The Origin and Development of the Redbird Smith Movement - Part I

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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REDBIRD SMITH MOVEMENT

by

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis was originally planned to include a detailed study of a nativistic movement, about 1900, among the full-blooded Oklahoma Cherokees. The field work was started on the assumption that this movement was a Messianic one led by Redbird Smith which encompassed approximately a six-year period.

The problem was formulated as the determination of specific events during this short period, but after the beginning of field work, it was found that the Redbird Smith movement was far more complex than had been supposed. Because of lack of any basic field work in the area, and because of unreliable information given by an informant in previous years, this oversimplified conception had been formulated.

Even initial work in the field showed the beginning of the movement to have been not a Messianic uprising at a particular time, but the culmination of a long series of events. Also, the development of the movement itself was found to cover not just a six, but at least a twenty-year period of culture history.

Furthermore, the author had been under the impression that the movement, which called for the reconstruction of earlier Cherokee culture, was accomplished by old Cherokees who had lived in the earlier period. However, this was not so.
The reconstruction was much more complex than this—as will be shown below.

In view of these facts, the approach to the problem was altered. It was felt, as field work progressed, that it would be possible to slant the work toward an explanation of the social conditions that gave rise to the movement and the motivating forces of the people concerned in the movement. The thesis, therefore, is focused on such analysis and to that extent goes beyond a descriptive chronological account.

Much time was given, nevertheless, to the actual details and chronological sequence of this period. Also, I felt that, in the reconstruction of this time period, reference to specific events could be carried only so far. I felt that I would, in another month of interviewing, reach a point of diminishing returns with my informants.

After doing the basic field work, a need was felt for some sketch of Cherokee culture history before the time in question, in order to establish exactly how the Cherokee reached the point where such an almost complete cultural revival could take place. Therefore, the first part of this monograph is devoted to an outline of the culture history up to the time of the movement and, in order to determine what conditions gave rise to such a revival, a reconstruction of life in the Cherokee Nation in the 1890's. The outline of Cherokee culture history for purpose of this study has been kept brief, emphasizing only the points which bear on later events.
The time actually spent in the field, working on the problem was from early July until the last of October 1951. Contact with the Cherokee of the area were established in previous years, and trips had been made to Oklahoma in the summers of 1949 and 1950 in regard to the problem. The month of June, 1951 I spent working on a problem not related to my thesis around Stilwell and Lyons Switch, Oklahoma. During this period, I felt that I needed a more basic understanding of Cherokee culture in Oklahoma than I had at that point. I felt that I had fallen into the old anthropological stereotype of classing Indians into conservative and progressive groups, for example, putting the Baptist Cherokee into the progressive group, and the pagan Cherokees into the conservative group. After a month of research in Oklahoma in June in this restricted area, I felt I needed a month of seeing as much of Cherokee culture in operation in as many parts of the Cherokee area as possible.

I went to as many Indian dances, church meetings, and other community activities as I could. Even after I began intensive interviewing, I tried to continue this practice. In fact, the area around Jay, Oklahoma, which was one of the focal points of the movement, was the only area of major fullblood concentration which I felt I did not cover sufficiently.

After this month of getting acquainted, I started intensive interviewing. During the month of August, I interviewed
intensively one of my two main informants, John R. Smith, of Talequah, Oklahoma. At this time, I lived at Stilwell, Oklahoma, and drove twenty miles to Talequah. I usually spent a morning or an afternoon interviewing him. I did not live at his house because, being a personal friend, he would have wanted to "keep me for nothing," and I did not feel like imposing on his hospitality.

This month of interviewing was not too fruitful, as I was just becoming acquainted with the Redbird Smith movement and did not know how to guide the interviews. Also, John Smith is a very cautious man and will answer questions only after long periods of thought and will not elaborate very much.

The months of September and October, however, were spent with my other main informant, George R. Smith of Gore, Oklahoma. I lived at his house during this time, and this period provided the most fruitful material.

The interviewing during all this period was done in English without the aid of an interpreter. Throughout the last six weeks of that field time, my understanding of Cherokee had progressed to the point where I felt that I was getting the exact meaning from a conversation. During this time, I gathered much material from speeches at the ceremonial grounds and from conversations of my informants with their families and friends. The pagan or Nighthawks were involved in a factional dispute, and much discussion of Cherokee tradition, behavior
and values was going on.

The interviews with my two main informants were more in the form of guided interviews. It was necessary to ask John Smith more direct questions. But with all other people, the material was gathered in the form of conversations.

In the presence of my two main informants, I usually took notes. But, otherwise, the notes were written up after the questioning period. It is difficult to take extensive notes and still participate in Cherokee culture and family life.

My two main informants were John R. Smith and George R. Smith. John Smith is seventy-six years old and resides at Talequah, Oklahoma, with his two sons, one of whom is married with several children. John Smith speaks excellent English and was interpreter for the Council of the Cherokee Nation and for his father, Redbird Smith. Because he was interpreter for his father as a young man, he was intimately concerned with the Redbird Smith movement. In later years, he became prominent in the hierarchy of the Nighthawk Cherokees. In the '30's, because of a theological disagreement, he quit the Nighthawk organization and later became converted to the Peyote religion. Because of this, he is interested in proselytising for the Peyote religion among the Cherokees. Therefore, when interviewing John about things prior to his conversion, it was necessary to keep in mind that he interpreted earlier events in the light of later ones.
As to his roles in white culture, he is able to function very successfully, having been constable in Gore, Oklahoma, for many years. At the present time, he is a practicing medicine man and is considered to have an extensive knowledge of Cherokee medicine equal to anyone. He is also one of the acknowledged authorities on Cherokee tradition. He probably has a greater grasp of the real "meat" of Cherokee religious thought than any other Cherokee. He is also now accepted as the authority on the interpretation of Cherokee wampum belts.

George E. Smith, my other informant, is also a son of Redbird Smith. He was the Fire-keeper of the head Fire of the Nighthawks from its beginning in 1902, and, after 1915, was Fire-chief of the same Fire, until about 1930 when he retired. He is sixty-five years old and, at the present time, lives with his wife and one of his sons near Gore, Oklahoma.

His English is limited, but with time he is able to present a point clearly. He is very deaf, so it was necessary to check over and over the information I got from him, so that I would be sure he had not misunderstood me.

George Smith lives on his father's allotment, only about one hundred yards from the head ceremonial ground. He also is a practicing medicine man and is considered a good one. These two factors made my stay with him doubly profitable, for seeing Cherokee culture in operation. It was during these two months that my most profitable work was accomplished.
George Smith is very responsive to questions and will follow a line of thought and elaborate on it. He took an interest in the work I was doing and would go to other sources to get information for me if he did not know himself.

During these two months, using George Smith as my main informant, and having him check back with John Smith, I had a very desirable field situation. We would discuss the Redbird Smith movement sometimes all day and into the night. His sons would also enter into the discussion. I used several other informants to a lesser extent, at this time, and talked to many Cherokee in the area, too numerous to mention. Some of the main ones, however, were: Mr. White Runabout of Lyons Switch, Oklahoma, formerly of Jay; Mrs. Anna May Terrapin of Stilwell; Mrs. Sarah Hitcher of Stilwell; Alec Smith of Wauhila; Ely Pumpkin of Proctor; Mike Dreadfulwaters of Talequah; Will and George Bolin of Marble City; Levi Gritts of Muscogee; and Charlie Batt of Tucson, Arizona.

It might seem anthropologically unsound to rely so heavily on two informants. However, most of the men intimately connected with the Redbird Smith movement have died and most of the young men, at that time, were not included in the inner workings of the movement itself. George and John Smith are exceptions to this rule. John Smith was involved in it because of his ability to act as interpreter, and George Smith was a Fire-keeper at seventeen years of age.

My own role during this field work was a clearcut one,
at least to my main informants. I never disguised the fact that I was doing a "history" of the Redbird Smith movement, and that the material would be published. George Smith, without prompting from me, came to the conclusion that work of this sort would be of benefit to the younger generation.

John Smith thought I was working for the government, because of previous experience with an anthropologist in that capacity. And, except for the fact that he was a personal friend, I am sure that I would not have gotten much material from him. The Nighthawk Cherokee are very suspicious, because of previous bad contacts with outsiders, and I am sure that, although most of them like me personally, they were suspicious of my motives. The fact that I was a personal friend to my two main informants and was of Cherokee descent facilitated my work.

I had an excellent field situation and was treated with the greatest cooperation by the Cherokees I talked to. The whites in the area were more concerned, or worried, about what I was doing and understood less about the work than the Cherokees. However, I received some good material from them too.

In the transcribing of Cherokee for the purpose of this monograph, some alteration of the International Phonetic Alphabet was made for the sake of convenience.

The consonants d, b, l, r, n, s, t, v, and y stand for sounds symbolized by the same letters in common English usage.
G has the value of g as in gun, j has the value of j as in jaw, and k has the value of k as in kite. The symbol  is the voiceless l, the glottal stop, and n is the nasalized n.

The ch has the sound as in chief, the tl as in little, ts as in nuts, and wh as in what.

The vowel a has the value of the a in father, aw as in law, o as in note, i as in pin, u as in up, oo as in too, and e as in pet.

In Chapters II, III, and IV the word Cherokee will refer to the full-blood Cherokee unless otherwise stated.
CHAPTER I

CULTURE HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEE

This first chapter is concerned with a sketch of the culture history of the Cherokee. Several points should be kept in mind when reading the material. One is that the chapter is only to give the reader a general idea of the sequence of events leading up to the Redbird Smith movement and a picture of the general trends of Cherokee culture history. It is only an elaborated outline, a "sketch." Another point is that only secondary sources were available to the author. Also, only those features of Cherokee culture history which were felt significant in relation to the Redbird Smith movement were concentrated on at any length. Aspects of acculturation such as the taking over of white material culture are only mentioned while social organization is given more space in the chapter. The Redbird Smith movement involved primarily the revival of forms of social organization.

In handling the material it was felt that Linton's concept of the contact continuum could be used to good advantage. First an "aboriginal" pattern is described and then the culture history is traced up through time to the period of the Redbird Smith movement. Most of the material gathered to present the

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2Linton, R. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, pp. vi-vi.
aboriginal pattern was obtained from "The Eastern Cherokees" by William H. Gilbert, Jr. Gilbert had access to the Payne-Buttrick manuscripts in the Ayer Collection of American Indian Lore in the Newberry Library of Chicago. From these manuscripts he made an excellent reconstruction of the "aboriginal" pattern of the Cherokees. These manuscripts are material collected by John Howard Payne and D. S. Buttrick in the 1820's and '30's. Gilbert's reconstruction of the "aboriginal" pattern is a condensation of these manuscripts. The "aboriginal" pattern presented in this chapter is a condensation of Gilbert's reconstruction, in other words, a condensation of a condensation.

