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BEING CHEROKEE IN A WHITE WORLD: THE ETHNIC PERSISTENCE OF A POST-REMOVAL AMERICAN INDIAN ENCLAVE

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Betty J. Duggan
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ABSTRACT

Within a few years of 1838, when most members of the Cherokee Nation were forced to emigrate to Indian Territory on the Trail of Tears, a small group of Cherokee families reestablished settlements in and around the Ducktown Basin in the southeastern corner of Tennessee, away from the major Eastern Cherokee remnants in North Carolina. This dissertation reconstructs the history of these Cherokees from 1838 through the 1910s, focusing on the nature of their communities; their economic, social, and religious relationships with local whites; their associations with other Cherokee enclaves and individuals; and their ultimate disappearance from the Basin.

Data are drawn from a broad spectrum of primary and secondary sources, and include evidence derived from documentary, oral, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, folkloric, and material sources. Theories of Fredrik Barth (1969) and Edward H. Spicer (1962, 1971, 1972c) on ethnicity and ethnic persistence and Eric Wolf 's Europe and the People Without History (1982) provide a framework for interpreting the Ducktown Basin Cherokee experience within the broader contexts of Cherokee, American Indian, local, regional, and national history and culture. Historic and contemporary Indian and non-Indian voices as well as multiple layers of "thick description" (Geertz 1973) are employed to represent this "historically obscured" American Indian enclave and to reveal how its members collectively and individually enacted "being Cherokee" in the course of daily living after the extreme disruptions of Removal.

In terms of economic pursuits, material culture in general, and material wealth, the Basin Cherokees differed little from their non-Indian neighbors.

Boundaries protecting their sense of Cherokee identity, however, were marked and maintained in several important ways. A central ethnic marker for this post-Removal group was the recreation of and participation in traditional matrilineally- and matrilocally-focused community. Continued use of the Cherokee language, values, and intermediaries were equally important signals of the members' "Cherokee-ness," as well as forms of passive resistance against the new non-Indian majority. Maintenance of traditional rivercane basketry by some women connected the group economically and socially with non-Indians, but at the same time produced objects imbued with symbolic links to past lifeways and to contemporary social affiliations: family, locality, and tribe.

Economic and social interactions between the Ducktown Basin enclave and non-Indians stand in marked contrast to the experience of other Eastern Cherokee enclaves during the same period. In particular, the discovery of a major copper reserve in 1843 quickly led to national and international industrial speculation and development in the Ducktown Basin. The Cherokees who had reestablished communities in the Basin, and other Cherokees drawn in as peripheral industrial workers during the first copper boom, were profoundly affected by the changing nature of local white society and by shifting perceptions about "Indian-ness" in America and the South. As the Ducktown Basin's copper industry developed, competition for limited agricultural lands and industrial work intensified. these changes, coupled with local and national tightening of racial boundaries, increased social and racial stratification, and growing racial intolerance eventually caused Cherokee families to withdraw from the Basin. Links maintained with traditionalist Cherokee communities in North Carolina, however, ensured their continued participation in the traditional kinship and

social relationships then central to Cherokee community and ethnicity. In this symbolic sense the Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave continues; as one descendant says, "We are all from there."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

PART ONE: STUDYING INDIAN REMOVAL AND ITS AFTERMATH

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF A FORGOTTEN CHEROKEE ENCLAVE....2
Rediscovering an Historic Enclave....2
Identifying a Theoretical Approach....5
Defining An Organizational Framework....12

II. SURVIVING INDIAN REMOVAL AND HISTORIC OBLIVION: THE EASTERN NATIVE REMNANTS....17
From Vanishing Natives through Indian Removal....17
Cherokee Removal....23
Persistent Peoples....38
The Eastern Cherokee Remnant....43
Major Enclaves....48
Qualla Town....48
Cheoah, Buffalo, and the Nantahala Indians....50
Cherokee County....52
Smaller Enclaves....54
Sand Town....54
Chattahoochee River....54
Ducktown Basin....55

III. EXPLORING METHODOLOGIES, SOURCES, AND UNCHARTED HISTORIES....59
Earlier Post-Removal Studies....59
The Anthropologist as Ethnohistorian....62
Defining, Evaluating, and Interpreting Historical Evidence....66
Key Sources and Challenges for This Study....73

Written Evidence....76
Secondary Sources....76
Primary Sources....79
Enrollments of the Cherokee Indians....79
Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokees....80
U. S. Military Records....81
Federal Census Records....82
Ocoee Purchase Papers....82
County Records....82
Newspapers....83
Church Records....83
Personal Documents....84
Oral Evidence....85
Material Evidence....87

PART TWO: A CASE STUDY IN ETHNIC PERSISTENCE AND ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY

IV. *Kawâ´na, Sâligu´gi, and Walâs´-unûlsti´yi*:: THE LAND AND PEOPLE THROUGH REMOVAL....90
Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Removal and Local Response....91
The Ducktown Basin's Natural Environment....94
The Landscape....94
Plant and Animal Resources....96
Inside the Ducktown Basin....98
Prehistoric Lifeways....99
Lifeways from European Contact to Removal....104
Initial European Exploration and Trade....104
Historic Cherokee Settlement and Its Nature....108
Life on the Eve of Removal....113
Cherokee Removal from a Local Perspective....121

V. AFTER REMOVAL: REGENERATING CHEROKEE COMMUNITY IN THE BASIN....129
Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Lifeways of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees....131
Returning Home....140
Making a Matrilineally-Based Community....146
Following One Paternal Line....160

VI. THE "DUCKTOWN DISTRICT": TWO WORLDS IN ONE LAND....167
Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Economic and Social Relations with Basin Cherokees....168
The Emerging Copper Industry....172
Cherokees in the New Basin Economy and Society....177
Peripheral Workers in the Copper Industry....177
Subsistence Farming and Hunting.,....181
Agricultural Day Labor and Tenancy....184
Digging "'Seng"'....187
Making Baskets, Trade, and Neighbors....189
Cherokees in Basin Religious Life....195

VII. FACING RACE AND RACISM FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN....209
Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Effects of Institutionalized Racism....210
Basin Cherokees From the Civil War to a New Century....213
Redefining "Cherokee" by Degrees of Indianness....222
Race, Indians, and Blood Ancestry....222
Diversity among Cherokees Neighbors....228
Living and Dying with Racism....241
Duty, Death, and Denial....244
Enclavement as Ethnic Survival....255
The "Last Indian" in Polk County....269

VIII. ON BEING AND STAYING CHEROKEE: LESSONS FROM THE DUCKTOWN BASIN....277
Locating the Basin Cherokees in History....277
Phase One: After 1775-1838....282
Phase Two: 1844?-1860....284
Phase Three: 1861-1890?....286
Phase Four: 1890?-1910s....289
Ethnic Persistence of a Post-Removal Cherokee Enclave....291
Ethnic Strategies and Ethnic Markers....293
Matrilineal Community Structure and Organization....296
Cherokee Language Use....299
Cherokee Values....301
Use of Intermediaries....302
Traditional Crafts....303

REFERENCES CITED....307

APPENDIX: AUTHOR'S ANNOTATIONS....365

VITAE....373

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter Page

4.1. Cherokee Households Reported for Ducktown Basin settlements in 1835....116

5.1. Former Residents of Ducktown Basin Living in North Carolina after Removal....142

5.2. Residents of the Ducktown Basin Cherokee Settlements in 1851, 1853, and 1860....153

5.3. A Partial Genealogy of the Core Matrilineage in the Ducktown Basin after Removal....159

6.1. Comparative Chart of Cherokee Numbers from White Oral History and Linguistic Sources....170

7.1 Some Cherokee Residents of the Turtletown District after the Civil War....217

7.2 Households of the *Nantahala* Indians, 1898....264

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter Page

2.1. Primary Land and Water Routes of the Trail of Tears.....33

4.1. Ducktown Basin Showing Selected Natural Features and Locations.....95

4.2. Eighteenth Century Cherokee Settlement Areas.....106

6.1. Isabella Smelting Works, 1875.....176

6.2. Three of Six Rivercane Baskets Traded by Sallie Cat (Catt) to Kimsey family, ca. 1896.....193

7.1. Ducktown and Selected Sites in Western North Carolina in the Late Nineteenth Century.....230

7.2. Family of Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt), ca. 1900.....262

7.3. *Esiah Colonahesky* (left), the "Last Indian in Polk County" with unidentifiedchild. 272

PART ONE

STUDYING INDIAN REMOVAL AND ITS AFTERMATH

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF A FORGOTTEN CHEROKEE ENCLAVE

> There are advantages and disadvantages to writing about ethnic identity, and they stem from the same characteristic: ethnic identity is a powerful phenomenon. It is powerful both at the affective level, where it touches us in ways mysterious and frequently unconscious, and at the level of strategy, where we consciously manipulate it. Its power is also perceived and interpreted differently by individuals and groups, whether they are users of ethnicity, observers of ethnicity, or analysts of ethnicity.
>
> Anya Peterson Royce, Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity (1982:1)

> *The great God of Nature has placed us in different situations. It is true that he endowed you with many superior advantages; but he has not created us to be your slaves. We are a separate people!*
>
> *Onitositah* (Corn Tassel) of *Chota*, 1777 (Williams 1921:177)

Rediscovering an Historic Enclave

My initial awareness of the Cherokee families who would later become the centerpiece of this dissertation occurred unexpectedly in a work session with representatives from the Ducktown Basin Museum, a community museum in southeastern Tennessee. My clients and I were in the early stages of developing a grant proposal to fund an exhibit about aboriginal cultures and the historic Cherokees of the Appalachian South. I was lamenting the

fact that the exhibit, as we were then envisioning it, promised to be somewhat generic, and expressed the wish that we could add more locally relevant information. At that point, the face of one boardmember took on a rapt expression as he turned toward me and said, "You know there used to be Indians up at Cold Springs." At first I assumed he was talking about a prehistoric archaeological site, but his next words commanded my whole attention: "My mother remembers seeing their cabins when she was a girl" (David Beckler, personal communication 1985).

At the time of this conversation scholarly accounts about Cherokees in Tennessee ended with their forced removal to Indian Territory in 1838 (e.g. Folmsbee et al. 1969; Satz 1979; White 1973). Only one recently published academic study (Finger 1984) alluded in passing to Cherokees residing in the state after the Trail of Tears. When the exhibit opened, we included a section about a few Cherokee families said to have lived at the Cold Springs settlement atop Little Frog Mountain, a high peak which overlooks the Ducktown Basin. I was enormously intrigued by these Basin Cherokees (as I came to think of them), about the critical era they lived in, the physical and social reshaping of the locale by early industrialization, and by, as yet, unfollowed leads from ethnographic interviews. When I returned a couple of years later to university studies for a second graduate degree, I already knew my dissertation topic.

Digging far deeper into the archival, oral history, ethnographic, and material culture records ultimately revealed a more complex and rich local situation than implied by the presence of a solitary Indian settlement set apart on an isolated summit. Investigations into such traditionally discrete

academic fields of inquiry as Cherokee history, industrialization of the southern Appalachians, the Civil War, and race relations added new dimensions to my growing understanding of the circumstances of this and other post-Removal Cherokee enclaves.

The methodological challenges presented by the absence or, often at best, partial or obscured appearance of these Cherokee families in frequently relied upon written documents became clearer against the backdrop of the social and historical invisibility faced by all Southeastern Indian remnants after Indian Removal. The enigma of culturally conservative Cherokee-speakers who seemingly abandoned their homes after decades of maintaining a distinct Indian community became less perplexing as I began to comprehend the shifts in meaning of Cherokee ethnicity and the often palpable limits of racial and social boundaries in late nineteenth century America, and especially in the American South.

The dissertation which ultimately emerged from my research breaks new ground in focusing on post-Removal Eastern Cherokees at the analytical levels of both community and family as simultaneous participants in Indian and non-Indian societies and communities. Data are drawn from a broad spectrum of primary and secondary sources, and include evidence derived from documentary, oral, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, folkloric, and material sources. My analyses and style of presentation draw on both etic (outsider or analyst) and emic (insider or participant) perspectives, with a strong emphasis on the latter. Critical research questions are: how is this historic Cherokee enclave remembered by descendants and local people; how much and what aspects of the enclave's history can be retrieved following the lead of these

clues; and, what does the story of the Basin Cherokees have to say about ethnic persistence in a situation of intense culture contact and pressure.

Identifying a Theoretical Approach

By some accounts, the Cherokees are the most written about American Indian group. Explorers, travelers, popular writers, historians, anthropologists, musicologists, and even religious scholars have all contributed to this widely varying literature (see Fogelson 1978; Chapter III). Most of these works are either explicitly or implicitly about how the Cherokees and their culture have accommodated to Euro-American society, politics, technology, and economics.

In her ethnography of the Snowbird Cherokee enclave in Graham County, North Carolina, Sharlotte Neely (1991) made a theoretical departure from earlier researchers. She chose to examine Cherokee ethnicity. Rather than asking how Cherokee society and culture have become like that of the dominant American society, she asked what it means to be Cherokee and to enact and reenact this in the course of daily living, including interethnic relations. Neely's findings led her to believe that "the story of the Cherokees is one of cultural persistence" (1991:7)--that they remain a distinct ethnic group because in important arenas of personal and family life and society they have resisted absorption into Euro-American civilization.

I too have chosen to examine the nature of Cherokee ethnicity and ethnic persistence. In this case, however, the focus is on an historic enclave which is no longer geographically in place. The vast scholarly literature on ethnicity and ethnic relations spans sociology, anthropology, and social

psychology. Major approaches to the definition of ethnic group, membership, expression, and relations have ranged from sociobiological (e.g. Chagnon and Irons 1979; Van der Berghe 1981); psychosocial (e.g. De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1975; Kardiner and Ovesey 1962; Romanucci-Ross and De Vos 1995); sociological (e. g. Banton 1983; Glazer and Moynihan 1975); to cultural ecological (e.g. Goffman 1959; Barth 1969b; Castile and Kushner 1981; Despres 1975). From among this plethora of ethnicity theories and case studies, several critical concepts and/or approaches introduced or espoused by anthropologists Edward Spicer, Fredrik Barth, and Eric Wolf have most influenced the underlying theoretical approach of my dissertation.

Ethnologist Edward Spicer used the phrase "ethnic persistence" to describe the complex cultural milieux of the American Southwest which developed over four centuries of interaction among American Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American societies. Spicer's work represents both an apex and step beyond the large anthropological literature about acculturation and culture contact which developed between the 1930s and 1960s (cf Barnett et al. 1954; Keesing 1953; Lurie 1961; Redfield et al. 1936). Spicer's studies in comparative ethnohistory and ethnography demonstrated that there were multiple types, routes, and adjustments to acculturation, and that, contrary to "melting pot" explanations, assimilation into the dominant society was not inevitable (Spicer 1961a; 1962; 1971).

Spicer's masterwork, Cycles of Conquest, amply documents that "the balance between processes of assimilation and differentiation" (1962:567) in the cultures of the Southwest made it unlikely that these American Indian

groups would be absorbed into the dominant American society. He found that:

> This persistence of ethnic identification in the region seemed remarkable because of the smallness of the groups at the beginning of contact, their military weakness, and the ultimate invasion of their territory in overwhelming numbers by the European and European-derived peoples...the sense of identity was not at all proportional to the number of aboriginal traditions persisting. The processes of cultural assimilation were in fact distinct from the processes of group identification (Spicer 1962:576).

For Spicer, persistence of these distinct American Indian groups in the face of overwhelming political and cultural pressures could be best explained by continuity in the their social structures--especially continuity in the definition of family and community.

Spicer later discussed the general characteristics of ethnic groups such as "the Jews, the Basques, the Irish, the Welsh, the Catalans, the Mayas, the Yaquis, the Senecas, the Cherokees, and the Navajos" which survive within plural societies. He preferred to think of them as "persistent peoples," each a "determinable set of human individuals who believe in a given set of identity symbols. He posited that the "persistent identity systems" which bound such groups together arose from "beliefs about historical events in the experience of the people through generations...[beliefs] shared with and through [the] ancestors" (1971:796-797). Although the specific beliefs and symbols which stood for them frequently changed over time, the belief in a separate collective identity remained. Spicer attributed the maintenance of persistent identity systems to their cumulative, open-ended nature "which

defines a course of action for the people believing in it" and to "oppositional processes" which produce "intense collective consciousness and a high degree of internal solidarity" (1971:799).

Six years after Spicer's Cycles book was published a slim, but significant volume edited by Scandinavian anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969b) appeared. Barth concluded that the history of an ethnic group and the history of that culture were not one and the same. Arguing from a cultural ecological perspective, he suggested that more interesting questions might focus on how ethnic groups are constituted and maintained. I found that two concepts developed by Barth--"ethnic boundaries" and the ethnic group as a "unit of continuity in time"--are particularly useful to my analysis.

Barth posited that the continued organizational existence of an ethnic group depended upon clearly specified criteria for inclusion or exclusion of members. Such features he believed were not the sum of cultural differences between particular groups, but were rather selected cultural features deemed significant. These criteria might be easily recognizable signals or markers, such as language or dress, or less obvious differences in value orientations which determined basic personal identity and standards for judging the ethnic affiliation of others.

He further surmised that the criteria for defining and marking boundaries between members and outsiders might change dramatically through time, but that the ethnic group would persist as long as the critical boundary of "us versus them" was maintained in some manner. In situations of interethnic contact, he stressed that ethnicity operated at a superordinate level overriding other ascribed statuses of the persons

involved in the exchange. Constraints operating in such situations became greater as value differences between the groups increased, and consequently, ethnic boundaries were reinforced or even heightened (Barth 1969a, 1969b).

Barth recognized that while ethnic boundaries were social in nature, real territorial counterparts often existed. Based on ethnographic field studies with three ethnic groups in India, who shared an overlapping geographical locale, he concluded that interaction between ethnic groups could be characterized by one of, or a combination of, four responses. (a) The groups would occupy distinct environmental niches, with minimal inter-group competition and interaction limited mainly to trade arrangements, and less commonly, to ceremonial sectors. (b) Each group would monopolize separate territories and inter-group articulation would be limited to boundary politics and competition for resouces. (c) The occupation of different environmental niches would result in reciprocal exchange of goods and services and symbiotic relationships which entailed close political and economic interdependence. (d) Competition within the same environmental niche might lead to eventual replacement of one group by another, or alternately to increased complementarity and interdependence (Barth 1969a, 1969b).

Barth also pointed out that over the last several centuries the spread of industrialized societies drastically reduced the overt cultural differences between ethnic groups, and frequently led to their control by colonial regimes, physically removed from the local setting. Yet many ethnic groups survived and new ones came into being. New ethnic subclasses or elites, which had greater contact with and dependence on the goods and organizations of industrial societies, often emerged. These people, by virtue of their contacts

with the dominant society, sometimes mediated between groups, acted in their own best interest at the expense of their ethnic cohorts, or even chose to sever ties with their old ethnic group (Barth 1969a, 1969b).

For the members of an ethnic group which had been industrialized, conquered, or otherwise absorbed into a larger sociopolitical entity or state, their options regarding ethnic identity were limited. According to Barth, one of three outcomes might occur. (a) The individual or group might "pass" into the dominant culture by disregarding or disguising the old ethnic identity. This usually resulted in a culturally conservative, low articulating, low ranking position within the new culture. (b) Where overt cultural differences were obvious and real ethnic differences occured in hidden, non-articulating sectors, the acceptance of minority status might lead eventually to assimilation of the original ethnic group into the dominant culture. (c) Still other ethnic groups living within a larger sociopolitical entity might chose to emphasize their ethnic identity, resulting in a nativistic revival or even the emergence of a new ethnic state (Barth 1969a, 1969b).

Another study which influenced my theoretical approach to this dissertation was Eric Wolf's (1982) acclaimed work, Europe and the People Without History. Here Wolf follows the development and spread of the capitalist mode of production and distribution from European exploration in the 1400s forward. His analysis borrows from sociological theories of class and political economy (cf Wallerstein 1974) to forge a marriage between anthropology and history aimed at developing a "global culture history" to elucidate how the modern world came into being (1982:ix). His central theme is that in order to truly understand world history, we must "take account of

the conjoint participation of Western and non-Western people in this worldwide process" (1982:ix) and the effects of capitalism's spread on local cultures which were based either in tributary or kin-based modes of production.

For example, Wolf discusses the fur trade in which many American Indian tribes participated, pointing out that this was an extension of an already centuries-old international market centered in Europe. At first, Indian trappers were trading partners with European traders. Gradually, however, the balance tipped and they became subordinate producers for the international marketplace, trading more and more of their labor to cover ever deeper debts for both their new tools and consumer needs. The fur trade ultimately had far-reaching consequences on the kin-based American Indian societies it touched, altering relations within and between groups, and creating in a number of instances entirely new ethnic groups. Wolf also attributes the push for Indian Removal to the spread of the capitalist mode of production, which commodifed land, and thereby created a need to bring Indian land into the marketplace, or as President Andrew Jackson said at the time, "into market" (quoted in Wolf 1982:285).

The effects of the spread of capitalism and industrialization on local peoples in the southern Appalachians has been a topic of concern for sociologists for several decades. Of special interest to these scholars have been the ill effects of the externally-driven exploitation of the region's resources and the transformation its people into peripheralized producers for national and international markets beginning in the late nineteenth century (e. g. Lewis et al. 1978). Recently, Wilma Dunaway (1996) has expanded

discussion about the region's incorporation into capitalist and industrial markets backward to include the eighteenth century Cherokee fur trade and early efforts at industrialization and agricultural tenancy on the eve of the Civil War. In my examination of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees, we have a chance to see how in one instance early industrialization in the southern Appalachians affected a local American Indian enclave. The location of the Basin Cherokees in time and social space within an emerging, industry-based local society which was fueled by national and international speculation and powered by a multiethnic workforce is unique in Cherokee history.

Defining an Organizational Framework

In an effort to provide a broad-based, layered interpretation, or "thick description," my study consists of two complementary parts and a blending of ethnohistoric and ethnographic materials and interpretations. Clifford Geertz borrowed and adapted the concept of "thick description" from Gilbert Ryle's work to describe the richly, textured intellectual venture of "doing ethnography" (1973:6). The phrase is used here to convey something of the complex nature and interrelatedness of historical and cultural sources and knowledge, and their openness to multiple meanings and interpretations.

Part One (Chapter I-III) establishes an expansive framework within which to view the Removal and post-Removal eras, common experiences of post-Removal enclaves, and methodologies and resources for studying these periods, especially concerning the Eastern Cherokees. This chapter (Chapter I) includes the particular circumstances and rationale for my study, an overview of its organization, a brief literature review of relevant theories

regarding ethnicity, and an introduction to a number of terms used in the text. Chapter II is a historical overview of Indian Removal and the post-Removal era which emphasizes common social, economic, and ideological problems faced by native peoples (especially Cherokees) in the Eastern United States during these periods. Chapter III presents a review of the literature on the critical use of documentary and oral sources as a backdrop for a discussion of the major source types and collections consulted during this study.

Part Two (Chapters IV-VIII) focuses squarely on details from the lives and experiences of the post-Removal Cherokee enclave which existed around the Ducktown Basin for over half a century, at the same time placing them within the broader historical and theoretical contexts elaborated in Part One. Chapter IV is an overview of the environmental setting and culture history of the Ducktown Basin vicinity from prehistoric times through the forced emigration of local Cherokee families during the Trail of Tears. The presence, composition, and internal cultural dynamics of new Cherokee communities established in the Ducktown Basin area after Removal are explored in Chapter V. Chapter VI presents the Basin Cherokees as unintentional participants in the industrialized, class-based, and racially-stratified local society which gradually developed after the discovery of an internationally important copper reserve in the 1840s. Chapter VII examines changing concepts of race in the nineteenth century, racial labeling, and institutionalized racism as they affected the Ducktown Cherokees in their dealings with both non-Indians and other Cherokees. The final chapter is a reiteration and discussion of important cultural, historical, methodological, and theoretical themes and findings explored through this case study and

how these findings illuminate what it meant "to be" and "to stay" Cherokee in the East after Indian Removal.

In creating the framework for individual chapters, I long struggled with the question of how best to utilize the primary ethnographic and oral history evidence collected as part of my research (see Marcus and Cushman 1982). I wanted to do more than cite a few snippets of historical information or incorporate quotations here and there. Late in the writing stage, I decided to begin each chapter in Part II with what I call an "ethnographic vignette," a descriptive and interpretive snapshot, if you will, recreated from one or more interview settings and texts.

This methodological device is meant to communicate several things to the reader about the use and interpretation of different kinds of evidence (see Chapter III). First, I wanted to demonstrate that the role of oral history information in the evolution of my research and interpretations was complex. In a study about ethnic persistence and interethnic relations in an historically obscured native enclave, oral history evidence was frequently a critical indicator for research directions and questions; sometimes the only line of evidence about certain occurrences; often only a very narrow piece of the historic puzzle; and, even at times, temporarily misleading.

Related to this idea, I wanted to stress the necessary interplay between kinds of evidence and the essential need to have multiple lines of evidence to approximate the multivocality (see Chapter III) of the historic interethnic situations. Finally, and more intangibly, in the "doing" of this ethnographic history (see Price 1983, 1990)--that is, during oral history interviews, searching through archives, and in the struggle to understand raw data and ferret out

possible meanings--I often felt closer to a sense of the circularity of time which is a common aspect of American Indian belief systems, than to the Western concept of time with its linear progession of past, present, and future. I hope the reader will, therefore, find each of my ethnographic vignettes both a launching pad and a point of return for each chapter in Part II.

Several terms used throughout this text warrant brief commentary here. First, I chose to use "American Indian(s)" rather than the currently popular phrase "Native American" because the former is preferred by many indigenous activist organizations. It has also long been in standard use in anthropological literature and is a phrase which speaks at once of unity and the diversity of individual indigenous peoples. My use of the term "enclavement" (as well as the noun form "enclave") follows Edward Spicer's (1966) definition as "the problem and process of the persistence of entire peoples as *groups* [sic]" as interpreted by Castile and Kushner (1981:xvi).

Several words and phrases--full blood, mixed blood, white Indian, Indian, part-Indian, whites, blacks, mulatto, person of color--which have racial connotations are employed throughout this dissertation. A more in-depth discussion of their etiology and historic uses among the Cherokees and national and local segments of American society appears in Chapter VII. The first three terms--full blood, mixed blood, and white Indian--are still widely used by the Eastern Cherokees when speaking about specific members of their tribe. In the twentieth century, these terms have become linked legally with the pseudo-biological term "blood quantum," which implies a calculable percentage of Indian genetic inheritance or "blood degree" (see Thornton

1987). However, historic and contemporary contextual uses of these words reflect their cultural meaning for Eastern Cherokees in determining and signaling who is a "real Indian," that is, someone who lives and behaves as a true Cherokee regardless of recorded or perceived blood degree (see Gulick 1960; Neely 1991; Chapters VII, VIII).

Finally, type faces in the printed text of this dissertation represent and distinguish between Cherokee, historic non-Indian, ethnographic, and analytic voices or vantage points. My choice of this visual representation is an adaptation of an interpretive technique used by ethnographer Richard Price in his "ethnographic histories" (see Price 1983, 1990; Chapter III). The main body of the text and quotations by academicians appear in Palatino type face to represent the "voice" of the scholarly narrative and analytical framework. Following standard linguistic conventions used to distinguish native voices, the words of Cherokees and other American Indians are presented in italicized Palatino type face. Historic quotations by non-Indians are printed in Courier type face. The ethnographic vignettes, which open each chapter in Part II, are set apart by point size and indentation from the main scholarly narrative to emphasize their role as yet a fourth voice, or "text." Through use of these four typographic styles I hope to convey to the reader some measure of the rich multivocality of the historic record and its possible interpretations. This device also visually reflects some of the many documentary, material, and ethnographic "tracks," to borrow a phrase from historian Marc Bloch (1953:55), which I followed in piecing together this research and interpretation about a previously obscured historic enclave.

CHAPTER II

SURVIVING INDIAN REMOVAL AND HISTORIC OBLIVION: THE EASTERN NATIVE REMNANTS

Like the shadows in the stream,
Like the evanescent gleam
Of the twilight's failing blaze,
Like the fleeting years and days,
Like all things that soon decay,
Pass the Indian tribes away.

From Hymn of the Cherokee Indian,
Isaaac McLellan, Jr., 1810
(Cheever 1831)

The white man must have rich land to do his great business, but the Indian can be happy with poorer land. The white man must have a flat country for his plough to run easy, but we can get along even among the rocks of the mountains. We never shall do what you want us to do...I always advise my people to keep their backs for ever turned towards the setting sun, and never to leave the land of their fathers.

Yonaguska, Chief of the *Oconaluftee* Cherokees (Lanman 1849:110)

From Vanishing Natives through Indian Removal

During the first half of the nineteenth century the myth of the "Vanishing Native" reached a zenith in American literature, scientific writings, and popular culture (see Berkhofer 1978; Dippie 1982; Barnett 1975). The popularity and timing of peak interest in this national myth was no coincidence. By 1800, the bloody colonial confrontations in the East, which

had involved numerous atrocities by whites and Indians alike, were over. National leaders then debated whether Indians could become civilized in the ways of the Western world, and, if so, whether there was a place for them in American society. Some citizens of the new republic believed that Indians were childlike beings in danger from dishonest whites, and therefore, in need of protection. Others, culturally blind to the complex lifeways of the settled native agriculturalists of the Eastern Woodlands, viewed all Indians as nomadic hunters who, in the course of progress, would be replaced by real farmers such as themselves. A small fringe could not give up the colonial perspective that all Indians were savages, lesser, if not inherently evil, beings who needed eradication. Thus, the eventual disappearance of the nation's native peoples seemed inevitable to most early nineteenth century Americans.

In reality, tens of thousands of Indians had perished from Old World diseases, increased international, national and intertribal warfare, and in conflict-related famines after European colonization of the continent began in the sixteenth century (Crosby 1972, 1986; Dobyns 1983; Thornton 1987). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a new political agenda, Indian Removal, posed a serious threat to the survival of the nation's remaining indigenous peoples and their cultures. Many proponents of this viewpoint argued that relocation of the Indians away from whites would actually protect them from extinction.

Enactment of the Proclamation of 1763 by the British in effect created the continent's first "Indian Country," located beyond the western boundary of English settlements (Porter 1986:13). Ironically, it was Thomas Jefferson,

advocate of civilization programs for American Indians and of the intermarriage of Indians and poor whites, who first proposed to physically relocate the nation's Indian peoples in 1803 by instituting a plan which encouraged the ceding of tribal lands for erasure of debts at government trading "factories" (Wallace 1993). Acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 and ascendance of the complementary political credo of Manifest Destiny fueled the growing movement to banish Indian tribes from the East (Abel 1908; Porter 1986; Sheehan 1973). Such action, of course, would free tribal territories and native farmlands for Anglo-American settlement. As early as 1809 other political leaders, including Willie Blount, Tennessee's third governor, petitioned state houses and Congress to exile all native peoples in the East to lands west of the Mississippi River (Blount 1809, 1810; Porter 1986).

Debates over "Indian Removal" raged in Congress throughout the 1820s. Thousands of ordinary citizens, political leaders, missionaries, and literati openly denounced the idea through petitions, articles, and speeches. Southern planters, politicians, and land speculators, who stood to gain the most financially from the use or sale of the still vast, native-controlled lands in the East, were Indian Removal's strongest proponents. A few extremists who advocated extermination as a solution to the nation's "Indian problem" were on the fringe of the debate (Hudson 1976; Porter 1986; Prucha 1969; Sheehan 1973). The election of Andrew Jackson, a life-long Indian fighter, southern planter, and long-time supporter of Removal, to the presidency in 1828 effectively tipped the balance in favor of those who favored relocation.

Passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 by a slim margin of five votes in the House and nine in the Senate made emigration to a specially-designated "Indian Territory" (now Oklahoma), an indisputable prospect for the East's native peoples (Hudson 1976; Prucha 1962, 1969, 1985). The Removal Act set a precedent that echoed for generations, one that pushed, and then confined, whichever indigenous groups were at hand onto ever-smaller plots of reservation lands as the nation's frontier moved steadily westward. For white speculators and settlers, the Removal Act precipitated an immediate and vast land grab--a virtual give away of millions of fertile acres by the federal government with almost no monetary return. By doing so the act indirectly subsidized the Southern cotton culture and the institutionalized slavery that supported it (Wallace 1993).

Enforcement of the Indian Removal Act did not proceed smoothly, quickly, or completely. In the Southeast, the first Choctaw emigration party left for Indian Territory in December, 1830, under the care of two missionaries. It was funded by the Choctaws themselves, with promises of $10 per person in federal reimbursements when they reached Indian Territory. Travel conditions for most Choctaw Removal parties--including inadequate supplies of food, clothing and shoes, and tents in conditions of snow, ice, and zero-degree weather--were so appalling and so expensive, that the government placed all subsequent Indian emigration under the direction of the U. S. military. The expense of the subsequent Choctaw removals from 1832-34 declined. The loss of life continued to rise, however, as emigrants weakened from exposure contracted deadly communicable diseases such as cholera. It was reported that Choctaw emigrants sometimes walked barefoot,

children even naked, through the snow, and that some groups had to wade through waist-deep swamps. In the end, about 9,000 Choctaws reached Indian Territory, more than 4,000 died during emigration, and about 7,000 went into hiding in the Mississippi back country and swamps (Foreman 1932; De Rosier 1970; Wallace 1993).

The official Creek Removal proceeded from 1834 through 1838. It was particularly brutal after 1836, in retaliation for Creek resistance to federal and local measures. After passage of the Indian Removal Act, the state of Alabama quickly stripped the Creeks of legal protection. Renegade whites overran Creek lands in Georgia and Alabama, attacked their persons, killed their livestock, and burned their homes. Game laws were enacted in Georgia to literally starve the Creeks into submission. Creek Removal was particularly brutal, as illustrated by one episode in which a mob of whites in Alabama attacked a government detention camp, where they raped, murdered, and, even enslaved a number of the Creeks awaiting emigration to Indian Territory. Creek warriors who had actively resisted Removal were transported to Indian Territory in manacles and chains (Foreman 1932; Green 1982; Hudson 1976; Wallace 1993).

The monetary costs to the United States government of the various Indian removals, including the Cherokee Removal which will be discussed in detail below, was relatively modest, though often hotly debated at the time as wasteful. The cost in human lives was terrible, often unintentional, but totally unconscionable. Emigration and mortality statistics for all American Indians affected by Removal remain uncalculated. Within the Southeast, a minimum of 70,000 Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and

Seminoles--members of the region's five largest tribes--were forced to remove. The estimated death toll for these groups alone is 20,000 people (Wallace 1993). During the infamous Cherokee Removal at least 4,000 members of that tribe died from disease, starvation, and exposure during military seizures, in detention camps, or during the final forced marches and/or river transports to Indian Territory (Mooney 1900; Royce 1887; Thornton 1990). Throughout the East, entire communities of natives did literally "vanish" from the sight of the white settlers who eagerly claimed their improvements. Some settlers appropriated Indian farmsteads, household goods, livestock, or other personal property quite literally at the moment the native families were driven out. Marauders frequently burned buildings and crops to prevent the Indians' return (Foreman 1932; Hudson 1976; Mooney 1900; Porter 1986).

The specter of Removal hung for decades over American Indians who did manage to remain in the East. Seminole resistance in Florida continued until a settlement was reached in 1842 (Wallace 1993). Choctaw and Cherokee remnants faced renewed deportation threats for decades (Williams 1979a, 1979b). Ironically, little more than a decade after Cherokee Removal, an East Tennessee newspaper carried a sentimental wire item from a Wisconsin paper about the exile of a train load of Pottawatomie Indians that had just passed through that state en route from Michigan to the "far northwest":

> There is something mournful in the sight--the last of that proud and powerful race, broken in spirit and corrupt in blood, passing from shore to shore, towards

> the last remaining acres of their inheritance by the setting sun. Homestead exemption is not for them (Athens Post 1851).

Cherokee Removal

Passage of the Georgia Compact of 1802, which implied that the federal government could eventually extinguish all Indian land titles within that state, set in motion an inevitable confrontation between the United States, the Cherokees, and Georgia. Two years later Thomas Jefferson urged the Cherokees to relocate to the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase lands. In 1809, the government made unclaimed tracts along the Arkansas and White rivers available for this proposed resettlement (Vipperman 1978). Some of the people who accepted this offer were conservative Cherokees who chose emigration as a means to protect their traditional lifeways from Anglo-American influence and their property and persons from aggressive actions by white frontiersmen. Others were exiled treaty signers or acculturated Cherokees who favored Anglo-American society and mores (Perdue 1989; Satz 1989). By 1819 about 3,500 Cherokees had chosen voluntary emigration to the West (McLoughlin 1986, 1993).

