2003; Welsh 1976). Gopher John (John Coheia) was with this group (Littlefield, Jr. 1977; Paige et al. 2003).

- Ascend the Mississippi River on the *J. B. Swan* July 22, 1842 (c) (d) (f) (g) (i).
- Enter the Arkansas River; water is very low (c) (d) (f) (g) (i).
- Run aground 6 miles below Little Rock and disembark (c) (d) (f) (g) (i); ground at La Fourche Bar; are delayed here for a week (d); ground at the Barraque's Bar (d).
- Arrive at Little Rock (d) (i) early August, 1842 (i).
- Depart overland (d) (f) (g) (i); travel overland from Little Rock by way of Fort Smith (c) (d) (g) (i); follow the military road from Little Rock to Fort Smith (d).
- Arrive at Fort Smith (d) (g) August 25, 1842 (d).
- Cross the Arkansas River by ferry at Norristown (g).

- Reach Indian Territory (c) (d) (f) (i) September 6, 1842 (c) (d) (f) (i); August 26, 1842 (g).

In February, 1842, under the charge of Capt. T. L. Alexander, 220 Seminoles were escorted to Indian Territory. They went by boat from Tampa Bay to New Orleans. In New Orleans, they camped for nine weeks while waiting for additional Seminole emigrants to arrive (Foreman 1934; Paige et al. 2003). They were joined by a group of 94 Seminoles who had left Tampa Bay April 10, 1842 (Paige et al. 2003).

From New Orleans, they all set sail aboard the steamer *President*. They traveled up the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers. Due to very low water on the Arkansas River, they were stranded about 60 miles above Little Rock. After camping here for several weeks, the water finally rose and they went on to Webbers Falls, arriving June 1 (Foreman 1934).

1843

Pascofa and his followers, who were Creeks that had fled from Alabama to Florida in 1836, surrendered in November, 1842 (Welsh 1976). In January or February (Foreman 1932, 1934) of 1843, Pascofa's band of 350 embarked from Tampa Bay on the steamer *William Gaston* under the charge of Lieutenant Henry McKavett. They arrived in New Orleans in February and left on March 4, 1843 (Foreman 1932, 1934; Paige et al. 2003). They took the steamer *Lucy Walker* and were conducted by Captain H. M. McKavett (Paige et al. 2003).

- Travel up the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers by boat (c) (d) (i).
- Arrive at Little Rock (c) (d) (i); delay here due to low water (c) (d) March 11, 1843 (c) (d) (i).
- Continue to ascend the Arkansas River (c) (d) (i); encamp on the riverbank 20 miles below Fort Smith one month later (i).
- Land on the south bank of the Arkansas River opposite the mouth of the Illinois River (c) (d); remain at nearby Webber's Falls while awaiting transportation; travel the rest of the way by wagon April 26, 1843 (d).

1856-1857

According to Foreman (1932), 165 "hostiles" sailed from Fort Myers, Florida to New Orleans in 1856. From there they ascended the Mississippi River aboard the steamer *Quapaw*. Foreman later wrote (1948) about a delegation of 40 Seminoles and six Creeks who traveled in the winter of 1856 from Indian Territory to Florida to locate more Seminoles. After spending weeks looking for them, 156 Seminoles were gathered and convinced to move. The party left Fort Myers on May 4, 1857 for New Orleans (Foreman 1948). Foreman might possibly have been referring to the same group in both places, as evidenced by the dates below being exactly one year apart and the number of Seminoles seemingly transposed.

- Ascend the Mississippi River by boat (c) (e).
- Ascend the Arkansas River by boat (c) (e).
- Arrive at Fort Smith (c) (e) May 28, 1856 (c); May 28, 1857 (e).
- Proceed overland from Fort Smith in charge of Rutherford (c).
- Arrive at the Seminole Agency June 16, 1856 (c); June 16, 1857 (e).