Most of the information in the manuscripts was collected by D. S. Buttrick. Buttrick was one of the early missionaries in the Cherokee area. He undertook a study of Cherokee lore in the 1820's and '30's. He had the cooperation of the Cherokee authorities in pursuing his research. Chief John Ross took time from national affairs to introduce him to "wise and ancient chiefs of the Nation."\(^1\) Setting the time of this "aboriginal" pattern in the early manhood of his oldest informants would put it in the neighborhood of 1760.

At this period the Cherokee were living in sixty-four towns in villages in the present area of eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northwestern South Carolina. This is a region of mountains with arable land along the river courses. The towns consisted of clusters of houses along the river.

\(^1\)Starkey, M. L. The Cherokee Nation, pp. 224-225.
valley. The whole town cultivated one large field. Within this field individual family plots were marked off by ridges of earth, stone, or posts. The people of a town all worked in a unit, working from one end of the town field to the other. The main crops grown were melons, maize, beans, tobacco, peas, cabbages, potatoes, and pumpkins. One man was selected to manage the communal work. A settlement or town was made up of near relatives, close relatives settling together.

Each of the towns was organized along the same lines. There was a set of officials which were the civil and religious government, the White organization. And another set which functioned during war. There was a principal town or capital town whose officials served as the government for the whole tribe.

These were as follows:

The White Organization

1. The chief of the tribe or 'high priest', who is variously called uku, oolah, and other ceremonial titles.
2. The chief's right-hand man.
3. Seven prime counselors representing the seven clans.
4. The council of elders or 'beloved men'.
5. Chief speaker.
7. Under officers for particular ceremonies such as 7 hunters, 7 cooks, 7 overseers for each festival, 7 firemakers for the new fire, jowah hymn singer, 7 cleaners, and the attendants at the Ooehah Dance."

The Red Organization

"1. Great Red War Chief, or Captain (Shayagustu Egwo) or 'High Priest of the War', who was sometimes called 'The Raven' as he scouted forward when the army was on the march and wore a raven skin about his neck.
2. Great War Chief's Second, or Right-Hand Man.
3. Seven War Counselors to order the war.
4. Pretty Women (War Women) or honorable matrons to judge the fate of captives and conduct of war.
5. Chief War Speaker, or 'Skatiloski'.
6. A Flag Warrior, or 'Katata kanehi', to carry the banner.
7. A Chief Surgeon, or 'Kunikuti', with three assistants.
8. Messengers.
9. Three War Scouts or titled men:
a. The Wolf wore a wolf skin about his neck and scouted to the right of the army when on the march.
b. The Owl who wore an owl skin around his neck and scouted to the left of the army when on the march.
c. The Fox who wore a fox skin about his neck and scouted in the rear of the army when on the march.
10. Sometimes a special War Priest was appointed to take over the divinatory and other religious functions of the Great War Chief.
11. There were a great number of under officers such as drummers, cooks, certain special priests who had killed an enemy were called osi tahibi and alone superintended the building of sweat houses."

Each of the larger towns of the Cherokee had a corresponding organization except those listed under number 7 in the list of officials of the white organization. This was because most of the ceremonies were held at the capital town and not on the local level. The ooshah probably corresponds to the modern Cherokee word for chief, noo-gu'n-wi-yoo. His office was more

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1Ibid., pp. 348, 349.
generally hereditary than elective. It was passed from uncle to sister's son and stayed in a particular clan. The white chief of the capital town was the chief of the nation. When he died the right hand man consulted with the seven counselors and appointed a time for the selection of a successor. The white chiefs of the other towns were informed and they assembled in the capital at the appointed time and selected a successor. His successor was inaugurated with a complex ritual.

The seven prime counselors held office as advisers to the chief and their offices were probably also hereditary.

The beloved men were old distinguished men who wielded considerable influence with the people.

In each of the larger towns there was this same group of white officials conducted into office in a like manner.

The national council met before the Green Corn Festival and consisted of the white chief of the capital town and his attendants with the white chiefs of the various towns and their attendants.

Besides operating on the national level the town chiefs and their attendants acted as civil tribunals in their respective towns and tried public offenders. Small villages which had no such large organization went to the closest town with such an organization.

For murder and private injuries the law of blood revenge was adhered to. The clan of the injured party exacted satis-
faction by inflicting a like hurt on the offender or a member of his clan or by demanding a payment of goods or like tribute. An offender could flee to one of the four white towns of the tribe where no blood could be shed. He could, also, seek the protection of the white chief and be adjudged guilty or innocent by him and his court.

Besides these political and judicial duties, the white officials acted as priest and directors of the tribal ceremonies. These ceremonies were held in the capital town.

"1. The first new moon of spring - This was celebrated when the grass began to grow and had no special title. The present-day Corn Dance, called adanwisi, or "they are going to plant" (Tontomisas Dance of Mooney), may be descended from this rite of March.

2. The Preliminary Green Corn Feast - This is entitled 'kah-lockstiknuxmubstuh' in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered selu tsunistigistiyl or 'roasting ear's time', by present-day informants. It was held in August when the young corn first became fit to taste.

3. The Green Corn Feast - This is called tungnebkaahooghni in the Payne manuscripts and is rendered donacchumini by present-day informants. The ripe or mature Green Corn Feast succeeded the Preliminary Green Corn Feast of August in about 40 or 50 days in the middle or latter September when the corn had become hard or perfect and is still held today.

4. The Great New Moon Feast - This is called nungtahtay-quech in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered nuwati eguva, or 'big medicine', by present-day informants. This festival was held at the first new moon of autumn in October when the leaves had begun to fall into the waters of the rivers and impart their curative powers to the latter. This was identical with the medicine dance of later times.

5. The Centennial or Reconciliation Festival - This is called ahtawwhungnah by Payne and is rendered aahuma, or 'woman gathering wood', by present-day informants after the dance of that name. This festival succeeded the preceding one after a lapse of 10 days at the end of October and was concerned with the making of new fire.
6. The Exalting or Bounding Bush Feast - This is called elahvuela layko in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered aliustadeyi, or 'pigeon dance!', by present-day informants. This festival occurred in December and was characterized by the use of spruce or pine boughs.  

It is not within the scope of this thesis to go into a detailed account of the ceremonies. Anyone wishing to do so can consult Gilbert's excellent account. There are several elements which the ceremonies have in common—the feeding of the fire either deer’s tongue, old tobacco leaves or flowers; the new fire ceremony at the first and fifth ceremony; building the fire with seven selected woods; ceremonial hunts; fasting; divinations by the priests; feasting; all night dancing; and the ceremony of "going to water" in several of the ceremonies. This last consists of the populace facing the river while the priest says an appropriate ritualized prayer and then everyone plunging into the water seven times. Some of these ceremonies deviated from the general pattern. At the preliminary Green Corn Feast seven ears of new corn was fed to the fire and at the Exalting or Bounding Bush Feast the populace fed the fire pine needles and old tobacco crushed together. These ceremonies dealt with two main problems—food and health.

The food problem was dealt with in the first three festivals. However, information from other sources indicates that the Preliminary Green Corn Feast dealt with both health and

\[\text{Ibid., p. 27.}\]
food, as a medicine was taken at this time to nullify any effects the eating of the new corn might have.\textsuperscript{1}

The problem of physical health was dealt with in the Great New Moon Feast of Autumn while the Cementation Festival with its swearing of friendship, the making of new fire, and changing of clothes, was primarily for the social health of the group. It overcame the enmities with the group and renewed the life of the tribe with the new fire.

Besides these major annual ceremonies there was a monthly ceremony at each new moon of "going to the water." Every seven years there was, also, a sacred thanksgiving dance by the Gokah. There were also rites when needed for rain, too abundant rain, and warm and cold weather.

Closely connected with the ceremonies mentioned was the rite of the ball play. However, the priests had little to do with the ceremonies connected with the game. This game was played between towns. There were twelve players on a side. They carried a racquet or "ball stick" in each hand. The ball was about the size of a walnut, of squirrel hide with deer hair stuffing. The ball was pitched up in the center and there were goals at each end of the field. The game was won when one side had made twelve scores. An all night "ball-play" dance preceded the game with ceremonial "going to water."

Each team had their own dance. Each team was accompanied by a conjuror who tried to assure success for the team by conjura-

\textsuperscript{1}Speck, F. G. and Brooker, L. Cherokee Dance and Drama, p. 53.
tions. Numerous taboos were prescribed for the players before a ball game. This game is closely allied to war and is called "little war" in Cherokee and is probably the reason the priests had little to do with these ceremonies.

All of the preceding ceremonies, except those connected with the ball play, were held in the town house, a large seven-sided rotunda, or in the sacred square in front of the rotunda.

The priest also officiated at the individual crisis rites. There were three main crisis rites—birth, marriage, and death. They will be discussed in more detail than the ceremonies so that they can be compared with the crisis rites later reconstructed in the Redbird Smith movement.

"The mother had little difficulty in child birth. She was generally assisted by the grandmother and mother, no men being allowed present except the priest. If the child fell on its breast it was a bad omen, if it fell on its head it was a good omen. If the omen was bad the child was thrown into the creek and fished out when the cloth over its head had become disengaged. The child was warned over the fire after birth or held before it, and a prayer made to that element. Children were bathed at birth and every morning for two years. On the fourth or seventh day after birth, the child was bathed in the river by the priest, who prayed it might have long life. The parents were excessively indulgent with their children, and the latter had great affection for their elders. They were named at the sixth or seventh day."\(^1\)

As a boy grew up he might be singled out for special education either as a professional hunter or initiated into the priesthood. The priesthood was to some extent hereditary but there was leeway in selecting candidates. A priest took over the training of the boy, teaching him the different taboos and

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 339.
lore of the priesthood. Usually the training started when the boy was about nine years old. A priest could tutor as many as seven boys. To train a professional hunter the youth was secluded for four years while he received this special knowledge from certain priests.

Different accounts are given by different authors on the marriage ceremony. Most of these accounts indicate very little ritual connected with marriage. But Buttrick indicates that the priest was called upon to divine the course of the marriage and if the omens were bad, the marriage was forbidden. The only account of a marriage ceremony is given by Washburn, a missionary among the Cherokees in Arkansas at about the same time Buttrick was in the east.