The majority of Cherokees resisted leaving their homeland for any reason, and began a long series of political and legal maneuvers to avoid that end. In 1818 Tennessee's governor, Joseph McMinn, acting for the U. S. government, unsuccessfully offered the Cherokee National Council first $100,000, then double that amount, to vacate all of their Eastern lands immediately. They flatly refused (Royce 1887; Mooney 1900). Between 1816

and 1819 the tribe did, however, cede 6,745,600 acres in six states to appease Anglo-American land hunger (Royce 1887).

At this time 311 Cherokee households registered to become citizens of the United States. Each household received a 640 acre individual reservation for its decision (McLoughlin 1984b; Royce 1887). Despite becoming title holders to private lands, however, a significant number of these Cherokees continued to treat land as communal (clan) property and allowed extended family members and former neighbors to reside within their property bounds (Duggan and Riggs 1993; Riggs and Duggan 1992). Disappointed that such concessions and efforts at accommodation did not stem Anglo-American greed, tribal leaders in 1822 voiced the unanimous opinion that, "*it is the fixed and unalterable determination of this nation never again to cede one foot more of our land*" (National Gazette 1824).

When the Cherokees held a constitutional convention and established themselves as the sovereign and independent Cherokee Nation in 1827, Georgians were outraged. In response, the state extended its northern boundary through Cherokee territory to the Tennessee border and enacted laws which outlawed the Cherokee Nation, enforced state laws on tribal lands, and threatened jail terms for sympathetic Anglo-American residents of the Nation. Discovery of gold on Cherokee lands in 1829 made them even more attractive to whites. In 1832, the state of Georgia claimed adjacent lands and sold them through a public lottery (Vipperman 1978; Satz 1989; Young 1975). These actions unleashed a wave of Anglo-American aggression against Cherokees and their property in that state (Brett H. Riggs, personal communication 1992; Satz 1989).

Beyond the bounds of Georgia, public support for the Cherokees was high. Numerous Anglo-Americans perceived the Cherokees as the nation's most "civilized" Indian group, and petitions signed by over a million people flooded federal offices in protest against removal of the Cherokees. Distinguished citizens, including Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Davy Crockett, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Howard Payne, and Theodore Frelinghuysen addressed Congress with fiery passion on the tribe's behalf (Filler and Guttman 1977; Foreman 1932; Satz 1989; Starkey 1946).

Ultimately, the Cherokees turned to the United States Supreme Court to protect their interests. Although their first case, which asked for the recognition and rights of a foreign nation, was lost, a second decision handed down in 1832 in Worcester v. Georgia gave the Cherokees new hope. Chief Justice John Marshall declared that the state of Georgia had illegally applied its laws within Cherokee territory when its militia seized and imprisoned Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler, missionaries who lived within the Cherokee Nation, for failing to swear allegiance to the state. Ignoring the Supreme Court's decision, Georgia refused to set the men free, and President Jackson declined to enforce the high court's ruling (McLoughlin 1984b; Perdue 1989; Vipperman 1978).

Internal political and cultural dissension over the future of the Cherokee people grew steadily in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1827 village headmen, under the traditionalist leader White Path, rebelled against the more assimilationist views espoused by the small mixed blood elite that played a prominent role in Cherokee national government (McLoughlin 1984b, 1986). It was with representatives of this latter group that

the U.S. government chose to negotiate over the Removal issue. On December 29, 1835, seventy-nine men, mostly mixed blood progressives and a few inter-married Anglo-Americans, signed the Treaty of New Echota which set a two year deadline to complete voluntary Cherokee emigration to Indian Territory (Perdue 1989; Young 1975).

In the eyes of the Cherokee majority this treaty was illegal and 15,665 members of the tribe signed a protest petition that was presented to Congress (Owl 1929). The Cherokee delegation to Washington, under Principal Chief John Ross, continued legal and political efforts to avert Removal (Conser 1978). Ratification of the Treaty of New Echota by the U. S. Senate by a vote of 31-15, with the deciding vote cast by Tennessee Senator Hugh Lawson White, made Cherokee emigration a certainty (Young 1975).

As the time appointed for emigration approached eyewitnesses noted that a curious sense of equanimity prevailed in Cherokee communities (McLoughlin 1990; Webster 1838; Woodward 1963).[1] In 1837, the Moravian missionary Henry Gottlieb Clauder (1837), visited Cherokee and Anglo-American farmsteads and congregations in southeastern Tennessee where he observed that Cherokees proceeded with life as usual. Native congregations met regularly for church services, schools remained open, and large numbers of Cherokees gathered for traditional ballplays and intense, lengthy "medicine dances."[2]

Provisions were scarce because of a drought the year before and some local Cherokees had hired out as laborers in exchange for food for their families. In the forests Clauder encountered groups of Cherokee refugees from Georgia and an Indian family camped beside their burned out cabin. On

the road he passed an entourage of federal soldiers guarding Creek refugees who had fled from their own removal into the territory of their old enemies, the Cherokees.

By 1838 about 2,000 Cherokees had moved west on their own to avoid increased violence, persecution and an uncertain future (Foreman 1932). Still most Cherokees passively resisted eviction by continuing to tend their homes and farms as Principal Chief John Ross and other tribal leaders pressed for a change of heart and law in Washington. In the Valley Towns, in mountainous southwestern North Carolina, a few days before removal troops were set to begin operations in that refugee-swollen area, a commanding officer described the comportment of the local Cherokees in a letter to his wife:

> We are said to be in the thickest settled portion of the Cherokee country, and the least civilized. There are about six thousand in our neighborhood. Their houses are quite thick about us, and they all remain quietly at home at work on their little farms, as though no evil was intended them. They sell us very cheap anything they have to spare, and look upon the regular troops as their friends...These are the innocent and simple people, into whose houses we are to obtrude ourselves, and take off by force. They have no idea of fighting, but submit quietly to be tied and led away (Webster 1838).

On May 23, 1838, a command of 7,000 volunteer and regular soldiers under the U. S. military hero, Major General Winfield Scott, as directed by President Martin Van Buren, initiated the military operations associated

with removal of the Cherokees (King and Evans 1978a; Young 1975). Some soldiers seemed indifferent to their charges as fellow human beings, such as the man who wrote home describing a phrenological examination he claimed to have performed on the oldest son of *Tsali,* the famous Removal resister, as he awaited execution (McCall 1868). For others Removal was an odious task:

> If there is anything that goes against my conscience it is this work, and I would not do it, whatever might be the consequences, did I not know that there are thousands that would, and probably with much less feeling towards the poor creatures (Webster 1838).

Scott's orders to his men reflect a man bent on completing his assigned mission in an expedient manner, but one who wanted this accomplished with a sense of humanity (King and Evans 1978c; Scott 1979a). He instructed commanding officers to transport families together, leave the gravely ill at home with one or two family members or friends, take special precautions with infants, the elderly, mentally ill, and pregnant women, and to avoid bloodshed unless challenged. Any soldier found "inflicting a wanton injury or insult on any Cherokee man, woman, or child would face severe punishment" (Scott 1978b).

The general plan was to surprise Cherokees at home (Mooney 1900). Half a century after Removal a former Army private recalled the abruptness and finality of these seizures:

> Being acquainted with many of the Indians and able to fluently speak their language, I was sent as interpreter into the Smoky Mountain Country in May, 1838, and

witnessed the execution of the most brutal order in the History of American Warfare. I saw the helpless Cherokees arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven at the bayonet point into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into six hundred and forty-five wagons and started toward the west...

Men working in the fields were arrested and driven to the stockades. Women were dragged from their homes by soldiers whose language they could not understand. Children were often separated from their parents and driven into the stockades with the sky for a blanket and the earth for a pillow. And often the old and infirm were prodded with bayonets to hasten them...

In one home death had come during the night, a little sad faced child had died and was lying on a bear skin couch and some women were preparing the little body for burial. All were arrested and driven out leaving the child in the cabin. I don't know who buried the body...

In another home was a frail Mother, apparently a widow and three small children, one just a baby. When told that she must go the Mother gathered the children at her feet, prayed an humble prayer in her native tongue, patted the old family dog on the head, told the faithful creature good-by, with a baby strapped on her back and leading a child with each hand started on her exile. But the task was too great for that frail Mother. A stroke of heart failure relieved her sufferings. She sunk and died with her baby on her back, and her other two children clinging to her hands...

> Chief Junaluska who had saved President Jackson's life at the battle of Horse Shoe witnessed this scene, the tears gushing down his cheeks and lifting his cap he turned his face toward the Heavens and said "Oh my God if I had known at the battle of the Horseshoe what I know now American History would have been differently written...(Burnett 1978:183).

Survivors of the Cherokee Removal recounted worse brutalities en route to detention centers. Nearly a century later, Henry Owl, historian and member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, drew on these native oral accounts in testimony before Congress:

> *Many of them* [the elderly] *were cracked over the head with guns, some women were killed, they were stuck in the sides with bayonets and left alongside the road to die. Others, because of the conditions they were forced to live under, contracted smallpox, and naturally, there was no end to their misery* (Committee on Indian Affairs 1931:7519).

In his M. A. thesis, Owl recorded that some who tried to escape arrest "*were shot down in their tracks,*" including a deaf boy, unable to hear the soldiers' orders, who was shot as he fled in fright (Owl 1929: 89-90).

To facilitate seizure of the Cherokees, the U. S. Army divided the Cherokee Nation into three military districts. Fort Butler (Murphy, North Carolina) served as headquarters for the Eastern District; the Western District was commanded from Ross's Landing (Chattanooga, Tennessee); and the Middle District administered from New Echota, Georgia, the capital of the Cherokee Nation (Scott 1978b). Within these districts, thirteen major stockades, and, perhaps as many as 29 holding facilities, were hurriedly built

or refurbished for the detention of Cherokees (Evans 1977; Lillard 1980; Mooney 1900; Shadburn 1990). Military correspondence and oral traditions mention other "open stations" or camps used during sweeps through particular locales or communities (Kathleen Dalton, personal communication 1990; Wood 1838; Worth 1978).

Inside the stockades disease, starvation, and death plagued the captives; measles, influenza, cholera, dysentery, whooping cough, colds, and pleurisy ran rampant. Rations substituted unfamiliar foods like flour for corn, the Cherokee staple, and even those foods were supplied in limited quantities. Accidents frequently proved fatal under these conditions (Mooney 1900; Thornton 1987). At the deportation center set up on the Hiwassee River at the Cherokee Agency near Calhoun, Tennessee, Anglo-American traders arrived from upper East Tennessee in their "floating doggeries" to hawk "cakes, & pies, & fruit, and cider & apple jack and whiskey" in exchange for the detainees' meager possessions (Foreman 1932:253). Whenever liquor entered the camps drunken brawls resulted (Foreman 1932).

The Cherokees, however, refused to be victims in their captivity. In the middle of chaos and grief they worked to restore normalcy and dignity to their lives. Families, neighbors, clan kin, religious and political leaders joined together to protect the physical and spiritual well-being of their people. Typically, one entourage of 800 Cherokees being moved through the mountains from Fort Butler (Murphy, North Carolina) to the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee held religious camp meetings each night in the dense

mountain forests where they stopped to rest (McLoughlin 1990; Webster 1978:155).

Once inside the stockades, able-bodied detainees erected rough shelters. Native doctors applied their skills to the sick, usually without benefit of the proper wild roots and herbs needed for their healing rituals (Wilkins 1970; McLoughlin 1990; Mooney 1900; Owl 1929). At Fort Butler, Reverend Evan Jones reported that the Cherokee preachers, Brothers Wickliffe and *O-ga-na-ya,* "preached constantly." One Sabbath the two persuaded guards to accompany them to the Hiwassee River for the baptism of ten converts, a ceremony some Anglo-American witnesses said was "the most solemn and impressive religious service they ever witnessed" (McLoughlin 1990:178). In another camp, the Baptist missionary Reverend Jones and the Cherokee preacher Jesse Bushyhead reported 55 converts on one day alone (McLoughlin 1989).

In August, 1838, Principal Chief John Ross and a committee of tribal leaders even held an official council meeting while in detention at Camp Aquohee. Among the legislation passed was a measure claiming due compensation from the federal government for all Cherokee property and improvements confiscated, stolen, or destroyed during the Removal actions (McLoughlin 1989, 1993; Woodward 1963).

The Cherokee captives were transferred a final time from the detention centers to three emigration ports on the Tennessee River--the Cherokee Agency on the Hiwassee River (Charleston, Tennessee), Ross's Landing (Chattanooga, Tennessee), and Gunter's Landing (Guntersville, Alabama)--for deportation to Indian Territory (Figure 2.1). The high loss of life during the

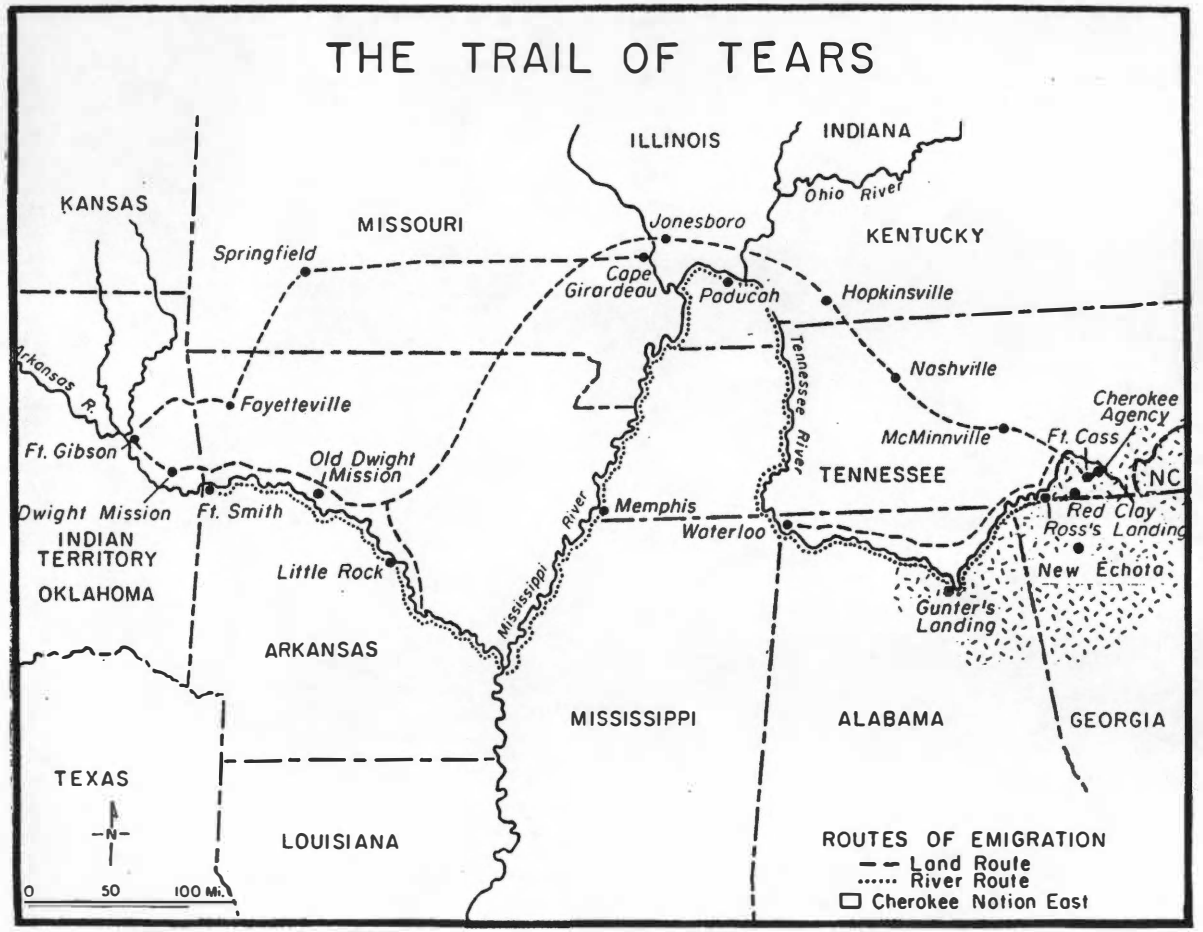


Figure 2.1. Primary land and water routes of the Trail of Tears. Drawing by Terry Faulkner. Adapted from Carter (1976).

first deportation in early June, 1838 exposed the federal government to further criticism for inept handling (Foreman 1932). News of the disatrous experiences of the first and second parties quickly filtered back East. Representatives of the third party beseeched General Nat Smith, superintendent of Cherokee emigration, to let them turn around or establish a temporary camp to wait for autumn. They cited the growing support of many white citizens of East Tennessee who had heard of their plight:

> *The cries of humanity have reached the citizens of the adjoining counties, and they have stepped forth to advocate the cause of mercy.*
>
> *The truth is, a general and powerful sympathy for our condition has seized the attention and affected the hearts of the white citizens generally in McMinn, Monroe and those of Blount counties...Not longer ago than yesterday the citizens of Athens, your immediate neighbors, sent a strong and affecting petition to Genl. Scott on our behalf signed by upwards of sixty of the principal citizens and physicians...We have today heard that the citizens of Monroe and those of Blount counties are preparing similar petitions* (Foreman 1932:297).

In an effort to protect their people from further losses on the journey to Indian Territory, the Cherokee National Council took over their own removal and organized thirteen travel parties, each comprised of about two hundred to over a thousand people (Foreman 1932; Henegar 1978; King and Evans 1978b). The Cherokee emigration plan, with parties formed along traditional town lines under the leadership of respected headmen assisted by details of younger men (Coodey 1978), brought a semblance of familiar order to the grueling 800 mile trip by land and water that lay ahead. Bad provisions,

bad water, and bad weather, especially blizzard conditions during the winter of 1838-39, nevertheless, swelled the numbers of casualties and deaths among the emigrants on their route west.

The Cherokee-led parties left their old nation in October, 1838, and arrived in Indian Territory in March, 1839, to face yet another period of confinement and unintentional death at Fort Gibson (Agnew 1980; Foreman 1932; McLoughlin 1990; Mooney 1900; Thornton 1990). Henry Parker, who traveled west with Ross-directed emigration detachments, commented in a letter to a friend written the next month that:

> Each Individual draws daily one pound of beef or pork, or three fourth pound of bacon; one pound of flour or three half pints of meal. There are issued to each 100 rations four pounds of coffee, eight pounds of sugar, three pounds of soap and four pounds of salt.
>
> We have 950 persons, 353 horses and steers, and 50 wagons. When we encamp for the night we extend half a mile. We have had eight or ten births on the road, but it has not hindered us from traveling.
>
> The sickness in the detachment is considerably subsided. Most of the deaths of late have been relapses, or from overeating and imprudence. The detachments which have gone before have suffered much more sickness than we have. I saw Susan Bushyhead yesterday. She said her brother Jesse [Bushyhead's detachment] lost two or three by death every night. Her brother Isaac, Dr. Powell, the physician of their detachment, and their commissary, were lying at the house where he saw her, very dangerously sick of a fever. She also showed me a

> letter from Dr. Butler of the second detachment, stating that he had three hundred cases of sickness in that detachment...(in Evans 1977c: 234).

Although some Cherokees traveled in relative comfort, the destitute state of most of the emigrants appalled both casual observers and military escorts (Cannon 1978; Deas 1978; Anonymous 1978). One escort reported to a superior:

> A verry [sic] many of this party was about naked, barefoot and suffering with fatigue although they had not traveled over 9 miles pr. day, I ditermined [sic] to purchase some Clothing, Domestic for tents & shoes &c., &c., and issue to them which was done on the 26 ult... (Foreman 1932:298).

Removal soldier, Private John Burnett, recalled decades later:

> On the morning of November the 17th we encountered a terrific sleet and snow storm with freezing temperature and from that day until we reached the end of the fateful journey on March the 26th 1839, the sufferings of the Cherokees were awful. The trail of the exiles was a trail of death. They had to sleep in the wagons and on the ground without fire. And I have known as many as twenty-two of them to die in one night of pneumonia due to ill treatment, cold, and exposure. Among this number was the beautiful Christian wife of Chief John Ross. This noble hearted woman died a martyr to childhood, giving her only blanket for the protection of a sick child. She rode thinly clad through a blinding sleet and snow storm, developed pneumonia and died in the

> still hours of a bleak winter night, with her head resting on Lieutenant Gregg's saddle blanket...
>
> I was on guard duty the night Mrs. Ross died. When relieved at midnight I did not retire, but remained around the wagon out of sympathy for Chief Ross, and at daylight was detailed by Captain McClellan to assist in the burial like [that of] the other unfortunates who died on the way. Her uncoffined body was buried in a shallow grave by the roadside far from her native mountain home, and the sorrowing Cavalcade moved on (1978:181-182).

From the onset of Removal operations some Cherokees actively resisted exile, as did the legendary fugitive *Tsali* and his family. In a few cases entire hamlets or villages fled from their homes into the mountains before they could be arrested (Finger 1979, 1984; King 1979b; Bynum n. d.). Other people escaped from the stockades, like the young *Suate* Owl who waited for the cover of dusk to crawl along a ditch to freedom (Owl 1929). Still more deserted singly or en masse after their travel party left a deportation center, as did one hundred or so detainees who escaped in northern Alabama shortly after their entourage departed Ross's Landing (Chattanooga) (Foreman 1932).

Few Cherokee families, regardless of economic status or political power, escaped death during the ordeal of Removal, or "Emigration," as it was then known to whites (Thomas 1840b). Of an estimated 17,000 Cherokees forced to emigrate, at least 4,000, or about one-fifth of the population of the Cherokee Nation, died during the initial arrests, in the stockades, on the arduous journey to Indian Territory, or soon after their arrival in that

unfamiliar place (Foreman 1932; Mooney 1900; Thornton 1987; Wilkins 1970).[3] One recent demographic study suggests a much higher mortality figure (Thornton 1990).

Given the overwhelming loss of life and property and disrupted lifeways, it is not surprising many Cherokees remember this episode in their history as *Nunna daul Tsuny, "the Trail Where We Cried"* (Thornton 1990:289). One contemporary Eastern Cherokee woman provided me with a moving literal and visual translation of the Cherokee metaphor she had learned to describe this momentous event. This was the time, she gestured through with palm pads touching, *"when big hands came down and pushed our people off the edge of the world"* (Myrtle Johnson, personal communication 1994). Indian Removal brought, if not an end, an abrupt disjuncture to the Cherokee Nation which was reestablished in the West, far distant from the Eastern Cherokee remnant; and Indian Territory was, indeed, beyond the bounds of the mythical and known worlds of most Cherokees.

Persistent Peoples

Native peoples in the East, for the most part officially ignored by the U. S. government after Removal, struggled to rebuild their lives in small enclaves, as isolated family groups, or within Anglo-American towns and settlements (Parades 1992; Porter 1986; Williams 1979a, 1979b). In the Southeast two major types of Indian peoples remained: extremely small groups thought to be dying out naturally and larger enclaves of officially

removed tribes. Both remnant types generally occupied lands of inconsequential acreage or marginal quality.

Ironically, even though both highly acculturated and conservative natives had been forced to emigrate to Indian Territory, most who avoided Removal were cultural conservatives, the very people castigated and targeted as "savages" in need of deportation by the most vehement Removal proponents. People remaining in the East who maintained a native or mixed blood identity, or were tagged by outsiders, usually suffered from social and geographical isolation, racism, and continued land loss (Williams 1979a, 1979b).

The Tunicas of Louisiana, once powerful allies of the French, by the 1840s occupied a single village and were counted among the groups considered to be doomed (Downs 1979). Sometimes such small remnants sought shelter among larger tribal enclaves. One hundred or so Catawbas, a society transformed by the absorption of refugees from other Carolina tribes during the colonial era, resided for a time among the North Carolina Cherokees. Eventually, however, most Catawbas chose to retain a separate territorial and ethnic identity, and resettled in South Carolina or relocated to Indian Territory and Arkansas (Hudson 1970; Merrell 1989). Approximately 1,100 Eastern Cherokees comprised one of the largest native enclaves left in the East (Finger 1984; Hudson 1976).

Beyond the bounds of remnants with clear affiliations to aboriginal tribes were many localized groups like the Lumbees of North Carolina, Jackson County Whites of New York, Edistos of South Carolina, and Melungeons of the Southern Appalachians (Beale 1972; Berry 1963; Blu 1980;

Griessman 1972; Mooney n. d.; Price 1953; Taukchiray and Kasakoff 1992). The ancestors of such peoples frequently included Indians, Anglo-Americans, and/or African-Americans. To lessen the degree of racial intolerance, these socially marginal groups often emphasized a tradition of Indian ancestry, even though few could name a specific ancestral tribe and most followed lifeways that differed little from rural Anglo-American folk practices (see Hudson 1976; Parades 1974, 1992; Porter 1986; Sider 1994; Williams 1979a).

The most populous remnants, including the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles, did not receive recognition from the federal government as groups distinct from the larger removed tribal segments until late in the nineteenth century (Williams 1979b). Civilization programs developed by government and religious agencies around the turn of the nineteenth century to convert Indians to Christianity, formal education, and Western agricultural practices were greatly curtailed among Eastern remnants for decades after Removal (Berkhofer 1978; Satz 1975). Instead, local Anglo-American society and politics dominated the world order in which the Eastern remnants lived.

If a native group had few members, occupied lesser quality lands, and offered little economic competition or physical threat, their presence usually was ignored by local Anglo-Americans (Paredes 1992; Porter 1986; Williams 1979b). Many remnant peoples established their homes or communities in inaccessible hollows, on ridge tops, in scrub forests, or in swamplands for these reasons (Beale 1957:188). Frank Porter, in his study of the Eastern remnants, points out that the establishment of communities in secluded and secret places reinforced a "self-imposed social distance between Indians,

whites, and blacks" (Porter 1986:18). Distinct social and ethnic identities were inadvertently protected and strengthened through such isolation.

The combination of isolation and access to only marginal lands also tended to support the continuation of pre-Removal subsistence strategies. While barter relations had existed for several centuries between Indians and whites in the South, many American Indians were not integrated into the region's wage labor system until after 1870, or even the early twentieth century. Entry into broader economies brought remnant members into closer contact with local Anglo-Americans of different social classes and often initiated a surge in their acculturation to Southern lifeways (Hudson 1976; Williams 1979b). Porter (1986), however, points out that integration of a Indian remnant or family into local Anglo-American social and/or economic spheres depended upon barriers and adjustments in both the remnant and local white societies. Primary barriers to assimilation of Indian remnants were structural resistence--especially retention of traditional family work units, land tenure concepts, and core institutions--on the part of the native group and the degree and intensity of racial discrimination present among local whites.

After Removal, Indians in the South became an anomalous third race in a caste-like system that was ethnically, economically, and socially defined by two races, white and black (Williams 1979a, 1979b). In terms of ordinary life and official matters, this meant that native peoples were repeatedly forced to prove their Indianness in an effort to prove that they were not "persons of color," "mulattos," "coloreds," "blacks," or some other term in the official or local parlance of the day. Some Indian peoples of mixed blood

ancestry married out or socially passed into Anglo-American or African-American society. Most, however, chose to emphasize a distinct Indian ethnic identity that was grounded in some combination of phenotypical characteristics, kinship relationships, sense of shared history, aboriginal customs, and/or specific tribal identification. During the days of Jim Crow legislation, discrete native ethnic identities often were intensified by the presence of separate Indian churches and schools within Indian communities (Hudson 1976; Parades 1974, 1992; Porter 1986; Williams 1979b).

While patterns of isolation and marginalization characterize the general interaction, or lack thereof, between post-Removal enclaves and local Anglo-Americans, they explain the historic invisibility of these remnant peoples only in part. Broader philosophical trends in American society and the social sciences also affected how and whether remnants were remembered. Historian Gary Nash (1972) posits that white images of Indians have been both explanatory and causative in nature. Once the Anglo-American occupation of Indian lands in the East was completed, historical chroniclers ignored or forgot the continued Indian presence. This happened because leading historians such as Frederick J. Turner (1893) associated native peoples with a moribund frontier lifestyle, and also because both academics and lay people alike had yet to conceptualize culture change among Indian peoples (Hudson 1976; Porter 1986).[4]

Most published accounts of post-Removal remnants and their lifeways were written by ethnologists, often employed by the federal government (Hinsley 1981; Judd 1967). James Mooney, John R. Swanton, and Frank Speck, who recorded muchy culture" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, authored most of these studies. In their zeal to document "dying" cultures, however, ethnologists, too, fell victim to stereotyping, in this case recording traditional aspects of native cultures, while ignoring or downplaying the complex pluralistic milieu in which their subjects lived (Hudson 1971). In reality, Eastern remnants were "persistent peoples," to borrow a phrase coined by anthropologist Edward Spicer (1962), each with its own dynamic cultural, social, and ethnic repertoires fined-tuned to the daily circumstances of their lives.

The Eastern Cherokee Remnant

Many popular and oral accounts attribute the origin of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians to selfless action on the part of the fugitive *Tsali* and his adult sons. Duane King (1979b), however, argues convincingly that it was the actions of *Tsali's* executioners that actually protected a significant number of Cherokees from Removal. Government reports indicate that these Cherokee men were put to death for the murders of two Army soldiers and the wounding of a third during their successful escape from the custody of a detail en route to a detention center. *Tsali's* youngest son, *Wasitani* (Washington), a boy at the time of the murders, later told ethnologist James Mooney (1900) that the mistreatment of his mother and the accidental death of her infant led to the murders.

The capture and execution of *Tsali* and his older sons were carried out in exchange for the promise that *Euchella's* band could remain in the East. *Euchella's* people then joined *Yonaguska,* his father-in-law, whose followers on the Oconaluftee River were possibly exempt from Removal, since they

had lived within the bounds of North Carolina since 1819. The convergence of these two groups created the largest enclave of Eastern Cherokees, and in King's words "formed the nucleus of what became the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians" (1979b:178).[5]

How other people who became part of the Eastern Band avoided exile to Indian Territory is more complex than the myths and facts associated with the *Tsali* incident suggest. Some Cherokees did, like *Tsali*'s band, take refuge in the deep recesses and caves of the Southern Appalachians during the Removal period. Many elderly or gravely ill Cherokees and attendant relatives received special dispensation to stay in the East (Finger 1984; King 1979b; Neely 1991; Scott 1978b). Still others escaped from the stockades or along the route west, journeying in secret until they reached familiar territory (Duggan and Riggs 1993; McRae 1987; Owl 1929; Riggs and Duggan 1992; Paul Catt, personal communication 1985). A few families in Georgia escaped arrest and relocation altogether as a political favor from that state (Flanagan 1989).

An 1841 census of Cherokees residing in North Carolina conducted by William H. Thomas, their Anglo-American legal advisor, listed 1,220 Cherokees in that state. The next year Thomas estimated that between 1,000 and 1,200 Cherokees still resided in North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. Historian John Finger (1984:29) puts the total number of Cherokees who avoided Removal at 1,400 people, including about 300 Cherokees remaining in the latter three states.

Dealing with continued removal threats became a central theme in the Eastern remnant's early history. Eyewitness descriptions of the Cherokees during the Trail of Tears report their countenances reflected despondency to

the point of utter despair (McLoughlin 1990). Many survivors of Removal never lost their fear of a repeated occurrence of these grim events. In 1843, a destitute Cherokee woman from Georgia appeared in Murphy, North Carolina with her two children, having sold their few possessions because she heard that the Indians were being collected to go west again. Within a short time six more Cherokees arrived for this rumored removal (Deadrick 1843; Finger 1984). The fears of such people were grounded in the political and social reality of continued calls for the evacuation or voluntary emigration of the remaining Cherokees (see Finger 1980, 1984; Frizzell 1981).

During the first two decades after Removal the political organization of the Eastern Cherokees followed traditional lines. Each settlement had a headman, or "lead man" and a council of 12 men who handled civic and legal matters, meted out punishments, and attended to social affairs. The settlement's *gadugi*, or mutual aid society, was a branch of the council. Council houses for this work and for ceremonial events were maintained in several post-Removal Cherokee settlements until after the Civil War (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Lanman 1849; Alexis 1852; Neely 1991; Smithsonian n. d.; Speck and Schaeffer 1945).

For external political, business, and legal matters in the first two decades after Removal, the tribe looked to William Holland Thomas, an Anglo-American trader, land speculator, and politician who grew up a near neighbor to the Cherokees who lived along the Oconaluftee River (Frizzell 1981). Thomas learned to speak the Cherokee language and was adopted into the tribe as *Yonaguska's* son during his adolescence. Before Removal Cherokees were important customers at several trading posts operated by

Thomas in the western Carolina mountains (Thomas 1836-1845, 1839-1842, 1837-1872, 1839-1842, 1841-1842). The fact that Thomas persuaded about 400 Eastern Cherokee men (most of the group's able-bodied adult males) to serve under his command in the Confederate Army during the Civil War serves as a measure of his acceptance and respect within the group (Godbold and Russell 1990; Finger 1984).

Since the legality of Indian property ownership in North Carolina was questionable after Removal, the Eastern Cherokees repurchased thousands of acres of their former lands through the assistance, and in the name of, Will Thomas. In dealings with federal, state, and local governments, Thomas worked tirelessly on behalf of the Indians, and skillfully managed the public image of the Eastern remnant to protect the tribe from Anglo-American criticism and encroachment. Unfortunately, Thomas' mental health and business dealings failed shortly after the Civil War, consequently jeopardizing Eastern Cherokee land holdings and the tribe's political well-being (Finger 1980, 1984).

It was at this time that the Eastern Cherokees took direct control of external, tribal-wide affairs. In 1868 they held their first tribal council since Removal. In that meeting at the Cheoah council house in the Snowbird Mountains they drafted a constitution and discussed land ownership problems. A year later the Eastern Cherokees met again to hold tribal elections, including the election of their first "Principal Chief," and to ratify their first constitution. The tribe was chartered as a legal corporation--the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians--by the state of North Carolina in 1889. This unusual action was taken in order to clarify the Eastern Cherokees'

confusing citizenship relationships to the federal and state governments, as well as property rights issues which had resulted in several lawsuits (Finger 1984; Frizzell 1981; Williams 1976).

Before the Civil War the Eastern Cherokees were ethnically and socially homogeneous and actively maintained many of their traditional cultural and social practices into the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Alexis 1852; Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Mooney 1900; Gilbert 1943; Speck and Schaeffer 1945). At the same time, government officials and visitors, probably due in large part to Will Thomas's public relations efforts, consistently described them as hard working, industrious, and "progressing" in the acquisition of skills and customs of Anglo-American society (Carrington 1892; Donaldson 1892; Finger 1980, 1984; Lanman 1849; Mullay 1848).

Formal education for Eastern Cherokees was absent or sporadic until the 1870s when the tribe established two schools, at least one of which offered bilingual instruction. After 1880, pressures on the Eastern Cherokees to assimilate increased when boarding and day schools run by the Quakers, and later by the federal government, replaced the earlier tribal schools (Williams 1976; Neely 1979a, 1979b). During the 1880s as well, primarily as a result of rumored allotment of tribal lands and to a lesser extent through intermarriage, federal enrollments of the Cherokees suddenly became much more ethnically heterogeneous. Political, economic, and social factionalism among "full-bloods, mixed-bloods, and white Indians" then emerged as a critical problem, one that still plagues the Eastern Band today (Finger 1984, 1991).

Major Enclaves

Qualla Town

From protohistoric times until Removal there were Cherokees living on the Oconaluftee and Tuskaseegee rivers in North Carolina, lands which are now within the bounds of Jackson and Swain counties or the *Qualla* Boundary and 3200 Acre Tract of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Historically, this Cherokee settlement cluster was rendered as the "Out Towns" by the British, because of the remote, difficult terrain which surrounded them.

Despite their reputed inaccessibility, the Out Towns were soon devastated by epidemics and many were burned by the British military expeditions and brigades of frontier settlers. Most of these towns and settlements were virtually abandoned by 1761. From then until 1819, a few staunch residents and returning refugees maintained scattered single family farmsteads in the area. In that year, a group of Out Town families became North Carolina citizens, taking up individual reservations outside the Cherokee Nation not far from the confluence of the Oconaluftee and Tuckasegee rivers. The *Qualla* Town settlements which later formed in this location during and after Removal became the geographic, demographic, and, later, the political center of the Eastern Cherokee remnant (Dickens 1979; Finger 1984; Greene 1996; King 1979a).

Because of their geographical isolation, the Cherokees who lived in the Out Towns were said to be the most culturally conservative members of their tribe. The people of the Out Towns spoke the *Kituhwa* dialect of the Cherokee language, which is still spoken on the *Qualla* Boundary (Greene 1996; King 1979a; Neely 1991).