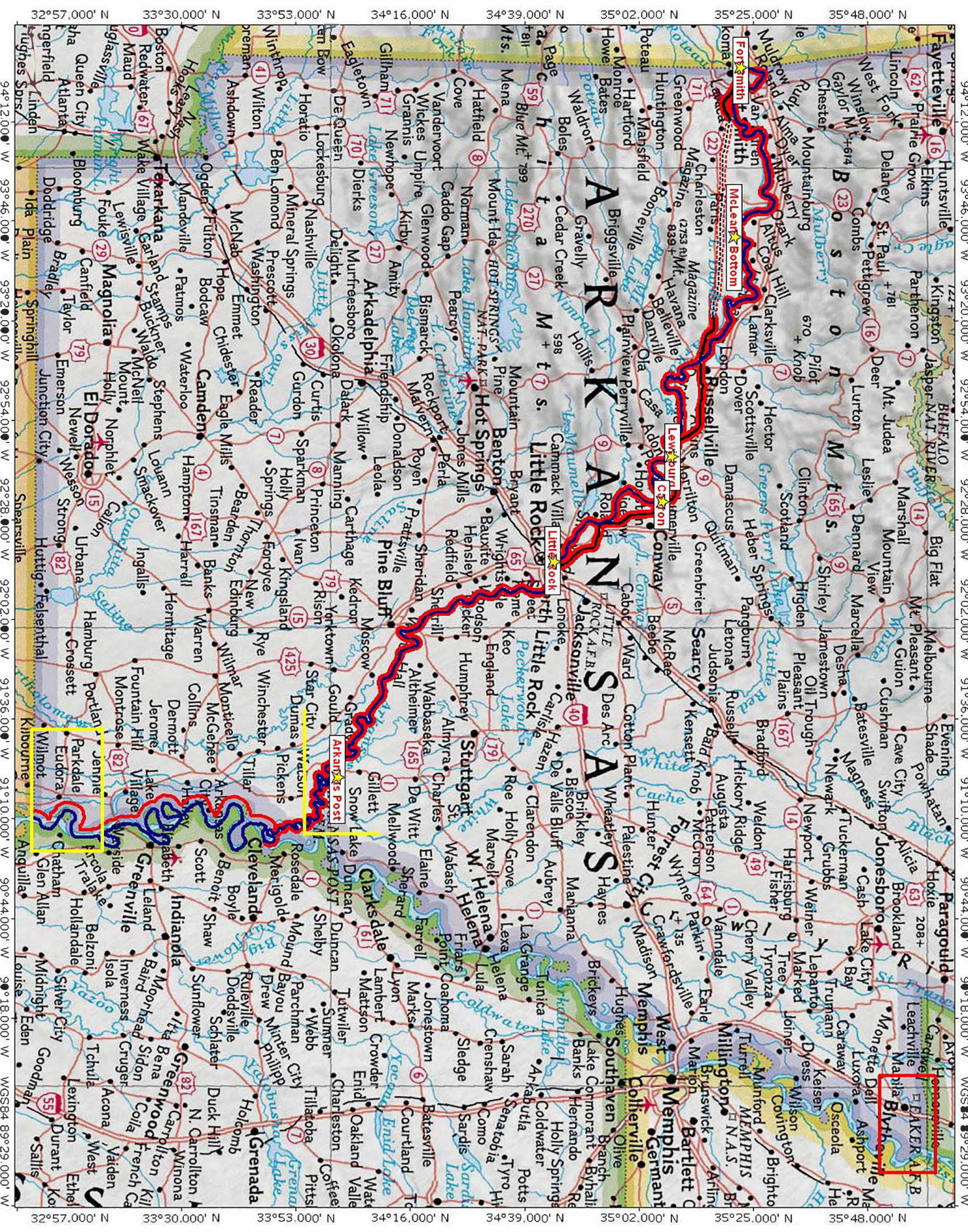
1858

In 1858, Billy Bowlegs and about 160 of his people agreed to move West (Garbarino 1989; Paige et al. 2003). They left Florida on the steamer *Grey Cloud* and arrived in New Orleans where they spent a week. They transferred to the *Quapaw* and arrived at Fort Smith May 28, 1858 (Paige et al. 2003). In December 1858, Billy Bowlegs returned to Florida and persuaded 75 more Seminoles to move. They departed for New Orleans February 15, 1859, and arrived in Indian Territory by early March, 1859. This was the last removal from Florida under the provisions of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (Paige et al. 2003).

Seminole: Keyed Sources

(AHPP = Arkansas Historic Preservation Program)

- (a) AHPP, State Review Board Meeting
2003 Military Road – Cadron Segment. 3 December:145.
- (b) Covington, James W.
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- (f) Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr.
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- (g) McReynolds, Edwin C.
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Appendix A. The Indian Removal Act of 1830

U. S. Government, 21st Congress, 2nd Session

CHAP. CXLVIII. — *An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from every other.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the states or territories and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the states or territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the state within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claims thereto.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and, if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same; Provided always, That such lands shall revert to the United States if the Indians become extinct or abandon the same.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And upon the payment of such valuation, the improvements so valued and paid for, shall pass to the United States and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this Act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and assistance to be furnished to the emigrants as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to, and settle in, the country for which they may have exchanged; and also, to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.

Section 6. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe or nation to be protected, at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.

Section 7. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this Act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence:

Provided, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

Section 8. And be it further enacted, That for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Act, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Source: <http://www.thebearbyte.com/NAResource/RemoveAct.htm>

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ARKANSAS HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM

Trail of Tears: Native American Removal Routes in Arkansas (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole)

By the Staff of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program

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