"The marriage preliminaries were settled by the mother and one of her brothers on each side, according to Washburn (1869, p. 206 ff.). Generally there existed a previous attachment between the parties but very often the bride and groom were not consulted at all. The whole town convened. The groom feasted with his male comrades in a lodge a little way from the council house. The bride and her companions feasted a little way from the council house on the opposite side. The old men took the higher seats on one side of the council house and the old women took the higher seats on the opposite side. Then came the married men below the old men and the married women below the old women. At a signal the groom was escorted to one end of the open space in the center and the bride likewise at the opposite end. The groom received from his mother a leg of venison and a blanket and the bride received from her mother an ear of corn and a blanket. Then the couple met in the center and the groom presented his venison and the bride her corn and the blankets were united. Thus the ceremony symbolized the respective functions of the man and woman in the Cherokee household. They then walked silently to their cabin. Divorce was called 'the dividing of the blankets.'"  

1Ibid., p. 339.
In case of a separation the possessions were divided and the children were cared for by the mother, probably by her lineage. Adultery was severely punished particularly in the case of the woman. Cherokee society was based on the seven matrilineal clans and the death penalty was prescribed for marrying in the clan.

In each town there was a man appointed to bury the dead. This burial took place with very little ceremony connected with it. Most of the ritual took place in connection with cleansing the family for re-entry into society.

"The burial completed, the funeral procession returned and the man who buried the corpse entered the house alone, took out the gourds and what furniture happened to be in the house when the person died and, carrying them away, either broke up, buried, or burned them. He then took out all the old fire ashes and wood from the house and made new fire with cedar boughs and goldenrod weed for future use. He then took the family (after they had taken an emetic) to a stream where all plunged seven times, alternately facing east and west. Then putting on clean new clothes, the remained in a state of separation in a camp, being unclean for four days. A medicine was made for the family to drink and sprinkle themselves with." 1

After this they returned to the house and were sent for by the town chief. They went to council house and took their seats, everyone shook hands with them, and they were readmitted to the society.

Most of the material given on the "aboriginal" pattern so far has been concerned with the duties of white officials. They were political and judicial officials, priest and directors

1ibid., pp. 247, 258.
of the tribal ceremonies, and directors of the crisis rites. They were the most important of the two divisions, white and red. They were the real directors of Cherokee society and had ascendancy over the red organization.

The red organization functioned in time of war. It could not declare war without the consent of the nation; and the white organization made peace. The red organization only carried out the fighting. The officers of this organization were chosen by the warriors and approved by Uku and his white counselors. The Great War Captain was conducted into office at the Green Corn Feast with an elaborate ceremony. The Pretty Women mentioned in the list were old honorable women high in the council of clans who were delegated to judge the fate of captives in war.

War was a form of blood revenge in retaliation for the killing of a relative by the members of another nation. Also, probably, to get captives to replace the individuals lost in battle. The Pretty Women could take a younger captive and have him adopted into a clan or family who had lost someone in war. War was highly ritualized.

"In summary, then, war can be said to have been a ritualized recurrent event of immense importance in Cherokee society. There were three main phases, the preparation, the actual campaign, and the return. The first phase consisted in actual practical preparations of equipment and provisions as well as the divinations and magical rites of the priests. The second phase consisted of a series of stratagems and devices whereby the warriors, under the guidance of the priest and their magic, endeavored to outwit the enemy. The third phase consisted mainly in the ritual purification of the warriors for
their return to the ranks of civilians."¹

At this period in Cherokee history the curing of disease was very important. The epidemic diseases, most of which had been brought in by the whites, were cured by a variation of the Cementation Festival. For the curing of non-epidemic diseases, various charms, incantations, sacrifices, and prayers were used. These ritualized prayers constitute a great body of material and contain most of the Cherokee religious concepts. Divination was also used to see what course to follow in treating the disease.

The Cherokee pantheon was "prayed" to in these ritual prayers. The most active to take care of man here on earth was the fire. Sacrifices were made to the fire and the smoke was the messenger, carrying the request to a greater fire above. The fire of the sacrifice was part of that fire above. The original sacred fire which was kept burning perpetually was destroyed by enemies and now the fire had to be kindled on occasions of importance.

The sun and the moon were the principals over lower creation and were thought to be the creators of the world. They were prayed to, but the sun was considered the most powerful. The Thunder was also an important god prayed to. In the center of the sky at the zenith was the Great Spirit. He had created points on the earth at the cardinal directions. At the north was a blue man, in the east a red man, in the south a white man,

¹Ibid., p. 356.
and in the west a black man. They were the vice regents of
the Great Spirit and prayers were said to them in the prescribed
order. There were other sky beings. Several classes of spirits
dwelt on earth. The nanchi were among the most important and
dwelt under water and in the mountains.

A belief in transmigration of souls and haunted places
was held by the Cherokee. Knockings were done by witches and
the penalty for witchcraft was death.

There are some criticisms which can be made of this recon-
struction of the "aboriginal" pattern. Most important is that
Buttrick was undoubtedly receiving an account of an ideal pat-
tern from his informants. One gets the picture of a very
unified and centralized government. This does not hold up
under a closer examination, even for the time period of the
1760's which is probably the time for which this pattern is
supposedly valid. There are traditions of wars between towns
in the Cherokee tribe, and at different times in Cherokee
history different sections of the tribe were almost at war
with one another.¹ In the 18th century when the official
policy of the Cherokee Nation was an alliance with the English,
certain town chiefs at various times allied with the French.²
Also, a war chief supposedly could not make war without the
consent of the nation. However, individual war chiefs of

¹Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, Bureau of Ameri-
can Ethnology 19th Annual Report, p. 496.
²Brown, J. P., Old Frontiers, pp. 75, 90.
certain towns did go to war without the sanction of the national organization in 1758 and 1759. They pillaged the English frontier.\(^1\)

It is also stated that the white organization held precedence over the red organization, yet in the war with the English in 1760-61 the red organization pursued the war while the white organization was trying to arrive at a settlement. In the American Revolution the red organization would not agree to a peace with the Americans and withdrew and formed new towns, causing a factional split in the tribe.\(^2\)

There are other points which are not borne out in the light of recorded Cherokee history. For instance, there is no mention in any other document of hereditary descent of the chieftainship. Even Buttrick is not clear on this point, stating that it was more generally hereditary than elective. Perhaps he was confusing the uncle-nephew relationship found in most matrilineal societies with hereditary privileges.

Some of these points can be attacked on the basis of logic alone. Buttrick states that the ceremonies were held on the national level at the capital town. It seems improbable that twenty-thousand Cherokees congregated in one town. Also, as Echota was the capital in this period it is questionable that Cherokees came a distance of several hundred miles from present-day South Carolina to eastern Tennessee to attend ceremonies.

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 83, 90.

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 162, 163.
Probably these ceremonies were held in most of the larger towns of the Cherokee country.

The strongest criticism which can be leveled at Buttrick's data is that they do not allow for time level or for regional variation. Much of his material may be traditional information or from different time levels. There was undoubtedly much regional variation in a tribe covering this much territory and speaking three distinct dialects. However, this may not be a just charge, as Buttrick was not a trained observer in the modern tradition and his account is still one of the best accounts of a native tribe for that time and area.

There are some conflicts with other sources, but the material checks on most points. Charles Hicks, second chief of the Cherokee Nation writes, in 1818,

"The national council is composed of persons from each clan; some clans sending more, some less, according to their population, though the number is not very definitely fixed."

This statement does not check with what is known of other southeastern tribes and Buttrick's information seems to be more correct. Hicks' statement may be due to a confusion of terms. All in all Buttrick's material checks very well with other sources. Hicks' description of ceremonies, allowing for some breakdown by 1818, tallies closely with Buttrick, except that he adds a Bean Dance which is like the Preliminary Green Corn Feast.

1Walker, R. S., Torchlights to the Cherokees, p. 124.
The next step in handling Cherokee culture history is to trace out the contact continuum to the time of the Redbird Smith movement. There are four main periods of Cherokee culture history—(1) from contact to 1800; 2. from 1800-1840; 3. from 1840-1865; 4. 1865-1890.

This scheme is somewhat of a departure from Linton’s conception of the contact continuum.1 It was felt that because of the long time span of Cherokee culture history and the changing complexion of Cherokee culture the contact continuum could best be divided into these periods. The division is made on the basis of the type of contact and the results of contact.

The first period is characterized by a series of initial shocks from contact with white culture ending in a period (from 1776-1794) of social disorganization and tremendous population movement. The second period is one of great culture change after the "aboriginal" pattern had been broken down in the former period. Great changes in all aspects of Cherokee culture took place. Factionalism which was to pervade Cherokee culture up until the present was formed. This period ended with the removal of the Cherokee to the Indian Territory. The third period, although beginning with civil strife among the Cherokees, and ending with Cherokee participation in the Civil War, was characterized by the stabilization

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1Linton, R., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, pp. vi-xi.
of full-blood culture. The fourth period was one of little culture change among the full-bloods, but is a period in which the authority of the United States was impinging more and more on Cherokee autonomy and the mixed-blood faction was assuming more prominence in directing Cherokee affairs.

The Cherokee were in contact with the English before 1721, but before this date English influence hardly affected the culture. They had been allies of the English in Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 and were involved in the Yamasee uprising in 1715. However, in 1721 they made their first recorded treaty with the Crown. At this treaty a chief called Wosetatasow "was formally commissioned as supreme head of the Nation, with authority to punish all offenses, including murder, and to represent all Cherokee claims to the colonial government."¹ This step was taken at the governor of South Carolina's suggestion. It was obviously a step taken by the British to have a central authority to deal with. This was the beginning of centralized authority in the Cherokee tribe.²

In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming made a trip into the Cherokee country and formally exacted a promise of alliance with the British Crown from the Cherokee leaders.

"At Tellico he met Moytoy, whom the Cherokees had agreed to elect as their principal chief, and received from him a pledge of submission. 'It was talked among the several towns last year that they would make me chief over all,' Moytoy told him, 'but now it is what you please.'"³

¹Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 34.
³Crom, J. P., Old Frontiers, p. 43.
The British efforts to have a unified Cherokee authority were bearing fruit. After this time Echota became the capital of the Cherokee Nation. The next month Moytoy was made "Emperor," with the consent of all the head men of the various towns of the Nation, at Nequasse.\(^1\) The information gathered by Buttrick must, therefore, refer to a period after 1730.

Certain Cherokee chiefs were, also, taken to England by Cuming in order to bind the Cherokee alliance more firmly.\(^2\)

A very disastrous blow fell upon the Cherokee people in 1738 or 1739 when smallpox broke out. Nearly half the tribe was dead within a year.

"The awful mortality was due largely to the fact that as it was a new and strange disease to the Indians they had no proper remedies against it, and therefore resorted to the universal Indian panacea for 'strong' sickness of almost any kind, viz., cold plunge baths in the running stream, the worst treatment that could possibly be devised. As the pestilence spread unchecked from town to town, despair fell upon the nation. The priests, believing the visitation a penalty for the violation of the ancient ordinances, threw away their sacred paraphernalia as things which had lost their protecting power. Hundreds of warriors committed suicide on beholding their frightful disfigurement."\(^3\)

According to Adair, a trader, the priests blamed the epidemic on the adulterous practices of the young people.\(^4\) This epidemic must have had a tremendous effect on Cherokee culture as it wiped out half the tribe and the priests must have

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 43. \(^2\)Ibid., pp. 43-45.