After Removal the largest concentration of Eastern Cherokees, about 700 people, drew together along the Oconaluftee River, around an area then known as *Qualla* Town and today as the *Qualla* Boundary. This post-Removal enclave initially consisted of the followers of the elderly headman *Yonaguska*, who already lived on the Oconaluftee, and the smaller band of *Euchella*, refugees from the Nantahala River area (Finger 1984; King 1979b; Riggs and Duggan 1992). By 1840, *Qualla* Town also included refugees from other areas of the Cherokee Nation who had escaped from the Trail of Tears or returned from Indian Territory. Among these were a handful of families formerly from the Ducktown Basin communities (cf Thomas 1840b). In 1819, *Yonaguska* (Drowning Bear) and about 60 families had settled on individual reservations located on a section of the Oconaluftee River just outside the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, an area within the jurisdiction of the state of North Carolina. In 1837, these Cherokees petitioned and received a preliminary dispensation from the North Carolina Assembly in 1837 to remain on the lands outside the Cherokee Nation where they had lived for almost two decades. Since this unusual status presented a contradiction to the intent of federal Removal legislation, it was not immediately clear whether the *Oconaluftee* Cherokees were subject to forced emigration (Finger 1984, 1991; King 1979b; Redman 1980). *Yonaguska's* band, and that of *Euchella* which moved into the *Qualla* Town settlements from the Nantahala River, received assurances that they could stay in North Carolina in return for their assistance in the capture of the fugitive refugee family of *Tsali* (Old Charley), and for the subsequent execution of the elderly man and his oldest sons (Finger 1979; King 1979b).

In the decade after Removal, at least four of six original settlement districts--Wolf Town, Raven Place (Big Cove), Bird Town, Yellow Hill (Cherokee), Paint Town, and Pretty-Woman Town--were established in the *Qualla* Town vicinity. Several of these settlements bear the names of Cherokee clans, and there is some evidence that Thomas encouraged clan members to settle together in each (John Finger, personal communication 1998; Lanman 1849). Twentieth century ethnographic studies of the five surviving *Qualla* Boundary settlements also suggest that the establishment of these communities reflected an effort to follow traditional kin-based settlement arrangements (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gilbert 1943; University of North Carolina n. d.).

Most of the *Qualla* Town lands were contiguous and local transportation so poor that these settlements enjoyed some measure of cultural isolation until the late nineteenth century. There were, however, from the early nineteenth century onward, a number of Anglo-American farmers who also lived in the Oconaluftee River valley, as well as the occasional passing traveler (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Lambert 1958).

Cheoah, Buffalo, and the Nantahala Indians

The craggy, imposing landscape above the Snowbird Mountains, along the Cheoah, Nantahala, and upper Little Tennessee river drainages was home to the Cherokee Middle Towns and their protohistoric ancestors. Many Middle Towns had also been burned and some reclaimed during the eighteenth century wars and raids against the Cherokees. Here the *Atali* dialect of Cherokee was spoken and the people were among the last

Cherokees to face direct pressures to acculturate to Anglo-American lifeways before Removal (Greene 1996; Finger 1984; Neely 1991).

During Removal most Cherokees from the Middle Towns were arrested and marched primarily to the detention camps at Fort Montgomery (Robbinsville) and Fort Delaney (Valley Town). In 1840, however, there were still between 100 and 200 Cherokees in this region, still remaining in or near *Cheoah* settlement. The majority of the people in this Cherokee enclave had lived in the *Cheoah* or Buffalo settlements before Removal (see Bynum n. d.; Finger 1980, 1984; Neely 1991; Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Many residents of *Cheoah* had been arrested during Removal, but never transported out of the area because heavy rains made the dirt track roads impassable and illness had become rampant in the local, make-shift detention camp. Others had fled into the surrounding mountains for safety. The officer in charge of local Removal efforts, Captain John Gray Bynum, decided to allow the most ill, infirm, and elderly *Cheoah* residents, along with attendant relatives, to return to their homes. In the early years after Removal, the *Cheoah* settlement also sheltered other Middle Town survivors, as well as some refugees from the Valley Towns and Ducktown Basin settlements (see Bynum n.d. and Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Under American control, this portion of the Cherokee Nation became the northern part of old Cherokee County (now Graham County) and segments of Jackson and Macon counties, North Carolina. Some of the people counted by Thomas as *Cheoah* residents in 1840 lived for a time as squatters on scrub lands confiscated by the state of North Carolina, as did a number of incoming whites (Finger 1984; Thomas 1840a, 1840b). However, less than

a month after Removal, three local white men bought over 1,200 acres of confiscated tribal lands from the state for use by Cherokees still in the area. These lands were dispersed along Snowbird, Little Snowbird, and Buffalo Creeks among the holdings of whites. For the first time the former Middle Towns people were subjected to frequent interaction with non-Indians.

In the early twentieth century, dam building forced the Cherokees at *Cheoah* and Buffalo, as well as refugees who had returned to live near their old settlements along the Nantahala River around Almond, North Carolina late in the nineteenth century, to relocate yet again. Most moved onto the Snowbird tracts; a few moved to the *Qualla* Boundary and 3200 Acre Tract. Today, the Cherokees who remain in this locale are known as the Snowbird Cherokees (Neely 1976, 1991; Riggs and Duggan 1992)

Cherokee County

About 100-200 Cherokees resided in the southern portion of old Cherokee County, North Carolina after Removal (Finger 1980, 1984; Gilbert 1943; Thomas 1840a, 1840b). The pre-Removal settlements known collectively as the Valley Towns had been located here. Today, this area constitutes modern Cherokee County and part of Clay County. Most Cherokees who lived here in 1840 claimed residence in the same communities along the Valley, Hiwassee, and Nottley rivers or tributary streams where they had lived preceding Removal (Thomas 1840a, 1840b). Several mixed blood families remained on farms for which they held legal title (Finger 1991). Refugees from elsewhere in the old Cherokee Nation were sheltered for a time after Removal with at least one of these families. As in

other North Carolina Cherokee settlements, scattered tracts of land were eventually acquired in the names of Thomas and other willing Anglo-Americans as a cover for exclusive Indian use (Finger 1984; Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Scholars generally suggest (e. g. Finger 1984; Neely 1991; Perdue 1989) that Cherokees living south of the Snowbird Mountains before Removal--an area which included the Valley Towns and the Ducktown Basin area settlements--had more in common with the progressive, elite Cherokees of the north Georgia hill country than with the culturally conservative peoples north of the Snowbirds. However, other sources (see Duggan 1987; McLoughlin 1990; McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Henderson 1835; Starkey 1946), as well as current archaeological and ethnohistorical research being conducted at Removal era farmsteads in Cherokee County (Riggs 1995, 1996; Riggs and Kimball 1996) suggest otherwise. These works indicate that the Cherokees of the Valley Towns settlements, and those living along the nearby Tennessee/Georgia borders, were among the most traditional and full-blooded peoples in the Cherokee Nation in the 1830s.

Regarding a related issue, most scholars, including Finger (1980, 1984) and Neely (1976, 1991), apply the indigenous term "white Indian" to the Indians who lived in Cherokee County after Removal, implying little social and/or genetic linkages to more traditional Cherokees for this group. Closer scrutiny of the Cherokee County settlements during the course of this study, however, revealed much more variation in the county's post-Removal Indian population through time--in spatial arrangement, ethnic status, and social networks--than has been previously reported.

Smaller Enclaves

Sand Town

Sand Town on Muskrat Creek, a tributary of the Little Tennessee River via Cartoogeechaye Creek, in Macon County, North Carolina was founded by a conservative Cherokee couple, *Chuttasotee* and *Cunstagih* (Jim and Sally Woodpecker), and several other people who escaped en route to Indian Territory (McRae 1987). *Cunstagih* was native to this place which had been part of the Middle Towns settlement area, so the couple returned to where they had lived among her matrilineal kin before Emigration.

When the Woodpecker party arrived at the couple's farm, they found it occupied by white settlers. Under the name and patronage of a local white friend, these Indians acquired the use of about 200 acres of bottom land on a nearby creek. Soon Cherokee refugees from other areas joined them. By 1850 about 100 Cherokees were associated with the Sand Town settlement (McRae 1987).

Chattahoochee River

Along the upper Chattahoochee River, in the "cotton uplands" northeast of Atlanta, a post-Removal Cherokee community of a totally different order continued (Flanagan 1989). This locale was home to 22 families of Anglo-Cherokee descent whom the state of Georgia, through last minute enactment of the Cherokee Indian Citizenship Act, allowed to avoid deportation to Indian Territory. This unusual act of compassion toward Cherokees by the state of Georgia probably was extended because of services rendered during the Removal era. Two key men from these affiliated families

were signers of the Treaty of New Echota, and one, William Rogers, previously passed on confidential information from Cherokee National Council meetings to state officials. After Removal, traditionalists made two attempts on Rogers' life in retribution for his betrayal of Cherokee clan and national laws (Flanagan 1989).

The Chattahoochee families were mixed-blood Cherokees, and several had Anglo-American spouses. Half of the families descended from a single English trader and his Cherokee wife, and others probably from her clan relations. All were affluent and well-educated by Anglo-American standards well before Removal. Among the men were several prominent planters, ferry boat operators, and the graduate of a London public school. After Georgia confiscated and auctioned off Cherokee land within its expanded borders in 1832, the Chattahoochee Cherokees were temporarily landless. Between 1837 and 1850, however, several repurchased much of their old property and regained a measure of their former wealth (Flanagan 1989). These families appear to have had few ties to the North Carolina Cherokees subsequent to Removal, and, in fact, may have been shunned for their close alliance with the state of Georgia during Removal.

Ducktown Basin

Since threats of removal continued to plague the Eastern Cherokees for several decades, William Holland Thomas urged outlying groups to move into the Qualla Town area or other settlements above the Snowbirds for their own protection and to minimize contact with Anglo-Americans (Frizzell 1981). Despite this advice, small parties of Cherokees established settlements

at or near pre-Removal locations in southwestern North Carolina and East Tennessee beginning in the 1840s and 1850s (e.g. Duggan 1987; Duggan and Riggs 1993; Greene 1984; McRae 1987; Riggs and Duggan 1992). Very little has been reported about these smaller settlements.

This dissertation brings in-depth attention to the reestablishment of several Indian settlements in the Ducktown Basin area of Polk County, Tennessee. In addition, a number of full-blood families who lived for brief periods in Loudon County, Tennessee (cf Greene 1984), the previously unreported post-Removal Long Ridge and *Nantahala* settlements in western North Carolina, as well as several assimilated mixed-blood families, are discussed in reference to the Ducktown Cherokees at various points in this dissertation.

Indian resettlement of the Ducktown Basin officially began in 1844 when a Cherokee family with pre-Removal ties to the area managed to purchase lands near their former home which early white settlers of this mountainous section of the Blue Ridge province had evidently rejected (Ocoee Land Records 1844). Ultimately, there were several post-Removal Cherokee settlements of varying sizes and duration in and around the Ducktown Basin: on Fighting Town Creek in the Grear's Ferry and Tumbling Creek vicinities just west of Ducktown; at Turtletown; and at Cold Springs on Little Frog Mountain.

The Ducktown Basin area's post-Removal Cherokee population probably peaked before the Civil War when about 30 households (71 people) were affiliated with the post-Removal Turtletown settlement (Cherokee Indians 1853). The last permanent Cherokee residents left the Basin vicinity

in the early 1890s. A few Cherokees, however, returned periodically to the "old Indian cabins" at remote Cold Springs during the first years of the twentieth century (George Mealer, personal communication 1985, 1986; also see Duggan 1987, Duggan and Riggs 1993; Riggs and Duggan 1992).

The Ducktown Basin is unique in that it was an outpost of intensive industrialization prior to the Civil War, something that rarely occurred that early in the Southern Appalachians (Barclay 1946; Duggan 1998; Duggan et al. 1998; Eller 1982). During the 1840s, the same decade that Cherokees returned to the Ducktown Basin, one of America's major copper reserves was discovered locally. These rich mineral deposits drew early investors and miners from the South, New England, and British Isles. After the Civil War, copper production increased dramatically; the local population size and its ethnic and racial composition changed in concert. Environmental damage, caused by sulfur emissions from the roasting yards and copper smelters and associated timber harvesting, gradually transformed a fifty square-mile area into a barren, red desert (Barclay 1946; Flagg 1973; Foehner 1980).

∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞

Walter Williams (1979b) suggests that the survival of remnant native groups, like the Eastern Cherokees and the Ducktown Cherokee enclave, in the biracially polarized society of the South provides an important arena in which to study problems of ethnicity. The Cherokee families who resettled in the Ducktown Basin vicinity after the Trail of Tears faced not only challenges to ethnic and racial identity, but local circumstances that were quite distinct from those of other Eastern Cherokees and most other Southeastern Indian

remnants. How the people of this Cherokee enclave balanced their cultural and ethnic commitments as traditionalist members of the evolving Eastern Band of Cherokees Indians with living in a locale undergoing rapid industrialization and settlement by non-Indians is a primary focus of this dissertation.

CHAPTER III

EXPLORING METHODOLOGIES, SOURCES, AND UNCHARTED HISTORIES

> What do we really mean by document, if it is not a "track," as it were--the mark, perceptible to the senses, which some phenomenon, in itself inaccessible, has left behind?...The variety of historical evidence is nearly infinite. Everything that man says or writes, everything that he makes, everything he touches can and ought to teach us about him [sic]...[It] would be sheer fantasy to imagine that for each historical problem there is a unique type of document with a specific sort of use. On the contrary, the deeper the research, the more the light of the evidence must converge from sources of many different kinds.
>
> Marc Bloch
> The Historian's Craft (1953:55,66-67)

> *Our story remains unwritten. It rests within the culture, which is inseparable from the land. To know this to know our history. To write this is to write of the land and the people who are born from her.*
>
> Haunani-Kay Trask
> In The American Indian and the Problem of History (1987:178)

Earlier Post-Removal Studies

Numerous articles and monographs have been published about Southeastern Indian groups which survived Removal (see Williams and French 1979). Many are ethnological studies which rely heavily on "memory culture" drawn from tribal elders who came of age in the nineteenth century (e. g. Bushnell 1909; Speck 1934; Swanton 1931). More recently, the post-

Removal era has served as an historical backdrop for examinations of American Indian lifeways in the late twentieth century (e. g. Neely 1991; Peterson 1970; Paredes 1975, 1992). Contemporary publications that address post-Removal lifeways at length usually focus on tribal-level history and adjustments (e. g. Blu 1980; Finger 1984; Hudson 1970; Kersey 1975; Rountree 1990; Young 1961). Smaller Indian remnants, communities, and family clusters, such as the Ducktown Basin Cherokees, have received little attention. Interesting exceptions include Patrick Garrow's (1975) study of the Indians of Mattamuskeet in Hyde County, North Carolina and Ernest Down's (1979) article which explores experiences of the Tunicas of Louisiana.

The scarcity of comprehensive accounts of this order occurs for several reasons. Chief among these are the paucity or obscurity of primary evidence concerning such communities and individuals, as well as the research foci and collection strategies of nineteenth century ethnographers, historians, archives, and public agencies. Another important contributing factor has been the hesitancy of many anthropologists, practitioners of a discipline long interested in contemporary ethnographic studies of communities, to delve deeply into the documentary evidence.

Walter Williams believes that the "small size and isolated conditions of most southern Indian groups meant that their history was determined more by local situations than by federal policy" (1979b:23). Surviving historical evidence about the region's Indian remnants reflects this localism in both kind of document and in content. For instance, Garrow (1975) found the bulk of his source material in local public records. By combining information from deeds, tax lists, marriage records, apprentice bonds, and oral

history accounts he traced the origin of the Indians of Mattamuskeet from the amalgamation of survivors of several coastal chiefdoms in the eighteenth century to twentieth century descendants who have little or no awareness of Indian ancestry. Likewise, Downs (1979), in his research on the Tunicas, discovered much evidence about this small group's mid-to-late nineteenth century experiences in parish records, especially court records, and through interviews with current members of the tribe.

While certain kinds of local records were important to my study, other critical evidence came from sources quite different in nature and derivation. This occurs largely because the Eastern Cherokees were the most populous post-Removal remnant left in the Southeast and the only tribe in the region to receive federal recognition prior to 1900 (Finger 1984; Williams 1979a, 1979b). Thus, documentation of Eastern Cherokee membership by the federal and tribal governments occurred frequently after Removal (see Litton 1940).

In this dissertation, tribal enrollments and federal censuses served as a cross-check for locating the Ducktown Basin Cherokees in time and space, and as a source for examining information about blood quantum and economics. As more fully-rounded personages, however, these American Indians were more clearly visible in sources that derive from the actions of local institutions, families, or individuals. Especially important were church minutes, oral traditions, and a few items of material culture, which reflect social and economic interaction with the area's white residents. The most fruitful source of social and personal data about this small enclave and its place within Cherokee and white societies and communities, was found in

federal pension applications filed by several Cherokee widows and a mother after the Civil War.

In this chapter I discuss methodological approaches that served as a framework for collecting and analyzing the materials employed in my study. Sources of primary and secondary evidence that were particularly useful to me are briefly reviewed. I close with a discussion of important methodological problems encountered and how I resolved these, or compensated for deficiencies in resources.

The Anthropologist as Ethnohistorian

My primary research methodology was drawn from the sub-discipline of ethnohistory; however, academic training and fieldwork in ethnographic and archaeological research, with additional preparation and experience in historiography and community history studies (see McFarlane 1977; Rogers 1977), greatly affected how I approached the definition, location, and interpretation of historic evidence.

Given that my first introduction to the historic Ducktown Basin Cherokees was through interviews with contemporary residents of the study area, I approached my subsequent dissertation topic as if data were to be collected in an ethnographic fieldwork situation. That is, I started my research with what could be determined about my subject from present-day communities, residents, and resources, and worked backward through time. Only later, did I begin working forward from the time of Removal with historic documents. This approach is similar to Fenton's "upstreaming" approach (1952:334-35), an early hallmark of ethnohistoric research, and the

"direct historic" method, widely-used by an earlier generation of archaeologists and ethnologists (Fenton 1952:333). Training in archaeological method and theory also allowed me to visualize, or create "mental templates" of the communities I was reconstructing. That is, I conceived of them, in a manner, as chronologically-structured or "stratigraphic" layers upon shifting social, geographical, and historical landscapes.

From the beginning, I also immersed myself in the rich ethnographic and historic literatures--about the Cherokees, the settlement and development of the Southern Appalachians under European and American control, and the local histories of surrounding counties and communities. Using these secondary sources, I established a chronology of major cultural and historic trends and events that might have affected the resident Indian populations.

I then ventured deep into primary documents, the traditional provenance of historians. It was always necessary, as I worked with specific documentary evidence, to be constantly aware of local Cherokees in terms of preceding and succeeding events in the broader Indian and white communities and societies which framed and shaped their individual lives and experiences. Thus, analysis and interpretation began to overlap more frequently and significantly as the dissertation research progressed.

Periodic debates during the twentieth century about the disciplinary and paradigmatic boundaries between anthropology and history have been detailed elsewhere (see Faubion 1993; Hudson 1983; Krech 1991; Sturtevant 1968). I agree with Faubion (1993:35), who believes that history "lies much closer to the center of both the ethnographic and the

anthropological imagination." Others scholars have taken the increasingly blurred demarcations between the use of historic sources and ethnographic analysis a step further, by adding insights from modern literary criticism (see e. g. Clifford 1988).

The development of ethnohistory as a subdiscipline of anthropology and/or a research methodology has been debated and explicated in numerous articles (see Sturtevant 1968; Hudson 1983). Here, however, I will briefly discuss several major developments within ethnohistory which influenced the creation, content, and form of my dissertation.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, anthropologists have employed archaeology, memory or salvage ethnography, time and space studies, historical linguistics, kinship reconstructions, and cross-cultural comparisons as sources for recovering and illuminating past lifeways. Clark Wissler coined the term "ethnohistory" in 1909, but it was John Swanton, noted for his classic studies of Southeastern Indian tribes, who is credited as the "father" of ethnohistory. Ethnohistory came of age in the 1940s and 1950s when many anthropologists prepared testimonies and tribal histories in support of American Indian claims for federal tribal recognition. By the 1950s ethnohistory was considered a separate subfield of anthropology (Hickerson 1970; Krech 1991; Sturtevant 1968).

The emergence of acculturation studies in the 1930s critically influenced the direction of ethnohistorical inquiry (e. g. Redfield et al. 1936; Linton 1940; Spicer 1961a, 1962). Social anthropologists, under the influence of Fred Eggan in the United States, and later under E. E. Evans-Pritchard in Britain, contributed significantly to the maturation of ethnohistory. These

latter scholars produced many influential analyses which applied the study of culture change to kinship and other social phenomena (see Carmac 1972, Hudson 1983; Sturtevant 1968).

Harold Hickerson's (1970:7) definition of ethnohistory as "that sub-branch of ethnology which employs historiographical methods to lay a foundation of general laws: in a word, *ideographic* means to *nomothetic* ends [sic]," elucidated a mounting concern for theoretical grounding and import for ethnohistorical studies as the "new anthropology" emerged. The primary objective of ethnohistory, Hickerson said, should be "the explication of cultural organizations and of culture change among specific groups, and eventually through comparative analysis, the statement of general laws dictating the direction of culture change in broadest scope" (Hickerson 1970:2). Thomas Abler (1982), however, suggests that despite such nods to the importance of culture theory, many ethnohistories continue to be narrowly focused descriptive accounts, whether written by anthropologists or the growing number of historians and sociologists who study the past of non-Western societies.

During the last decade, a growing number of ethnohistorians have employed a variety of theoretical perspectives and methodologies to illuminate ways in which the world's native peoples and cultures have been affected by colonialism (e.g. Etienne and Leacock 1980; Merrell 1989; Price 1983, 1990; Sahlins 1985; Sider 1994; Usner 1992; Wolf 1982). Today, anthropologists who use ethnohistorical materials as a foundation for broad-based studies sometimes refer to their scholarship by such terms as "anthrohistory" (Paul Freidrich 1986:xix) or "ethnographic history" (Richard

Price 1990:xvi). Some choose a separate designation because they perceive that certain ethnohistorians have approached their research about indigenous peoples with ethnocentric biases and because of past sponsorship of ethnohistoric research by some colonialist regimes.

Ethical and methodological concerns about the absence or silencing of indigenous voices and concerns in historic and ethnographic accounts, the marginalization or partial incorporation of native peoples in colonialist social orders, or their transformation into "the Other" in contrast to majority populations, has led some ethnohistorians (e. g. Price 1983, 1990; Rappaport 1994) to explore the use of the literary technique known as polyvocality (see Clifford 1988). Richard Price not only incorporates and interprets extensive passages from documents which record differing perspectives of colonial, native, and anthropological voices, but he uses different type faces to set the comments of each apart, to aid the reader in forming their own interpretation of the materials. As stated in Chapter I, I have adopted this typographic device in my dissertation to convey a sense of multivocality and vantage point: scholarly narrative and analysis (including my own voice); Cherokee; historic non-Indian; and ethnographic vignettes drawn from my own primary research.

Defining, Evaluating, and Interpreting Historical Evidence

Traditional Western histories--that is, event-based, descriptive accounts--relied on facts deduced from written records (Kammen 1982; Sturtevant 1968). The first major departure from this methodology came from the Annales movement which began in the 1920s in France under the

leadership of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, and continues to influence the work and training of scholars world-wide. In an effort to explore previously ignored economic, geographical, and social segments of French society, members of the Annales movement developed a more problem-oriented, nomothetic research style based in methodologies that drew on the use of a variety of written, oral, and material sources (Burke 1990). For instance, as Bloch prepared his celebrated study of medieval French peasantry, French Rural History (1966), he searched for resilient cultural patterns, in part by interviewing and observing the lifeways and work of contemporary French agriculturalists. However, despite the extensive influence of Bloch and other Annalistes, written sources remain the mainstay of most historians.

David Pitt (1972), who addresses anthropologists or sociologists who conduct historical research, restricts his discussion of the evaluation of evidence to written documents. Other anthropological researchers attach a broader meaning to the term "document." Clyde Kluckhohn (1945), in an examination of the critical use of personal documents by several generations of anthropologists, includes written sources (letters, diaries, autobiographies, biographies), as well as transcriptions of expressive (oral) interviews.

Those historians who follow Gottschalk (1945; 1969) and Barzun and Graff (1985) use the term "document" interchangeably with the word "source" to mean any written, oral, or material evidence. The latter authors include as material sources (which they call "mute evidence") everything from buildings to pottery fragments. The recent work of British archaeologist Ian Hodder (e.g. 1986, 1987) enlarges on this approach in a series of treatises and

edited works which explore the "reading" of material culture as "texts" of past lifeways.

In this dissertation, I employ the more inclusive meaning of document as any written, oral, and material evidence or source. These three broad categories of evidence are further divided into subtypes that I adapted from methodologies employed by other anthropologists, historians, and folklorists (see Gottschalk 1945; Kluckhohn 1945; Kyvig and Marty 1982; Pelto and Pelto 1978; Pitt 1972; Williams 1967).

Historical evidence may also be categorized as a primary or secondary source. Primary sources, whether written or oral, are eyewitness accounts of events or first hand knowledge of beliefs or practices reported by a person or recording device. Eyewitness testimony or knowledge is potentially the most compelling and reliable reservoir of historical information, if it is examined and used cautiously. All other written or oral materials derived from non-eyewitness means are classified as secondary sources. While less desirable than primary information, secondary sources have the potential capacity to draw on a wide pool of eyewitness accounts and analytical means to reach conclusions about the subject under scrutiny (Barzun and Graff 1985; Bloch 1953; Kyvig and Marty 1982).

Documents are of unequal value in the construction of a study or argument, not merely in terms of content, but also in the circumstances of their generation and transmission (Bloch 1953). Critical evaluation of source materials is the essential first step for all sound historical interpretation. Barzun and Graff emphatically state that "no piece of evidence can be used for historiography in the state in which it is found." They raise three

fundamental questions that must be addressed during the review of evidence: "Is this object or piece of writing genuine? Is its message trustworthy? How do I know?" (Barzun and Graff 1985:165).

Such questions assist the researcher in establishing the probability that historical facts presented in the document are credible (Barzun and Graff 1985; Bloch 1953; Wise 1980). Assessing the credibility of a historic document involves external and internal criticism of the item itself, and, ultimately, the weighing of all evidence at hand (the "evidence of evidence") as part of the final synthesis and interpretation (Gottschalk 1945, 1969; Pitt 1972:47). External criticism--the examination of a document for inconsistencies, errors, falsehoods, word meanings, or details which might prove or disprove the authenticity of the document, its age, and authorship--must be accomplished first. Only then can internal criticism, that is, the "analysis of documents for credible details," proceed (Gottschalk 1945:35).

Internal criticism begins with the researcher's immersion in relevant background literature. This prepares her or him to evaluate the circumstances under which the document was created. Problems caused by biases in reportage such as selectivity or omission of details, ethnocentrism, lack of knowledge of language or cultural contexts, professional or political pressure, gaps in available sources due to differential preservation, or need for confidentiality then can identified. Internal criticism takes into account whether evidence can be corroborated through independent sources. If this cannot be done, inferences about the evidence based on relevant period and topical literature, or through statistical methods, may help substantiate probability (Pitt 1972).

The final step of historical criticism, synthesis of facts, begins once the various lines of evidence have been evaluated and interpreted through external and internal criticism (Gottschalk 1945). At this stage, the researcher must arrange the facts into meaningful sequences and patterns based on causality, conjunction, or other types of classification. Historians frequently arrange facts in terms of "watersheds," based on changes in social or political ideas, while anthropologists engaged in the use of historical evidence often synthesize facts in terms of social relationships (Pitt 1972:61).

One contemporary historian likens historical criticism of documents (referred to here as "texts") to a journey. His analogy stresses the multi-directional interplay between sources, analysis, interpretation, and the researcher's evolving perspective:

> Just as someone who sets out to travel in the world must *prepare* himself for what he's about to see, so also the historical critic who sets out to travel in a text. As the traveler seeks to gain experience in the world, so the critic must seek to gain experience in the text. In time, both traveler and critic may reshape that experience into their own forms; but if the experience is to affect those forms in any substantial way, it must be allowed to come through in its own forms first....Basically, that journey consists of three stages--(1) moving into the text to experience what it says and how, (2) making a series of outward connections from the text to the world around the text, then (3) moving back into the text again, to check just how experiences from the outside world affect what's said and done in there (Wise 1980:170-171).

The methods of historical criticism are most often discussed in terms of written documents, but are also generally applicable to the evaluation of oral

sources. The credibility and value of oral traditions as historical evidence, however, has been hotly debated within anthropology, folklore, and history for over a century (see Bloch 1953, 1966; Burke 1990; Montell 1970).

William Lynwood Montell (1970) neatly summarizes the continuing controversy over the historical validity of oral sources in the introduction to The Saga of Coe Ridge, his account of a settlement founded by former slaves in the Kentucky uplands which is based largely on oral histories:

> The utilization of oral traditions as undertaken here represents an area of open controversy and is severely attacked by some scholars who are accustomed to more conventional methods of documentation. A less hostile attitude claims that oral traditions can be utilized in historical writings, provided that these recollections are approached with proper caution. Still another line of thought holds that folklore is a mirror of history. That is to say, history can be viewed through folklore. A fourth position contends that the tales and songs of a people are grounded in historical fact (Montell 1970:viii).

The most detailed critiques regarding the nature and generation of oral traditions come from Jan Vansina (1965, 1985). Vansina identifies five broad types of oral traditions: commentaries, tales, lists, poetry, and formulae. He believes that oral traditions can yield a valid approximation of "historical truths," but urges that they should not be taken up indiscriminately as documentary evidence without careful reflection. He cautions the researcher to analyze the functional contexts and derivation of oral traditions, and to cross-check their content with data obtained from archaeology, linguistics, ethnology, and physical anthropology (Vansina 1965).

Not all scholars agree with Vansina's analytical categories. David Henige, for instance, reserves the term "oral tradition" for:

> those recollections of the past that are commonly or universally known in a given culture. Versions that are not [widely] known should rightfully be considered as 'testimony' and if they relate to recent events they belong to the realm of oral history (Henige 1980:2).

While some scholars continue to debate the appropriate uses of oral traditions in historical reconstructions and interpretations, few dispute their usefulness as mirrors of the social values, structures, and ideologies of the particular societies who recount them. Vansina's cautionary words apply equally well to written sources:

> Each type of society has in fact chosen to preserve the kind of historical traditions suited to its particular type of structure, and the historical information to be obtained by studying these traditions is restricted by the framework of reference constructed by the society in question (Vansina 1965:170-171 in Montell 1970:xx).

One recent study found that literate observers in industrialized societies tend to "think of orality as something exotic, a phenomenon associated with other parts of the world rather than an everyday feature" of their own lives (Edwards and Sienkewicz 1990:216). In fact, analyses of ancient Icelandic sagas by folklorist Knut Liestøl have demonstrated that oral traditions can exist alongside literate forms for long periods of time as a kind of "historical record-keeping that is separate and distinct from written historical records" (Montell 1970:xvii). Some ethnoarchaeological studies

have correlated ancient oral traditions with specific archaeological sites and even geological episodes (e. g. De Laguna 1958, 1972; Gradwohl and Osborn 1984; Pendergast and Meighan 1959). Ethnologist William Sturtevant suggests that a correlation may exist between the function of certain types of oral traditions and their longevity. For instance:

> genealogies which tend to have important social and cultural functions are likely to survive for long periods, even though these very functions may result in systematic distortion. Other knowledge of the past is more subject to random errors and to disappearances through the vagaries of memory and unsystematic oral transmission (Sturtevant 1968:466).

Key Sources and Challenges for This Study

My dissertation focuses on the members of a post-Removal Eastern Cherokee enclave as participants in both Indian and non-Indian societies and communities. Such an examination required rethinking, integrating, and, at times, re-interpreting historical and ethnographic specializations that have been treated as divergent, or at best parallel, fields (e. g. Cherokee studies; Appalachian studies; Southern history; ethnography of the South; Southeastern Indian history; Southeastern Indian ethnography).

Dissertation projects in anthropology by tradition require the candidate to demonstrate her or his ability to ask meaningful questions regarding a specific research topic. The most fundamental questions are formulated by first immersing oneself in the comparative research literatures of one or more theoretical paradigms. Various approaches to the study of ethnicity,

ethnic groups, and ethnic relations seemed the most appropriate paradigm to pursue in formulating my study.

The dispersed and fragmented nature of information about the Basin Cherokees made it readily apparent that historical reconstruction and methodological concerns would have to be addressed in a fair of amount of depth in order to answer even basic research questions. Who were the post-Removal Indians settlers of the Basin? What were their historic and social connections with other Cherokees and Cherokee communities? Why did they reestablish settlements in the Basin after being driven out during Removal? What kinds of relationships did they form with local non-Indians? What internal and external social limitations bounded these relations? When and why did they leave? Where did they go?

The initial research problems centered on how to identify and track the people who constituted the local post-Removal Cherokee occupation through time; that is, how to establish a local chronology and identify changes and continuities in community personnel. These aspects could not be determined quickly, easily, or completely. Not all federal and tribal enrollments of the Eastern Cherokees separated out small outlying communities.

For example, the 1840 Thomas census identifies only Cherokees then residing in North Carolina Indian communities. The Mullay Roll of 1848, the first post-Removal federal enrollment, does not explicitly distinguish between communities, but these can sometimes be ferreted out by reading marginal notes, or comparing groups of names with enrollments taken in the next decade that do identify community. In other records, local families were listed simply as living in Polk County, Tennessee, or in neighboring

Cherokee County, North Carolina, not by home settlement. An 1853 petition sent by the "*Cherokee Indians*" of Polk County, Tennessee to "*The President of the United States*" provided the most complete list of Basin residents self-identified as to ethnicity and particular ethnic communities. This document then served as an important touchstone for reconstructing the local Indian populace through time.

Any researcher dealing with primary documents must deal with the interpretive problem of "when is enough, enough?" Working with historic personages and events which were glimpsed in fragmented fashion in scattered sources presented a particular challenge. I needed to do enough primary research to feel that I had an adequate and accurate enough understanding of the particulars of individual lives and local community mores and actions to explore larger theoretical issues, yet avoid becoming mired in the "minutiae" of the documents. As an aid in decision-making, I borrowed for my purposes the sampling concepts of saturation and replication from grounded theory as applied to qualitative data (see e.g. Glaser and Strauss 1967).[6] Ultimately, it often came down to balancing this approach with something on the order of an intuitive "feel" for a point of completion regarding a particular line of evidence or inquiry. As Harold Hickerson reiterates:

> If you travel long enough, material takes shape and begins to make sense in terms of consistency. Depending upon the scope of the problem, and assuming an adequacy of material, there is inevitably a point of diminishing returns reached, much as in fieldwork, then research grinds to a stop. In fact, one should know when to stop

> digging and get down to work. One must, above all, avoid congestion where there is abundance (Hickerson 1970:4).

In the discussion below, I briefly discuss sources that were particularly useful to my reconstruction and analysis of the Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave. My research was not, however, limited to these resources.

Written Evidence

Secondary Sources

The Cherokees are one of the most intensively scrutinized North American Indian tribes. In 1978, anthropologist Raymond Fogelson's publication, The Cherokees: A Critical Bibliography, listed 347 books and articles devoted to the history and culture of the Cherokees. Since that time dozens of other relevant works have appeared in print. The majority of these works have focused on the tribe's history and lifeways from the eighteenth century through the Cherokee Removal in 1838. Ethnographic studies conducted among the Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina since the 1930s comprise another substantial body of research.

These publications provided rich, general background for my dissertation project but revealed very little about the specific period or communities which I had selected for study. Only one book, The Eastern Band of Cherokees 1819-1900, a thorough, highly regarded history by John Finger (1984), and several earlier essays (Finger 1979, 1980, 1981; King 1979b; Witthoft 1979) deal exclusively with the critical decades of adjustment for the Cherokee remnants in the East after the Trail of Tears. Four anthropological studies--Myths of the Cherokees (Mooney 1900), The Eastern Cherokees

(Gilbert 1943), Cherokees at the Crossroads (Gulick 1960), and The Snowbird Cherokees (Neely 1976, 1991)--were invaluable resources for delving into the meanings and dynamics of traditionalism, acculturation, and ethnic identity for Eastern Cherokees from the last decade of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries.

For more specific insight into community structure, settlement patterns, clan relationships and responsibilities, economic relationships, world view, and acculturation among the Eastern Cherokees, I returned repeatedly to several key articles and papers (i.e. Bloom 1939, 1942; Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Pillsbury 1982; Speck and Schaeffer 1945; Thomas 1958a-d). Publications that focused on traditionalism among tribal Cherokees in eastern Oklahoma provided important comparative information about the manner in which those Cherokees have negotiated community and personal identity since their relocation to Indian Territory (see Hewes 1942a-b, 1943, 1944, 1978; Holm 1976; Jordon 1975; Thomas 1957; Wahrhaftig 1968, 1975, 1978).