\(^3\)Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokees*, p. 36.

lost prestige because they failed to cure the disease. In 1775 Adair wrote that for the past thirty years the Cherokee had undergone a great many changes. "The Cherokee are now a nest of apostate hornets, pay little respect to grey hairs, and have been degenerating fast from their primitive religious principles."\(^1\) Approximately thirty years before 1775 would be about the period of the great epidemic.

About twenty years later the Cherokee became involved in a war with the English, another disastrous blow to Cherokee culture. Some of the war chiefs returning from Virginia had some skirmishes with settlers. They had gone to Virginia to help the British troops fight the French. They were badly handled by the British officers and were in a bad mood. In skirmishes with Virginia settlers, several Indians were killed and on returning home they raided the frontier. The next year more Cherokees went to Virginia and were insulted and returned home. More war parties raided the frontier. A peace delegation sent by the Cherokees was held as hostages by the governor of South Carolina.\(^2\) Most of the hostages were later killed. The war began in earnest. The Cherokee defeated the first army sent against them and destroyed Fort Loudoun, a fort built by the English on the Little Tennessee river. However, the second army burned the Lower and Middle settlements of the Cherokee in North and South Carolina.\(^3\) This was the

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 64.
\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 112, 113.
first time the Cherokee had ever felt the night of an invader
and peace was soon concluded. It would seem that the war started
because of the old Cherokee law of blood revenge; but a new
type of warfare was experienced by the Cherokee, not just the
old sporadic raids of an enemy tribe in quest of revenge, but
the new European concept of warfare—to pillage and defeat a
people as thoroughly and quickly as possible.

One of the reasons given for the defeat of the Cherokee
was the fact that they had run out of ammunition. This shows
how much the Cherokee had already begun to rely on the English
for trade goods. Traders began coming into the Cherokee Nation
as early as 1690. It was these British traders who managed
to keep the Cherokee allied with the British and as a buffer
between the French Indians and the southern frontier. These
traders and their descendants were later to have much influ-
ence on Cherokee culture and history. The traders handled
the usual things of Indian trade such as guns, knives, mirrors,
blankets, etc. But no great material change had come about
in Cherokee life unless it was the use of the gun for warfare.

During this period, about 1775, a traveller, Bartram,
gives a description of the Cherokee personality.

"The Cherokees in their dispositions and manners are
grave and study; dignified and circumspect in their
department; rather slow and reserved in conversation;
yet frank, cheerful, and humane; tenacious of the
liberties and natural rights of man; secret, delib-
erate and determined in their councils; honest, just

\[\text{footnote:}\]

1 Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokees*, p. 31.
and liberal, and ready always to sacrifice every pleasure
and gratification, even their blood and life itself, to
defend their territory and maintain their rights...."1

Condensing this description and weeding out the moral
judgments one sees a slow, reserved, "easygoing," but very
nationalistic people. This description could characterize
the Cherokee today. Bartram compares the Cherokee with the
Creek. "The Muscogulges are more volatile, sprightly, and
talkative than their Northern neighbours, the Cherokee...."2

These are the characteristics which modern Cherokee informants
bring out when comparing the two tribes. A story by a modern
informant illustrates these characteristics.

"One time back in the thirties the Creeks came over to
have a ball-play. It had been a long time since we had
had a ball-play around here and lots of these young fel-
lows didn't know how to play that kind of ball. When
the game started the Cherokee boys just kind of stood
around and watched. You know how Cherokees are, they
kind of hung back. The Creeks they ran up several scores
right quick. They sure did laugh and holier. When those
Cherokee boys caught on they got right in and won that
game in a little while. Them old Creek sure got mad.
They just threw their ball sticks down and wanted to
fight right now."

This first period of Cherokee culture history culminated
in a war with the Americans which lasted eighteen years. After
a council with the Northern tribes such as the Iroquois, Shaw-
nee, Ottawa, and Delawares, the Cherokees went to war against
the Americans.3 In 1776 the Cherokee fell upon the frontier.

1Swanton, J. R., Indians of Southeastern United States,
2Ibid.
3Brown, J. P., Old Frontiers, pp. 143-146.
They were acting in the capacity of "allies" of the British and were encouraged by them. In retaliation the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia each raised armies and advanced into the Cherokee country and destroyed all the principal towns of the Cherokee Nation except Echota, the capital, which was spared.¹ The head men of the Cherokee decided to make peace with the Americans, but one faction under Dragging Canoe, a war chief, withdrew and settled his followers on the Tennessee river near the present Chattanooga. Most of his followers were from the Upper Towns on the Little Tennessee river. Although the peace party made peace for the Cherokee Nation, Dragging Canoe continued the war. During this period of intermittent warfare most of the Cherokee Nation was involved in the war. In 1779 the "hostile" towns were located further down the Tennessee as a result of being destroyed by an army under Evan Shelby Shelly of Virginia. These became known as the Lower Towns or the Chickamaugas.² Although these towns were the focal point of the hostile element or war party, most of the other towns except those on the Little Tennessee, were engaged in hostilities and were providing warriors and support for the war. This war was a series of raids and counter-raids. Nearly all of the towns of the Cherokee Nation were ravaged several times.

¹Ibid., pp. 154-159.
²Ibid., p. 175.
The effect of this war upon the Cherokee people and Cherokee culture cannot be stressed enough. The first expeditions of the four armies ravaging the Cherokee Nation was enough of a blow.

"The effect upon the Cherokee of this eruption of more than six thousand armed enemies into their territory was well nigh paralyzing. More than fifty of their towns had been burned, their orchards cut down, their fields wasted, their cattle and horses driven off, their stores of buckskins and other personal property plundered. Hundreds of their people had been killed or died of starvation and exposure, others were prisoners in the hands of the Americans and some had been sold into slavery. Those who had escaped were fugitives in the mountains, living upon acorns, chestnuts, and wild game, or were refugees with the British. From the Virginia line to the Chattahoochee the chain of destruction was complete."1

This expedition in 1776 was only one of many which took place in this war. The war finally ended in 1783 after the defeat of the northern tribes by Wayne and after the complete destruction of the Lower Towns on the Tennessee.2 The Cherokee emerged from this war with most of their hunting ground north of the Little Tennessee sold to the United States. However, they retained all of the land on which their original towns were established, except those in South Carolina and they still held the lands of northern Georgia and northwestern Alabama.

During this period there had been a tremendous shift in population. When the invasion of Cherokee soil came in 1776

1Nooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 53.

2Ibid., p. 79.
and the old Lower Towns in South Carolina were destroyed, the people moved to the headwaters of the Coosa river in Georgia and into Alabama. The migration of the war party down the Tennessee has been mentioned. Also, refugees from the Upper towns were coming into Georgia during the war and the population had shifted so that the capital town was changed from Etowah on the Little Tennessee to Ustanali on the headwaters of the Coosa River in Georgia.

At the beginning of the second period of Cherokee history the situation was ripe for some drastic changes in Cherokee culture. The movement and social disorganization in the war with the Americans had disoriented the Cherokees. Towns and kin units had been broken up.

The most noticeable feature in the second period is the inclination for peace. After the final peace with the U.S., in 1794 the Cherokee never again took up arms against the United States. Throughout the war the names of war chiefs were prominent in Cherokee history, particularly in dealing with the Americans. Even before this time there was conflict between the red and white organizations. But from 1800 the war motif disappears from Cherokee culture. War had failed to help the Cherokees and they had decided that peace with the Americans and fulfillment of treaty obligations were their only protection. The red organization had failed. Less and less is heard of the war chiefs who were very prominent in

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 54, 55.  
\(^2\)Ibid.
the preceding period. A head war chief is spoken of no more in Cherokee history. The white organization was in control. The two halves of Cherokee society which had been opposed were united, as one definite policy came into effect. There was a definite philosophy behind the white organization which was old in the history of the eastern woodlands. This was the philosophy of peace—the White Path.

This philosophy of peace being desirable over war is first seen in the origin legend of the Creek as given by a Creek chief to Oglethorpe in 1735.¹ This legend points out the striving of the Creeks for peace, and the symbolism of the white path, white hearts, are seen throughout the legend. The traditional founding of the League of the Iroquois is on this basis. The League is the Great Peace, the symbol of the League was the Great White Pine with White Roots growing out, signifying the extension of the Law or Peace. Under the Tree is the White Hat of the Law (white wampum belt).² War was only a necessary evil to extend this Peace.

This trend in Cherokee thought accelerated during the period and can be shown both in the fact that the Cherokees only resisted passively the efforts to remove them west in 1838, and that after being removed to the Indian Territory they became known among the other tribes as peacemakers.

The white officials set out to purge Cherokee society of certain undesirable elements, which were not compatible with the concept of the White Path. One of the first steps was the passage of an act in 1810 which reformed some of the bad features of the law of clan revenge. This act provided that accidental killing should not be adjudged murder and the innocent aggressor should not suffer; that if brother killed brother, although of the same clan, he should be adjudged guilty of murder; that if a man killed a horse-thief no satisfaction should be required of the offended clan. Speaking of these elements of the law of blood revenge, Ila Nadjé, speaker of the Creek national council, said, "This custom is a bad one, blood for blood, but I do not believe it came from E-say-get-tub E-mis-see (Master of Breath), but proceeded from ourselves." We then told how he worked against blood revenge in the case of accidental death. This attitude may be responsible for repeal of some of the more harsh penalties for breaking laws such as those for adultery, marriage within the clan, and witchcraft. This act which modified certain elements in the law of blood revenge was signed by the chief, Black Fox, and seven others, possibly the seven counselors from each of the clans, so it is likely that these innovations took place under the old order. The young leaders who were

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1Swanton, J. R., *Creek Social Organization and History*, p. 342.
to rise in Cherokee history and be responsible for many innovations had not come on the scene yet.

By 1800 the lands of the Cherokee had shrunk and they had lost most of their hunting ground. This called for a drastic change in Cherokee economy. The Cherokee had early begun to take on certain elements of white material culture. The gun and the horse they had adopted early in the eighteenth century. The articles sold by the traders have already been mentioned. By the time of the Revolutionary War some of them had poultry, sheep, cattle, and milch cows. Women had learned to make butter and cheese. Hogs were allowed to run wild and live off the nuts in the woods. Some Cherokees kept bees. Farmers were raising flax and cotton and women were learning how to spin and weave.