Several brief eyewitness accounts and anecdotal sketches about the Eastern Cherokees describe aspects of their lifeways during the second half of the nineteenth century. These include Lanman (1849), Alexis (1852), Davis (1875), Zeigler and Grosscup (1883), Young (1894), and Toomer (1953). Most frequently penned by travelers, this type of work often mentions in passing subject matter not dealt with in official publications and correspondence (e.g. living conditions, women, native leaders and crafts). However, many are based on short-term or intermittent contact, and tend to be biased by ethnocentrism or romanticism. Lanman's work is the most frequently cited and ethnographically detailed of these accounts. His descriptions pertain for

the most part to conditions in the Qualla settlements, and appear to be heavily influenced by William Holland Thomas's efforts to convey a positive, "progressive" image of Eastern Cherokees to outsiders.

There are also a few brief histories and reminiscences written by non-Indians who had long-standing personal or professional relations with the Eastern Cherokees during the post-Removal era (see Shenck 1882; Robertson 1901; Stringfield 1903). The most distinctive of these is the short reminiscence penned by David Shenck, a judge, who was acquainted with Cherokees from many of the western North Carolina settlements. Shenck's essay, while clearly couched in the prejudices and language of the day, nonetheless, contains eyewitness materials based on court cases he handled and on personal encounters. His evidence raises provocative questions about then current Cherokee cultural practices and institutions, linguistic and social acculturation, as well as intra-ethnic variability and race relations. Another important publication of this era is a special census narrative (see Donaldson 1892) which describes the formation of the Eastern Band's tribal government, and economic and social conditions of Cherokees living primarily in the Qualla Boundary settlements.

Missing from the published literature of the post-Removal era are first-hand accounts written by Eastern Cherokees. Some Cherokee writings in the form of community council minutes, letters, and perhaps other memorabilia do exist, but most are untranslated documents recorded in the *Sequoyah* syllabary (see Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1965, 1966; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932). Two exceptions are The Shadow of Sequoyah: Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862-1964 (1965) and Chronicles of Wolftown: Social Documents

of the North Carolina Cherokees, 1850-1862 (1966) translated and edited by Jack and Anna Kilpatrick. One brief, late-life reminiscence by the traditionalist Cherokee, Aggie Ross *Lossiah*, includes information about her childhood, spent in part in Loudon County, Tennessee during the 1880s and 1890s (Greene 1984).

Primary Sources

Unpublished documents proved the most abundant source of evidence for my dissertation. The volume of paperwork generated about or by the Cherokees is enormous, numbering in the tens of thousands of pages, most of which remains greatly under-utilized. The bulk of the material is available on microfilm, but some crucial document sets exist only in original form in widely scattered archives. Information generated by federal, state, and local authorities about the citizens of Polk County, Tennessee during the study period added another layer of documents to be reviewed. A large proportion of my time, thus, was spent in accessing, evaluating, rejecting, or taking notes on documentary sets or isolate items located in multiple repositories. A discussion of document groups which were particularly valuable to my study follows.

Enrollments of the Cherokee Indians. Gaston Litton (1940) details the circumstances and problems surrounding the compilation of the major federal and tribal enrollments of Eastern Cherokees, as well as a summary of each. Enrollments important to my study include the much cited pre-Removal Henderson Roll (1835), and subsequent rosters for Eastern Cherokees--the Mullay Roll (1848), Siler Roll (1851), Chapman Roll (1851),

Swetland Roll (1869), Hester Roll (1884), Churchhill Roll (1907), Guion Miller Roll (1909-1910), and Baker Roll (1928). Supplemental materials, including some detailed testimonies, exist for the Miller and Baker enrollments.

Much useful information about kinship and social relations, household and community composition, economic conditions, language and personal appellation usage, intra-ethnic diversity, and educational and trade skills can be teased out of the enrollments and supplemental materials. However, it should be noted that the same categories are not necessarily included in all enrollments, answers are not always consistent with those given in earlier enrollments, and small traditionalist factions, especially in the southwestern corner North Carolina bordering my study area, resisted or boycotted several enrollments. Further, the enrollments were designed by federal officials and administered by special federal agents, with the assistance of native interpreters or assistants. The categories of information, therefore, reflect American bureaucratic, not Cherokee, nomenclature and interests, and especially emphasize advancement in the acceptance of selected aspects of American culture. This problem is even more obvious in the U. S. Census records discussed below.

Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Included in this voluminous set of materials are a number of annual, tribally-generated censuses for Eastern Cherokee communities which were first instituted in the 1890s. Combining information from these records with other evidence I was able to determine the departure date of the last Cherokee families from the Ducktown Basin area more precisely. More significantly, identifying members of the Indian communities which a number of Basin Cherokees

later joined provided evidence of long-standing marriage, kinship, and residence alliances among particular families that continued despite frequent geographical relocations before, during, and after Removal (see Riggs and Duggan 1992; Duggan and Riggs 1993).[7]

U. S. Military Records. The most fruitful information about my study group was found in pension applications filed by female members of the Ducktown enclave. Testimonies given by Basin Cherokees, Anglo-American neighbors, Cherokees from other communities, and government officials provided unusually detailed accounts about personal, neighborhood, and interethnic relations from the 1840s through the 1880s. Locating this source was serendipitous--the result of an intellectual fishing expedition following out a marginal comment about a former Basin Cherokee recorded in an enrollment long after she had moved away from the area.

This valuable documentary set also contained the most obvious cases of deliberate falsification of information encountered during my research--in the form of pension applications for two fabricated Indian women submitted by a white East Tennessee lawyer as part of a much larger scam that he and a partner tried to pull off against the federal government and unsuspecting white and Indian clients. Thus, I learned early in the project to cross-check sources for factual and cultural oddities.

The pension files presented the most abundant source of direct testimony by local Cherokees. However, their voices were translated into English through several different Cherokee interpreters who spoke the language with varying proficiency. Thus, the words of specific Cherokees come down to the reader filtered through the lens of one or more native

translators, having been screened before and after through the interests and practices of non-Indian questioners and recorders.

Federal Census Records. Population and agricultural schedules prepared for the United States Census Bureau for Polk County, Tennessee, Cherokee County, North Carolina, and Fannin County, Georgia were important in placing local Cherokees (and other Indians) within the temporal, geographical, economic, and social spaces that they shared with Anglo-American and African-American contemporaries. The agricultural censuses were particularly helpful, since they allowed comparison on a number of points with near-neighbors who were non-Indians.

Ocoee Purchase Papers. The last lands the Cherokee Nation ceded in the southeastern corner of Tennessee are known in the historic literature as the Ocoee Purchase. Land grant records preserved in the Ocoee Purchase Papers provide the earliest evidence for the return of Cherokees to the Ducktown Basin vicinity and approximate locations for early post-Removal settlement clusters.

County Records. Fires over the years destroyed both the main Polk County courthouse in Benton and ancillary courthouses in Ducktown, leaving few county public records which pre-date the 1880s. A few transactions involving Cherokees appear in surviving Polk County Registrar of Deeds books, but the surnames of local Cherokee families are absent from other available record group indices.

Some Cherokees from the Ducktown Basin vicinity are mentioned occasionally in the public records of neighboring Cherokee County, North Carolina because they moved there temporarily or permanently. I did not

exhaust Cherokee County's records for the study period, but rather concentrated on marriage and court records which were lacking, or not productive for my purposes, in the Polk County records.

Newspapers. The handful of surviving nineteenth century newspapers published in the Ducktown Basin contain little or no area news, and no mention of the locale's Indian families. After local history columns became regular features in the Polk County newspaper in the twentieth century, major historic Cherokee figures and American Indian archaeological sites became favorite themes. Occasionally, Cherokee personages or settlements associated with the Ducktown Basin settlements are mentioned, but usually only in passing. Earlier articles frequently recount local oral traditions; more recent ones sometimes reiterate data about specific individuals or families from federal enrollments. News items were most useful then as a gauge of attitudes of later generations of whites toward Cherokees as figures in familiar stories and legends, and only secondarily for new information, or as a cross-check for other data.

Church Records. Minutes of the Zion Hill Baptist Church in Turtletown, Tennessee proved a pivotal source for understanding the position of Basin Cherokees vis-á-vis that community's Anglo-American society. Membership lists from Zion Hill were central to my reconstruction of personnel and kinship affiliations for the local Indian community, and helped fill in gaps in its temporal span and personnel as documented in federal and tribal records.[8]

In order to assess whether interethnic congregations were common in the Ducktown Basin locale historically, I undertook a search for minutes from

other area churches that originated in the nineteenth century. Churches were identified by calling denominational associations and by talking with pastors or other church leaders. Most no longer had records for the period, and the handful of surviving records I found did not mention Indian members. I then cast my net wider into sections of Fannin County, Georgia and Cherokee County, North Carolina. I found one other Anglo-American congregation in Cherokee County that accepted a family of Cherokees into membership near the close of the nineteenth century.

About mid-way through my research, in an effort to better understand the events and interactions recorded in the Zion Hill minutes, I attended two services at a Baptist church in western North Carolina. I was there as a participant observer, the guest of a local Cherokee family. The church's membership includes monolingual and bilingual Cherokee speakers and many non-Indians. Its pastor at the time was non-Indian. Services were conducted in English, but included some songs and prayers in the Cherokee language.

Personal Documents. Over the course of my research, I examined many personal documents collections housed in public and private archives (see Acknowledgments). These forays were in essence fishing expeditions, and during most I was rewarded for my efforts, though frequently in small measure. Material most directly pertinent to my study was found in the William Holland Thomas Papers at Duke University and the Museum of the Cherokee Indian in Cherokee, North Carolina. In particular, the Thomas Census of 1840 and Supplement provided a baseline list of Cherokee families that remained in or had returned to the East two years after Removal, and the

communities where they resided in 1835 and 1840. The comments section for each family dutifully records the human toll of the Trail of Tears for the Eastern Cherokees. This commentary also contained vital information about kinship relations and household structure for families that I studied.

Personal documents still in private hands were rarely encountered. However, one elderly informant from the Ducktown Basin shared a short, hand-written history with me which he had penned about his rural neighborhood a few years earlier. His hand-drawn map, included in the document, showed the relative location of the community's pioneer homesteads, allowing me to generally pinpoint the location of an 1840s era Cherokee settlement mentioned in the Zion Hill church minutes. In another case, genealogical information recorded in a family Bible led to a discussion with a Cherokee descendant that helped elucidate the complex dynamics of post-Removal Cherokee household structure and kinship relations which are often masked in federal and tribal enrollment categories.

Oral Evidence

During the course of my dissertation project I developed a flexible combination of ethnographic and oral history interview techniques and styles as needed (cf Bernard 1988; Burgess 1994; Hoopes 1979; Ives 1984; Pelto and Pelto 1978; Sanjek 1993). Interviews were conducted following informed consent producedures required by the University of Tennessee. Initial interviews conducted in Polk and Fannin counties were exploratory and open-ended. By using previously established contacts from the earlier Ducktown Basin Museum project and referrals from new informants, I tried

to locate the oldest people who resided at, or who were raised near, places I knew post-Removal Cherokee families had lived. This was how I located the elderly gentleman with the unpublished neighborhood history mentioned above.

I sought through the initial interviews to delimit the extent and nature of relevant oral traditions still in circulation about local Cherokee families. These interviews were also structured to acquaint me with the geographical, social, and historical landscape of the Ducktown Basin locale. In addition, since local history is a favorite conversation topic for many residents, tying my research questions to familiar historic topics and places helped me to establish rapport and publicize my project through the area's informal communications networks.

More focused interviews were carried out with a small core of key informants who are descendants of the Basin Cherokees or their white neighbors. These interviews occurred primarily in Polk and Bradley counties, Tennessee and Cherokee, Graham, Jackson, and Swain counties, North Carolina. Follow-up interviews were sometimes conducted by telephone. Key informant interviews gave depth, texture, and connection to the often sketchy information about individuals, families, chronology, activities, and events derived from other sources. Most of the material gleaned in this manner was second-hand evidence passed down through the cultural and temporal filters of two to four generations.

Three interviews conducted with one key informant, the late George Mealer of Turtletown, Tennessee, provided the only eyewitness accounts collected. As a small boy in the first years of the twentieth century, Mealer and

his father often visited with the last Cherokees to inhabit the Cold Springs settlement on Little Frog Mountain.[9]

Material Evidence

Ethnological artifacts, heirlooms, and historic photographs form a small, but important corpus of evidence in my study. Presentation of self, family, and ethnic identity of Basin Cherokees, as depicted in photographs, by family heirlooms, and through descendants' recollections of household and personal goods, underscored the often ephemeral and indirect relationships between material and structural acculturation (see Spicer 1958, 1961b).

Social and economic roles of traditional river cane baskets manufactured and traded by Cherokee women from the Ducktown Basin discussed previously in Duggan and Riggs (1991a), Riggs and Duggan (1992), Duggan and Riggs (1993) are discussed here again. Finally, it should be noted that material evidence could have been discussed equally well with the personal documents or oral evidence sections above, since intrinsic values and symbolic meanings of the items for the owners, and for my own interpretations, are intricately tied to oral traditions and material inheritance patterns.

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William Simmons has explained the broadened scope and techniques now being explored in ethnohistorical writings as a movement toward an "integrated field of vision" (1988:5). He goes on to say:

> I view ethnohistory as a form of cultural biography that draws upon as many kinds of testimony as possible--material culture, archaeology,

> visual sources, historical documents, native texts, folklore, even earlier ethnographies--over as long a time period as the sources allow. One can't do this without taking into account both of local-level social history and the larger-scale social and cultural environments that affected that history. This kind of holistic, diachronic approach is most rewarding when it can be joined to the memories and voices of living people (Simmons 1988:10).

Ferreting out and interpreting the historical experiences and lifeways of a seemingly undocumented native enclave like the Ducktown Basin Cherokees required such a treatment.

PART TWO

A CASE STUDY IN
ETHNIC PERSISTENCE AND ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY

CHAPTER IV

Kăwâ'nă, Săligu'gĭ, and Walâs'-unûlsti'yĭ:
THE LAND AND PEOPLE THROUGH REMOVAL

At first the earth was flat and very soft and wet. The animals were anxious to get down [from *Găluñ'lătĭ*, that is, "Above"] *and sent out different birds to see if it was yet dry...At last it seemed to be time, and they sent out the Buzzard and told him to go and make ready for them....He flew all over the earth...When he reached the Cherokee country, he was very tired, and his wings began to flap and strike the ground, and wherever they struck the earth there was a valley, and where they turned up again there was a mountain. When the animals above saw this, they were afraid that the whole world would be mountains, so they called him back, but the Cherokee country remains full of mountains to this day.*

Excerpt, "*How the World was Made*," a Cherokee sacred myth (Mooney 1900:239)

Chief Duck built his town house...[on] Tumbling Creek, about two miles from where it empties into the Ocoee River. The town house was built of logs and had eight sides. The roof had a large hole in the center to let out the smoke from the fire that was built on the ground in the center of the house...It was in this house [at *Kăwâ'nă*, or Duck Town] that Duck held his powwows and gave dances in celebration of the coming in of green corn and like occasions.

It was there that "Uncle" George Green, when a lad of 12, attended an Indian dance with an uncle of his. This uncle of his was an old-time fiddler and a veteran of

the Revolutionary War. He made Uncle George dance his first dance, to the amusement of the Indians. He was followed by a beautiful young Indian girl, who was later known as Granny Bird [*Cohena*; born 1770s-1790s[10]]. She was clad in bright-colored blankets, trimmed with feathers and beads. She wore moccasins of rawhide, and around her trim ankles were tied small terrapin shells containing a few pebbles picked up from Tumbling Creek. These rattled as she danced on the earthen floor.

John S. Shamblin
(Polk County News 1938)

Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Removal and Local Response

White response to the actual seizure of Cherokees from their homes and their forced march to Indian Territory in 1838 varied. Some alternately destroyed or moved directly into the emptied farmsteads. Some were quick to profit from buying or selling to the impoverished refugees. All along the route west, white people turned out to witness this awful moment in American history. Some wept and railed against the injustice. Some prayed and worshiped with the refugees. Some offered small acts of kindness. None was capable of facing down the massive Removal action.

Cordie Standridge Schlaeger spent her early years in the Farner community which adjoins the northern edge of the Turtletown district in Polk County, Tennessee, about a dozen miles north of the Ocoee River. When I interviewed her at her home in Cleveland, Tennessee in 1990 she was a physically fragile woman in her eighties with a strong, clear memory.

During her childhood, Cordie spent many hours at her grandfather Western Standridge's cabin, on the lowest reaches of Ditney Mountain on the old road from Turtletown to Farner. From him she heard stories of his former neighbor, a Cherokee man named Jim Cat [*Tecosenaka,* born ca. 1804]. This remote place in the Cherokee National Forest, is still known to locals as Cat Cove.

One of Cordie's great-aunts learned to make rivercane baskets from the women in the Cat household. Beside Cordie's chair in her well-appointed living room was a heirloom from that era--a low, oval-shaped Cherokee storage basket woven of rivercane--now filled with magazines. She told me it was made by one of the women in the Cat family. This confirmed what the design around the outside had already indicated to me; it is indistinguishable from that found on four other storage baskets traded to another Turtletown family around 1896 by Sallie Cat (Catt), daughter-in-law of Jim Cat (see Duggan and Riggs 1991).

Cordie was particularly proud of the fact that her great-grandfather helped Jim Cat hide out during Removal. I was skeptical when I heard this family story because I knew from documentary evidence that *Tecosenaka* (James Cat) lived in a Cherokee settlement on the Nantahala River above the Snowbird Mountains before Removal and in one of the *Qualla* Town settlements in the 1840s. In both places, he lived with his first wife *Se coo ih,* a daughter of the Cherokee headman, *Euchella*. Jim first appears in extant records as living in Turtletown in the 1850s. where his younger sister, *Walle yah,* already lived with her husband and sons. Her husband was *Cheesqua neet*, son of *Cohena* or Granny Bird. Here Jim soon became, or already was, the husband of a second wife, *Sal kin nih,* who was probably a daughter of Granny Bird.

Much later, I encountered other documentary evidence external to the Basin records which lent credence to the Standridge oral

tradition. At the time of Removal and for several years after, the Standridges lived near Murphy, North Carolina, not at Turtletown. There they traded at one of William Holland Thomas' stores (see Thomas 1836-1845, 1837-1872, 1839-1842). Cordie's great-grandfather (West's father) also routinely paid the bills for a half dozen Cherokee men.

These isolated bits of information, fitted with the larger patterns, raised the possibility that the two families--one white, one Indian--might, indeed, have long-standing ties which stretched back to the time of Removal, but which occured in two locations, not one. Information from Jim Cat's descendants and the 1840 Thomas census (1840a, 1840b) confirm that he and his family started on the Trail of Tears, but at some point escaped, traveling east again, night after night under the cover of darkness. Circumstantially, it appears then that the Standridge family could have helped Jim Cat and/or other relatives during or shortly after Removal.

My interview with Cordie Schlaeger illustrated not only the presence of some positive social relationships between local Cherokees and whites in the midst of Removal, but of long-standing bonds which developed between the two groups. Research into the Cat (Catt) family, the centerpiece of Cordie's ancestral story and possibly the last traditional Cherokee family to abandon life in the Ducktown Basin at the end of the nineteenth century (see Riggs and Duggan 1992), revealed other long-standing ties. Jim Cat's (*Tecosenaka*) marriage was into the core matrilineage which led Cherokee resettlement of the Ducktown Basin after Removal. The presence of this matrilineage, as indicated by the previously presented oral tradition involving the young *Cohena* (Granny Bird), probably extended back to the beginning of significant historic Cherokee occupation at *Kăwâ'nă*, or Duck Town, and would continue until Jim Cat and *Sal kin nih's* children and grandchildren left the Basin.

The Ducktown Basin's Natural Environment

The Landscape

"Ducktown Basin" is the name applied to a geological feature--really an elevated trough--which extends across what is now eastern Polk County, Tennessee, and the northern-most section of Fannin County, Georgia, just crossing into the southwestern edge of Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figure 4.1). The area's name derives from "Duck Town," possibly the first pre-Removal Cherokee settlement located within its confines. Because of its historically marginal location and agricultural lands, the Basin, as it is known locally, did not attract early Euro-American settlers. In 1831, Tennessee's first state geologist, Girard Troost, in search of more ore deposits in areas adjacent to the Coker Creek gold fields, passed through this part of the Cherokee Nation on a portentous trip (see Safford 1856, 1857; Troost 1837). Scarely more than a decade later, in 1843, one of America's largest copper reserves was discovered in the Ducktown Basin, spurring industrial exploration and development a few years later (Bureau of Labor 1901; Magee 1968).

Most of the Ducktown Basin (ca. 106 square miles) falls within Polk County, Tennessee, which was created in 1839, the year after Removal (Barclay 1946; Flagg 1973). Benton, the county seat, about 20 miles west of the Basin, is situated in the fertile Ridge and Valley province, where rich, northeast-southwest trending valleys alternate with undulating ridges, hills, and knobs (Flagg 1973). In contrast, the eastern two-thirds of Polk County, including the Ducktown Basin, is "above the mountain" in the vernacular of county residents, in the rugged Blue Ridge physiographic province (Barclay 1946; Fenneman 1938).

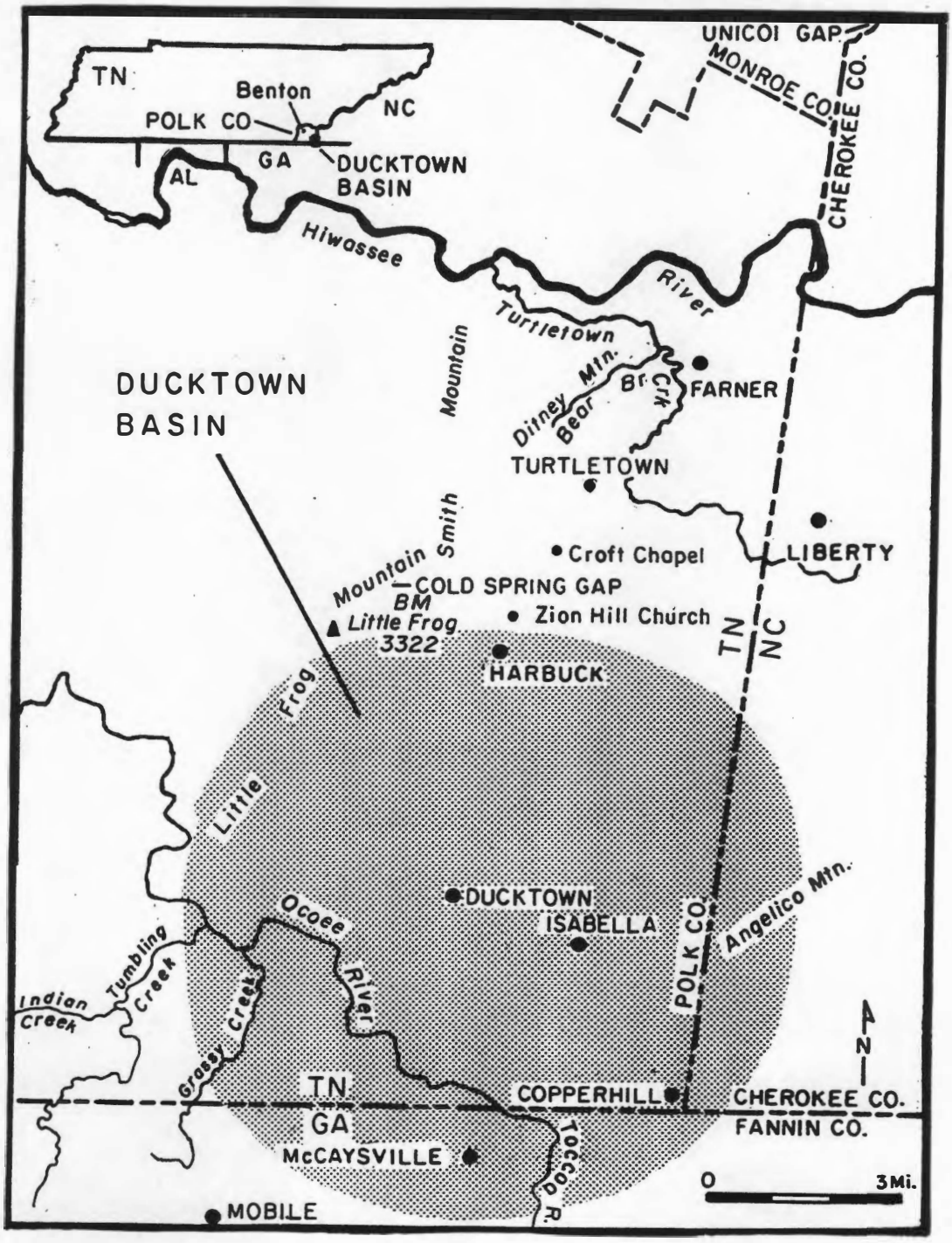


Figure 4.1. Ducktown Basin showing selected natural features and locations. Drawing by Terry Faulkner.

The Blue Ridge province is part of the larger Appalachian Mountain Complex which extends from southern New England to Atlanta, Georgia (Raitz and Ulack 1984). It contains the highest, most densely concentrated peaks of this ancient mountain chain. At least three cycles of mountain-building created the craggy topography, which varies from 1,000 to 6,684 feet above sea level (asl) along the Tennessee-North Carolina border. Within Tennessee these mountains are called the Unaka Mountains. Several local ranges, including the Great Smoky Mountains, Stone Mountains, Iron Mountains, and, in southeastern Tennessee, the Unicoi Mountains, are encompassed by the the Unakas (Braun 1950; Luther 1977; Miller 1974).

Geologist Troost left a vivid description of Polk County's Blue Ridge section in its pristine state:

> This wild mountainous country, where the traveler is exposed to hard knocks, hard falls, hard resting places, and to starvation, if his wallet is not stuffed with the needful for man and beast, is not destitute of romantic beauties. Standing on one of the summits called Bean's ridge [Chilhowee Mountain], the sight recalled to my memory the Alpine scenery of Switzerland. It commands an extensive view over the Hiwassee valley, and I congratulated myself on seeing again some marks of civilization, after having wandered in the rugged, wild and mountainous part of the Ocoee District (Troost 1837:31).

Plant and Animal Resources

Aboriginally, a rich assortment of plant and animal communities thrived in the southern Blue Ridge; even today it remains one of the world's most biodiverse reserves. Forests in the moderate elevations included

chestnut or oak-chestnut, mixed mesophytic or cove hardwoods, and oak and oak-pine types. Shrub and herbaceous growth was well-developed and, where hemlocks flourished, thickets of rhododendron dominated the understory. The oak-chestnut forests, filled with white oak, chestnut oak, northern red oak, black oak, pignut hickory, mockernut hickory, shagbark hickory, black walnut, and American chestnut trees, produced a rich mast of nuts each fall. These nut crops were an especially important food source for prehistoric and historic Indian peoples, and the game animals they hunted (Bass 1977; Braun 1950).

In the highest elevations, boreal conditions provided an optimal environment for red spruce, the Fraser fir, and northern hardwoods. Heath balds topped some mountain summits. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these high, open spaces supplied Cherokee and Anglo-American farmers with grazing lands for cattle and sheep, and patches of wild fruits--blueberries, huckleberries, fire cherries (Bass 1977; Bays 1991; Braun 1950).

This varied environment was home to many kinds of animals. Today, more than 200 species of birds, 70 species of fish, 6 species of aquatic turtles, and 62 species of mammals live in the Unakas. Game animals most important to the region's prehistoric and historic native peoples were the gray squirrel, eastern cottontail, wild turkey, opposum, woodchuck, beaver, muskrat, gray wolf, red fox, gray fox, raccoon, otter, mountain lion, bobcat, American elk, white-tailed deer, and black bear (Bass 1977; Shelford 1978; White 1980).

Inside the Basin

Around the rim of the Ducktown Basin, where the Unicoi Mountains rise in jagged, forking ridges, Big Frog Mountain is the highest peak. Its summit reaches upward to 4,224 feet asl. Here, along the Georgia state line, the Blue Ridge stretches east-west some forty-five miles. Rushing streams punctuate the heavily forested mountain slopes. Spectacular seasonal waterfalls empty into the Hiwassee River and its tributary, the Ocoee, which is known as the Toccoa River in Georgia (Luther 1977). A few miles north of the Basin, the steep terrain along the Hiwassee River was so densely vegetated historically that Army surveyors, extending the state line through this section of the Cherokee Nation after the 1835 treaty, are said to have skirted some distance to the east before turning south to meet the Basin's eastern rim. More than half of Polk County's lands are now encompassed by the Cherokee National Forest, which began reforestation of the region's previously logged forests between 1911-1916 (see Barclay 1946; Eller 1982; Mastran and Lowerre 1983).

Inside the Ducktown Basin elevations range from 1500 feet to 1800 feet asl. Its eastern, northern, and western rims are marked respectively by Pack and Angelico, Stansbury and Threewitt, and Little Frog and Big Frog mountains (Taylor 1950). The southern periphery of the Basin is less distinct, as it grades into the deeply trenched Ducktown Plateau which extends some fifteen miles into Fannin County, Georgia. Thus, the Basin is a more horseshoe-like enclosure than circular or elliptical in shape. Its interior is filled with low hills which vary an average of 100 feet in relief. Large-scale, intensive agriculture is impractical, or impossible, within the Ducktown

Basin since soils are thin and easily eroded, expanses of bottomland rare, and the local growing season shorter (210 days) than elsewhere in southeastern Tennessee (Barclay 1946; Foehner 1980; LaForge et. al. 1925).

Prehistoric Lifeways

The Southern Appalachians provided a rich resource reserve and home for indigenous peoples for at least 11,000-12,000 years before the arrival of European explorers (see Bass 1977; Boyd 1989). Native American occupation in the locale dates from the Paleoindian period (ca. 12,000 B.P.-9,500 B.P.), when the upland boreal forests and adjacent grassy lowlands of the Ice Age provided food and shelter for small, independent nomadic bands.

Most likely, each band was composed of a few kin-related families, nominally led by a skilled hunter, and advised spiritually by a shaman. Pleistocene megafauna--including mammoths, mastodons, horses, camels, tapirs, bison, and giant ground sloths--possibly played an important part in the diet and territoriality of these Native Americans, as did foraging for wild plants, seeds, and nuts. Archaeological evidence of the Paleoindians in East Tennessee is scant, limited to isolated fluted spear points, in large measure because of alternate scouring and deposition in the river bottoms, where base camps would have been located, during the final Wisconsin glaciation. By the end of the era, Paleoindians were adapting their lifeways to an increasingly warmer climate (Boyd 1989; Chapman 1985).

During the ensuing Archaic period (8,000 B.C.-1,000 B.C), the new deciduous forests and complementary plant and animal species stablized. Native groups during this time sustained semi-sedentary lifeways, living for

much of the year in residential base camps, with seasonal movements or short forays to other locations dictated as nearby food and lithic resources dwindled. Gradually, distinct regional adaptations, distinguished archaeologically by various styles of spear points, emphasis on particular foods, and new types and placement of encampments, developed.

In East Tennessee, Archaic period peoples relied on the hunting of large and small animal species (e.g. white-tailed deer, elk, opossum, squirrel, woodchuck, turkey, passenger pigeons, box turtles, drumfish, catfish, and mussels) and the gathering of wild foods (especially hickory nuts and acorns and various wild greens and fruits), coupled with a little experimentation with growing domesticated plants, including squash and gourds. In this region, layer upon layer of Archaic period base camps are preserved in ancient, flood-buried terraces in modern river valleys, testimony to an increasingly sedentary lifestyle, one which displays evidence of wide-spread trade in raw materials, increasing ceremonialism, and prestige and distinctions among kin-factions (Boyd 1989; Chapman 1985).

Archaeological remains dating from the Woodland period (1,000 B.C.-A.D. 900) indicate gradual spread of innovations in the subsistance strategies and technologies of indigenous peoples during this era, which allowed for more sedentary lifestyles and elaborate ritual lives. In southeastern Tennessee, some of these changes were adopted rather late in comparison with other areas of the Eastern Woodlands. Locally, pottery was in use by 500 B.C. Religious ceremonialism and social stratification surrounding death had become more complex in eastern Tennessee by A. D. 700, with high status people being buried with exotic trade items--mica, copper, marine shells,

obsidian--often in principal locations within special mounds. The domestication of many new plant species (e.g. sunflower seeds, marsh elder, lambsquarter, and corn) formed the basis for a more dependable horticultural regimen, which, however, still necessitated periodic abandonment of older, nutrient depleted fields (Chapman 1985).

Late in the Woodland period, the bow and arrow replaced the spear thrower as the primary hunting implement. Local populations became larger, and organized in more complex ways. Segmentary tribes, composed of local groups numbering perhaps a hundred individuals who belonged to the same descent group, or to a few related lineages, were probably the rule. Such groups normally are politically autonomous, acting under the leadership of successful hunters, shamen, or war leaders, but sometimes they form temporary alliances during war or ceremonial periods (Chapman 1985; Walthall 1980).

Gradually, through the maintenance of long distance trade networks and the development of a steady food supply based in maize agriculture, sociopolitical elaboration occurred among some Woodland populations in the Southeast (Boyd 1989). The towns and/or ceremonial centers of the most complex societies of the ensuing Mississipian Period (A.D. 900-ca. 1600) are characterized archaeologically by the presence of earthern platform mounds which supported temples, council houses, or the homes of elites; a central plaza surrounded by mounds and the homes of ordinary people; large, more stable settlements; chiefdom level sociopolitical organizations; increased warfare; elaborate religious ceremonalism; new or improved strains of

domesticated plants--especially corn, beans, squash; and changes in ceramic tempering as well as a proliferation of new styles of pottery (Chapman 1985).

The Mississippian way of life was well established in eastern Tennessee by A.D. 1100. Within another one or two hundred years, there were sizable settlements at some places, including Citico and Toqua in the Little Tennessee River valley and Great Tellico in the nearby mountains--sites which would in the eighteenth century be occupied by the Overhill Cherokees, possible latecomers to the area. Local Mississippian settlements were allied with a particular chiefdom(s) ruled by hereditary nobility, who lived in major towns which served as ritual, social, and/or political centers. Paramount and local chiefs were owed tribute in the form of food, goods, and services, a portion of which was redistributed back to the people, especially in times of need (Chapman 1985).

Mississippian societies were bound together by matrilineages that were ranked in terms of prestige, with chiefly lineages being most elite. A typical matrilineal household included a woman, her husband and children, the families of her adult daughters, and possibly other matrilineal relatives. Matrilineal clans, or networks of extended kin, cross-cut and joined people from different settlements and towns within a particular chiefdom. Around the time of European contact in 1540, and no doubt exacerbated by this cataclysmic event, the chiefdom of Coosa in northwest Georgia, which probably then controlled southeastern Tennessee, began to break apart politically and socially. The societies which survived were more localized and politically isolated (Chapman 1985).

Some archaeologists [e. g. Goad (1979); Goodman (1984)] have suggested that a minor source of prehistoric copper, a metal widely used for the making of personal and ceremonial objects during the Late Woodland and Mississippian periods, may have been the deposits in the Ducktown Basin. Studies of prehistoric raw material and artifact trade networks by other archaeologists contradict this claim. Instead, they attribute the ore sources of the abundant copper artifacts manufactured by Eastern Woodland peoples from the the Late Archaic through the Mississippian periods to the upper Great Lakes region, where copper nuggets could be found eroding out of surface deposits (see Brose et al. 1985). Geologists further point out that the copper precipitates which formed in the Ducktown Basin were recoverable only through smelting the raw ore, a technique unknown to North America's indigeneous peoples (Brose et al. 1985; Ken Rush, personal communication 1994).

Within Polk County dozens of isolated artifact finds and prehistoric sites attest to long use of this area by indigenous peoples. Archaeological surveys conducted on National Forest lands to the north and west of the Ducktown Basin have identified many undated, transitory sites--the majority being temporary hunting or seasonal gathering camps--along the narrow stream valleys, on ridgetops, and in gaps between the mountains (TDC n. d.). East of the Ducktown Basin, along the Valley, Hiwassee, and Notley rivers in Cherokee County, to the south, on the Toccoa River (Ocoee in Tennessee) in Fannin County, and to the west and northwest, where the Ocoee and Hiwassee rivers flow into the Ridge and Valley province in Polk County, numerous prehistoric sites have been reported (Wauchope 1966; Riggs 1995;

Riggs and Kimball 1996; Riggs et al. 1996). The exact nature and extent of prehistoric, protohistoric, and early native historic occupation inside the Ducktown Basin, however, will never be understood clearly, since severe environmental degradation caused by development of the copper industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries significantly altered, and in places destroyed, its aboriginal landscape and soils.

Lifeways from European Contact to Removal

Initial Explorations

Depending upon whether one follows the arguments of ethnologists John Swanton (1946) or Charles Hudson (1990), the Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto and his military entourage passed within a dozen to 30 miles of the Ducktown Basin area in 1540. Regardless of the exact route the Spanish explorers followed through the Southern Appalachians, sixteenth century Spanish manufactures, present either because of middleman trade or direct contact, have been found in southeastern Tennessee and southwestern North Carolina (cf Schroedl 1986; Setzler and Jennings 1941; Smith 1987). Swanton (1946) identified the Peachtree Mound site on the Hiwassee River near Murphy, North Carolina as *Guasili*, a town visited by de Soto. Artifacts of Spanish origin were found during archaeological excavations at Peachtree Mound (Setzler and Jennings 1941), however, recent ethnohistoric research by Charles Hudson (1997) suggests that *Guasili* was probably in upper East Tennessee. Local oral traditions also attribute abandoned pit mine shafts in the Murphy area to Spaniards (Browder 1973; Freel 1955), who did, in fact,

enter the mountain country in search of gold and other precious metals (Hudson 1990; Hudson and Tesser 1994; also see DePratter et al. 1983, 1985).

Spanish influence on Cherokee, or proto-Cherokee, culture has never been addressed in depth, but almost assuredly the initial contact brought population decline due to exposure to European diseases (see Wood 1987, 1990). Several recent ethnohistoric studies have focused on the protohistories of native societies in the Southeast, and the radical changes incurred in their ethnic, social, and political compositions during the period of early European contact (e.g. Blu 1980; Hudson 1970; Merrell 1989). It is certain that by the eighteenth century, the permanent towns and villages of the Cherokees were located along a series of rivers in eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, northeastern South Carolina, and northern Georgia. These four settlement clusters were known respectively as the Overhill, Valley, Middle, and Lower Towns. Cherokee protohistory and early contact history remain controversial, especially that of the Overhill Towns in southeast Tennessee (Hudson 1990; Schroedl and Boyd 1987).

The Ducktown Basin lay in between the Overhill Towns and Valley Towns (Figure 4.2), in an area where eighteeenth century documents and maps indicate no (notable) Cherokee settlement (cf Goodwin 1977). Despite its rugged historic terrain, it is unlikely that the Basin's valley and mountain resources remained unused for any great span. Cherokees may have utilized this locale seasonally for hunting and/or gathering, or in times of conflict, for refuge. It is also possible that one or more other Indian groups inhabited or claimed the area in the early historic period.

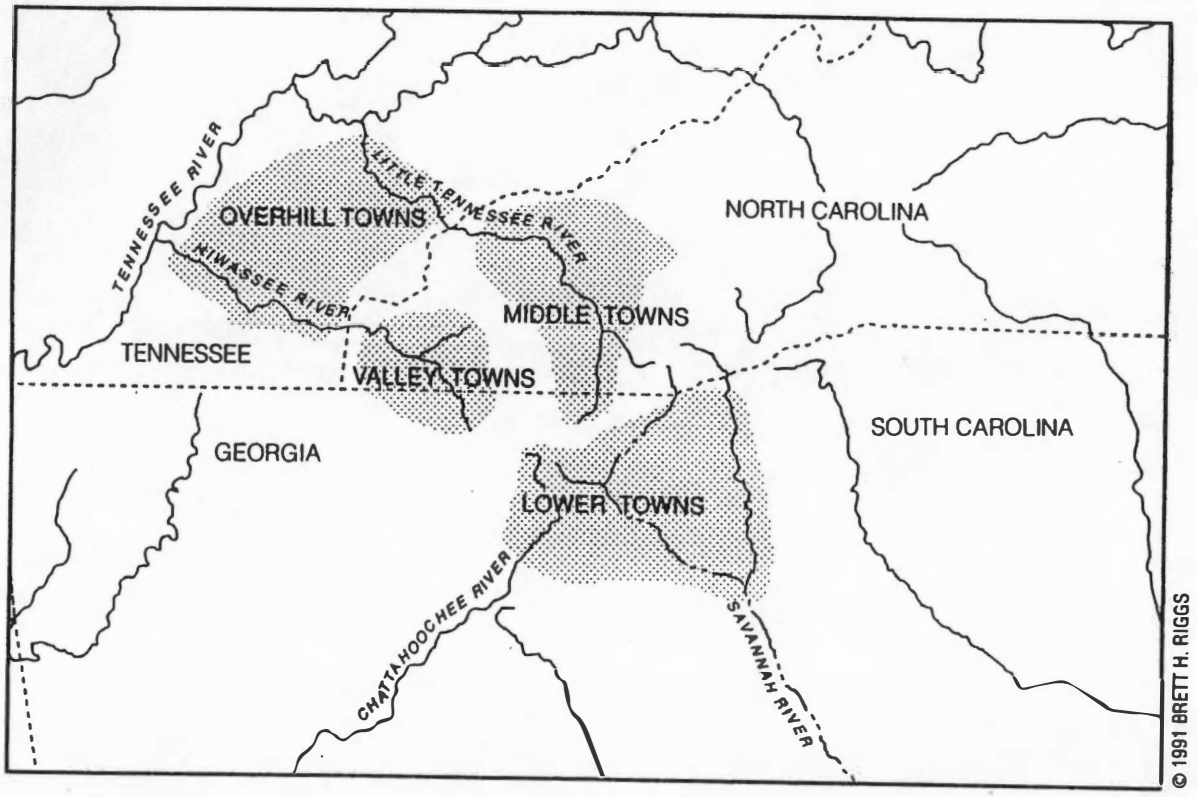


Figure 4.2. Eighteenth Century Cherokee Settlement Areas. Drawing by Brett H. Riggs from Duggan and Riggs (1991a).

Cherokee place names, myths, and other oral traditions recorded by Smithsonian ethnologist James Mooney (1900) at the close of the nineteenth century substantiate that other American Indian peoples lived in nearby areas, especially during the eighteenth century, when disease, wars, and treaty cessions disrupted and caused relocations among many Southeastern peoples.

Natchez refugees established a village the Cherokees called *Gwal'gâ'hĭ* around 1755 on the Hiwassee River just above the confluence of the Hiwassee River and Peachtree Creek near Murphy. A number of Natchez later lived within a few Cherokee settlements, including *Gû'lani'yĭ* about six miles southeast, nearer the Georgia line, and downstream on the Hiwassee River in Tennessee. Mooney translated the pre-Removal settlement *Ta'gwadihĭ'* near Toccoa in Fannin County, Georgia as "Catawba Place," raising the possibility that refugees from that South Carolina group once lived nearby (Mooney n. d.). Several Catawba individuals and/or families lived around Murphy before and after Removal (Brett Riggs, personal communication 1995). Yuchi refugees resided among the Cherokees on the lower Hiwassee (near Cleveland, Tennessee) and along Chickamauga, Cohutta, and Pinelog creeks in upper Georgia, and in a separate village at Uchee Old Fields (Meigs County, Tennessee) in the eighteenth century. According to the trader Bryan[t] Ward, as related to the Cherokee James Wafford, the Creeks gave up their claims to upper Georgia and Alabama, including a town on the Nottely River, below Coosa Creek, near Blairsville, Georgia (Mooney 1900).

In the 1719, trader Cornelius Dougherty was granted a license to control the British trade with the Cherokee Valley Towns. He and other traders

routinely transported goods via a series of aboriginal trails which connected the Overhill and Valley Towns with the South Carolina Cherokee and English settlements (Rothrock 1929). Throughout the nineteenth century the Unicoi Turnpike, which followed many of the same trails, continued to be an important route through this section of the Blue Ridge mountains (Evans 1977b; Duggan 1998), and a portion of this historic road is still visible in the Cherokee National Forest (Skelton 1996). It passed into Tennessee at Unicoi Gap, about a dozen miles north of *Săligu'gĭ* (Turtle Town), a pre-Removal settlement just above the northern edge of the Ducktown Basin. Despite the notoriously treacherous terrain and vegetation along the Hiwassee River and south to the Basin, the area apparently became a pathway for non-Indians and their trade goods, for Removal era records indicate that the people of *Săligu'gĭ* exhibited the most evidence of contact with Euro-Americans (see Henderson 1835; Tyner 1974).

Historic Cherokee Settlement and Its Nature

The earliest reference I have located to date regarding Cherokee occupation in the Basin is the inclusion of "Duck-town" in a list of 51 Cherokee settlements given federal treaty annuities in 1799 (Royce 1887). Later records indicate that there were other settlements by the same name in Georgia and Alabama in the 1830s, but the order of town names in this reference appears to be in topographic sequence, with Duck-town falling between other settlements in the general region (Meigs 1810).

Although at present unsubtantiated, it is likely that the residents of the Duck-town settlement of the 1799 list were refugees from one or more of the

four major Cherokee settlement areas. From the French and Indian War of the 1750s until peace was accorded between the Cherokees and American adversaries in the 1790s, Cherokee towns, villages, and crops were systematically destroyed, first by British troops, and later by American militias (see Goodwin 1977; O'Donnell 1973). Many of the Middle, Valley and Overhill Towns were repeatedly burned, reoocupied, and burned again. In 1776, refugees from the Middle and Valley Towns fled across the Blue Ridge to the Overhill settlements on the Little Tennessee River (Brown 1938; Fairbanks 1974; Schroedl 1986). Neely (1991) suggests that other Cherokees found refuge in the craggy heights of the Snowbird Mountains during times of war. This close contact and blending of groups led ultimately to a lessening of some previous regional distinctions of material culture and dialects among the Cherokees (see Duggan and Riggs 1991a; Schroedl 1986). The backcountry around the Ducktown Basin surely offered another place of refuge for displaced eighteenth century Cherokees.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, government officials, Indian agents, and Protestant missionaries launched a concerted effort to "civilize" the Cherokees, and other Southern Indians, by instructing them in Anglo-American farming practices, mechanical skills, and domestic crafts (see McLoughlin 1986). Some Cherokee households--particularly those headed by intermarried white men--rapidly embraced particular Anglo-American innovations, including plow agriculture, a republican form of government, a written form of language, and Christianity. Because of this selected material and structural acculturation, the Cherokees are sometimes referred to as the

"most civilized" of the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes" of the Southeast--the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees.

For some earlier scholars, this assertion implied that the Cherokees eventually would have assimilated into mainstream American society but for Indian Removal. More recent studies, however, suggest that acculturation to non-native values, practices, and material culture among the pre-Removal Cherokees was quite variable between geographical and sociopolitical segments of the tribe, and among individuals (e. g. Ford 1982; Harmon 1986; McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Pillsbury 1983; Riggs 1995, 1996; Riggs et al. 1988, 1996; Riggs and Kimball 1996).

Marshall Sahlins, ethnographer and ethnohistorian of the historic cultural milieux which developed in the South Pacific, has pointed out that "cultural meanings are revalued as they are practically enacted (1985:vii)." In other words, "culture functions as a synthesis of stability and change, past and present, diachrony and synchrony," and that even in situations of political subordination the "receiving group" can often modify and re-interpret enforced behaviors to fit within its own value system (1985:144). Such was the case with many eighteenth and nineteenth century Cherokees, who systematically reinterpreted and then incorporated many social, linguistic, and material aspects of American culture in accordance with the constraints of their traditional dualistic worldview.

The switch from nucleated settlements to what are usually identified as individual farmsteads is a good example of how the Cherokees adopted, yet adapted, an Anglo-American form. A reconstruction of the 1830s Cherokee material landscape in adjacent Fannin County, Georgia, by cultural

geographer Richard Pillsbury supports the supposition that local Cherokees did not borrow the Western ideal of nuclear family farmsteads wholesale (Pillsbury 1983). One interesting finding of this study was that some local Cherokee farmsteads had more than one domestic structure (e.g. cabins) present. While Pillsbury's study did not control for time depth of the farmstead occupations, anthropologist Brett Riggs (Riggs 1995, 1996; Riggs et al. 1996; Riggs and Kimball 1996), working in neighboring Cherokee County, North Carolina found a similar pattern after studying archaeological data and primary documents from the 1830s. In addition, he has identified clusters of adjacent farmsteads occupied by matrilineally related kin.

Riggs' detailed work, as well as that of cultural geographer, Leslie Hewes (1978), who studied traditional Cherokee farmsteads in eastern Oklahoma, also found that the typical farmstead of a local headman contained associated dwellings of relatives, as well as a townhouse for public ceremonies. Other farmsteads, recognized as part of a particular headman's settlement, were scattered along adjacent water courses for distances up to twenty miles (Hewes 1978; Riggs 1995, 1996). The work of all three researchers convincingly demonstrates that many Cherokees integrated only selected features of Anglo-American technology, structures, and domesticated plants and animals into traditional lifeways.

Overhill Cherokees, living in the settlements of the Ridge and Valley province, including what became western Polk County, were exposed to more intense pressures to acculturate to Anglo-American lifeways than those living in the Basin locale. There, the direct presence of government trading "factories," resident whites, and missionary schools, coupled with more

fertile agricultural lands, led to the development of numerous plantation-style farms operated by Anglo-Cherokee families (McLoughlin 1986; McLoughlin and Conser 1977). The remote mountain settlements around the Ducktown Basin, in contrast, were spared in situ federal and religious efforts aimed at directed change (see Spicer 1961b) until the 1830s. The marginality of this environment for plow agriculture also made it less desirable, at least for a time, to white farmers, who were illegal squatters in many portions of the Cherokee country long before such lands were officially ceded.

Undirected accommodations to Anglo-American culture, however, did filter into even the most remote places in the Cherokee Nation rather rapidly. A census of the Nation in 1809, found 182 people living in or around the village of "Wakoi Duck on the Sugar Fork," located on a tributary the Toccoa (Ocoee) River, near modern Copper Hill, Tennessee (Meigs 1810; Shadburn 1990). The presence of only two looms and two ploughs in the community, however, suggests that the Cherokees at *Wakoi* Duck were newly acquainted with Anglo-American technology. Two types of domesticated animals, swine and black cattle, however, did already figure prominently in their subsistence activities. Geographer Brad Bays (1991) has pointed out that the Overhill Cherokees had become involved in significant trade of cattle after the 1780s.

Wakoi, or *Wakiah*, are variant spellings of the Cherokee word which became "Ocoee" in English, and *Wakoi* Duck was probably the same "Duck-town" settlement referred to in the 1799 annuity list. Local traditions, however, assign multiple locations to the Cherokee village of Duck Town (Barclay 1946; Shadburn 1990; Shamblin 1938). This may represent the lumping of once spatially and temporally discrete native communities under

one place label by non-Indian contemporaries or later generations. On the other hand, these traditions may actually document physical relocation of a single social entity called "Duck Town" over time. The latter practice is a common strategy employed by slash-and-burn agriculturalists throughout the world in their quest for fresh agricultural lands, and common among eighteenth century Cherokees (see Schroedl 1986).

Life On the Eve of Removal

In 1828, gold was discovered on Coker Creek (Monroe County, Tennessee), a few miles north of the Hiwassee River, and about fifteen miles north of Duck Town. This event precipitated the most direct and larger-scale contact with non-Indians that local Cherokees had witnessed. When Girard Troost visited the area during a mineralogical survey in 1831, he reported seeing hundreds of men working "Coqua Creek...washing...the materials of rivulets, gulleys and other low places (Ashley 1911:94). Most of the creeks in the region, including those in and around the Ducktown Basin, were searched for gold deposits in the following decades. The uproar caused by the Coker Creek gold rush led the American government to station a garrison at Coker Creek, which was still within the Cherokee Nation, in order to protect Cherokee farmers and their properties from the unruly miners (Ashley 1911; Barclay 1946; Curry 1857; Safford 1856, 1857; Troost 1837).

In 1835, in preparation for enforcement of the Indian Removal Act, the federal government undertook a comprehensive census of the Cherokee Nation. That year Cherokees living in the East numbered over 16,500 people.

Historians William McLoughlin and Walter Conser's (1977) analysis of this census suggests that Cherokee society was by then complex and heterogeneous, both in terms of economic status and level of acculturation. A three-tiered class system was emerging: a tiny Anglo-Cherokee planter elite (50 out of 2,637 families); a sizeable middle class; and a large cadre of poor, culturally conservative, mostly fullbood families, who tilled, on an average, 2-3 acres of land. These two historians believe the statistics they derived from the 1835 census indicate that traditional Cherokee structures, including communal life, clan system, and the extended family, were fading. They point out, however, that changes were not continuous over the geographical expanse of the Cherokee Nation. Rather, while acceptance of Western agricultural practices and values was much greater in areas with more extensive and fertile bottomlands [including the Great Valley of East Tennessee and western Polk County], culturally conservative, fullbood families were scattered throughout the Cherokee Nation and still predominated numerically.

Cherokees associated with the three principal settlements of the Ducktown Basin--Duck Town (*Kăwa'nă*), and Fighting Town (*Walas´-unulsti´yĭ*), and Turtletown (*Săligu´gĭ*)--and who lived along nearby waterways, including the Toccoa/Ocoee River, Hothouse Creek, Hemptown Creek, and Cutcane Creek, were among the most conservative families encountered during the census. Even here, however, Euroamerican material, technological skills, and economic culture had made more inroads since the 1810 census (Henderson 1835; Tyner 1974).

Forty-eight households were identified as belonging to the Ducktown, Fighting Town, and Turtletown settlements in 1835 (Table 4.1). Many of these were not nuclear family households living on separate farmsteads; rather the presence of several adult farmers in many households strongly suggests that these Cherokees still lived in clusters of matrilineally-related families which communally occupied and/or worked one or more farms. For example, in Fighting Town, 55 percent of the population lived in 5 of the 14 households and worked 13 out of 22 reported farms. The evidence for the continued importance of traditional household composition and land tenure practices is even more compelling in the Duck Town settlement where the 1835 census identified 13 households; seventy-eight percent of the Duck Town population belonged to 9 multi-farmer households. Other measures of cultural conservativism were present as well; no English speakers were identified in either settlement, while 10-14 percent of their residents said they could read the *Sequoyah* syllabary; 50 percent of the people identified as household head bore Cherokee names (or ones which could not be translated?); only one household in Fighting Town had two members who were not fullblood Cherokees (one quarter blood and one Negro) (Henderson 1835; Tyner 1974).

Evidence of cultural inroads made by federal and missionary civilization programs was most evident in the Turtle Town settlement. Even so, the profile of residents presented by the 1835 census is still one of cultural conservatism. That year 119 fullblood Cherokees, one intermarried white, and two people of mixed Cherokee-Negro ancestry lived in the settlement (cf Henderson 1835; Tyner 1974).

Table 4.1. Cherokee households reported for Ducktown Basin settlements in 1835 (Henderson 1835; Tyner 1974).[11]

Settlement	Household Head	Number in Household	Number of Farmers
Fighting Town (96)	*Ti e ska*	5	1
	One Side	5	1
	Tin tu ska	7	1
	Ki nah tee	3	1
	Little Bird	9	4
	Negro jack	4	1
	Lawyer	9	2
	Dick	6	1
	Ne co wa	5	1
	Dog	4	1
	Noisy	9	2
	Mean	4	1
	Chu ah no ska	9	2
	Missing Fence and Tut	17	3
Duck Town (94)	The Cup	8	2
	Naw do na ky	11	3
	Crying Wolf	3	1
	Sarah	6	2
	Bread	10	1
	Chun an ha	6	3
	The Catcher	8	3
	Gul ga la ska	4	3
	Coal Eater	7	2

Table 4.1 continued

Settlement	Household Head	Number in Household	Number of Farmers
	Tan a de he	20	5
	Gaw oot la	3	2
	Oo le saw lun	3	1
	Ah con is kah	5	1
Turtle Town (122)	*Ga a de hee*	15	6
	Ga ni de hee	5	1
	Going Up Stream	5	1
	Turning Out	3	1
	Chu lu lo ga	4	1
	Bird Pecker	9	1
	Bean	6	1
	Martin	4	1
	Blue	17	3
	Henry Clay	12	3
	De ka na tuta	7	1
	Oo teh he	2	1
	An ne un ly	4	0
	Noo rye do a ye	3	0
	Dan oo wy	5	0
	Na ky	6	0
	Ark a lu ka	10	3
	George (Hiwassee River)	5	1
Totals	44 (families)	312	76

The presence in Turtle Town of four households with multiple farmers living in them also reflects traditionalism among its pre-Removal residents. Forty-four percent of the settlement's population (54 people) belonged to these households associated with *Ga a de hee,* Blue, Henry Clay, and *Ark a lu ka* (Henderson 1835). Minimally, this indicates the presence of extra adults, beyond the expected parents in each household. More significantly, it strongly suggests that these large households were composed of traditional, extended family groups who still held and worked land in common. Other data, most notably property loss claims filed at the time of Removal, indicate that several women, including Nanny and *Ana wa kih,* from the Basin communities, were recorded as owners of multiple farmsteads and scattered agricultural fields (Cherokee Collection 1781-1845; Cherokee Property 1836-1837).

Only in the economic sphere is there evidence of significant acculturation among the pre-Removal population at Turtle Town: 89 per cent of the households had one or more members who practiced a Euro-American mechanical or domestic skill or a trade. This figure included 23 people who were loom weavers, 34 spinners, and six families which operated eleven ferryboats. Surprisingly, there were four households which had no farmers; three of these were households of ferryboat operators and the fourth, a household of weavers and spinners. The absence of farmers from these four households indicates that either members made a full-time living without access to farmland; that farming played such a minor role in their economic strategy it was not mentioned to the census takers; or that these households were allied through kinship with other households which did have farmers who provided food crops for all.

The Cherokee man George, or one of his household members, plied the ferry trade on the Hiwassee River, a waterway which provided access to the Unicoi Turnpike, Coker Creek gold fields, North Carolina, and the Tennessee River. Probably the other ferryboat operators from Turtle Town operated on the Hiwassee as well. The fact that the only English speakers in Turtle Town were ferryboat operators demonstrates routine interaction with Americans by these people, but also that such interaction was restricted to a narrow sector of the community's economic pursuits and personnel.

Signature marks on post-Removal spoliation claims further indicate that few if any other Turtle Town Cherokees could read or write English. By contrast, sixteen of these residents knew the *Sequoyah* syllabary, the unique Cherokee writing system invented by the Overhill Cherokee silversmith *Sequoyah* in the early 1820s (Malone 1956). Some historians have suggested that the rapid acceptance of this syllabary was an act of passive resistance by cultural conservatives to mounting pressures to acculturate (McLoughlin 1984b, 1986; Perdue 1992). That is, the syllabary allowed Cherokees to communicate with other Cherokees, on Cherokee terms; its invention and acceptance was not an attempt to become more Anglicized.

Certainly by the 1830s, if not before, Cherokees living in the Ducktown Basin vicinity had first hand experience with Protestant missionary activities. As early as 1817, the Baptist missionary Humphrey Posey preached to, and supervised schools for, the Cherokees in western North Carolina and in the North Georgia hill country. Posey established the Peachtree Mission, which included a school and model farm located on the Hiwassee River [near modern-day Murphy] in 1820, and after Removal, the Liberty Baptist Church

in Turtletown, North Carolina (Crouch 1932; Gardner 1989; Alga B Kimsey, personal communication 1990s; Mooney 1900).

The Reverend Evan Jones and his team of Cherokee preaching assistants eventually expanded the Peachtree Mission's responsibilities to include 41 preaching stations and several schools located in southwestern North Carolina, southeastern Tennessee, and North Georgia (McLoughlin 1990; Moffit 1940). At least two native preachers from the mission led efforts in southeastern Tennessee: Brother Beaver Carrier preached at unidentified locations in 1833, and the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead organized a Baptist church at the Cherokee settlement at *Amohee* [near Benton] in 1835. Baptist mission work also occurred at other Cherokee settlements in the vicinity, including *Na´dû´lĭ´* [Nottely, Cherokee County, North Carolina] and *Tagwâ´hŭ* or *Taquohee* [Toccoa, Fannin County, Georgia]. In 1832, in the latter place 59 Cherokees joined a Baptist temperance society (Gardner 1989). Preaching stations at Duck Town [*Kawonee*] and at Turtle Town [*Sule googhee*] also appear on an 1837 map prepared by Jones. It is quite possible that these two stations were not newly added to the Peachtree Mission circuit, since Baptists had been actively seeking converts in surrounding settlements for a number of years (McLoughlin 1990).

The audiences drawn by the preaching of Jones and his Cherokee exhorters included the local populace as well as travelers. Not infrequently, Jones' reports to Baptist authorities mention interracial congregations--full blood and mixed blood Cherokees, and a lesser number of white and black participants, the latter usually being slaves of wealthly Cherokees. Services conducted by the Peachtree missionaries and their Cherokee associates were

bilingual. White observers of Cherokee congregations commented on the syncretic nature of the beliefs and practices of Cherokee converts. Native preachers, many of whom were still practicing conjurers in other social contexts, received special note because the foreigners found the Cherokee style of preaching to be quite frenetic (McLoughlin 1984a, 1986, 1990).

Records indicate that in remote areas the missionaries visited communities on a rotating basis, often conducted services in homes or out-of-doors, rather than in a building set aside specifically as a church. All local outreach of the Peachtree Mission, including the two preaching stations in the Ducktown Basin, ceased in 1838 when all of mission's Cherokee and part of its white staff, made the bitter journey to Indian Territory beside their converts (McLoughlin 1990).

Cherokee Removal from a Local Perspective

When the state of Georgia confiscated lands of the Cherokee Nation in northern Georgia and then auctioned off Cherokee homes and farms, many refugees fled to Cherokee settlements in southeastern Tennessee and southwestern North Carolina (Clauder 1837; Brett Riggs, personal communication 1994; Webster 1838). A preliminary examination of Removal era records for the Basin area reveals that between 1835 and 1838, the number of households identified with Duck Town, Fighting Town, and Turtle Town increased dramatically. Turtle Town alone roughly doubled in sized, from 18 to a minumum of 35 households (Henderson 1835; Hoskins 1984; FBCC 1846-1847). Once again, this rugged and remote place became a refuge for Cherokees fleeing Anglo-American aggression.

As the threat of Removal intensified, many of these and other Cherokees sought solace and protective power by participating in an increasing number of traditional Cherokee and Christian religious ceremonies. In the days prior to Easter, 1837, Cherokees conducted their own ceremonies near Cleveland, seat of government for newly created Bradley County,Tennessee. Visiting Moravian missionary Henry Clauder recorded in his travel journal on Saturday, March 25:

> For three days past the Indians held a Medicine Dance at old Kulstaya's & this was the fourth & last & principal one of revelry. After dark we heard the quick beating of drums and the savage whooping of the dancers & spectators...Throughout the whole night the noise and hooping was heard & particularly at day break it appeared as if the vaults of hell had let loose the raving furies through the forest: the woods resounded with whooping & yelling (1837:35).

The next morning, Easter Sunday, Clauder reported on the activities of himself and the family of Bro. Hicks, with whom he stayed the night before:

> We all mounted our horses & rode in silent meditation to the place where the meeting was appointed today. On arriving, found about a hundred Cherokees assembled, decently & cleanly dressed, who filled the little cabin; many had to stand outside. After singing & prayer, I preached from Luke 24, 34. "The Lord is risen indeed," & many were affected. Spoke of the blessed consequences resulting to believers, from Christ's resurrection, that it is the ground of their hope of a glorious imortality [sic] in the kingdom of God. Afterwards the holy

> Sacrament was administered to 35 converted Cherokees & while good order & solemnity prevailed outside, we all enjoyed a sweet & comfortable sense of Christs [sic] presence in our souls. Our last meeting was for the candidates for baptism, among whom was a respectable Indian by the name of Towanooky who came for the express purpose of making application for admittance into the church. I asked him if he would give me his hand, & promise to be a believer in, follower of Jesus Christ, to which he replied with great solemnity. "I am not taken at surprise, I have reflected well upon what I am now about, & am not deceiving you. I believer, & wish to be a follower of Jesus Christ." This candid remark he made with tears in his eyes, & oh!, how forcibly did it strike my heart that the Lord has yet many souls in this land of distress and confusion, who he will bring to the enjoyment of salvation. Every one present was greatly affected & several minutes past [sic] during which nothing but weeping & sobing [sic] were heard. Our exercises for this day closed at 4 p.m. & the 5 hours during which I was engaged in singing, praying & speaking appeared very short indeed. I thanked the Lord for the strength & aid He granted me in fulfilling my duty, & felt greatly encouraged to go forward in the part which He would point out. About sunset we arrived at Bro. Hick's, & we enjoyed the evening in speaking about the rich & overflowing measure of good we had enjoyed (1837:36-37).

A number of Cherokees at *Taquohee*, a few miles south of the Ducktown Basin, also turned to Christianity for delivery and solace the next year, 1838. The Reverend Evan Jones, who in a short time would lead an

emigration party to Indian Territory, noted the happenings there, as related to him by one of his native preaching assistants:

> Bro. Oganaya wrote me May 27th [1838], which I only recd. a few days ago. Seven, four males and three females were baptized at Taquohee, on that day. He says, "If it shall be peace, we intend to meet at this place, on the second Saturday [June 9]. We are in great trouble. It is said they have arrested many in Georgia, and it is believed to be true. On Monday next [May 29] it is said that we are to be taken, and I suppose it is true. Many are greatly terrified. Their fears are realized before their time (in Gardner 1989:206).

The United States government soon realized that the Cherokee emigration would require military enforcement, and as early as 1836, began to build forts and garrisons throughout the Cherokee Nation (McLoughlin 1990). Despite all of the warning signs, most Cherokees resisted preparation for the self-emigration deadline of May, 1838, set by the Treaty of New Echota which they considered fraudulent. Many leaders,including Principal Chief John Ross, actively lobbied in Washington for relief until the very eve of Removal.

Northeast of the Ducktown Basin in the lofty Snowbird Mountains, state and federal troops at Fort Montgomery in the Cheoah Valley and Fort Lindsay at the mouth of the Nantahala River, began operations on June 13, 1838. Bad weather, even worse roads, and illness among the local Indians eventually led John Gray Bynum (n.d.), the officer in charge of removal of Cherokees around *Cheoah* to make the singular decision to spare many ailing

Cherokees and family members, allowing them to return to their homes. Other Cherokees from *Cheoah*, Buffalo Town, *Tallula, Connichiloe, Stecoa, Chinleanatee*, and *Aquonee* were herded to Fort Butler [Murphy, North Carolina], later to be marched in large companies through the Unicoi Mountains to the Cherokee Agency on the lower Hiwassee River at Calhoun, Tennessee. It was in these settlements in the northeastern corner of the Cherokee Nation that the greatest number of Cherokees, including *Tsali* and his family, eluded Removal by hiding, through illness, through bureaucratic loopholes, and, sometimes, by sheer luck (Browder 1973; Riggs and Duggan 1993; Evans 1977a; Lillard 1980; McLoughlin 1990; Mooney 1900; Shadburn 1990).

Cherokees living in and around the Ducktown Basin most probably were driven by foot to Fort Gilmer (near Ellijay, Georgia), Fort Delaney (Valleytown, North Carolina), or Fort Butler (Murphy, North Carolina), depending largely upon which aboriginal trail was most accessible to their captors. Across the mountains in southwestern Polk County, Fort Marr [Old Fort, Tennessee] served as a temporary holding place for Cherokees from that section, probably largely families from the Jacks, Conasauga, and lower Ocoee River drainages. Other, temporary "open camps" existed in isolated locales and along major trails (Scott 1978b; Owl 1929). According to one local oral tradition, such a camp, possibly the Camp Armistead mentioned by General Winfield Scott (1978b), was located at Coker Creek (Kathleen and Ken Dalton, personal communications, 1990, 1994). Some Basin Cherokees may have spent time in this encampment. Cherokees on the lower Hiwassee and other nearby sections of the Great Valley of Tennessee were taken directly to Fort

Cass [Calhoun] (Evans 1977a; Lillard 1980; McLoughlin 1990; Mooney 1900; Shadburn 1990).

Lieutenant L. B. Webster, assigned to Fort Butler [Murphy], left a description of one of the long, arduous marches from there to Fort Cass [Calhoun]. His route may have followed the Unicoi Turnpike, which passed into Tennessee several miles north of Turtle Town:

> I left Fort Butler on the 19th [of June] in charge of 800 Cherokees. I had not an officer along to assist me, and only my own company as a guard. Of course I have as much to do as I could attend to. But I experienced no difficulty in getting them [the Cherokees] along, other than what arose from fatigue, and this toughness of the roads over the mountains; which are the worst I ever saw. I arrived with about one hundred more than I started with. Many having joined me on the march. We were eight days in making the journey (80 miles), and it was pitiful to behold the women & children, who suffered exceedingly--as they were all obliged to walk, with the exception of the sick (Webster 1978).

By June 18, 1838, General Charles Floyd, militia officer in charge of operations in Georgia was able to report to Governor Gilmer of Georgia regarding Cherokees on, or near, the southern periphery of the Basin:

> My scouting parties have scoured the whole country without seeing an Indian, or late Indian signs. If there are any stragglers in Georgia,they must be in Union and Gilmer [modern Gilmer and Fannin] counties, and near the Tennessee and North Carolina line; but none can escape the vigilance of our troops (Foreman 1932:296).

Despite Cherokee ritual prescriptions, Christian faith and prayers, diplomatic skills of Cherokee leaders, and legal backing from the United States Supreme Court, all but a fraction of the Cherokees remaining in East were forced to emigrate to Indian Territory during the summer of 1838 and following winter. However, all along the route, one by one, and sometimes in groups, Cherokees slipped away from the long desperate train of people, animals, and wagons, turning once more toward their homeland. One of the groups which escaped was led by Little Bird of Fighting Town [*Walas'-unulsti'yi*], one of the Ducktown Basin settlements. An officer escorting the Peter Hilderbrand detachment described their escape:

> Agreeable to your order of the 10th inst. I pursued my rought [route] to Blythes Ferry and on the rought I threw out two volunteers on the right & left side of the road and could not hear of any Indians off of the road. I made inquiry of Mr. Hilterbrand [sic] at the river whether any had deserted. He said they had not...I was not satisfied with the report of Mr. Hilterbrand and he referred me to William Tucker one of his party who is a very intelligent man which is as follows. While at Candies Creek if any of Hicks Party joined he did not know it but they were nineteen Indians joined while there from Valley River, six of which only remain....He further stated that Little Bird with three men the day previous to the Detachment [sic] starting left--the number women & children not known but took their familys [sic] with them & said they were a going to Fighting Town in Georgia to their homes that they would not go west for they had not drawn any of their money. One Indian by the name of Cricket said the day the

> detachment started he saw them on the mountain in company with eighteen or twenty more...(Robinson 1838).[12]

Two years after Removal, when William Holland Thomas conducted a census of Cherokees in North Carolina, each household head listed the names or numbers of resident family members--husbands, wives, children, parents, sisters, aunts, orphans, and others as well as its population size in 1835. In the commentary for each household, are the names and/or numbers of family members and relatives who died during emigration or stayed in Indian Territory (see Thomas 1840a, 1840b). At minimum, the Trail of Tears claimed the lives of 15 people from the 12 refugee families (40 people) formerly of the Ducktown Basin settlements who were then living among the North Carolina Cherokees. The actual number of emigration-related deaths in these few families may have been much greater for several were reduced in size by half or even two-thirds between 1835 and 1840 (see Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Among these households was the one headed by *Cheesqua* (Bird or Little Bird), who had led the group of refugees which had escaped from the Hilderbrand detachment vowing to return to Fighting Town, that is *Walâs´-unûlsti´yĭ*. At the beginning of Removal, there were 12 people in the Bird family; only nine members survived the event the federal government called "Emigration." Although not yet living in Fighting Town again in 1840, the Bird family had not given up its dream of returning home.

CHAPTER V

AFTER REMOVAL:
REGENERATING CHEROKEE COMMUNITY IN THE BASIN

Many Indians escaped the dragnet of 1838 and remained in the mountains of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Several of them remained in and around their old haunts at Ducktown for a number of years after the white settlers arrived. Indians lived on Fightingtown Creek near the present site of Epworth, Georgia. A small band lived on Tumbling Creek, and an Indian village remained on Little Frog Mountain near Cold Springs until well into the 1880's. The Kimsey Highway passes through the site of the old village on the [Little Frog] mountain. Small, wiry peach trees, descendants of trees planted there by the Indians, can still be seen growing near the road.

E. Barclay
Ducktown Back in Raht's Time (1946:9-10)

During a temporary stay in that delightful country, I was induced to pay a visit to the few who dwell on Cartoogechaye [Creek, Macon County, NC, Sand Town enclave]...They live in log cabins, with no windows, and a door just large enough to enter. Some of them have imitated the whites so far as to have a *kitchen* and *smoke house*, and whenever a stranger goes to call on them, the *Squaw* and children close the door of the dwelling house, and either hide behind it or go in the kitchen. Each family has a *patch* surrounding the

dwelling, on which they grow corn, beans and potatoes. A few hogs and cattle are kept by the rich, grazing in the adjacent mountains, and they often kill deer and bear for their own use, the oil of the latter animal answering for butter. They formerly converted the deer-skins into pants, and used the bear-skins for a bed and protection from inclement weather. These they now sell to the merchants, and thus deck themselves in the gaudiest *hunting* shirts which the modern stamps for calico so abundantly furnish.