The depletion of the game called for more concentration on agriculture. The government, after the Cherokee wars, was distributing farm machinery to the Cherokee so that the land could be cultivated more extensively. The government policy was to encourage more cultivation of the soil, and several U. S. Presidents advised the Cherokee to rely more on agriculture and not depend on the fast disappearing game.

In order to carry on more extensive agriculture it was necessary to spread out from the town centers. Most of the arable land was in the river valleys and in order to take up more land it was necessary to "string out" along the river courses. The heart of the town, however, was still the log
townhouse. Many farms began to take on the appearance of the individually operated frontier American farms.\textsuperscript{1} However, most of the people still worked their farms on a cooperative basis. This spreading out of the farms no doubt weakened the old town organizational structure.

With the adoption of white material goods, economic differences began to develop in the Cherokee Nation. British traders had long been marrying into the Cherokee Nation and settling there. Those who had the money sent their sons off to school, others built school houses and brought in private teachers.\textsuperscript{2} Descendants of these traders, such as the Ross family, began moving into the broad valleys of the Coosa and establishing large plantations. Plantations began to spring up in other places. The Ridge family, although educated and raised as conservative full-bloods also began to operate large plantations. These plantations were operated by slave labor. Many of the slaves were captured in the wars with the Americans. Although the slaves were held in bondage they had more freedom than was usual in the South, and after schools were established Negro children were allowed to go to school with Cherokees. These slaves brought many American ideas into Cherokee homes.\textsuperscript{3} Also many Cherokees began running stores and inns in this period.

\textsuperscript{1}Starkey, M. L., \textit{The Cherokee Nation}, pp. 16, 17.
\textsuperscript{2}Mooney, James, \textit{Myths of the Cherokees}, p. 83.
It should be obvious from the foregoing that a process of
differential acculturation was going on in the Cherokee Nation.
Certain families were becoming more acculturated and assimilat-
ing more American goals and values than others. However, the
power was still in the hands of the old conservatives.

Besides this differential acculturation among families
regional differences were also obvious. The Cherokee of the
original settlements such as the Valley Towns, the Middle
Settlements, and what people remained in the Upper Towns were
more conservative than the people further down in Georgia.
The moving and shifting of population had tended to break
down Cherokee culture more in that area.¹

However, in the Georgia area there were differences be-
tween towns and between local areas. Some communities spoke
more English than others and some towns like Turkey Town in
Alabama were very conservative.² Although this differential
acculturation must be noted, it should also be emphasized
that the whole Cherokee Nation was adopting white material
culture and was assuming at least superficially the aspect of
frontier America.³

In 1812 came the first Cherokee reaction against accul-
turation. It was primarily concerned with material culture.
It was part of a general movement among the tribes at that

¹Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 83;
Starkey, H. L., The Cherokee Nation, pp. 27, 28; Walker, R. S.,
Torchlights to the Cherokees, pp. 191, 192.
time, being part of the dissemination of the doctrine of Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet and brother of Tecumseh.

Mooney gives an account of this movement,

"From the Creeks the new revelation was brought to the Cherokee, whose priests at once began to dream dreams and to preach a return to the old life as the only hope of the Indian race. A great medicine dance was appointed at Ustanali, the national capital, where, after the dance was over, the doctrine was publicly announced and explained by a Cherokee prophet introduced by a delegation from Coosawatee. He began by saying that some of the mountain towns had abused him and refused to receive his message, but nevertheless he must continue to bear testimony of his mission whatever might happen. The Cherokee had broken the road which had been given to their fathers at the beginning of the world. They had taken the white man's clothes and trinkets, they had beds and tables and mills; some even had books and cats. All this was bad, and because of it their gods were angry and the fate was leaving their country. If they would live and be happy as before they must put off the white man's dress, throw away his mills and looms, kill their cats, put on paint and buckskin, and be Indians again; otherwise swift destruction would come upon them.

"His speech appealed strongly to the people, who cried out in great excitement that his talk was good. Of all these present only Major Ridge, a principal chief, had the courage to stand up and oppose it, warning his hearers that such talk would inevitably lead to war with the United States, which would end in their own destruction. The maddened followers of the prophet sprang upon Ridge and would have killed him but for the interposition of friends. As it was, he was thrown down and narrowly escaped with his life, while one of his defenders was stabbed by his side.

"The prophet had threatened after a certain time to invoke a terrible storm, which should destroy all but the true believers, who were exhorted to gather for safety on one of the high peaks of the Great Smoky mountains. In full faith they abandoned their bees, their orchards, their slaves, and everything that had come to them from the white man, and took up their toilsome march for the high mountains. There they waited until the appointed day had come and passed, showing their hopes and fears to be groundless, when they sadly returned to their
homes and the great Indian revival among the Cherokees came to an end."  

In an earlier volume, Hooney gives a more elaborated account of the "end of the world" trek to the Great Smokies.

"From the venerable James Wafford, of the Cherokee Nation, the author in 1891 obtained some interesting details in regard to the excitement among the Cherokees. According to his statement, the doctrine first came to them through the Creek about 1812 or 1813. It was probably given to the Creek by Tocusha and his party on their visit to that tribe in the fall of 1811, as will be related hereafter. The Creek were taught by their prophets that the old Indian life was soon to return, when "instead of beef and bacon they would have venison, and instead of chickens they would have turkeys." Great sacred dances were inaugurated, and the people were exhorted to be ready for what was to come. From the south the movement spread to the Cherokee, and one of their priests, living in what is now upper Georgia, began to preach that on a day near at hand there would be a terrible storm, with a mighty wind and hailstones as large as hominy mortars, which would destroy from the face of the earth all but the true believers who had previously taken refuge on the highest summits of the Great Smoky mountains. Full of this belief, numbers of the tribe in Alabama and Georgia abandoned their bees, their orchards, their slaves, and everything else that might have come to them through the white man, and in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of friends who put no faith in the prediction, took up their toilsome march for the mountains of Carolina. Wafford, who was then about 10 years of age, lived with his mother and stepfather on Valley river, and vividly remembers the troops of pilgrims, with their packs on their backs, fleeing from the lower country to escape from the wrath to come. Many of them stopped at the house of his stepfather, who, being a white man, was somewhat better prepared than his neighbors to entertain travelers, and who took the opportunity to endeavor to persuade them to turn back, telling them that their hopes and fears alike were groundless. Some listened to him and returned to their homes, but others went on and climbed the mountain, where they waited until the appointed day arrived, only to find themselves disappointed. Slowly and sadly then they took up their packs once more and turned their faces  

1 Hooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 88, 89.
homeward, dreading the ridicule they were sure to meet there, but yet believing in their hearts that the glorious coming was only postponed for a time.¹

Sometime after this revival, the Creek War of 1813-1814 began and the Cherokee went to the aid of the Americans. They rendered good service in the cause of the United States.² This was not a return to prestige of the old war organization and the war motif in Cherokee culture, but was part of the new policy of peace with the United States. Modern informants describe this war in these terms: "You know them old Creeks don't like the Cherokee yet, because of when we helped out the Americans against them. The Creeks rose up and broke the Peace and we helped the white people put them down."

After the Creek war there was a very definite movement toward change in the organization of the Cherokee Nation by the Cherokee authorities. This trend revolutionized the Cherokee government and other aspects of Cherokee life. It was an effort toward controlled innovation. The Cherokee of that period were very much concerned about preserving their national heritage and their land. Chief Pathkiller said, "This grieves me so I can think of little else. If we have a little brother who is poor and does not know well how to take care of himself, I do not think it right to get away from him the little all that he has."³ This attitude is behind most

²Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 89-98.
of the innovations that came about in this period. The attitude of "getting smart as a white man," as modern informants express it, went along with the goal of preserving Cherokee autonomy. Part of a speech made by a chief to school children in this period brings out the attitude,

"I feel that much depends on you. On you depends the future welfare of your country.... You have now acquired considerable knowledge. By and by you will have more. This gives me great satisfaction. Remember the whites are near us. With them we have constant intercourse, and you must be sensible, that unless you can speak their language, read and write as they do, they will be able to cheat you and trample on your rights. Be diligent therefore in your studies and let nothing hinder you from them...."1

Those innovations which were thought helpful in resisting white domination were accepted, others were rejected. Early in this period a local chief built a wagon, but the National Council forbade the use of the vehicle. "If you have a wagon, there must be wagon roads; and if wagon roads, the whites will be amongst us."2

The innovations were introduced and passed by the young chiefs and with the approval of the older chiefs.3 The Cherokee government was tending toward centralization. Cherokee authorities were very concerned about individual chiefs signing away land without the consent of the national council. In 1805 some of the leading chiefs, in return for

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1Walker, R. S., Torchlights to the Cherokees, pp. 243, 244.
2Ibid., p. 101.
3Ibid., p. 225.
certain considerations by the government of the United States, signed away some of the Cherokee land without approval of the council. The main instigator of this treaty, Doublehead, was killed by Major Ridge on orders of the chiefs of the Nation.¹ Even so, land was signed away by chiefs who wished to remove to Arkansas in 1817. This emigration to Arkansas had been going on for several years. The emigrants were mostly from the Lower Towns on the Tennessee, the old hostile element. Many of them still liked the hunting life and emigrated to Arkansas to continue it.² Also, many of these chiefs had been powerful war chiefs and probably did not like the new trend toward centralization which curbed the authority of individual town chiefs.

One of the first major innovations in Cherokee government was the appointment of a National Committee in 1814.³ This committee consisted mostly of young chiefs like John Ross. These young educated chiefs were largely responsible for many of the innovations in government. By 1820 the numerous introductions had resulted in changing the form of organization of the Nation to a republican form of government modeled after that of the United States. The legislature was composed of the council and the committee. The Nation was divided into eight districts and elections were held. Each district had a

¹Hookey, James, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 101, 102.
²Ibid.
judge and a marshal. Companies called "light horse" were organized to enforce the law. By special decree capital punishment was taken out of the hands of the clans and vested in the courts of the Nation.¹ Through this reorganization town government was done away with. The authority for the punishment of murder was taken away from the clan. The town and the clan now functioned only ceremonially. The old chief, Path-killer, was still chief of the Cherokee Nation and John Ross was president of the National Committee. Analysis of a roster of the names of the officers in the government indicates that the officers were predominantly "full-bloods." Those having English names are very much in the minority.² This change in form and function of government was not just the work of a few educated mixed-bloods. As has been mentioned, schools were very much desired by the Cherokees and in this period schools began to flourish. The Cherokees admitted the different mission groups to provide schools. In 1801 they had admitted the Moravians. When the Moravians told the Cherokee authorities they came to preach the gospel instead of teaching children, the chiefs said, "We have no ears to hear it." To remain in the Cherokee Nation they were required to teach school primarily and preach the gospel secondarily.³ In 1816 the Cherokee authorities admitted Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists,

¹Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 106, 107.
²Walker, R. S., Torchlights to the Cherokees, pp. 114, 115.
³Ibid., pp. 29, 30.
and Presbyterians. They were admitted under the same conditions as the Moravians—they could preach whatever they wanted, but they must center on education of the children.\(^1\) Soon schools were flourishing throughout the Cherokee Nation.