Our company took the liberty of entering all the houses we came to, and in that of *Eonah-con-a-heite*, or the Long Bear, was the best specimen, allow me to introduce you to his wife and children, and give some notion of his cabin. A small, uncomfortably close room answered for bed-chamber, dining room, pantry, boudoir and *all*, save for kitchen and meat house...Mrs. *Eonha-con-a-heite*, was dressed plainly but neatly, in a calico robe, in which red greatly predominated. There was an air of neatness about the *Squaw* and children, and the house, that would put to shame the residences of many of the whites. The cups, saucers, plates, knives, forks and other things, were of a peculiar whiteness, and were all carefully placed away in the rough cupboard, which the Long Bear had fastened to the wall. Then there were his rifle brightly polished and deposited over the door; his *blow-gun*, a hollowed cane from one to one inch and a half in diameter, with well thistled arrows, occupying a place on the joists above, and his bow and arrows, whose twang and unerring aim had brought many a squirrel, bird and rabbit to grace his table. The bed, however, consisted two upright forks, from which other pieces of

timber went into holes bored into the wall, and on which were placed boards, instead of a cord. Few feathers and less straw sufficed, and the covering was very scantly...

[W]e proceeded to the town-house, where they dance, hold court, and preach, which is indispensable to every indian [sic] settlement. As the number here is small, the townhouse is not large, of a polygonal shape, covered with old boards and brush, and is scarcely high enough at the outside for a man to stand upright. Benches are placed round the sides, a fire built in the middle, and the dancers, with terrapin-shells fastened below the knee, occupy the intermediate space. The leader repeats a sentence, and the whole circle join in the chorus: and from the singing, the sound of the hardened ground, and the rattling of the shells, a noise is produced, which would put to shame Frank Johnston's band during commencement week...

"Alexis"
North Carolina University Magazine (1852: 116-117).

Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Lifeways of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees

Over the years of research about the Ducktown Basin Cherokees which preceded and included this dissertation there were a few times during which the stories remembered about these Indians, or when the relating of personal experience about "being Cherokee," bordered on epiphanic events. These were spellbinding moments, packed with atmosphere and the emotions of both the raconteur and the listener-observer(s). The first and pivotal of these moments came in 1985 during the initial interview with the late George Mealer (b. 1899),[13] an

aged white man with hearing and eyesight fading and a body lately confined to a wheelchair. As a small boy Mealer himself had been fascinated--his imagination captured forever--by some of the last members of the Ducktown Cherokee enclave during frequent visits with his father at their remote cabin on Little Frog Mountain around 1905.

Eighty years after his visits with John Mumblehead, Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt), and Mike Walkingstick, Mealer shared his remembrances with three of us who were at the helm of the Ducktown museum project. Inside the scavanged and recurated World War II quonset hut which he had long-ago fashioned into his home, we sat spellbound for several hours listening, huddled around a pot-bellied stove, breathing in close air heavy with wood smoke and decades of living. His stories brought to life the disembodied names and statistics of census and enrollment counts which project researchers had been gathering. Later my own memories of this storytelling event would keep me true to the goal of finding out how the Indians mentioned came to live on Little Frog Mountain; when and how Cherokees had first returned to the Ducktown Basin after Removal; and why they left. At the time, the detail and texture of the recollections of this illiterate man also reminded us of the skills of memory and observation necessary for survival in an oral-based community like the ones in which he and the Cherokees of whom he spoke had grown up.

George Mealer began:

There's one spring up there they call the Indian Spring; it's the "Cold Spring"...They [Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt) and Mike Walkingstick] lived on around the mountain, about half a mile from there, at the Mumblehead Spring...We'd go up there and stay all night and I's too little to get out and follow after the menfolks and the granny woman would

keep me there with her. [Before] they's some Indians;...[John Mumblehead] come there and stayed first; he'd come in and stay two, three weeks. Their name was Mumblehead. And from then on that went by the name of the Mumblehead Spring...We knowed them Mumbleheads had been up there. We'd go in there regular, that was our pathway. We'd go to that spring, get us some water...We went and Mumblehead was gone and these other old people were there...They wudn't but three that was there all the time...two men and a woman. If we happened to go pretty early, just the first thing...they'd be there when you first went, and the first thing know'd there would be nobody there but them two men and that old lady. They'd [the others] slip off and they wouldn't come back. We'd stay there till Sunday afternoon. They never would show up no more. We didn't know where they went to nor nothing like that...[The ones who left], they's old; older than he is now [he indicates a middle-aged interviewer]...They's Indians; they didn't want nobody else around there...

You didn't know what they was saying [he makes babbling sounds and laughs]. They'd talk our language pretty good, but not much. They was raised, so they said, I never was there, but they said they left a place on the Smokies that they called Big Grassy Top...It was so cold up there wouldn't nothing grow but just grass up the side of the mountain. They said they lived right, in a half a mile of that grassy patch...

[Their cabin] looked like some kind of a pen...covered with slabs; big old thick pieces of chestnut or something they'd split off and put up there...It wudn't daubed, wudn't no cracks nor nothing...And it could rain [in]

and they'd all huddle up in the middle of that sheepskin [or, perhaps, bearskin?]...That old sheep wool wouldn't let 'em get wet. It was a long log building. No windows in it...There was a door in one end of the house and a fireplace in the other end. But the fireplace oh, it'd burn wood as long as from here over there. They'd just cut it [the wood] up on the mountain, take them old jennies, drag it down there...and they'd last a week, them big old logs would...

Old house was nearly as big as this old shack here and [he chuckles] and the room where they slept, they didn't have no bed. Had logs cut. A log cut down right, reached out here and across there [probably a traditional sleeping platform]...Had them sheepskins sewed together. They used them to sleep on and to cover up. They're warm. And they had leaves, leaves about that deep in them...Now that's the way that we'd sleep up there...Oh, I slept right beside that old Cat woman. We all slept in that big old pen, and she'd put me right by the side of her, her old man next to her and then that Mike Walkingstick over there, and my dad on the other side. And she'd sleep with me in her arms, you know, [me] just a great big old kid. She was just the best thing I ever seed.

[Their corn] they'd bring it from somewhere'n else. I never did know where it come from. They'd pack it in. They had three or four old jennies. They'd pack their stuff in there on them jennies, of a night, you see. Nobody didn't know a thing in the world about them old Indians. Nothing in the world...

Well, I tell you, we'd take meal or flour up there and they wouldn't eat a bite of it...She'd make it for you, for us while we were there. Bake their [johnny cake] bread on a rock [in the fireplace] like I was a'telling you...They used sassafras for coffee, and they used spicewood, you've heer'd tell of spicewood. They made coffee out of spicewood. Sassafras, red, there used to be alot of red sassafras but there ain't no more...

They had a funny-looking old outfit that looked like a iron kettle, but I don't know what it was [probably a pottery cooking vessel]. It was heavy...she'd [Sallie Cat (Catt)] put 'em in there, put her water in there, set it before the fire, keep a'turning it round and round, like she was afraid it was going to bust or something...That's what they cooked their beans in...And for their breadstuff they'd make hominy. You know what hominy is? Take the peeling off, the hide off it with ashes, and then they'd turn it and had a big old maul, hand mallet, hand made it; one end flat and had a handle, a handle to it. They'd put it in there soft, where they'd hew[n] a trough out of a log or something. They'd put it in that and after it dried then they'd beat it up; beat it all to pieces. And they wouldn't eat a bite of salt; wouldn't drink a drop of coffee, nothing like that...

They's meat eaters...we have lots of times go[ne] there in the wintertime, and they'd have fresh meat hanging up in the house on the poles...It was funny the way they'd trap. If they wanted to trap any...big, and pretty good-sized game--coon and such as that--[they'd] drive a stob down right out there...lay one pole down on the ground, that big [he gestures], right it down that away, and

then they'd turn in and put that other pole on there, raise it up, and drive them old stobs down, and make a pen about that big. Put their bait on three little old triggers, let sit back under...and cover over it. And then whatever it was went in there would have to stop on top of them poles; couldn't get in there, didn't have room, but get the bait, and pull the bait off; that top log would fall on it, mash it to death right here [he gestures]. That's the way they followed. That's the only I ever knowed of them trapping any...[This is a deadfall trap.]

And they stayed up there for lots of years. I don't know how long. But, they didn't have no guns, nobody knowed of; no bows and arrows, nor nothing. The way they'd do, they always had stuff to cut with. They'd get 'em a locust [sapling] about that long and split it out, just like a ball bat. They'd sharpen one end of it, just as sharp as it could be; let the slope of it be about that long [he gestures]. Well, the hand then come off like that. They'd get around people's general [free range] hogs around the mountain up there, catch one sideways, and they'd throw that spear, hit him. If it didn't die right then why they'd follow it off a little piece, and go on and get it. They'd keep their meat that away [he chuckles], all the time...

And they had peach orchards all over that mountain up there, red peaches, just as blood red as they could be...They had two big peach orchards, one on Big Huckleberry, and one out from the Cold Springs...way on out about a mile out there, big high mountain, they had a peach orchard there, and they had one from the [old fire] tower running all along the top of the mountain there.... They wasn't the open stone, they was plum

peaches...But they'd put 'em up, make 'em a box, put 'em up where they'd stay dry. Now they'd cook 'em and just cook 'em whole, you know. Then you'd just have to eat 'em off, off the core, off the seed. And now that's the way [he laughs]. Oh, they's funny, good old people though...

They'd make a garden or sowed their seeds. They'd take a log about that big around and split it open in the middle. Back then, chestnut trees would just split just easy. They'd bust open and sow their seed right along here and take one of them long chestnut logs and lay a'right on each side of that where them seed was. Well, the seed would come up...weeds couldn't grow up till they keep 'em pulled out. And they'd begin to grow up, they'd just move them logs, them pieces of logs, over, move it over to one side, work their garden, what they wanted...[They grew] just a little of everything, just like we do now, only not improved stuff, just old culture stuff then...

They didn't use onions. They used these old...Indian turnips...Strongest things...They'd use them for onions. They'd get 'em, gather 'em in the fall, tie 'em up like, tie their tops together and hang 'em up on the porch, let 'em dry out, and then they'd cut 'em up with their beans or whatever there was, and they was just as, why them things would set the woods afar [we all laugh]--they they just about it...[And] Irish potatoes. They wouldn't fool with a sweet potato...

She [Sallie] was just a big, old sawed-off, flat-headed woman [with long hair]. Old man's hair was way down here

too; kept it parted, band tied around it...In the winter she'd wear some kind of [outer] sheepskin clothes...they all wore [it]...I don't know whether it was sheepskins dyed or not [or bearskins?], but they all had clothes on [in the winter] with wool on about that long...They didn't wear [any shoes], much. They wore 'em out of some kind of cattle hide or something. Just moccasins, what you might call moccasins. Hole cut in 'em, tied up with strings across 'em but they was funny people. I wish I could get to see some of 'em now. I lay and study about 'em of a night a whole lot of the time...They were good people...

And I'll tell you...they was brown-headed people. They was all old. And they said what they kept their hair--they didn't like for their hair to get gray--and said, there was walnut trees all over, wild black walnuts all through the country, used to be, and they gathered them, hull 'em out and they'd keep the seed kernel part, crack it you know, and eat the goody out of it. They'd save them hulls and they'd put 'em in something, boil 'em and take the dye and wash their head with it. Kept their hair colored [he laughs again]. That's funny. Ain't it? But they done that...

They's quiet and peaceful old folks. They didn't have much to talk about, day ner night, unless it was something they was wanting done, or something like that; something to eat; that's what they looked after...They was wild people, brother; they didn't know what good people was nor bad ones was. They was just a'living, that's all. I know, we was just about the same way...

For the two of us who were anthropologists Mealer's revelations rang true in large measure, although it was clear in some instances that temporal distance had dimmed, embellished, or confused small details and a child's perspective had limited his range of observations and interpretations. What surprised us most was the degree of cultural conservatism and material simplicity displayed in the Cherokees' daily rounds which Mealer described.

The activities of the Cherokees at Cold Springs as he described them were in several respects more reminescent of late eighteenth century Cherokee lifeways than of the model of progressive acculturation presented by sympathetic politicians, missionaries, and modern scholars. The social and geographical isolation and material poverty of these Cherokees at this particular time (as well as their abrupt departure described in the following chapter) would later become important clues in reconstructing the history of the final decades of the Basin Cherokee enclave during my dissertation research. To the two anthropologists the cultural conservatism displayed by the last generation of Cherokees reared in this enclave, as described by Mealer, echoed core Cherokee values--communal land holding, matrilineally-based households, generosity, and non-offensiveness--which shaped the communities their parents and grandparents set out to recreate in the Ducktown Basin after the Trail of Tears.

George Mealer's observations of the Cat (Catts), Mike Walkingstick, and unknown other Cherokees at Cold Springs were selective, however, in an unexpected way. While the Mealer and the Kimsey (see Chapter VI) oral accounts independently document Johnson and Sallie Cat in Turtletown between ca. 1896 and 1905, tribal community censuses enumerate their household on a modest farm among the *Nantahala* Indians around Almond, North Carolina at this time (Cherokee Indian Agency 1894-1910). A Catt [sic] family oral tradition puts them in both places during roughly the same period (see

> Chapter VII) (Paul Catt, personal communication 1990s). Like a number of other Cherokee families of the era (e.g. see Cherokee Agency Records 1894-1910; Greene 1984), Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt), Mike Walkingstick, and the unknown Cherokees at Cold Springs relocated temporarily to other places. While the Cats' main residence was at Almond at the beginning of the twentieth century, they returned periodically to Little Frog Mountain where they reoccupied the "old Indian cabins" and followed the round of rudimentary domestic, root collecting, and hunting activities in what then probably amounted to a seasonal camp. This narrow segment of the overall economic strategy these Cherokees then employed was what George Mealer, his father, and other Ducktown Basin whites observed around 1900.

Returning Home

Anthropologist D'Arcy McNickle (1962), himself an American Indian of Salish and Kootenai descent, concluded his book, The Indian Tribes of the United States: Ethnic and Cultural Survival, by discussing a passage from the Declaration of Indian Purpose, a conference statement issued by 500 representatives of 90 tribes which convened at the University of Chicago in 1961. A part of that selection speaks to reasons behind the tenacity with which the Ducktown Basin Cherokees pursued their goal of returning home after Removal:

> When Indians speak of the continent they yielded, they are not referring solely to the loss of some millions of acres in real estate. They have in mind that the land supported a universe of things they knew, valued, and loved (1962:66).

When refugees from Fighting Town--*Cheesqua*, his family, and unnamed others--escaped from the the Trail of Tears they were determined to

go home. This was not simply because they had not received payment for confiscated property as reported to the army, nor solely because of wretched conditions and death during the forced emigration. Undoubtedly, of equal importance was the fact that behind them lay a known and beloved universe where they knew the names and origins of the surrounding mountains, valleys, and streams, the social boundaries of settlements strung out between them, and the intimacy of sharing land, work, and the laughter, and sorrow of life with one's closest kin. This determination to return to and replicate the known social world--to make and keep community--is at the heart of the story of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees. This was an act repeated by them, their ancestors, and their descendants again and again in the hard years before and after Removal as the aspiration of new waves of white settlers overwhelmed their own efforts to maintain community in a particular location.

Federal and tribal censuses are silent regarding the presence of Cherokees in the Ducktown Basin vicinity for several years after Removal. Neither the 1840 U.S. Population Census for Polk County, Tennessee, nor William Holland Thomas' census of Cherokees in North Carolina for that year (see Thomas 1840a, 1840b), indicates Cherokees living in the locale. Thomas did find, however, as discussed in the preceding chapter, that among the North Carolina Cherokees were 12 households--40 people--from pre-Removal Basin settlements (Table 5.1).

The lack (or obscurity) of written evidence about Basin Cherokees between 1838 and 1840, however, does not definitively prove their absence from the area. Oral traditions preserved among pioneer white families of the

Table 5.1. Former Residents of Ducktown Basin Living in North Carolina after Removal (Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Household Head Residence	1835 Residence	1840 Residence	No. of Members in 1840
Cal les kel lo	Duck Town	Welch's [Farm]	3
Little George (former town head)	Fighting Town	" "	2
Chu la log ih	" "	" "	2
Chees quah (Bird or Little Bird)	" "	*Cheoah*	9
Cho la lo gis ka (Tobacco Smoker)	" "	*Qualla* Town	2
Chu chu (Martin)	Turtle Town	" "	3
Tah ne yen tah	" "	" "	4
New e tow eh	" "	" "	2
Jesse " " (son of *New e tow eh*)	" "	" "	3
Que ne	" "	" "	4
Ana wakih	Duck Town	" "	3
Total Individuals			37

Ducktown Basin, some published and others still in circulation, suggest tantalizingly that if a hiatus in Cherokee occupancy occurred, it was short-lived. Local historian Robert Barclay (1946) applied the commonly-held assumption--that Cherokees hid out in the mountains to avoid the Trail of Tears--to the Ducktown Basin situation. Although not directly cited, examination of Barclay's personal papers indicates that he drew upon the transcript of a turn of the century interview with then 90 year-old John (Jack) Hilderbrand of Benton. Hilderbrand, a mixed-blood Cherokee who survived the Trail of Tears and returned home to Polk County from Indian Territory in the 1840s stated that "when gathering up the Cherokees Nick and Doss and Diane and their mother were hid out and they stayed here" (Hilderbrand 1908b:7).

While the four Cherokees named by Jack Hildebrand are not listed as Polk County residents in the 1840s in federal or tribal records, the family of *Ty-ya-nih* (Diane), age 49, and her young adult offspring, Nick, Anna, and Doss [*Dossan*] Johnson, are listed as residents of neighoring Cherokee County, North Carolina at mid-century (Chapman 1851). By 1853, if not before, the Johnson family had joined other Cherokees living at Turtletown, Tennessee (Cherokee Indians 1853).

The earliest federal documentation of the post-Removal Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin which I uncovered was in the Comments section of the 1848 Mullay enrollment, the first government-mandated census of the Eastern Cherokees. This enrollment not only enumerated Cherokees living east of the Mississippi, but their relatives who had died in the East since the

1835 census or during Removal. Among the dead were Lucy, a 23 year-old woman, and Lightning Bug, age 12, son of Old Bird (*Chees quah stee or Chees quah)*, both of whom died at Duck Town in 1844.

That members of the Bird family had returned to the Ducktown Basin is surprising given their stated intentions when they fled from the Trail of Tears. Their journey home was not direct in a temporal sense, however. In 1840, "*Chees qua* or Little Bird" and his family were living in the *Cheoah* settlement in the Snowbird Mountains (Thomas 1840a, 1840b). The following year, *Chahwanna,* a son of John *Chees qua,* was reported as living in Cherokee County near the Cherokee enclave at Welch's farm (Thomas 1841-1842). In 1844, if not earlier, the Birds were again residing in the Basin (ODLR 1844). By 1848, *Caw he nieh* (*Cohena,* or Granny Bird), her son (or stepson), Johnny Bird (John *Chees qua*), and a few relatives who had formerly lived a few miles miles away on Hothouse Creek in North Carolina, formed the core of the matrilineage which would dominate post-Removal settlement in the Ducktown Basin (Mullay 1848).

The Birds' return to the Ducktown Basin seems to coincide with or mark a shift in the implementation of Tennessee state policy toward Indians. In 1835, the Treaty of New Echota had bartered away the last lands of the Cherokee Nation, including the southeastern corner of Tennessee. The ceded Tennessee lands were called the Ocoee Purchase. On November 20, 1838, six months after Removal operations began, the state legislature passed:

> an act to dispose of the lands in the Ocoee District in 160 acres tract to all and every person or persons, *except natives of the Cherokee Nation of Indians* [emphasis mine], who was or were in the actual possession

> of and residing upon any piece of vacant and unappropriated land in said district, at the time of the passage of this act...[at the rate of] seven dollars and fifty cents per acre (Whitney 1891:440).

Every three months, thereafter, the price for unclaimed lands dropped until an acre was valued at one cent. The land in the Blue Ridge portion of the Ocoee Purchase was the least fit for Western agricultural practices, so much acreage there remained unclaimed by white settlers even after it reached this rock-bottom price.

On March 11, 1844, apparently with too few buyers among the white population forthcoming, the state's entry taker allowed "*Chesquah* or Bird," to purchase 160 acres of land in the hills west of modern Ducktown--near the pre-Removal Fighting Town and Duck Town settlements--for a penny an acre (ODLR 1844). The buyer was most probably John Bird since Old Bird had died in 1838 and Johnny was indirectly indicated as the head of the small Ducktown enclave in 1848. Bird's purchase appears to have been on the waters of Fightingtown Creek, probably in the vicinity of Grear's Ferry (Mullay 1848; ODLR 1844; Zion Hill n. d).

A second Cherokee family group was granted title to Ocoee Purchase lands in 1851. "Walkingstick and his wife, Nancy, Cherokee Indians" became the legal owners of 160 acres in the vicinity of Tumbling Creek (Ocoee Land Records 1851). Whether the Walkingsticks were among the refugees who fled with the Birds has not been determined, nor has how long they had been in the Basin before this land transaction. Walkingstick (*Te to le nust*) and his family (see Chapman 1851) had, however lived in the general area before

Removal, probably on the Ellijay River in old Gilmer County, Georgia (Tyner 1974).

Making a Matrilineally-Based Community

Although after Removal the Eastern Cherokees were encapsulated within an alien social, territorial, and political world, the relative isolation afforded by settling on marginal mountain lands protected the larger enclaves from the most culturally-corrosive influences of the new non-Indian majority. Just as they held stubbornly to the fractured remains of their homeland, the Eastern Cherokees continued many traditional practices and organizational structures at the community and clan levels, and passed on their language, stories, and myths to the young ones, while slowly expanding the range of their economic pursuits (see Finger 1984; Mooney 1900). In these ways they resisted assimilation into Anglo-American society and loss of their identity as a separate people (see Finger 1984; Neely 1991).

The Cherokee elders who helped reconstitute the Ducktown Basin's native settlements during the 1840s and 1850s learned about their world from parents and grandparents who remembered life before substantial numbers of non-Indians entered the Cherokee homeland. The children of these men and women, in turn, witnessed the absorption of former Cherokee lands, abodes, and sacred places into the evolving Southern Appalachian regional culture and economy, which itself became an extractive colony of the larger American economy (see Cunningham 1987; Eller 1982; Lewis et al. 1978).

Ethnographic and ethnohistoric studies of twentieth century traditional Cherokee settlements in Oklahoma and North Carolina have

stressed the importance of the local settlement as the primary unit of social interaction, and especially historically, the predominance of a single matrilineage and its affines in a given settlement (see Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gilbert 1943; Gulick 1960; Hewes 1942a, 1942b, 1943, 1944, 1978; Jordan 1975; Thomas 1957, 1958a-e). Aboriginally, we see this pattern, too.

When sustained contact between Europeans and the Cherokees began in the early eighteenth century, the principal people were linked by clan membership. A Cherokee belonged to the matrilineal clan of his or her mother from birth (Bloom 1939; Gilbert 1943; Mooney 1900). During the nineteenth century there were seven matrilineal clans: *Ani´-Wa´ya* (Wolf), *Ani´-Kawi´* (Deer), *Ani´-Tsi´skwa* (Bird), *Ani´-Wâ´di* (Paint, Red Paint), *Ani´-Sahâ´ni* (Blue, Blue People), *Ani´-Gâ´tage´wi* (Wild Potato, Blind Savannah?), *Ani´-Gilâ´hi* (Long-Haired People, Twisters?). Before massive population decimations in the mid-eighteenth century, there may have been four to seven other Cherokee clans (Gilbert 1943; Mooney 1900).

Eighteenth century Cherokee villages had been politically autonomous except in times of war (Gearing 1962). A primary responsibility of the matrilineal clans then had been to maintain continuity and order within and between villages. Local clan leaders oversaw the use, allocation, regulation, and care of natural and agricultural resources which the kin-related households under their care depended upon. While every household in a settlement had its own garden plot, outlying communal fields were cleared by the men in spring, the growing crops tended by groups of women, and harvested communally at the end of the growing season (see Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Hatley 1990). Lieutenant Henry Timberlake (1756), trader

James Adair (1775), and naturalist William Bartram (1792) described aspects of communal agricultural activities in the mid-to-late eighteenth century.

During a trip through Cherokee country in 1783-1784, the Moravian missionary Brother Martin Schneider observed Cherokees at work tending a settlement's outlying fields:

> And tho'every Family has its own Field, yet they fellowshiply on one End, & continue so one after the other till they have finished all. As every one must come & hoe (he may have planted or not) it seems they prevent thereby that not easily a Family can come to Want by Carelessness. They dare not go from their Work till in the Evening, but the Women must bring them their Victuals into the Field (Williams 1928:261).

Matrilocality was the preferred residence pattern among eighteenth century Cherokees. Ideally, a husband moved into a dwelling belonging to his wife or her extended family on land allocated by her clan in her village. Membership in the traditional Cherokee household was not limited to the nuclear family. Rather, various matrilineal kin, including the wife's children from other liaisons, her grandchildren, parents, grandparents, sisters or brothers, orphaned or elderly relatives, and even a captive adopted to replace a deceased family member, might be present in a Cherokee household (see Gilbert 1943; Perdue 1980; also see miscellaneous Cherokee tribal enrollments). Matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence made it feasible for Cherokee men to have concurrent wives--sometimes sisters, or women in different villages--although the extent to which polygyny occurred is not clear

(Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943; Mooney 1900; Perdue 1989).

Clans were charged with upholding law and order by punishing members who committed acts of theft, bodily injury, or murder against fellow clanspeople. In the case of homocide or the loss of life in war, this meant carrying out the revenge killing of the guilty person, or a substitute from the his clan who by virtue of clan kinship was equally guilty. Restitution for lesser crimes was worked out between the clans of the offender and victim in the presence of a neutral party, the village priest chief (Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943; Reid 1970; Spoehr 1947).

Clan rules prescribed other important interpersonal relations, too, including: care for the poor, sick and aged; spouse selection; meting out punishment to widows and widowers who broke mourning regulations; discipline of neglectful husbands; and, education of the next generation (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943; Reid 1970; Spoehr 1947). Implicit in the kinship terms used by the Cherokees to distinguish between members of the distinct clan lineage of one's mother, father, father's father, and mother's father were the responsibilities owed to particular relatives in each line (Gilbert 1943). For instance, a woman's brother [*ungiDa* or *ditlu-nu-tsii* ("Same Mother")] was her closest male clan relation. He was protective of her and the primary disciplinarian and educator of her children, and in return commanded great respect from them. A Cherokee father (*giDaDa*) on the other hand, who belonged to a different clan than his biological offspring, acted more as an instructor in practical skills for his sons, and kindly advisor to his children, who by social practice were members of

and the responsibility of his wife's clan (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943; Reid 1970; Spoehr 1947).

Conventionally, histories of the pre-Removal Cherokees have stressed acculturation to Western-style agricultural and land tenure practices, Christianity, and the nuclear family, especially by the mixed-blood elite. In particular, passage of laws by the tribe and later the Cherokee Nation during the first quarter of the nineteenth century is cited as evidence of drastic changes in Cherokee lifeways. Other evidence, however, indicates that both before and after Removal local leaders, clans, and traditional practices and social relations remained important at the community level (see Chapter IV).

In a statement given to a special federal agent investigating his sister *Walle yah's* Civil War pension application at his home at Cold Springs, James Cat (*Tecosenaka*) made veiled allusions to just how firmly rooted he and other members of the Ducktown Basin enclave were in traditional Cherokee lifeways and community before the war. His reply to the following query is of particular interest:

> Question: Had Mrs. Bird the claimant any property in 1863 to 64?
>
> Answer: *No sir, she had no kind of property at all. They lived on a piece of land that belonged to a company of 4 or 5 families, the deed to which was held by one Bearmeat.* (James Cat 1885).

Jim Cat's response that *Walle yah* had no property meant that she owned no property in the Anglo-American legal sense. He immediately qualified this statement by saying that she lived on land which belonged to *"a company of 4*

or 5 families," that is to say, these Cherokee households all resided on communally-held land. To satisfy state property laws it was registered, nevertheless, to one person in the group, a man named Bearmeat (James Cat 1885). This English translation rendered by the mixed blood Cherokee, Ross B. Smith, is but a shadow of the original Cherokee phrasing Jim Cat appears to have used; words which in the original language would have succinctly conveyed the very heart of being Cherokee.

I once asked the Cherokee woodcarver Going Back Chiltoskey to translate "*gadugi*" into English for me. This word is usually discussed by academics and contemporary Cherokees in terms of its economic-public welfare signification--meaning the cooperative settlement work groups described by observers in the eighteenth century and ethnographers in the mid-twentieth century (see Speck and Schaeffer 1945; Fogelson and Kutsche 1961). Chiltoskey quickly gave me three richly nuanced meanings of *gadugi* : a company of people; to come together; to keep together" (personal communication 1993 in Duggan 1997). This contemporary Cherokee elder's understanding of *gadugi* as the cooperation upon which traditional Cherokee community, economy, and society depended echoed and further explained Jim Cat's reference to the social compact (the "*company of 4 or 5 families* ") which before the Civil War was the "Bearmeat's Farm" settlement at Turtletown.

In the 1840s, Cherokee resettlement in the Ducktown Basin appears to have been centered on the Bird farmstead and possibly nearby locations, especially at the place on the Ocoee River that new white settlers called Grear's Ferry (modern Grassy Creek community). In all probability the Birds'

farm was also treated as communal land and served as the center for a fledgling Cherokee settlement. This was familiar natural and social terrain; the same locale as the pre-Removal Cherokee settlements of Fighting Town (along Fighting Town Creek) and Duck Town (along Tumbling Creek). I have as yet found no indication that resettlement occurred during the 1840s in the pre-Removal Turtle Town vicinity (cf Mullay 1848; ODLR 1844; Zion Hill Minutes n. d.: Book A,34).

Several Cherokee families pooled the money each had received after the Siler enrollment and bought land at Turtletown, Tennessee in the early 1850s. This was the tract known as "Bearmeat's Farm." In describing the sale of this property in 1865, a former white neighbor said that "four or five families owned the property," including those of Bearmeat, *Cheesqua neet*, (Jacob Bird) and James Cat (*Tecosenaka*) (Table 5.2). The latter two men (and probably some of their family members) had originally paid in their Siler money for 100 acre shares each.

Bearmeat (*Yona chu whe yah*) besides holding legal title to the communal property was probably the settlement's "lead man" (see Fogelson and Kutsche 1961), a position of trust perhaps symbolized in his designation as legal land holder for the corporate group. He was living in the Ducktown Basin by 1851, and possibly lived there before Removal. In an undated post-Removal list of the Cherokees who aided in the capture of the *Tsali* party William Holland Thomas listed him as "Bearmeat of Ducktown" (Finger 1979). Until the Georgia land lottery in 1832, he probably lived in the Cherokee settlement of Little Hightower near Hiwassee, Georgia (Brett Riggs, personal communication 1990s). At some point during this period of

Table 5.2. Residents of the Ducktown Basin Cherokee Settlements in 1851, 1853, and 1860 (Cherokee Indians 1853; Siler 1851; USBCPSPC 1860).

Resident and/or family	Other names or spellings	Settlement	1851	1853	1860
Arch Bolen		Turtle Town		x	
Alecy				x	
Letty				x	
John				x	
Arch				x	
Isaac Brown		Turtle Town		x	
Nancy (*Pegga*?)				x	
Wilson				x	
Cow whela				x	
Capton				x	
Allen				x	
John Bolen		Turtle Town		x	
Caroline				x	
Joseph				x	
James Cat (*Tecosenaka*)		Turtle Town			x
Sarah (*Sal kin nih*)			x		x
John (son of *Sal kin nih*)			x		x
4 unnamed children					x (4)
Awih (daughter of *Sal kin nih*)			x		
Ketcher		Turtle Town		x	
Nancy (Nanny)				x	
Quala uk				x	
Ancy				x	
Ullitta				x	

Table 5.2 continued

Resident and/or family	Other names or spellings	Settlement	1851	1853	1860
Wolater		Turtle Town		x	
Nancy				x	
Jim Mocason (Moggason)		Turtle Town		x	x
Sally				x	
Awe				x	
John				x	
Catesy					x
4 unnamed boys (possibly Mocasons)					x (4)
Baremeat (*Yona chu whe yah*)		Turtle Town	x	x	x
Sis sih or Leshe (Elizabeth)			x	x	x
Lu ke (*Choo huh loo kuh* or Bark)			x	x	x
Wa hi ke (*Welinke or Wa loo kih*)			x	x	x
Daniel Baremeat (*Ta nee lih*)			x	x	
Catau ua or *Jin nih* (Ginny)			x	x	
Liddia Baremeat				x	
Anna Baremeat				x	
Samuel Baremeat					x
5 unnamed children					x (5)
Cohena (Granny Bird; 1851 with Baremeats)		Turtle Town	x	x	x
James Going		Turtle Town			x
Nancy					x

Table 5.2 continued

Resident and/or family	Other names or spellings	Settlement	1851	1853	1860
(Going continued)					
John Going (Welch?)					x
David					x
James					x
Rachel					x
Louesy					x
Anna waka		Turtle Town		x	
Nick Johnson		Turtle Town		x	
Dosan (Doss)				x	
Anna				x	
Diana (*Ty-ya-nih*)				x	
Laksa Patridge [Partridge]		Turtle Town		x	
Akinny				x	
Salonu ci o				x	
Tuska loga				x	
Mary				x	
Cheesqua neet (Jacob Bird)[14]		Turtle Town	x	x	x
Wolia (Walle yah)			x	x	x
Billy (Wee lih or William)			x	x	x
Allen *(Ah lin nih)*			x	x	
Stephen *(Ste wih)*			x	x	
Austa				x	
Francis					x
Ann					x
Unnamed female					x

Table 5.2 continued

Resident and/or family	Other names or spellings	Settlement	1851	1853	1860
Tobacco Smoke(r) (or *Cho le geke sih*)		Turtle Town	x	x	
Susanna (*Susan nih*)			x	x	
Shaya				x	
Bill Welch Smoker				x	
Walkingstick (*Te to le nust*)		Duck Town	x	x	
Dancy (*Too stuh,* Nancy)			x	x	
Mike (Mi kih)			x	x	
Walkingstick Going Out				x	
Jim mih			x		
Tauncy Walkingstick		Duck Town		x	
Caroline				x	
Peggy				x	
James Rogers (nephew of above)		Duck Town		x	
Nice Walkingstick		Duck Town		x	
Elijah				x	
Samuel				x	
John Bird (John *Chees quah*)		Duck Town	x	x	
Qualla yukah (*Walle* or Polly)			x	x	
Ni cee			x		
Sah mih (Sam)			x		
Sally			x	x	
William Bird		Duck Town		x	
Nancy Feather				x	

Table 5.2 continued

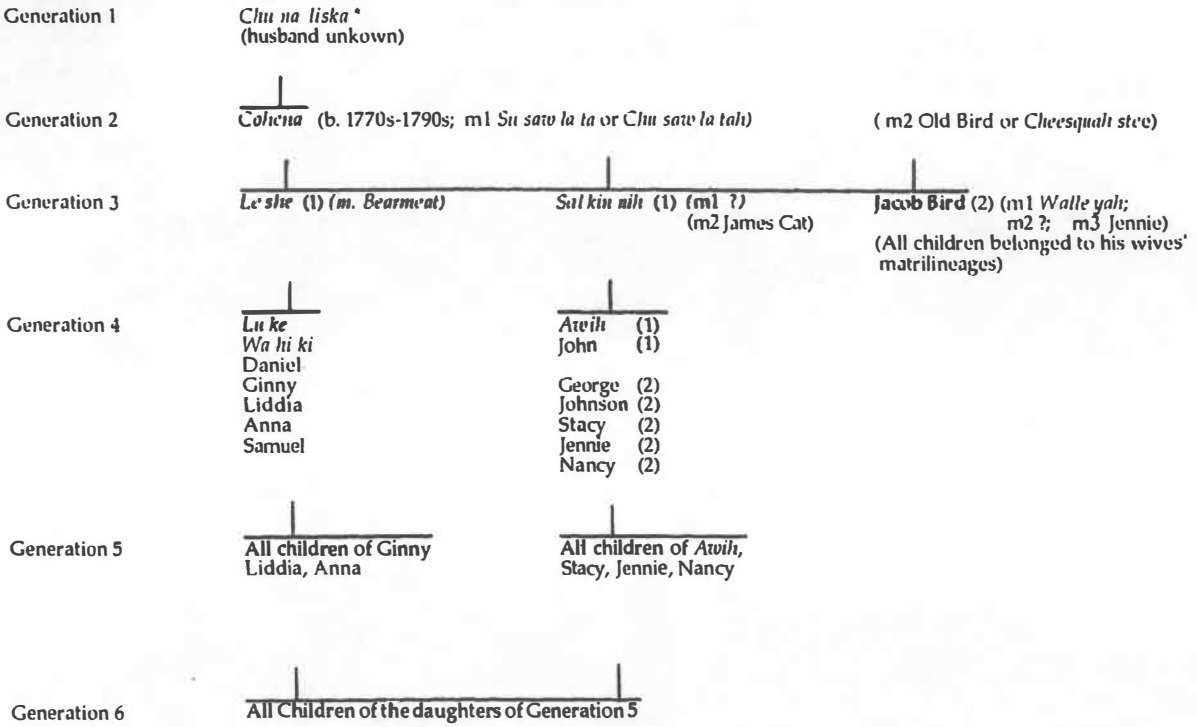
Resident and/or family	Other names or spellings	Settlement	1851	1853	1860
(Feather continued)					
Joe Feather				x	
John *Categiste*				x	
The Going Wolf				x	
Arch Buck (Duck?)		Duck Town		x	
Nelly Pore Bear		Duck Town		x	
Sary Ann				x	
Rebeca				x	
Chester				x	
Bengermon Augustus Pore Bear				x	
E see kih		Duck Town	x		
Oo loo chih			x		
William			x		
Jim mih (*Oo luh soo lah*)		[one of above]	x		
Ko le gees kih (Bone Picker)		[one of above]	x		
Tah nih			x		
Caroline			x		
Qua kih (Peggy)			x		
Totals			**34**	**79**	**37**

woman from the Basin named *Si sih* (*Leshe* or Elizabeth), who was a daughter of *Cohena* (Granny Bird).[15] No doubt his leadership position in the first post-Removal settlement in the Turtletown vicinity also reflected his marriage alliance with the core matrilineage of the post-Removal Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave (Table 5.3).