While education was thus being carried on in "white man's" fashion one of the most singular events in Cherokee history happened. In 1821 an illiterate Indian named Sequoyah invented a usable "alphabet" (actually a syllabary) for the Cherokee language. He could speak no English. His impulse came from seeing writing in English. He labored for approximately eight years undergoing many hardships, and developed a basic syllabary of eighty-four characters which could be learned by the average Cherokee speaker in a matter of days.\(^2\) A great literary movement took place among the people. All over the Cherokee Nation people were teaching each other the new syllabary. Classes were conducted by people who had gone miles to learn the system and bring it back to their communities. The Cherokee authorities later published a paper in 1827 called the Cherokee Phoenix. Through this medium the Cherokee government was able to inform the people on most issues both internal and those connected with the U. S. Government. Editions of Cherokee law were also printed. The forces of unifying the people into a informed nation was begun.\(^3\)


\(^3\) *Ibid.*, pp. 64-69, 95, 97.
In addition to written material on legislative and political affairs, the Bible was also translated into Cherokee and thus Christianity gained an easier access to Cherokee culture. Also, the priests began writing down their medicine in the syllabary and keeping books filled with medicine prayers.\(^1\) This meant that no longer need the prayers be trusted to memory, but were permanently recorded, thus preserving this facet of Cherokee culture. However, it also meant that it was no longer necessary to spend years learning the lore of the priesthood. This probably weakened the priesthood as the knowledge was easier obtained. It meant that the knowledge diffused to more individuals as these books were sold or passed on after death. It also meant that there was an increase in conjuration practices and fear of conjuration as this knowledge spread to unauthorized persons. The priests could not pick who they would initiate into the priesthood. As modern informants say, "Those old men were pretty careful who they let get hold of that kind of knowledge, but nowadays lots of people have it." Although the syllabary may have weakened the priesthood Sequoysh is looked upon today as almost a culture hero by most of the full-bloods.

During this period, in 1819, the lands along the Little Tennessee drainage were sold and there were more population shifts. The people left in the Upper Towns moved into the area of the Five Lower Towns on the Tennessee, now called the

\(^{1}\)Ibid., pp. 23, 95-97.
Chickasauga District, and into the area around Willstown in Alabama. The Middle Towns people moved west into the Valley Towns area.¹

The Cherokees had perfected their government along republican lines and they decided to adopt a constitution in 1827. In the midst of these proceedings the old conservative chief, Pathkiller, died and John Ross was elected chief under the new constitution. This set off a second revolt, concerned this time with the acculturation to American republican style government. Mooney gives an account of this.

"By this time the rapid strides of civilization and Christianity had alarmed the conservative element, who saw in the new order only the evidences of apostasy and swift national decay. In 1828 White Path ( dém na-ta-ga), an influential full-blood and councilor, living at Turniptown (U'lim yî), near the present Ellijay, in Gilmer county, Georgia, headed a rebellion against the new code of laws, with all that it implied. He soon had a large band of followers, known to the whites as 'Red-sticks', a title sometimes assumed by the more war-like element among the Creeks and other southern tribes. From the townhouse of Ellijay he preached the rejection of the white man's ways, and a return to old tribal law and custom—the same doctrine that had constituted the burden of Indian revelation in the past. It was now too late, however, to reverse the wheel of progress, and under the rule of such men as Hicks and Ross the conservative opposition gradually melted away. White-path was deposed from his seat in council, but subsequently made submission and was reinstated. He was afterward one of the detachment commanders in the Removal, but died while on the march."²

Starkey also gives an account of the revolt as seen from

¹Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 109
²Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 113, 114.
the viewpoint of the missionaries.

"The Cherokee constitution had not been achieved without birth pangs. As always there was a strong reactionary element that bitterly opposed such sping of white men. To these the lip service the constitution paid Christianity was an outrage against the faith of their fathers. The death of Pathkiller and Hicks in January 1827 set off the period of ferment and protest known as 'White Path's Rebellion.'"

"This phenomenon really frightened the missionaries. They saw townhouses become the scene of passionate oratory, rum councils called to denounce the constitution, the preaching of the missionaries, the prevalence of the new soft ways, and to demand a return to old customs. It was at times almost a ghost dance. Strong leadership and an intelligent sense of direction were lacking, however, and the Cherokee leaders were undismayed. 'A noise will only end in noise', John Ross reassured the alarmed Worcester. And, indeed, a Council called to conciliate the disaffected bore quick results. The constitution was ratified without further incident on July 4, 1827."1

This constitution was only a restatement of the laws and government which had been established in 1820. It may have been a move on the part of the Cherokees to make the United States recognize them as a people worth dealing with as equals and to stop the underhanded practice of bribing chiefs to make "treaties."

While innovations were being made in government, the missionaries through educating the children were also gaining converts to Christianity. The Baptists who worked mostly in Valley Towns and conservative mountain towns of northern Georgia were to have the most influence over the full-bloods in later times. Other denominations, such as Presbyterians and Methodists worked in the more acculturated areas. Probably

the ceremonial pattern had begun to break down before the advent of the missionaries, but they surely hastened the process. In the 1810's according to an account by chief Hicks the New Moon rite of spring, the Preliminary Green Corn Feast, the Green Corn Feast, and the Ceremonation Festival were in operation.\textsuperscript{1} Some of the areas like the Chickamauga District had discontinued ceremonies at this time.\textsuperscript{2} The conservative areas still continued some of the ceremonies until the time of Removal. In the Middle Towns the Preliminary Green Corn Dance, the Green Corn Dance and the Ceremonation Festival, at least, were continued up to the time of Removal. Certain towns in the Valley Town area, a conservative area, had discontinued ceremonies by the 1820's because of Christian influence.\textsuperscript{3} Other conservative towns in Georgia still had square grounds and ceremonies.\textsuperscript{4} It seems there were two reasons for the discontinuance of ceremonies—the effects of social disorganization and the influence of the missionaries. These factors varied from area to area and town to town.

In 1830 a significant step was taken in the history of the Cherokees: the state of Georgia extended her laws over the Cherokee Nation.\textsuperscript{5} This was part of a general movement by the

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\textsuperscript{1}Walker, R. S., Torchlights to the Cherokees, pp. 124, 125.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., pp. 191, 192.
\textsuperscript{3}Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 367.
\textsuperscript{4}Walker, R. S. Torchlights to the Cherokees, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{5}Foreman, G., The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 229.
\end{flushleft}
government and the southern states to get the Indian tribes of the south to move west. The act abolished the government of the Cherokee Nation and settlers flooded the Cherokee lands. The Cherokees were without rights as Cherokee citizens or Georgia citizens. In 1832 in the case of Worcester vs. the state of Georgia, the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Georgia had no right to enter the Cherokee Nation and declared their act null and void. However, the president refused to enforce the decision of the court and made his famous remark, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."

The Cherokee Nation still refused to remove even under these intolerable conditions. In 1835 the United States signed a "treaty" with a number of Cherokee providing for the removal of the Cherokee Nation to the Indian Territory. This "treaty" was signed without the consent of the constituted authorities of the Cherokee Nation. A few individuals led by the Ridge family had taken matters into their own hands. Despite the fact the Cherokee Nation rejected this treaty the United States chose to look upon it as a binding document.

The Ridge or Treaty party, as they became known, were the most acculturated of the Cherokees. Many of its members were white men with Indian families or Cherokees with little Indian blood and very little connection with the rank and file of the full-bloods. This faction removed in 1837 to the Indian Terri-

1Starkey, E. L., The Cherokee Nation, pp. 177, 178.
2Cooney, James. Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 121-125.
tory of Western Cherokee country.\footnote{Foreman, G., The Five Civilized Tribes, p. 273.} Many Cherokees had migrated earlier to Arkansas, whence they were removed and settled in the Indian Territory. They already had a tribal government and a constitution by this period.

The rest of the Cherokees took no steps to remove. General Wool, with an army, had previously disarmed the Cherokees and in 1838 General Winfield Scott with an army of 7,000 men entered the Cherokee Nation to remove the Cherokees.\footnote{Ibid., p. 290.}

This removal was accomplished by rounding up nearly seventeen thousand Cherokees and placing them in concentration camps ready to be removed.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 299, 312.} The first parties had much sickness and mortality because of the heat. The head men of the Cherokee Nation asked to be allowed to conduct their own removal in the fall.\footnote{Ibid., p. 290.} This request was granted by General Scott. The Cherokees removed in the fall under designated leaders in contingents of about one thousand each. Most of the contingents started in the fall and arrived in the spring in the Indian Territory.

The effects of this removal cannot be stressed too strongly. Since 1830 the Cherokee had been pressured by the U. S. and Georgia to remove. The presence of Georgians in their country and the persecutions of the Indians must have
had a terrific disorganizing effect. The Cherokees were disarmed and put into concentration camps. Hundreds died in the concentration camps and hundreds more died in the removal. Altogether about four thousand died as a result of the removal, about one-fourth of the whole tribe.¹ Most of the old people and many of the young died on this trip. This meant that most of the tradition-keepers of the tribe died and much of the lore of the Cherokee was lost. A small band of conservatives hid in the mountains of North Carolina and became the Eastern Band of Cherokees who live today in that area.

This disastrous blow to Cherokee culture is summed up by Mooney:

"For many years the hunter and warrior had been giving place to the farmer and mechanic, and the forced expatriation made the change complete and final. Torn from their native streams, and mountains, their council fires extinguished and their townhouses burned behind them, and transported bodily to a far distant country where everything was new and strange, to changed surroundings. The ball-play was neglected and the green-corn dance proscribed, while the heroic tradition of farmer days became a fading memory or a tale to amuse a child. Instead of ceremonials and peace councils we hear now of railroad deals and contracts with cattle syndicates, and instead of the old warrior chiefs who made the Cherokee name a terror—Oconostota, Hanging Hawk, Doublehead, and Pathkiller—we find the destinies of the nation guided henceforth by shrewd mixed-blood politicians, bearing white men's names, speaking the white men's language, and frequently with hardly enough Indian blood to show itself in the features."²

The third period of Cherokee culture begins with the settlement of the Cherokee in the Indian Territory. No sooner

¹Foreman, G., _The Five Civilized Tribes_.