The U. S. census enumerators for the Ducktown Basin districts either ignored or did not know about the local Cherokees in 1850 (USBCASFC and USBCPSFC 1850; USBCASPC and USBCPSPC 1850). The next year, however, two enrollments of the Eastern Cherokees identified nine traditionalist Cherokee households--a total of 34 people--in Polk County (Chapman 1851; Siler 1851). Comparing the names with later records indicates that these were all families residing in the Ducktown Basin locale. (Two mixed blood households from western Polk County will be discussed in Chapter VII). A petition sent from the Cherokee Indians of Polk County (1853) to the President of the United States indicates that within two years the native population in the Ducktown Basin had risen to at least 79 people. Seven to eight families (25 people) were associated with the Duck Town and 13 families (54 people) with the Turtle Town Indian settlement. These figures may represent the peak in the Cherokee population in the area after Removal. Between 1853 and 1860 the Cherokee population shifted almost entirely to to the Turtletown, Tennessee/North Carolina locale. A slow population decline which began in the late 1850s accelerated transition and turmoil, Bearmeat married a during and after the Civil War (Swetland 1869; USMRWB n.d.)

Information from the pre-War census records coupled with that from church and other local history records suggests that the Basin's Cherokee

Table 5.3. A Partial Genealogy of the Core Matrilineage in the Ducktown Basin after Removal.



*This table shows the matrilineage as it descends only through *Cohena*, daugher of the woman, *Chu na liska*. All other children of *Chu na liska* (Generation 2) would have belonged to the her matrilineage also, but only the children of her daughters, etc. Most other people in the Ducktown enclave listed in the Mullay enrollment (1848) appear to be matrilineal relatives of John *Chees quah*, who was *Cohena's* stepson by Old Bird as well as the son of her sister *Ool skin nih*, who was another wife of Old Bird (also see Appendix: 368). Sororal polygamy is not uncommon in matrilineal societies.

population was at the beginning of a period of rapid expansion around 1850. The budding Basin enclave was overwhelmingly young; over half the population was 20 years of age or younger. All of the elders--John and *Wah la yu kah Chees quh* (ages 50 and 60); *Te to le nust* (Walkingstick) (age 70); *Sis ih* Bearmeat (age 50); *Ko hena-ih* (*Cohena* or Granny Bird) (age 80); *Oo luh soo luh* (*Jim-mih*) (age 66), and possibly *Yona choo howee yuh* (Bearmeat) (age 60)--had been residents of Cherokee communities in the Ducktown Basin before Removal. Other members of the new enclave were spouses, children, children's spouses, or grandchildren of these people (Siler 1851). In particular, *Cohena* , who may have been among the Cherokees who received provisions from Indian agent Meigs at "Ducktown" in 1799, remained the living link between most local post-Removal families and what was a primary, if not the dominant, matrilineage for the pre-Removal Duck Town and Fightingtown settlement.

The Cherokees who reestablished community in the Ducktown Basin in the 1840s and 1850s were culturally conservative. All spoke Cherokee by preference; probably the majority were monolingual. As in earlier times, subsistence farming, supplemented by some hunting and gathering, provided for their basic needs. One man still practiced the traditional male occupation of "hunter" on the eve of the Civil War (USBCPSPC 1860).

Following One Paternal Line

Several years ago, a colleague and I traced the social history and spatial movements of one Cherokee family from 1819-1927, a period which spanned

four generations (see Riggs and Duggan 1992; Duggan and Riggs 1993). We used the term "Catt family" to refer to what is really a trans-generational grouping, a construct which reflected more about the U. S. government's emphasis on patrilineal and patriarchal relationships than about matrilineal ties which circumscribed the everyday lives and relationships of traditionalist Cherokees. The spelling "Catt," a rendering adopted early in the twentieth century by descendants of a man named *Wesah*, or in English, "The Cat," was used where we discussed the family across generations (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

We first documented The Cat in 1819, living in the important Middle Town of *Cowee* which was located on the Little Tennessee River about a dozen miles from modern-day Franklin, North Carolina. Two of his children--*Tecosenaka* (*Jimmawessah,* Jim Wesser, James or Jim Cat) and *Walle yah* (*Wolia,Whlyleh,* Elizabeth or Betsy Bird/*Cheesqua neet*) who are mentioned prominantly in this dissertation, as well as their children and grandchildren, were residents of post-Removal Cherokee settlements in the Ducktown Basin (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

Life circumstances made it necessary for the Catt family to deal with federal, state, and tribal officials on a number of occasions and in different contexts between 1819 and the 1910s. Written documents which reflect aspects of this interaction, as well as local oral traditions about two generations of the family in the Ducktown Basin, provide glimpses of community, material, and personal life which were typical for many traditionalist Cherokees during these decades before and after Removal. The Catt family dealt with the changes brought into their personal lives and

lifeways by the actions of the United States and local white populations in large measure through the complex of kinship roles and responsibilities which sustained traditional Cherokee society and community (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

During my dissertation research I discovered additional archival material about Jim Cat's pivotal role in the Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave after the Civil War. I also located critical new information in military pension files relating to the case of his sister, *Walle yah.* This latter material was especially critical in reconstructing everyday life within the Basin Cherokee communities and the social and economic relationships members developed with local whites. Here I offer an abbreviated profile of the Catt family's experiences and lifeways as typical of many traditionalist Cherokee families before Removal and before the Civil War. The roles of James Cat and *Walle yah* during and after the war, are integrated into the unfolding story of the Ducktown Cherokee enclave presented in the following chapters.

In 1819, The Cat (*Wessah, Dickawessah,* Dick Wesser, Dick Cat) was 57 years old; his wife, *Ahwoneeska* was 46. At that time, they lived on Bighead Creek among several matrilineally-related households associated with the *Cowee* settlement. *Cowee,* the most important of the Cherokee Middle Towns, was located on the upper Little Tennessee River about 12 miles west of present-day Franklin, North Carolina. With them were sixteen years-old *Tecosenaka* and daughters, *Coloniska* [age not given] and *Walle yah,* who was one year-old. Many residents of Cowee and other settlements in the northern quarter of the Cherokee territory were disrupted when their lands

were ceded to the United States by the Calhoun Treaty of 1819. Instead of moving onto remaining Cherokee lands, a few families stayed and took up claim for individual reservations of 640 acres. For a time, the Cats and 21 other *Cowee* households avoided the intent of the treaty terms for a time by claiming contiguous private reservations and allowing relatives to establish households on each. This action allowed the *Cowee* remnant to comply technically with the treaty while still maintaining traditional land use and residential patterns (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

North Carolina reservees became refugees again when that state sold their private reservations at public auction in 1821. The Cat and his family joined kinspeople at *Connichiloe*, on Tallula Creek on the upper *Cheoah* River in the Cherokee Nation. They stayed there for 18 years, until displaced by Removal. During these years, *Tecosenaka* married *Secooee*, a daughter of *Euchella*, head man of the Nantahala Cherokees. The young couple set up housekeeping at *Chinleanatee* Town on the Nantahala River among her matrilineal kin and about three miles from his parents. Both of these settlements were culturally and materially conservative and maintained a townhouse for community affairs (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

In 1835 and 1837, the household of *Dickawessah* [The Cat] was surveyed in preparation for Removal. Probably at least one adult daughter and her family lived with The Cat and *Awoneeska*, for there were two men, three women, two boys, and three girls in the household. Their farm included two small log cabins with stick and clay chimneys. During the first survey the family had 16 acres under cultivation, but only 8 acres in use two years later, as well as a few peach and apple trees. After Removal, The Cat applied to the

federal government to be compensated for his family's property losses which he valued at $201.00, including several head of horses, cattle, and hogs, a flock of chickens, a few farm tools, and spinning equipment. A few miles away among the *Nantahala* Cherokees, *Tecosenaka, Secooee,* and their two children farmed a tiny 6 acre plot, probably associated with a larger tract maintained by her matrilineal kin (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

On June 13, 1838, the seizure of residents from the *Cheoah,* Buffalo Town, *Tallula, Connichiloe, Stecoa, Chinleanatee,* and *Aquonee* settlements was initiated by state and federal Removal troops from nearby Fort Montgomery and Fort Lindsay. Those captured were marched south through the Snowbird Mountains to Fort Butler, at Murphy, North Carolina. Later, they would join hundreds of other detainees forced to traverse the rugged Unicoi Mountains and then follow the Hiwassee River to Fort Cass at Calhoun, Tennessee to await final deportation to Indian Territory (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

An oral tradition in the Catt family indicates that some of their ancestors escaped during the Trail of Tears, traveling under the cover of each night until they again reached their Cherokee homeland (Paul Catt, personal communications 1985-86 and 1990s). The Cat, it is noted "went West" (see Swetland 1869), probably during Removal. In 1840, *Tecosenaka* (Jim Cat), *Secooee,* and their children along with other members of *Euchella's Nantahala* Cherokees, resided in the *Qualla* Town settlements (Thomas 1840b). That same year, *Walle yah,* her husband *Cheesqua neet* (Jacob Bird), and their children were refugees in the *Cheoah* settlement north of the Snowbird Mountains.

Walle yah and *Cheesqua neet* apparently married before Removal since they are listed in 1840 as former residents of Fighting Town. They most assuredly began the Trail of Tears from that location and probably were among the party of 20 or more Cherokees from Fighting Town led by "*Chesqua* or Bird" (either his father or older brother, John *Cheesqua*), who had escaped from the Hilderbrand detachment bent on returning home. Although the couple is not listed in records pertaining to Ducktown until 1851, they could have been present from the time his mother, *Cohena* brother, John, and other relatives and affines returned to the Basin in the early 1840s. Later, *Walle yah* and several of her children would become periodic residents of Polk County and Turtletown after about 1870, usually living in association with her brother, *Tecosenaka*'s (James Cat) household and other relatives.

Sometime between 1851 and 1855, James Cat [*Tecosenaka*] became a shareholder in the Bearmeat's Farm settlement at Turtletown. In 1855, he transferred his church membership from a Bird Town church to the Zion Hill church in Turtletown. When he first came to the Indian settlement at Turtletown he lived for a time in the household of *Walle yah* and *Cheesqua neet*,. Sometime between 1855 and 1860, he and *Sal kin neh* [Sally], another child of *Cohena* [Bird], became a couple. In the 1851 Siler enrollment, *Sal kin nih* had been listed as a household head and mother of two small children. The family which she and Jim Cat forged would become the centerpiece of at least two post-Civil War Cherokee settlements at Turtletown, and their children and grandchildren probably the last traditionalist Cherokees to live in the Ducktown Basin.

∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞

The profile of the pre-Civil War Cherokee remnant in the Ducktown Basin locale which emerges through analysis of written records and oral traditions is of one of a culturally conservative community and membership. The people of this post-Removal enclave were Cherokee by blood and expressed their ethnicity through use of the Cherokee language, values, and customs, even though they had assimilated some Anglo-American material culture and mechanical skills into their lifeways. At the heart of their way of being and staying Cherokee was the time-honored principle of matrilineality--to be born of a Cherokee mother was to be Cherokee and to be so connected to the Cherokee past ad infinitum. In these ways they were similar to most other Eastern Cherokee of this era (see Finger 1984; Neely 1991). The Ducktown Basin Cherokees' way of being in the world, however, was seriously challenged after the mid-1850s when monumental economic changes occurred in the local white society within which they now resided.

CHAPTER VI

THE "DUCKTOWN DISTRICT": TWO WORLDS IN ONE LAND

I found claimant [*Walle yah Bird*] and her son Stephen, who are Indians, as they always do, refused to understand my questions so I had to get one Henry Smith as interpreter and his son Ross Smith for Stephen.

John H. Wages, Special Agent
(1879 in USMRWB n. d.)

There was some poor old people lived up there [on Little Frog Mountain]. Wudn't our kind...well, they was partly my kind of people...My grandmaw, old man Mag Meeler's wife, she was a part Indian, you know...Well, I don't in particular know nothing about 'em. Only I been there hundreds of times and stay[ed] all night with 'em...I was too little to get out and follow after the menfolks and the granny woman would keep me there with her. And her name was Sallie Cat...And her old man's name, he went by the name of John[son] Cat. Sallie Cat and John [son and] Mike Walkingstick. He carried a walkingstick everywhere he went. Wudn't crippled. But he kept that old big walkingstick for some purpose, I don't know what, but he did.

George Mealer
(personal communication 1985)

Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Economic and Social Relations with Basin Cherokees

Only a few oral accounts about the Basin Cherokees remain in circulation in the locale today. Among the most detailed are those recounted by Alga B Kimsey (b. 1916) a sturdy, independent woman, who lives on a picture-perfect, extended family farm at the head of Turtletown Creek. I first heard her stories about local Cherokees in 1985. In 1896, her newly married parents, John H. and Lois Kimsey, set up housekeeping on Little Frog Mountain in one of the "Indian cabins" at Cold Springs, a site connected by an old trail to her grandfather, William A. Kimsey's place on Brush Creek at the mountain's base about three miles away. Four generations of Kimsey's had direct dealings with Basin Cherokees. Alga B [sic] has studied the Zion Hill church minutes and knows the names of that congregation's nineteenth century Cherokee members. She can point out the high, grassy spot in the old cemetery where church lore says some of them are buried.

It appears that at the end of the nineteenth century that a multi-racial settlement was in the making on Little Frog Mountain. When Alga B's newlywed parents, who were white people, moved to the mountain their closest neighbors were the Morgan family and the Dovers, Mrs. Morgan's parents. Although, Kimsey family stories attribute no particular race or ethnicity to the Morgans, one current local historian says this Morgan family was "Melungeon." It is clear from historic records that both the Morgans and Dovers constituted mixed race households. In 1880, a census taker enumerated the Morgan and Dover families, then in District 10, as having white and/or mulatto members (USBCPSPC 1880). It is possible, however, that the spouses listed as mulattoes were instead mixed-blood Cherokees since a Cherokee family of Morgans lived in adjacent Monroe County (see USBCMCPC 1840; Siler 1851). Between around

1896 and 1905 the nuclear family and other relations of the full-blood Cherokee couple, Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt), were also living at least seasonally on the mountain in an old "Indian cabin" at Mumblehead Springs. Alga B grew up hearing stories about this Indian couple's visits to her young parents' cabin.

Kimsey descendants treasure six rivercane baskets traded to John and Lois by Sallie Cat (Catt) for equal measures of corn (Duggan and Riggs 1991; Alga B Kimsey, personal communication 1985, 1989, 1991; Kimsey and Portier 1982). Sallie is also credited with teaching one of Alga B's older siblings to count from one to ten in Cherokee while the Indian woman rocked the child on visits to the Kimsey's cabin at Cold Springs. Alga B, born and raised off the mountain, learned Cherokee numbers from her grandmother, Sallie Kimsey, who no doubt once used them in transactions with Basin Cherokees. As though stepping back in time, Alga B recited these numbers for me with delight and determination (Table 6.1): "tudli, choi, niki, hisi, sutali, skulkogi, sitneli, sotneli, skohi. Oh, I left out something!"

Although learning Cherokee numbers had become child's play by Alga B's time, numerous whites of earlier generations, like her grandmother, learned enough rudimentary Cherokee to haltingly communicate with native neighbors and peddlers. Such barter events and the social settings in which they occurred nevertheless provide only a glimpse of the range and nature of interethnic contact which occurred in and around the Ducktown Basin in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Most if not all Basin Cherokees lived in locally recognized, loosely-bounded settlement clusters after Removal; however, their settlements were still spatially, economically, and socially integrated to varying degrees into the

Table 6.1. Comparative chart of Cherokee numbers from white oral history and linguistic sources (Chiltoskey 1972; Holmes and Smith 1977; Alga B Kimsey, personal communication 1991.)

Alga B Kimsey's "Cherokee counting"	**Modern Cherokee dialect in Oklahoma**	**Modern Cherokee dialect at Qualla**
----	*sa'wu*	*sa quo*
tudli	*ta?-li*	*ta li*
choi	*tso?-i*	*tso*
niki	*nv:-g(i)*	*nu gi*
hisi	*hi:-s-gi' [hi:-s-g']*	*hi s gi*
sutali	*su'-da-l(i')*	*su da li*
skulkogi	*ga-l(i)-quo:-g(i')*	*ga li quo go*
sitneli	*tsu-ne'li*	*tsu ne la*
sotneli	*soh-ne'-l(a)*	*sa ne la*
skohi	*s-go-(hi)*	*s go hi*

area's white society and communities. Several avenues for economic and related social interaction developed between the two groups. Although farming remained the economic base for all of the Basin Cherokees, a number did become part-time laborers in support industries for the copper companies as well as agricultural day laborers. Some of these same people continued the seasonal activities of peddling baskets and berries and collecting and trading medicinal roots which Cherokees had done for decades before Removal. Many economic endeavors were accomplished en masse, with family, siblings, or part of a local Indian community working together. After the Cherokee population in the Ducktown Basin dropped precipitously in the late 1860s, the remaining Indian families over time withdrew to more isolated homesites and traditional or marginalized economic pursuits.

The involvement of Cherokees at *Qualla* Town and in the Snowbird area in the industrialization of southern Appalachia seems to have been restricted mainly, if not completely, to the great commercial timber harvest which targeted the region's virgin forests, and occurred between the 1880s and 1920s, later in both areas with whites (see Eller 1982; Finger 1994; Neely 1991). Cherokees returning to the Ducktown Basin, and the new settlements they established after the Trail of Tears, however, were soon drawn into the thick of rapid and expansive industrialization revolving around mineral exploitation.

The period between the 1880s and the first quarter of twentieth century was a time of intense exploration and development of mineral and timber resources in the southern Appalachians (Dunaway 1996; Eller 1982). Cherokees residing in the *Qualla* Town and *Cheoah/Nantahala* settlements,

as well as their non-Indian neighbors, experienced direct effects of this wave of industrialization with the advent of commercial timbering and railroading (Finger 1984; Freel 1956; Neely 1991). By contrast, the Cherokees living in the Ducktown Basin area were forced by circumstances to negotiate life on the fringes of an emerging industrial complex that would soon obliterate familiar landscapes and transform routine social relations and lifeways (cf Barclay 1946; Duggan 1998; Duggan et al. 1998; *Walle yah* Bird n.d.).

The Emerging Copper Industry

Industrial development in southeastern Tennessee began on a small scale early in the nineteenth century with several bloomeries (Hersh 1958). In 1825, a thriving iron plantation (including an ironworks, mill village, pit mines, charcoal pits) was established on the Tellico River about two miles from modern Tellico Plains in Monroe County, with 30,000 acres in forests on condemned state lands set aside for fuel production. Mineral exploration in the region escalated in 1827 after gold was discovered about ten miles south on Coker Creek, land still within the Cherokee Nation. After Removal, in 1843, a gold prospector found a curious rock flecked with crimson crystals (red copper oxide) about 15 miles further south on Potato Creek in the Ducktown Basin. This find marked the discovery of one of the United States' most ample copper reserves and spurred development of the Southeast's largest metal mining operation (Ashley 1911; Barclay 1946, 1975; Duggan 1998; Duggan et al. 1998; Van Benthuysen 1951).

In 1847, the first casks of high grade, black copper or gossan, mined from surface or near surface deposits, were packed out of the Basin by mule to

the closest railroad at Dalton, Georgia. That same year, an attempt was made to expand ore production and manufacture in the area with the erection of an iron forge on Potato Creek. The first deep copper mine opened in 1851 and by 1854 two copper smelting works were in operation on Potato Creek. During this period of rapid expansion, more than 30 mining companies existed on paper; however, only 14 mines actually opened (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998).

A boom town aura soon pervaded the "Ducktown District," as the locale was dubbed in international circles. On the eve of the Civil War, the rugged, mountain-ringed basin teemed with as many as 1,000 prospectors, geologists, engineers, and miners. Another 300 people were engaged as haulers, cordwood cutters, charcoal burners, cotton-rock collectors, or common laborers. Many hailed from the Great Lakes, New England, or one of several foreign countries, including Great Britain and Germany, although the preponderance of miners and laborers were local or from neighboring North Carolina or Georgia.

Most of the Basin's copper industry workers were mature or young men, but at least 80 children, including a few girls, were employed for some unskilled tasks. Wages were good for those employed by the mining companies. Experienced miners earned $40-45 monthly, while recruits made $20-25 dollars per month and common laborers from .75 to a $1.45 per day for their efforts. Some workers in support industries which were operated by middlemen, including the colliers or charcoal-makers, were paid quarterly in a combination of goods from the company store and cash (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998; Olmsted 1860).

Between 1861 and 1863, the Confederate government controlled the Ducktown mining industry, employing only a rudimentary workforce processing stockpiled copper. All local copper operations ceased when federal troops occupied the region in 1863. Prosperity for the copper companies after the Civil War proved illusive. Damage to equipment, buildings, and the "Copper Road", a rough wagon track which led to the railroad depot in Cleveland, required expensive repairs; interest on pre-war debts mounted; and owners, management, and workers clamored for war-time compensations. Changes in the international copper market further complicated recovery, as prices declined sharply with the discovery of rich new fields in South America and around the world (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998).

In 1878, four mining companies which had restarted production after the war were sold at public auction. Prosperity did not return again until well after the summer of 1889 when a new spur line through the mountains connected the Ducktown Basin directly for the first time with northern and southern markets. As a result, three new copper concerns--the British-based, Ducktown Sulfur, Copper & Iron Company (DSC&I) at Isabella; the Pittsburg-based, Pittsburg and Tennessee Copper Company at Ducktown; and the New York-based, Tennessee Copper Company (TCC) at what would become Copper Hill--geared up massive mining and processing operations between 1889 and the early 1890s (Barclay 1946, 1973; Caldwell et al. 1989; Duggan et al. 1998).

Beginning in the 1850s, black copper and sulfide ores from the Basin were rendered more commercially usable through employment of the "heap roasting" method which lowered their sulfur content. In this process, beds of

cordwood were laid out underneath open roasting sheds, and then heaped over with raw copper ore, ignited, and left to smolder for one to three months. Huge quantities of wood and charcoal--at least one cord of wood for each 20 tons of ore--were needed to roast the raw ore and subsequently smelt it into copper matte for export (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998; Quinn 1993).

The extent of damage to vegetation, animal life, and the physical landscape in and around the Ducktown Basin which occurred between the 1850s and 1879 as a result of heap roasting and associated timbering is unknown (Figure 6.1). Older miners later recalled that some vegetional recovery occurred while the mines were closed during the 1880s. The greatest environmental damage came during the second phase of industrial expansion between 1890 and 1907. Thick masses of sulfur dioxide-laden smoke rising from the hundreds of roasting sheds operated by the two new copper companies killed nearby vegetation, leaving behind red, barren hills in the heart of the Basin. Renewed cord-wood cutting exposed additional soils. Within a few years, 50 square miles of denuded and eroded land circumscribed the heart of the Ducktown Basin. Nearly a century of reclamation efforts would be required to recloak this man-made desert (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998).

Paraphrasing the recollections of elderly miners and residents, geologist James Taylor described the industrial pall that hung over the moon-like landscape at the close of the nineteenth century:

> From the tops of the neighboring mountains one appeared to be looking down upon the ocean. Sometimes the hilltops appeared above

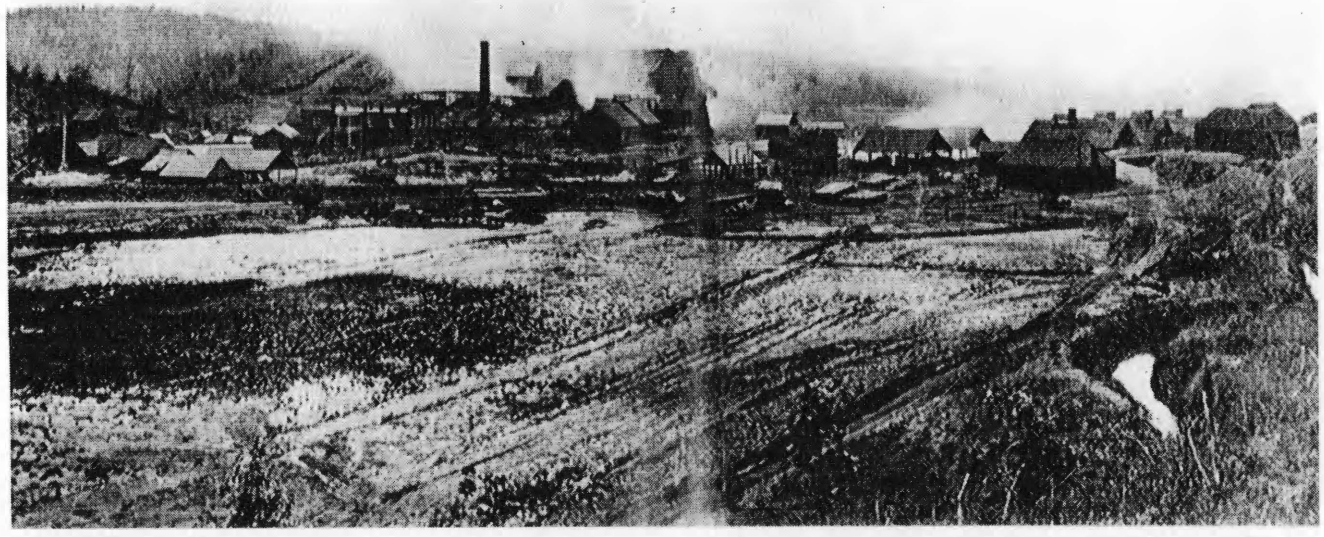


Figure 6.1. Isabella Smelting Works, 1875. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Robert Barclay Papers, Nashville. Previously published in Barclay (1946).

> the sea of smoke to look like islands. From the floor of the basin the clouds were as dense as the "typical London fog." It was sometimes necessary for the workers to carry a lantern until ten o-clock in the morning to see their way (1950:53-54).

Among the most sweeping views of the transformed landscape and atmospheric conditions were those visible from Little Frog Mountain, the place of last refuge for Basin Cherokees.

Cherokees in the New Basin Economy and Society

Peripheral Workers in the Copper Industry

Few payroll records from the first decades of copper mining in the Ducktown District survive, which makes it difficult to know if any Cherokees worked as miners. It is clear that before the 1863 shutdown during the Civil War and for some years after, an unknown number of Cherokee men, women, and children were sometimes employed in associated workforces. It is undoubtedly significant that the area's Cherokee population reached its post-Removal peak in the mid-1850s when the local mining industry was booming.

The earliest reference to Cherokee involvement in the post-Removal Basin economy is found in a letter from John Caldwell (see Barclay 1946:46-47) to Tennessee state geologist, John O. Curry. Caldwell, who oversaw the construction of the Copper Road around Ocoee River to the railroad at Cleveland, Tennessee, said that on the fourth day of construction in October, 1851, he hired 12 Cherokee men to replace white laborers whose numbers had dwindled away each preceeding day. It is unlikely that this handful of

Cherokee men built the road in its entirety as modern speculation sometimes claims. Rather, what is most significant about this event is the number of Indian men hired for the task--the same number of men as in traditional Cherokee communal work groups, or *gadugi*. In the eighteenth century, one important function of the *gadugi* was responsibility for clearing and preparing each village's agricultural fields. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the *Qualla* Town settlements each *gadugi* (and there was often more than one per settlement) consisted of 12 men who pooled their labor and resources for neighborhood or other common goals. Late in the nineteenth century, the range of activities of the *Qualla* Town *gadugi* were expanded to include hiring out as labor gangs to local white farmers and timber companies (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Speck and Schaeffer 1945). These modified *gadugi* were still communally oriented, earning and pooling wages, as well as providing free labor, to assist members, their families, and settlement.

Lanman (1848) reported that the *Qualla* Town Cherokees assisted in maintaining local roads. He says nothing about the composition or compensation of crews so we do not know if they consisted of various settlements' *gadugi* or of individually retained workers. Although it may be simply a coincidence, the hiring of a 12-member Cherokee road crew at Ducktown, however, strongly suggests that the expansion in scope of *gadugi* tasks to include wage labor may have started decades earlier than reported for the *Qualla* Town settlements.

Helping to build a community road had the potential to secure local Cherokees a niche in the emerging industrialized society of the Ducktown

District. On the other hand, entering the labor force by replacing undependable white workers placed Cherokees in direct competition with the non-Indian majority population for jobs, increasing the potential for interethnic hostility and conflict. Occurring scarcely more than a decade after Removal, such a visible role for a group of Cherokee men may have intimidated some local whites.

Two support industries--cord-wood cutting and charcoal-making--were critical to the Basin's copper mining operations. To prepare copper for market it was necessary to roast and then smelt the raw ore in to produce purer, compact, more easily transportable copper matte. At first, small, crude, stone cairn furnaces were used for reducing the ore, but in 1854 and 1856 smelting furnaces were floated up the Hiwassee River as far as possible and then carried overland through the mountains to be installed in the Ducktown Basin (Barclay 1946; Clemmer n. d.).

Enormous amounts of cord-wood were used to build and fire the huge (ore) "roasting heaps" and to make charcoal, which fueled the copper smelting furnaces (Barclay 1946; Duggan et al. 1998); however, no timber harvesting figures for the Basin are available. However, in 1850 to fuel furnaces at the Tellico Irons Works in neighboring Monroe County, 600,000 pounds of charcoal were produced from an unknown quantity of timber cut out of a 3,000 acre tract of virgin forest Tennessee set aside for the ironworks' use (see Duggan 1998; Smith 1982; Van Benthuysen 1951; USBCMSMC 1850).

In 1855, local timber contractors with contracts to supply the "Ducktown furnaces" began to hire day laborers to cut cord-wood and to work in the

"coaling grounds," where charcoal was produced (Barclay 1946; USMRWB n.d.). Making charcoal was grueling and time-consuming task. First, suitable cord-wood was cut from hardwood forests and then again into four-foot lengths. The logs were next stood on end, layer upon layer, in huge, earth-covered circular pits, and left to smolder for a week or more, until reduction had occurred (Duggan 1998; Duggan et al. 1998; Smith 1982; Van West 1995). Colliers who worked in the Ducktown Basin were paid six cents per bushel, part in cash and part in supplies at the company store, every three months (Barclay 1946).

Many men and boys from communities and farms in the surrounding region worked periodically at these tasks to supplement yields from subsistence farming activities (Barclay 1946; USMRWB n. d.). Local Cherokees, too, sometimes worked as both cord-wood cutters and in the coaling grounds. According to local history sources, Cherokees came down from North Carolina to cut wood for Pendleton Jones and other timber contractors, apparently until the 1878 mine closures (Barclay 1946).

Information about Cherokees working as day laborers in these ancillary industries comes from pension depositions given in the 1880s by several white men who had either hired or worked alongside members of a single Cherokee family. Between the 1850s and 1870s, *Cheesqua neet* (Jacob Bird), his wife *Walle yah* (Elizabeth or Betsy), and their sons--William (*Wee lih*), Steve (*Ste wih)*, and John Lige--periodically worked for the timber contractors. Apparently, members of the Bird family did not receive the set cash wages which were the local standard for cord-wood cutters and colliers. Rather, in exchange for their labor they received rations, including meat, bacon, flour,

coffee, cornmeal, and clothing (see Adams 1885; Jacob Bird 1875; *Walle yah* Bird 1879; Faw 1885; William A. Kimsey 1885; Poteet 1879).

C. L. Hensley (1884), a Ducktown farmer who also did some timber contracting for the mines, reported that *Walle yah* and her older boys worked for him in 1866, and that John, the youngest son worked for him in later years. In the 1870s, Hensley also employed the father, Jacob, whom he described as a "pretty good cord-word cutter." Jacob was a part-time laborer in the local charcoal industry, too. In 1866, he and a local white man, John A. Poteet, worked in "the same coaling" for A. C. Hunter, with Jacob cutting wood and Poteet hauling "coal" (Poteet 1879). The Cherokee couple's oldest son, William, began "*working out*" before the Civil War (Steve Bird 1875). He cut cord-wood for several timber contractors around the area: Marion Stuart of Polk County; A.C. Hunter of Ducktown; James and T. G. Kimsey of Turtletown; J. H. Adams and his father; Mr. Faw; and Mr. McCloud (Adams 1885; Jacob Bird 1875; *Walle yah* Bird 1879; Faw 1885; William A. Kimsey 1885; Poteet 1879).

Subsistence Farming and Hunting

Cherokees traditionally farmed the bottomlands of the streams and rivers which flowed through their territory and fished, hunted, and gathered the animals and plants of their waterways, forests, and fields long before the coming of the Europeans (Chapman 1985; Schroedl 1986). Even though they radically adapted these aboriginal food-getting strategies to Euro-American political and economic systems from the eighteenth century through Removal, the Cherokees never abandoned their ties to the land and its yields.

While a number of Basin Cherokees and/or their families followed diversified economic strategies after Removal, most, if not all, still relied on subsistence farming as their economic mainstay, especially during long closings of the Ducktown mines as in the Civil War and in the 1880s. In fact, when a federal pension agent asked Jacob Bird (*Cheesqua neet*), for his occupation, this man who had for more than two decades worked periodically in the cord-wood and charcoal industries and as a day laborer for white and Indian farmers, replied in Cherokee, "*making corn with a hoe*" (Jacob Bird 1875).

Most revealing of all about local Cherokee farming practices in the first decades after Removal and the values these reflected was the founding of the collectively-owed Bearmeat's Farm (see Chapter V) property in Turtletown. At the time of its sale in the late 1860s, the farm still contained at least 300 acres. Each of the three Cherokee families which still owned shares in Bearmeat's Farm maintained their own individual plots which were worked by family members, who were probably assisted at peak seasons by the neighborhood *gadugi*. Corn, a few other vegetables, and hogs were important dietary mainstays for the Birds and other Cherokee families living in the Bearmeat's Farm settlement. Composition of the households seems to have been fluid, with additional relatives and visitors coming and going frequently. The farm shares belonging to *Walle yah* and Jacob Bird included about 100 acres, with 10-15 acres of cleared land, and were valued at $50-100 a few years after the Civil War (*Walle yah* Bird 1879; N. J. Smith 1875; M. E. Jenks 1875).

It is in the context of daily living as members of an Indian enclave physically contained within the rural white community of Turtletown that we have the clearest picture of routine economic and social relationships between these ethnic groups. Physical proximity between neighbors in the community was close; the most frequently cited distances between farms--Indian and/or white--was "within sight" or about "a 1/4 of a mile." Visiting between the two groups did occur, especially among close neighbors; however, it appears that the Cherokees usually initiated visits and frequently this was secondary to an economic transaction (USMRWB n. d.).

The most detailed economic information about Cherokee farms in Polk County appears in the 1880 U. S. Agricultural census. There were four Cherokee farmers in District 7, the Turtletown locale. James Cat owned 30 acres of improved land and 40 in woodlands. James Going (Jim) had a slightly smaller farm--15 acres improved and 30 acres in woodlands. Sisters-in-law Lucy and Nancy Mumblehead each farmed tiny 6 acre plots and held additional 30 acre forest tracts (USCBASPC 1880).