²Mooney, James, _Myths of the Cherokees_, pp. 116, 117.
had they arrived than they began to negotiate with the Old Settlers, the Cherokees who had previously removed west, in order to find some ground on which to merge the two governments. At this time parties of full-bloods went to the houses of Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot and killed them for their part in the signing of the Removal treaty.¹ The Cherokees had passed a law many years earlier which exacted the death penalty for anyone signing away Cherokee land without the consent of the national authorities. Major Ridge, himself, had drawn up the law.² And he had killed Doublehead for the treaty of 1805. It is said when he signed the Removal treaty he stated, "I am signing my own death warrant." The killing of the Ridges was done, however, without the consent of the national authorities, and carried out by private citizens. It was to set off a feud between the two factions which amounted almost to a civil war.

Finally an act of union in 1839 was effected between most of the Old Settlers and the new immigrants. A new government was set up and John Ross was elected chief.³ Some of the Old Settlers were dissatisfied and joined forces with the Treaty Party. The next six years saw a small scale war in the Cherokee Nation between the Ross faction on one side and the Treaty and Old Settlers on the other side. Killings

²Ibid., pp. 299-303.
³Ibid., p. 304.
and house burnings were frequent. The Cherokee authorities still did not recognize the "treaty" of 1835. In order to settle this dispute and satisfy the members of the other factions the government undertook a new treaty with the Cherokee Nation in 1846. This treaty satisfied the demands of all the factions and peace finally reigned.¹

In the midst of this civil war a great inter-tribal council was called by the Cherokee in 1843.² There had been earlier councils in the Indian territory. The Arkansas Cherokee or Old Settlers had participated in these councils. In 1838 they were made custodians of the wampums of this semi-alliance of eastern tribes in a council at Takatoka.³ The Greeks had also held inter-tribal councils before this. However, by this time the mass of the tribes from the east had been settled on the Indian Territory and the Council of 1843 was the culmination of the previous councils. Representatives of eighteen tribes attended, all of the eastern tribes and many of the "wilder" plains tribes. This council tried to work out some kind of adjustment for the various tribes crowded into one area and thrust up against the "wild" tribes of the plains.⁴

The council lasted four weeks and in the speeches of the Cherokee the peace motif which was now so strong in their

¹Ibid., pp. 349, 350.
²Foreman, G., Advancing the Frontier, p. 205.
³Ibid., p. 196.
⁴Ibid., p. 206.
culture was reiterated again and again. The meeting became the most important inter-tribal council held in the Indian Territory and because of their part in it the Cherokees attained great prestige among the rest of the tribes.

After this time the Cherokee took the role of peace makers at all important inter-tribal councils. They also acted as intermediaries between the U. S. government and the Plains tribes. They became known as the "Peacemakers of the Plains." Many wagon trains tried to procure Cherokee guides, knowing that the presence of a Cherokee guaranteed safe conduct through hostile territory. The Cherokee wore a distinctive hunting coat trimmed in red yarn fringe. Anyone wearing this coat was usually safe when traveling in the plains area. Prominent Cherokees, like Sequoyah, could travel through the area and always be sure of being received cordially and getting help if needed from the "wild tribes." The peace motif which had begun to dominate among the Cherokee in the early part of the century had reached its peak in the great council of 1843.

After 1846 an era of comparative peace descended on the Cherokee Nation. During this era Cherokee culture became stabilized and its major patterns changed little if at all from that time.

The differential acculturation among families had finally reached its peak in the formation of the Treaty party who were later to be called "mixed-bloods." This faction took over more and more of the American pattern with its goals and values.
The dichotomy in acculturation reached the point where there was no common ground for the two factions to meet on. It was almost like having a group of frontier Americans and Indians united under the same government. Even a Masonic lodge was organized in Tallequah in 1849.\(^1\) The mixed-bloods continued the type of life they had started in Georgia—running large plantations worked by slaves, operating farms on the American frontier pattern, or keeping stores. Most of the mixed-bloods belonged to the Treaty Party. However, the Ross family, who followed this pattern, provided leadership for the full-blood faction. As a modern informant said, "Those old full-bloods thought John Ross was a god."

Many of the full-bloods were unable to bring much of their material possessions on the Removal. When they arrived in the Cherokee Nation they had to return to an older pattern, for example, using skin clothing and pottery vessels. However, in a few years they were able to get glazed ware and began spinning and weaving.\(^2\) After the removal to the Indian Territory no town organizations were set up, no town houses were built, and no ceremonials were held. The ball-play was held sometimes\(^3\) as were all night "stomp" dances. The Baptists had become the prevailing sect among the full-bloods,\(^4\) and the

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\(^1\) Foreman, G., *The Five Civilized Tribes.*

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 283.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 368.

\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 367, 412.
Baptist church began to be the center of full-blood communities. The range of variation in the religious pattern was from the orthodox Baptist church members to those old conservatives who held on to the concepts of the old religion and what form that remained. It is probable, however, that most of the full-bloods participated in both patterns to some extent as they did in later times—going to church as well as to "stomp" dances and using the ritualized Cherokee medicine which was based on the old Cherokee religious concepts.

The Removal performed the function of making full-blood culture more uniform. No town was more conservative than another as no town had townhouses and ceremonies. Towns were broken up and families scattered throughout the Nation. Conservative Arkansas Cherokee were living in the same community with full-bloods from the more disorganized sections of Georgia.

The full-blood tended to settle in the Ozark regions of the Nation along the stream courses as they had done in the "old country." The unwieldy lineage had started to break up in the movement of the Cherokee from their original towns into Georgia. The Removal was the final blow to the lineage and clan, when the kin unit was broken up. The pioneer conditions in the Nation after the Removal began to put more reliance on the man and on his position as the economic provider of the family. Cherokee family organization was tending toward the bi-lateral extended family. By 1860 there had been a change in the kinship structure which showed the Cherokee were
placing more emphasis on the paternal side and by 1890 the Cherokee had a generational pattern of kinship organization rather than one based on the lineage.¹

It was also becoming the custom to take over English family names. In Cherokee the process was modified somewhat. An example of this is the Smith family. Redbird Smith’s father was called Little Pig in Cherokee. He was a blacksmith. His English name became Pig Smith. Smith continued to be the family name. In Cherokee, however, Redbird Smith was called Taw-joo-she Si-qua-nits, Redbird Little Pig. Redbird Smith’s son is called in English Stokes Smith. In Cherokee he is called Gau-ged Taw-joo-she, Heavy Redbird.

In 1858 there were rumblings of the approaching Civil War, and the Cherokee were caught up in the excitement. Many of the mixed-bloods were slave holders and formed secessionist organizations. In 1859 the Katoowah Society formed among the full-bloods.

"This Cherokee secret society, which has recently achieved some newspaper prominence by its championship of Cherokee autonomy, derives its name—property Kitoowa but commonly spelled Katoowah in English print—from the ancient town in the old Nation which formed the nucleus of the most conservative element of the tribe and sometimes gave a name to the Nation itself (see Kito hwa!, under Tribal Synonyms). A strong 'band of comradeship,' if not a regular society organization, appears to have existed among the warriors and leading men of the various settlements of the Kitoowa district from a remote period, so that the name is even now used in councils as indicative of

genuine Cherokee feeling in its highest patriotic form. Then, some years ago, delegates from the western Nation visited the East Cherokee to invite them to join their more prosperous brethren beyond the Mississippi, the speaker for the delegates expressed their fraternal feeling for their separated kinsmen by saying in his opening speech, 'we are all Kituhwa people' (Ani-Kituhwagi). The Kotoowah society in the Cherokee Nation west was organized shortly before the civil war by John B. Jones, son of the missionary, Evan Jones, and an adopted citizen of the Nation, as a secret society for the ostensible purpose of cultivating a national feeling among the full-bloods, in opposition to the innovating tendencies of the mixed-blood element. The real purpose was to counteract the influence of the 'Blue Lodge' and other secret secessionist organizations among the wealthier slave-holding classes, made up chiefly of mixed-bloods and whites. It extended to the Creeks, and its members in both tribes rendered good service to the Union cause throughout the war. They were frequently known as 'Pin Indians,' for a reason explained below. Since the close of the great struggle the society has distinguished itself by its determined opposition to every scheme looking to the curtailment or destruction of Cherokee national self-government.

"The following account of the society was written shortly after the close of the civil war:

'Those Cherokees who were loyal to the Union combined in a secret organization for self-protection, assuming the designation of the Kotoowah society, which name was soon merged in that of 'Pins.' The Pins were so styled because of a peculiar manner they adopted of wearing a pin. The symbol was discovered by their enemies, who applied the term in derision; but it was accepted by this loyal league, and has almost superseded the designation which its members first assumed. The Pin organization originated among the members of the Baptist congregation at Peavine, Going-snake district, in the Cherokee Nation. In a short time the society counted nearly three thousand members and had commenced proselytizing the Creeks, when the rebellion, against which it was arising, preventing its further extension, the poor Creeks having been driven into Kansas by the rebels of the Golden Circle. During the war the Pins rendered services to the Union cause in many bloody encounters, as has been acknowledged by our generals. It was distinctly an anti-slavery organization. The slave-holding Cherokees, who constitute the wealthy and more intelligent class, naturally allied themselves with the South, while loyal Cherokees became more and more
opposed to slavery. This was shown very clearly when the loyalists first met in convention, in February, 1863. They not only abolished slavery unconditionally and forever, before any slave state made a movement toward emancipation, but made any attempts at enslaving a grave misdemeanor.

"The secret signs of the Pines were a peculiar way of touching the hat as a salutation, particularly when they were too far apart for recognition in other ways. They had a peculiar mode of taking hold of the lapel of the coat, first drawing it away from the body, and then giving it a motion as though wrapping it around the heart. During the war a portion of them were forced into the rebellion, but quickly rebelled against General Cooper, who was placed over them, and when they fought against that general at Bird Creek, they wore a bit of corn-husk, split into strips, tied in their hair. In the night when two Pines met, and one asked the other, 'Who are you?' the reply or pass was, 'Tahlequah—who are you?' The response was, 'I am Ketowah's son.' Dr. D. J. MacGowan, Indian Secret Societies, in Historical Magazine, x, 1866."

This movement among the full-bloods was the culmination of years of hostility toward the mixed-bloods. It was the final step—organized factionalism.

Besides the reasons mentioned above for the formation of the Ketoowah Society many full-bloods joined the society for the purpose of preserving the old Cherokee religion. For instance besides the meeting mentioned at Peavine church there was also a meeting of full-bloods at the old Tahlontuskey camp ground at the mouth of the Illinois. This group was without benefit of church supervision and probably represented the more conservative element. After conferring here they decided

\[\text{Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokees, pp. 225, 226.}\]

\[\text{Wardell, M. A., A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, p. 121.}\]
that "we are still A-ni-Ki-too-sna-gi" or People of Katoocua.

The name of the society is taken from the old ceremonial name of the Cherokee. The town of Katoocua was apparently the original nucleus of the tribe and was located upon the headwaters of the Tuckasigee river in the old Middle Settlements. This area was the most conservative of the Cherokee Nation. The name itself cannot be analyzed.¹

The name has different meanings to the modern full-bloods. To the pagan Cherokee it is still the old ceremonial name of the Cherokee. To the Baptist Cherokee it signifies Cherokee national feeling in the extreme.

The Katoocua Society was organized with the head of the organization spoken of as the chairman (tsoo-da-te-na) with two assistant chairmen. The Society had a secretary and a treasurer. Each District of the Cherokee Nation had a captain (skai-gunst) with two other assistant captains. Each settlement in a District had a little captain (oos-di skai-gunst). Exactly what the reason was for using the titles of the old red organization, e.g., the captain (skai-gunst) is not known. Perhaps, the full-bloods still looked upon the Cherokee government led by John Ross as the white organization and did not want to sever relations with it, so they used the red titles. Perhaps because of the approach of war they used the red titles. The use of three officials is not

¹Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokee*, pp. 15, 182.
clear, but the Arkansas Cherokee in their government had a series of three officials to an office instead of two.

A committee was formed to be the governing body of the Society. A convention was held each year in August and the committee passed the laws of the Society. One to three committee members were chosen from each community.

Although the Ketoowah Society was primarily organized to resist the mixed-blood faction it was also a partial return to some type of town organization. The new Cherokee government did not allow a place for town or community representation. The Ketoowah Society provided for a little captain for each community and for committee members chosen from the community.

In 1859 the Ketoowah Society adopted a constitution. This constitution is little more than a statement of the old values of the Cherokee such as cooperation, friendliness, sharing, etc. The Cherokee had become indoctrinated by this time with John Ross' constitutionalism so they felt that they had to have a constitution. Modern informants say of the old Cherokee Nation, "when we was under our own constitution." A constitution, to the full-blood, establishes an organization or a people as a recognized entity.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861 the national authorities headed by John Ross and backed by the Ketoowah Society declared for strict neutrality. However, the pressure from the Confederacy became too strong and the Cherokee Nation
signed a treaty with General Pike, acting on behalf of the Confederacy, to ally itself with the Confederate States.\footnote{Mooney, James, 
\textit{Myths of the Cherokees}, p. 148.}

The Cherokee Nation raised two regiments to fight with the Confederacy, one under Stand Watie which consisted of the mixed-bloods and the other under Colonel Drew which was mostly full-bloods. The full-bloods soon deserted to the Union side. The families of the Union Cherokee fled to Kansas,\footnote{Ibid., pp. 146, 147.} with the loyal full-blood Creeks.

There are several facts which explain the action of the full-bloods for declaring for neutrality at the beginning of the war and later deserting to the Union side. One, they were opposed to slavery, and anything the mixed-bloods were for, they were against. One modern informant said, "Those old full-bloods were still pretty mad at Georgia because of the way she treated them." The most important factor explaining full-blood action is that they wanted to keep the treaty with the U. S. Throughout Cherokee history the basis for the survival of the Cherokee as an entity was the recognition of them as such by the U. S. government and the fulfillment of treaty obligations by both sides. Although there were successive treaties made with the U. S. the basis of these treaties, the recognition of the Cherokees as a legal entity, remained the same. The full-bloods of today speak of "The Treaty" almost as a sacred document.
The full-blood Cherokee's feeling probably coincided closely with the sentiments of the full-blood Creeks. One full-blood Creek leader, Otkaharsass Harjo said,

"That man told Indian that Union people would come and take away property and take away land--now you sleep, you ought to wake up and attend to your property. Tell them there ain't no U.S.--ain't any more Treaty--all be dead--Tell them as there is no more U. S. no more Treaty that the Creeks had better make new Treaty with South and the Southern President would protect them and give them their annuity--Tell them if you make Treaty with Southern President that he would pay you more annuity and would pay better than the U. S. if they the Indians would help the Southern President--Mr. Pike makes the half breeds believe what he says and the half breeds makes some of the full blood Indians believe what he says that they (the Indians) must help the secessionists."

Later this same leader said, "As for himself he don't believe him yet. Then he thought the old U. S. was alive yet and the (old) Treaty was good. Won't go against the U. S. himself."¹

Another leader, Sands, said, "... Have come in and saw my agent and want to go by the old Treaty..."² The full blood Cherokees speak of Upothle Yahola, the Creek Leader, as the main chief of the loyal Creek and Cherokees. It is likely, therefore, that the full-blood Cherokees held the same views as the full-blood Creeks.

The last main period of Cherokee culture history begins with the end of the Civil War. Guerilla bands had completely devastated the Cherokee Nation. The homes were burned, orchards destroyed, stock driven off, public buildings burned, and the

¹Debo, A., The Road to Disappearance, pp. 145, 146.
²Ibid., p. 149.
settlements were blackened ruins. It is said that there was not a house standing in the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee soon rebuilt and life began to take up where it had left off. There was very little major culture change in this period but there were some significant trends. The United States was steadily encroaching on the authority of the Cherokee Nation and more and more settlers were "couching" Cherokee lands. Railroads were built across Cherokee lands in accordance with the treaty of 1866 and the railroad companies worked hard for the destruction of the Cherokee Nation. Cattle men were coming in from the south with vast herds which grazed on Cherokee land illegally. During this time the Cherokee Nation inaugurated a permit system by which cattle men or farmers could use Cherokee land by the payment of a few or by working as tenants for a Cherokee citizen. Many of the full-bloods were opposed to this "legal" use of Cherokee lands by whites, but the mixed-bloods were able to override their objections. This brings out another important trend. The full-bloods had always, because of numerical superiority, been able to control the Cherokee government but by the end of this period the control was in the hands of the mixed-bloods, who began to be known as the Downing party. Without such a leader as John Ross the full-bloods were many times outmaneuvred by the mixed-blood politicians.


The full-bloods were steadily taking over more and more white material traits. The Cherokees, as far as material culture goes, had become almost indistinguishable from frontier whites.

Some important events took place in this period. In 1872 there occurred the famous Goingsnake Massacre.\(^1\) A Cherokee citizen, one Zeke Proctor, who was later a famous sheriff of the District, accidentally killed Polly Chesterton, the Cherokee wife of an adopted white man. The Cherokee courts assumed jurisdiction, but Chesterton appealed to the federal court at Fort Smith, Arkansas. The U. S. marshals approached the courthouse where Proctor's trial was being held. The men in the courthouse immediately organized and the result was a gunfight in which several were killed and wounded. The Cherokee won this fight to uphold their autonomy, but acts of Congress in the 90's were to strip their courts of any power.

In 1874 there was a reorganization of the Ketoowah Society. Lewis Downing was head chairman of the Ketoowah Society during the Civil War period and was elected to the office of chief of the Nation in 1867. He was re-elected again in 1871, but died while in office in 1872. After his death the Ketoowah Society broke up into small groups. There was no general convention and the Society was run by local chiefs. In 1874 Bud Gritts reorganized the Society. He was elected chairman and the Society was united. Some innovations were introduced in 1874.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 307.
Each local chapter of the Society, besides the little captain, was to have a secretary and a treasurer, dues were collected and meetings were to be held in which minutes were written down in Cherokee. Several articles were added to the constitution.¹

By reorganization of the Ketaowah Society, Bud Gitts was able to elect a full-blood chief in 1879, Dennis Bushyhead. Bushyhead was elected again in 1883 and Bud Gitts died in 1885.

During the first term of Bushyhead in 1881 the Green Peach War broke out in the Creek Nation. This civil war was a revolt of the full-bloods against the innovating tendencies of the mixed-bloods. The full-bloods had fought for the Union and the mixed-bloods for the Confederacy in the Civil War. Many Creeks who were Cherokee citizens were involved in the war, especially the Creek's settlement on Greenleaf Creek in the Illinois District of the Cherokee Nation.² However, they had the sympathy of Bushyhead who was a full-blood and could sympathize with their position. The Green Peach War ended the next summer in 1882 without the Cherokees becoming involved.

The election of Dennis Bushyhead as chief from 1883 to 1887 was the last time the full-bloods were able to elect the chief of the Cherokee Nation. From this time on the mixed-

¹Tyner, H., The Ketaowah Society in Cherokee History, page 53.
²Debo, A., The Road to Disappearance, pp. 272-274.
blood faction was in control. It is with these conditions prevailing—the U.S. encroaching on Cherokee autonomy, white renters on Cherokee land, mixed-blood politicians in control of national policies—that we enter the decade of the nineties, the decade from whence came the Redbird Smith movement, the third major Cherokee reaction against acculturation.

In summary, several major trends can be seen in Cherokee culture history. One, there was a very definite attempt on the part of the Cherokee to preserve their national existence. This resulted in a complete reorganization of Cherokee government brought about by a process of "controlled innovations" to better perfect Cherokee resistance. The government was centralized in order to control all the factors which might give the whites an opportunity to break the resistance. The final outcome of these innovations was the adoption of a republican form of government with a constitution. Establishment of schools was also brought about by this process of "controlled innovations."

Because of differential acculturation among families and American attempts to break Cherokee resistance the Cherokee became divided into two factions, later called the mixed-bloods and the full-bloods. The cultural dichotomy between them became so great that there was no common ground on which these two factions could meet. By the nineties the mixed-bloods had become almost completely Americanized, many not able to speak the Cherokee language. The full-bloods, on the other
hand, had retained the basis of Cherokee culture and the language. Many full-bloods were unable to speak English, so that even communication was cut off between these two groups to a large extent.

The functions of the "town" among the full-bloods had been replaced by several new agencies in Cherokee culture. The republican form of government had replaced the political functions of the town. The Baptist church had largely taken over the religious functions. The clan was being forgotten. The lineage was broken up and was replaced by the bilateral extended family. However, the organization of the Ketoowah Society had in part restored some type of town representation.

The most important trend in Cherokee culture history, as far as the Redbird Smith movement is concerned, was the elaboration of the peace motif—the White Path, the Path of Peace. The War Organization and its values were stamped out. The elaboration of the peace motif reached its peak in the passive resistance of the Cherokee to the Removal and in the role that they took as peacemakers among the western tribes after the Removal. The concepts of "Keeping the Peace" and "the Treaty" with the United States in order to preserve their autonomy was connected with the peace motif. The leaders of the Redbird Smith movement were well grounded in these concepts of the old religion. These facts account for the Redbird Smith movement never taking over some of the more violent aspects of resistance movements such as the contemporary Crazy Snake revolt among the Creeks.