Real estate and property for the four families, including land, fences, buildings, implements, and livestock ranged in value from Jim Cat's holdings of $340 to those of Lucy Mumblehead which were valued at $108. All four Cherokee farmers kept oxen, cattle, swine, and poultry and raised crops of Indian corn, Irish and sweet potatoes; Nancy Mumblehead also kept sheep. Jim Cat and Nancy Mumblehead owned the only two horses among the Indian farmers. The Cat farmstead also had a small apple orchard. The estimated value of all farm production of livestock, butter, fleeces, eggs, orchard, vegetable, and grain crops sold, traded, or on hand ranged from a

high of $110 from the James Going's place to $2 on Lucy Mumblehead's farm. These figures indicate that all four Cherokee families operated very small subsistence farms in comparison with averages for white farms. The average acres tilled on the Seventh District's white farms was 31.53 acres compared to 14.4 acres on local Indian farms (USCBASPC 1880). Farm statistics for the southern Appalachians as a whole in 1880 indicate that the average farm in the region contained 187 acres, with about 46.8 acres under cultivation, 37.4 acres in pasture, and the balance in woodlands (Eller 1982:16).

Basin Cherokee also continued to rely on hunting to supplement their food, material, or trading needs. The days of traditional winter hunts and routine participation of many Cherokee men as full-time hunters and trappers for the international fur industry were many decades removed (Duggan 1998; Dunaway 1996; McDowell 1955). In 1860, only one Cherokee man from the Ducktown Basin, *Lautee* Long, identified his occupation as "*hunter*," and he was a "laborer" as well (USCBPSPC 1860). The Cherokee men and youths of Ducktown went out on short hunting trips together and not infrequently white neighbors joined them (Duggan 1987; George Mealer, Paul Nicholson, and R.R. Quintrell, personal communications 1985, 1986, 1991; Riggs and Duggan 1992).

Agricultural Labor and Tenancy

Throughout the South, including East Tennessee, many land-owning families were forced into tenancy, either as share tenants or sharecroppers, after the region's agricultural economy was devastated by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Locally by 1900, farms operated by tenants accounted for 47. 1

percent of the farms in Polk County (Wheeler and McDonald 1988; Wilson and Ferris 1989). In the Turtletown district in 1880, however, only seven out of 54 farmers rented their land (USBCASPC 1880). Out of this small group, only one farmer was specifically identified as renting "for shares." Four others who rented farms in the Turtletown district were probably not subsistence farmers. The large tracts (140-480 acres) of unimproved woodlands on the farms they rented suggest that they may have leased the land for timbering or open range rather than or in addition to farming.

Recently, it has been suggested that some Eastern Cherokees had become tenants for white farmers before the Civil War (Dunaway 1996). However, my interpretation of a key account on which this statement is based--the memoir of Aggie Ross *Lossiah* (Greene 1984)--differs in terms of chronology and nuances in the meaning of tenancy. Mrs. Ross described a portion of her childhood during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which was spent with her maternal grandparents moving back and forth between Loudon County, Tennessee and North Carolina. Other information from the memoir, coupled with census data on this extended family, suggests that the Rosses' situation, and I suspect that of other Eastern Cherokee families who turned periodically to agricultural day labor and tenancy, was distinct from that of growing numbers of white and black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, and in East Tennessee, after the Civil War.

Many whites and blacks caught up in tenancy were trapped in grueling poverty and stigmatized as social outcastes (see Hilliard 1972; Wheeler and McDonald 1988; Wilson and Ferris 1989). The Rosses, on the other hand,

appear to have combined wage labor--periodic sharecropping and/or agricultural day labor, stints as live-in domestics, or running a grist mill--with tending to their own or relatives' farms in Tennessee and North Carolina, as well as peddling baskets, chairs, and other handmade items. That is, the Rosses and a few other Cherokee families living in Loudon County earned their livings as extended family units by highly diversified and adaptable means. Although monetarily and materially poor, they were not caught in institutionalized poverty at that point in history. Other references indicate that some Cherokees from Qualla Town and Snowbird communities followed a similar pattern (Hill 1991; Thomas 1841-1842).

At least a few Cherokee youths and men from Turtletown hired out at times as day laborers to white and Indian farmers before and after the war. Unmarried sons commonly supplemented their families' incomes in this way. Even though the Bird family owned shares in the Bearmeat Farm until 1868, everyone--mother, father, and children--sometimes worked for neighboring white farmers, in addition to working as wood choppers and in the coaling yards at Ducktown. *Walle yah* Bird's brother, James Cat, later described the family's pre-war economic strategy:

> *William lived with and helped support his mother up to the date when he left home to joined the Army...he helped her in various ways by working choping [sic] wood for the Ducktown mines, working days works [sic] in the settlement, and sometimes hunting and fishing;...He always brought his earnings home for...[his mother's] benefit...[His] contributions consisted of corn meal and such other family supplies as he was able to obtain for his labor to the value of a least ten dollars a year*...(James Cat 1875).

Other family members and white neighbors in Turtletown described a similar diversified work pattern for this family. *Walle yah* (1879) later reported to the pension agent that her son, William, "*hoed corn*" for people in exchange for "*meat, sometimes flour and sometimes bacon and cornmeal.*" Another son, John Lige Bird (1885), said that as a boy he had also "*hired about*" to assist his mother. A neighbor, David Michel, said that Jacob Bird worked for him around 1862 and took his "wages in corn for [his] family" (Mikel 1879). Long-time neighbor, Jane England, stated that Jacob Bird worked for her doing plowing before the war and again in 1875. Of William she said:

> [He] worked Indian like on the farm where they lived and hunted like any other Indian boy...So far as I knew he was an industrious young Indian...(England 1879).

The only sharecropper identified as such in the Turtletown district in 1880 was a white man, who was married to a Cherokee woman named *Pegga* Brown (USCBASPC 1880; also see Zion Hill n. d.). In addition, *Walle yah* Bird, two daughters, and a son were residents for a time in western Polk County where the son was a farm laborer (USBCPSPC 1870).

Digging "'Seng"

After Removal, many Cherokees supplemented their livelihoods by collecting and trading ginseng and other medicinal roots to local merchants, who then sold in bulk to middlemen in an international trade. Cherokees first entered the trade in roots in the early-to-mid eighteenth century when

they procured ginseng for Charleston exporters who sold to English companies, who marketed them to Chinese merchants (Dunaway 1996).

In the mid-1830s, Cherokees around the Valley Towns routinely brought in ginseng, pink root, and snakeroot to trade or sell at William Holland Thomas's store in Murphy (Thomas 1841-1842). Between the 1850s and 1870s, some Basin Cherokees traded ginseng to at least one store in Ducktown (Hunter 1879). It is also likely that in the 1850s Basin Cherokees sold or traded medicinal roots to James D. Kimsey, a Turtletown storekeeper whose store was used repeatedly as the dispersement point for money owed by the federal government to 30 or more Cherokees between 1854 and 1860 (Jackson 1872; Matoy 1872; John Ross 1872; also see Kimsey and Portier 1982).

Pre-and post-Removal records suggest that ordinarily it was Cherokee men and youths who hunted and traded ginseng. George Mealer (personal communication 1985), who grew up on Tumbling Creek, a tributary of the Ocoee River, recalled that when he was about 5 or 6 years old (ca. 1905) his father often joined Johnson Cat (Catt) and other Cherokee men who were going out "'senging."

> [Johnson and Sally Cat (Catt) were the] best old people I'd ever seed. And we used to go backwards and forwards and they'd come to our house. They wouldn't ever stay all night over there [at our house], but they'd dig "seng"...George Phillips run a store up in the edge of Georgie, above Mobile to the right up in there, and he'd buy ginseng all the time. They'd go down the mountain here [he indicates Little Frog Mountain] and across by the Painter Knob, wade the river, and go up to our house, up

> Tumblin' [Creek] to George Phillips' store. Well, [then] they come right back (George Mealer, personal communication 1985).

General stores, which became common throughout the South after the Civil War, served more than just economic functions. Customers lingered over their transactions to socialize and gather the latest gossip and news from the storekeeper and other patrons. When Jim Crowism began its long, divisive ascent in the South during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, general stores remained one of the few places where people of different races could still interact in relatively congenial circumstances (Thompson 1989).

Making Baskets, Trade, and Neighbors

The Cherokee women of Turtletown contributed significantly to their families' economic and social survival through the production and trade of baskets. The ancient tradition of basketweaving survived among the Eastern Cherokees despite a frightful century of wars, conflagrations, death, and, finally Removal. Survival of this craft undoubtedly was because baskets were indispensible containers for home and farm. At another, deeper level, however, these finely-crafted, though humble objects were visible signs of continuity with the Cherokee's matrilineal past--made by women, often handed down from mother to daughter, decorated with the symbols of the matrilineally-based family, lineage, village, and/or clan. As Cherokee families scrambled to make a living in the aftermath of Removal, these workaday objects became critical links to white neighbors and others in the

non-Indian society within which they now resided (see Duggan and Riggs 1991a; Sarah Hill 1991, 1997).

As early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century, foreign emissaries took gifts of finely-woven and decorated Cherokee baskets home to England. Later in the century, white traders like James Adair, traded sturdy rivercane baskets to British settlers in the Carolina colonies. After white farm families settled near the margins of Cherokee lands, the Indians began to trade baskets directly to them (Duggan and Riggs 1991a; Hill 1991, 1997). Household inventories taken at deportation points during Removal indicate that a number of Cherokee women kept large inventories of ordinary work and storage baskets, suggesting that they had stockpiled their handiwork for barter or sale to other Cherokees and/or whites. One of these women was Nanny [possibly Nanny Catcher/Ketcher], a resident of Turtle Town in 1838, who had on hand an array of 80 or more baskets when she was forced from her home during Removal (see Duggan and Riggs 1991a:27).

After Removal, it was not uncommon to see entire Cherokee families peddling their handiworks--baskets, chairs, wooden ladles and spoons, and even acorn butter--through the mountains and countryside of East Tennessee and western North Carolina (Duggan and Riggs 1991a; Greene 1984; Duane King, personal communication 1991). The observations of prominent Knoxvillian, Drury Armstrong, indicate that Cherokees during this period sometimes even traveled into cities and towns to produce baskets for immediate sale:

> Sunday Feby 27th [1842]. Calm, warm, clear and as balmy as a May day. Went to church [First Presbyterian

> Church] in the forenoon. In the evening walked down the bank of the river [Tennessee] about a mile to an encampment of Cherokee Indians, in number ten. Found them making cane baskets. Had on hand up and for sale perhaps 100 baskets. They seem civil and well disposed and rather inclined to myrth [sic] than sadness (Armstrong 1842-1849:8 in Duggan and Riggs 1991a:29).

Many times basket peddling was an anonymous economic act. Stories describing such interactions are not uncommon in the region. Descendants of the Vaughn family of Reliance, Tennessee on the Hiwassee River explain that their grandmother received the rivercane carrying basket on display in their general store from Cherokees passing through the area around 1890 in exchange for an equal measure of corn (see Duggan and Riggs 1991a:30; Harold Webb and Sandra Hyder, personal communications 1991).[16] Another family living in the Parksville community on the lower Ocoee River in Polk County recall that a storage basket they possess came from a grandmother, who as a young girl (ca. 1870) received it in exchange for one of her dresses (Roscoe and Blanche Rogers, personal communication 1991).

Another basket story from the Ducktown Basin locale recounts one or more events which happened to Jane Dunn, who lived in the Hell's Hollow section near Pack Mountain, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mrs. Stella Patterson, her nephew's wife, recounted the following story for me:

> And she told me that they would come with a little basket, some Indians. And her husband was skittish of them, but she told him not to be, they wouldn't hurt

> him. And, they, you know, farmed in these mountains. Back in them days that's how they lived, was farming. And the Indian would hand her a basket and grunt and she understood what they wanted, to fill the basket with, you know, whatever they had in the gardens. And she would, and they would take it and go on their way. So they lived back in them mountains somewhere at that time. But she said they went to North Carolina then. They all went out (Stella Patterson, personal communication 1991).

In other instances, the intercultural and interpersonal communications were more substantial and lasting. The Cherokee woman, Aggie Ross *Lossiah* (1880-1966), lived with her maternal grandparents in Loudon County, Tennessee--in the old Overhill Cherokee country--between 1883 and 1904. The extended family made a living during these years by farming, hiring out as farm and domestic laborers, running a grist mill, sharecropping, and peddling their homemade baskets and chairs. Mrs. *Lossiah* recalled that the peddling trips allowed her to learn English and to sample exotic American food like biscuits (Greene 1984).

Descendants of two white Turtletown families proudly recount oral traditions and show heirloom baskets traded to their ancestors by local Cherokee basketweavers (Figure 6.2). As described in the ethnographic vignette at the beginning of this chapter, John and Lois Kimsey, as newlyweds, lived near the Johnson Cat (Catt) family on Little Frog Mountain. Visiting between the families appears to have been frequent and close enough for some language exchange and physical contact to have occurred among the women and children of the two families. In the vignette which starts

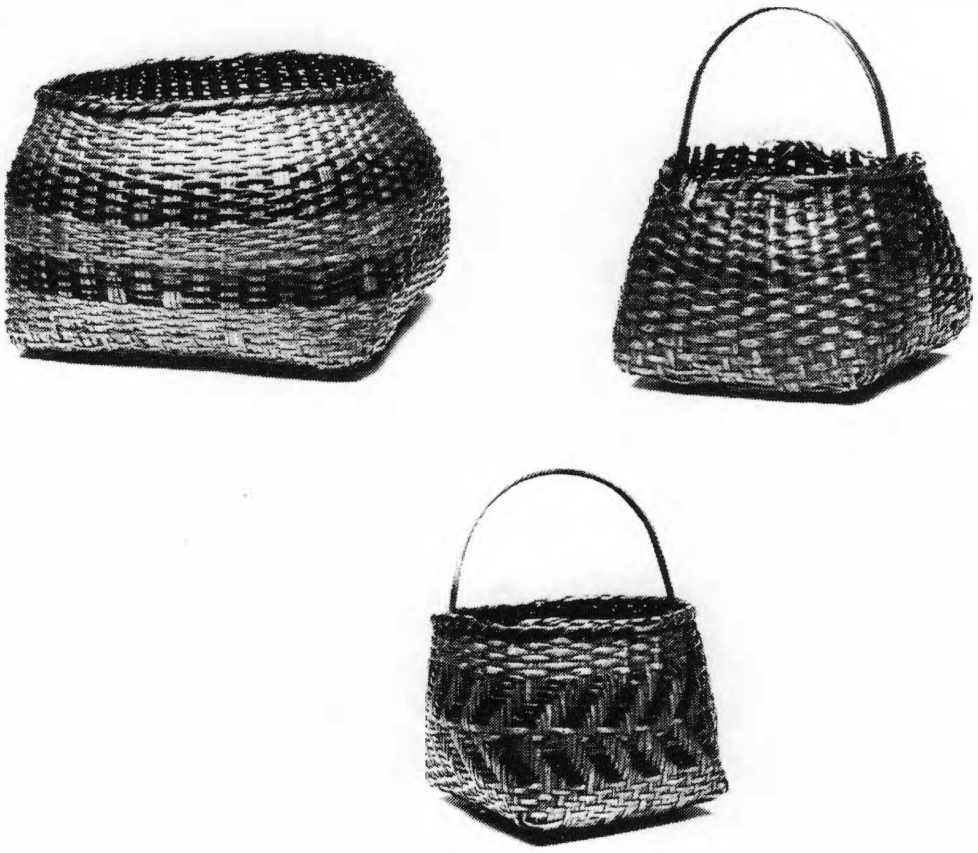


Figure 6.2. Three of six rivercane baskets traded by Sallie Cat (Catt) to Kimsey family, ca. 1896. Adapted from photographs by Miles Wright prepared for and published in Duggan and Riggs (1991a). Courtesy of The Frank H. McClung Museum, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and the Kimsey-Kilpatrick families.

Chapter IV, Cordie Standridge Schlaeger, spoke of the decades-long relationship between her great-grandfather's family and the James Cat family, and about how one great-aunt learned to make rivercane baskets from women in the Cat family.

For some Cherokee women making and trading baskets was essential to their survival and that of their families. *Walle yah* Bird was one such woman. Around 1860, Jacob Bird (*Cheesqua neet*), perhaps following the older more fluid Cherokee marriage customs, began a series of other relationships and later became husband in at least two households in Cherokee County and Snowbird Indian settlements. Jacob's long absences from the home of his wife, *Walle yah,* and their children in Turtletown became a community concern after their eldest son William, who contributed to the household's economy, left to fight in the Civil War. Early on *Walle yah* brought her domestic woes before her neighbors and church in Turtletown, hoping for help and/or censure (Hunter 1879; England 1885). The often desperate situation of the Cherokee woman and her children drew concern from both Cherokee and white residents of Turtletown.

By Cherokee custom. *Walle yah* turned first for assistance to James Cat, her brother and closest male clan relative. In a later pension deposition he spoke of *Walle yah's* economic woes, saying that:

> *They were suffering and came to me for help and I divided with them all I could...Since the date of her son's enlistment...she has followed making baskets and selling them by which she has lived; assisted by the charities of her neighbors, and people where she chanced to travel when selling her baskets* (James Cat 1875).

A white resident of Turtletown, C. L. Hensley, for whom the Bird family had worked before the war, also recalled neighborhood responses to *Walle yah's* needs in his supportive pension deposition:

> [Sometimes she] came to me for something to eat..[She has made a living] principally by begging and making baskets. She is a good, honest old woman, and the women in the neighborhood help her, and buy berries from her when she has them (Hensley 1884).

Cherokees in Basin Religious Life

Walle yah Bird's act of turning toward her church for help with a domestic problem implies that membership in a Baptist church provided another critical arena for interaction between Basin Cherokees and local whites after Removal. Even before Removal two Baptist preaching stations had been established in the Basin locale ["*Kawonee*" (Duck Town) and "*Sule googhee*" (Turtle Town)] at least by 1837 (McLoughlin 1990:151; see Chapter IV). These stations, however, were abandoned because of Removal. Subsequent demoninational-level Baptist mission programs to American Indians were reframed to deal with native peoples living west of the Mississippi River (see McLoughlin 1984a, 1994; McCoy 1970; Rister 1944). During the Civil War, Baptist missionary work with America's indigenous peoples ceased. In 1866, the denomination again reaffirmed "its obligation to Indians, Negroes, and whites" and "resumed each phase of its work" as finances and personnel allowed (Barnes 1954). Baptist mission work among Eastern Cherokees at this time appears to have

been handled primarily by individual congregations and ministers and possibly through Baptist regional associations.

By 1845, the white settlers who replaced the Basin's Cherokee residents had grown sufficiently in numbers to support at least one Baptist church--Zion Hill (Zion Hill n. d.). The founders of this congregation erected their church on the crest of a high, steep hill set in the shadow of Little Frog Mountain at the lower end of the narrow Turtletown valley. At least two mountain trails ended nearby and other routes through the backcountry offered access to the Hiwassee River, Ducktown, and neighboring North Carolina. As was typical of churches throughout the southern Appalachian mountains, a few kindreds dominated Zion Hill's nineteenth century membership (Kimsey and Portier 1982; Zion Hill n. d.).

In 1851, Zion Hill minutes indicate that a committee of leading men was appointed to visit a group of Cherokees living at Grear's Ferry. This dispersed, rural neighborhood was located on the Ocoee River, about eight miles southwest of Zion Hill. On Saturday, November 8, Zion Hill members convened there in special session. Church minutes relate:

> We the united Baptist church of Christ at Zion Hill [had] a call meeting and met with the Cherokees at Grears Ferry and preaching opened the dore of the church and received by letter [Isaac] Eutowey and his wife Euluchy, Indians (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,34).

On the next day, which was the Sabbath, the congregation welcomed "Bare Meat and his wife Lucy and Mary Bird...Indians" (Zion Hill

n. d.:Book A,34). During the remaining months of 1851 and the fall of 1852, Cherokee membership increased as "Cheasconete [Jacob Bird] and wife Elizabeth and Sarey [and] Kachum [Ketcher or Catcher] and his wife Nanny" joined the church (Zion Hill n. d.: Book A36, 38). Ultimately, at least a dozen Cherokee adults belonged to Zion Hill in the 1850s. Membership lists, however, do not reflect the number of Cherokees who attended services at the church. That number would have been under-represented since Baptist doctrine does not permit children or adolescants below the "age of accountability" (that individualized time when she or he first becomes cognizant or "convicted" of being a sinner and seeks to be saved) to be listed as church members.

Whether any of the white settlers who founded Zion Hill had worshipped with local Cherokees at the *Sule googhee* (Turtle Town) preaching station before Removal remains a mystery. Miscellaneous field reports prepared for The American Baptist Magazine in the 1830s by the Peachtree Mission staff indicate that white settlers, slaves, and free blacks who lived near or within the Cherokee Nation sometimes attended services at the churches or preaching station they established for natives. Comparison of Zion Hill's early membership lists with the names of non-Indian customers who traded at William Holland Thomas' store in Murphy in the 1830s reveals the names of several people who later attended Zion Hill (see e. g. Thomas 1836-1845, 1837-1872, 1839-1842). The possibility also exists that some members not identified as Cherokees in church minutes were of mixed blood ancestry, including an early Zion Hill pastor and another member, both of whom belonged to the Raper and Meroney (Maroney) kindreds, some

branches of which trace their lineage to white men who claimed individual reservations before Removal by virtue of marriages to mixed blood Cherokee women (see Hester 1884; Zion Hill n. d.:Books A, B).

The Reverend G. W. Lovingood, noted for missionary work among both whites and Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina, became Zion Hill's pastor in 1848 (Zion Hill n. d.; also see Freel 1955). In the 1850s, after his time as pastor had ended, Lovingood was asked repeatedly by the church to interpret and intercede in the long-running debate over Zion Hill's Cherokee members which is discussed below. Although it is not clear if the Reverend Humphrey Posey, founder of the pre-Removal Peachtree Mission, was involved with the Zion Hill congregation, he was instrumental in founding Liberty Baptist Church, which is located in the North Carolina section of Turtletown. No early records survive for that church, so it is not known if it too had Cherokee members.

Three years after Zion Hill's founding, several members who lived in North Carolina withdrew from the congregation to form an unnamed church nearer home. Zion Hill's membership divided again in 1854 after a third congregation, the Turtletown Baptist Church was constituted by a small group of Zion Hill members (Zion Hill n. d.:Books A, B). The first division of the Zion Hill congregation appears to have been amicable, primarily the result of population growth and practicalities of travel. The second split was more contentious, and followed a common denominational pattern--the origination of new Baptist congregations through budding off from an older congregation over differences of theology, governance, private disputes, or loyalty to particular pastors. The 1854 split was also about the Cherokee

membership, although not explicitly stated as such in the minutes of either church, and was complicated by linguistic and intercultural miscommunication.

Actions taken by the Zion Hill Church during the lengthy debate and resolution period stand in stark contrast to the initial overtures made by the church to the Cherokees at Grear's Ferry in 1851. While subsequent Zion Hill minutes give no indication of overtly hostile actions between the two ethnic groups, the persistence of debate about the Cherokees among white members of the congregation reflect broader changes in the Ducktown Basin's settlement history and social arenas. Significantly, the debate over the Cherokee membership at Zion Hill and the founding of the Turtletown Baptist Church occurred during the first decade of industrial expansion in the Ducktown Basin area, when both the white and Cherokee populations were rapidly growing. Throughout Basin society at this time an undercurrent of tension, falling along lines of cultural and racial difference, began slowly to surface (cf Barnard 1840; Cherokee Indians 1853; Mills 1857).

In general, the Cherokees who worshipped at Zion Hill were treated in a manner similar to white members. They were accepted into the church through profession of faith or by transfer of a membership letter from another church. Baptisms of Cherokee converts proceeded alongside those of new white Christians. Yet less than two years after the Cherokees at Grear's Ferry were proselytized by the Zion Hill delegation, a telling question was raised repeatedly by church leaders (Zion Hill n. d.:Books A, B).

The first hint of a problem was recorded on Saturday, May 15, 1853, when John D. Kimsey and N. Haggard were appointed to visit "the

Cherokees" to see if "they wish to be constatuted [sic] in a church to themselves" (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,40-41). If the Cherokees agreed, the church clerk was instructed to write to two Cherokee County men, Brethren G. W. Lovingood and John Timpson [first Cherokee convert of and former interpreter for the Peachtree Mission], asking them to attend the next church meeting at Zion Hill.

The committee's first report cryptically stated that "they failed to git the necessary satisfaction" after talking with Cherokee members (Zion Hill n. d.:A:40-41). It is not clear if this statement meant that the Cherokees did not agree to form a separate Indian church, or simply that linguistic communications were inadequate. Another letter was soon sent to Brother Timpson asking him to come to the church and bring some "preaching Brethren" with him to "preach to the Indians" (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,41). The question of a separate Indian church was raised again on May 15th and again on June 18th (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A, 40-41). It is clear from on-going discussion about this issue that a significant number of white members felt very strongly that the Cherokee members should form their own church. Whether this belief reflected unease in the face of linguistic barriers, ethnocentrism, outright racism, or some combination cannot be determined from the limited evidence recorded within the church's minutes.

A temporary resolution to Zion Hill's Cherokee question came unexpectedly through a split in the church membership. According to minutes of the new church, on February 5, 1854, a new congregation, the Turtle Town Baptist Church, was constituted, with all [founding members]

"legally granted apointment from the union church [Zion Hill]" (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B).[17] Whether this split was precipitated by the Cherokee debate alone, or by a combination of factors, is unclear; however, the fact that nearly half the 14 founders were Cherokees, including the Bearmeats, Ketchums [Catchers], and Birds, suggests a strong connection. Indian membership at Turtle Town Baptist grew steadily throughout 1854 and 1855, with "Cheeskeneet, Sisters polly ketchum, [N]ancy, and Pegga Brown, Brothers Osukillah, a licentiate, Isaac [Eutowey], and Jimmy"...all joining the new church (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B, 6-12). The Cherokee membership at Turtle Town Baptist soon outstripped what it had been at Zion Hill (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B).

The location of Turtle Town Baptist and the identity of at least some of the white founders also suggest a connection between the Zion Hill split and the Cherokee question. The church's membership agreed to locate its meeting house at the head of Croffs [Croft's] Mill pond (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B,11). Bearmeat's Farm, the communally-held land where most of Turtletown Cherokees lived during this period, was located near Croft's Mill, for the mill was used as a marker in a subsequent sale of the old Indian property (Hunter 1879). In addition, several white founders also lived nearby, and thus were neighbors of the Cherokees at Bearmeat's Farm (USBCASPC 1870; *Walle yah* Bird n. d.).

The style of interaction between white and Cherokee members revealed in the Turtle Town Baptist Church's minutes contrasts markedly in several ways with their experiences as members at Zion Hill before the congregational split. At Turtle Town Baptist, Cherokee participation was

never questioned in minutes. Half of its charter members were Cherokees. On its founding day the new church appointed one white man, William Bridges, and one Cherokee man, Kechum [Ketcher or Catcher], as their first messengers to the Valley River Association in neighboring Cherokee County (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B,5-6). Later, in 1857 and again in 1858, the church elected another Cherokee man, E. W. *Osukillak* [*Osekillah*], and two white members, L. L. Adams and J. N. Craig, to represent the congregation in the West Association (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B,16). Minutes also indicate that the church recognized Brother *Osukillah* as a licentiate, an honorific title which meant that he was an ordained Baptist minister or was in training to become one.[18]

Formation of the Turtle Town Baptist Church caused a stir at the Zion Hill Church. It was announced repeatedly that four Cherokee members, "Bare Meat Cechum Mary Bird and Sarey," along with another woman, Matilda Adams, had joined the Turtle Town church, without asking for their membership letters (Zion Hill n. d.: Book A, 44,46), Zion Hill's first response was to send separate committees to visit the whites and the Cherokees, whom they believed had left their fold without asking for their membership letters--a serious denominational point of order. At the same time, the older congregration also sent messages to Brother G. Marrs [probably Gideon Morris, Sr., a pre-Removal intermarried white] and to Reverend Lovingood to attend their next worship service to question the Cherokees regarding their actions. Apparently neither man responded. Eventually, Brother John Timpson came over from Cherokee County to act as interpreter in the matter. The Cherokees who had joined Turtle Town Baptist soon admitted their

error and were accepted back into fellowship at Zion Hill, saying that they had not understood they were joining the new church (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A, 44-46).

During this time, some white members involved in the split were publicly excluded from fellowship at Zion Hill and others allowed to rejoin after admitting their mistake. Almost immediately, the reinstated Cherokees were again the focus of debate at Zion Hill, for the minutes state repeatedly that the "Indian case" was forwarded for want of an interpreter. These entries, coupled with evidence from the Turtle Town Baptist Church's minutes, suggest that the Cherokees were now attending both churches--a distinct possibility since rural Baptist churches often met on an irregular or a rotating Saturdays or Sundays, or on two consecutive days a month. After the Cherokees' membership status had been raised and deferred a half dozen times more (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,48-51), it was noted on Saturday, November 17, 1855 that several Cherokees were again barred from fellowship:

> Our Indian Breathren & Sistirs [sic] all excluded for joining the Turtle Town Church without calling for letters of dismession [sic] accept Polly Ketchum [Catcher] and those that did not join the church (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,53).

After this entry, there is no mention of the Cherokees in the Zion Hill minutes for three years. Then on September 14, 1858, seven Indians were again reinstated:

> Restoration & enrolement [sic]: (viz) Osekillah, Baremeat, James Cat, Granny Bird, Elizabeth

> Cheasquauneat, Sarah Cat, Jane Osekillah. A part of those Indians onst [sic] belonged to this church & some of them claimed the did not entend [sic] to leave this church but for want of a linguist there [sic] names was put on the Turtletown church book which the [sic] want to come out of. The other part joined the Turtle Town church by letter & come with the others for fellowship with Zion Hill with that humble & brotherly love feeling so alle [sic] was gladly received (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,57).

Over the next month more Cherokees--"Nancy Ketchum [Catcher], Lucy Baremeat, Polly Luke [*Qualla yukah* Bird], Cheasquau Neat, Nancy Oose Killah, and Nancy Walleter"--joined Zion Hill through "restoration or enrolement" [sic] (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,58). Between the leave-taking of its Cherokee members and suspension of services during the Civil War, the Turtle Town Baptist Church declined. On September 2, 1866, its remaining members, all white people, petitioned en masse to again become members of Zion Hill congregation (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B).

Within three months of the Cherokees' rejoining of Zion Hill in 1858, a question was raised about one of the Indians. A messenger was appointed to call on the Reverend G. Bryant to ask if he had previously ordained Brother *Oosekillah*, or if he knew whether *Oosekillah* had been ordained (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B:59). Bryant said that he had no knowledge of the matter. Brother John Shell, a Cherokee preacher from Cherokee County, was then contacted in January, February, and March of 1859 (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,59, 60). Finally, on Sabbath, March 20, an ordination ceremony for *Oosekillah* was conducted by the Reverends John Shell and Samuel Elrod

(Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,60). That fall, after years of wrangling over the Indian membership, Zion Hill appointed four men--"J. D. Kimsey, A. Sulcer, J.B. Kimsey & (OoseKillah Indian)"--as respresentatives to the Hiwassee Association (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,63).

A decades long exodus of Cherokees from the Turtletown community began during the Civil War and escalated between 1866 and 1870. This transition is reflected in the minutes of Zion Hill. In the spring of 1860, "Cetchum & wife Nancy [Catcher or Ketcher] Quatsy & Nancy Oosekillah" called for their letters (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,64). Other Cherokee names appear on yearly church membership rolls during the war and until August, 1868 (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A,105).

Apparently, Cherokee attendance was infrequent after this time or, perhaps, unwanted, for letters of dismission were sent by the church in April, 1875 to "Jake Bird or Cheasquawneat Nancy Bird Elizabeth Bird Lucy Barmeat; James Cat & wife." These Cherokees, some of whom were then living in another Indian community in Cherokee County, declined to move their membership and instead returned their letters to Zion Hill (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A). The last entries regarding Cherokee membership in this church pertain to members of the Cat (Catt) family, the last Cherokee family known to have resided at Turtletown. Either Sallie Mumblehead [later the wife of Johnson Cat (Catt)] or her sister, Sarah Mumblehead, joined Zion Hill by letter on August 10, 1879 (Zion Hill n. d.:Book A). A decade later, on November 14, 1891, either this Sallie Cat, or her mother-in-law, *Sal kin nih* (Sally, Sarah, or Sarey Cat), an original member of the post-Removal settlements in the Ducktown Basin, was granted the last letter of dismission

for a Cherokee member of the Zion Hill Church (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B,56). This is also, perhaps, the last written evidence of traditionalist Cherokee occupation in the Ducktown Basin after Removal.

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When Cherokee refugees reestablished their first settlements in the Ducktown Basin in the 1840s the white population was sparse. The white settlers at this time, like the returning Cherokees, gained their livelihoods by a mix of subsistence agriculture and the harvest and/or trade of forest plants and animals (cf Howell 1994). Quite a few of these early whites were people who had lived in and around the general region when it had been part of the Cherokee Nation; some were even old neighbors or relatives by marriage. During this initial period sporadic basket and ginseng trading were probably the primary points of economic (and concomitant social) interaction between the two ethnic groups. In this era of low economic competition local whites were willing to make social overtures to the small Cherokee enclave at Grear's Ferry through the medium of religious proselytizing by an appointed church delegation. This very public overture suggests that interethnic conflicts between the two local groups were minimal during the 1840s.

The tone of interethnic relations began to change, however, with the rapid expansion of the copper industry in the Ducktown Basin during the mid-1850s. The white population swelled within the Basin around the various mines and their associated mining villages, which were located within a couple of miles of the fledgling Cherokee settlement at Grear's Ferry. At first the local Cherokee population expanded as Indians were temporarily

drawn into supporting industries. As peripherialized laborers paid in goods, Cherokee laborers were placed in direct competition for the same jobs desired by white laborers, who were customarily paid in cash wages. The undercurrent of interethnic tensions building in the economic sector was mirrored most readily in the public arena where regular, sustained social contact between local whites and Cherokees took place--the Zion Hill church. Low level conflicts between the two groups emerged on several fronts and later escalated, as the following chapter will describe.

As the Basin Cherokees' familiar natural, social, and economic landscapes were drastically altered, they responded in ways particularly revealing about core Cherokee values and modes of relating to people. Cherokee language use in public situations in white dominated arenas--from basket trading to church services--was strictly observed even by Cherokees who knew some English. Local whites were then forced either to learn some basic Cherokee or to call for interpreters. The use of the Cherokee language in these interethnic situations became an audible marker of Cherokee ethnicity and difference (see Neely 1991) and a symbolic form of passive resistence (see Gulick 1958; Perdue 1992) to political and social domination by the Other, the non-Indian majority.

When the Basin Cherokees felt too threatened or conflicted by this new social order--whether the cause was spacial, cultural, religious, or political crowding--they simply followed the Cherokee rules for conflict resolution; they withdrew (from the situation or location) and waited for resolution before starting again on Cherokee terms (see Gulick 1960; Thomas

1958a-c). Beginning with the Civil War, racially motivated conflicts would gradually erode the possibility of sustaining Cherokee lifeways in the Ducktown Basin and withdrawal to the safety of other Cherokee enclaves became the only means of personal and cultural survival.

CHAPTER VII

FACING RACE AND RACISM FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN

I came here with my family thinking to enjoy civilization, morality, and religion, without molestation from this wild and savage people, but what is my disappointment, a remnant is yet here. Whitemen, who have violated the laws of this state, and disgraced civilized society by taking wives from among them, are still here with their familys [sic], have been permitted to intrude upon us, by purchasing lands and settling amongst us, contrary to the will of a large majority of the white citizens...they are forming settlements, building townhouses, and show every disposition to keep up their former manners and customs of councils, dances, ballplays and other practices, which is disgusting to civilized society, and calculated to corrupt our youth, and produce distrust and confusion amongst all good thinking people. Mark Sir what has already taken place, some unthinking youths of both sexes, have regardless of character, the remonstrances of parents and friends, lately married with this already mixed and motley race in the first decent [sic], in violation of the laws of our state...[and going] into Georgia get the rights of matrimony administered to them...If a father D<u>r</u>. [sic] Sir pause a moment and imagin [sic] the feelings of those parents whose children have thus gone astray, what is their cry, why I had rather have seen my child in the grave.

Andrew Barnard,
Hiwassee, N. C. (1840)

> The wife of "*Sah-quet-che-hee*" is half white, and his daughters are of light complexion. He is aristocratic in his notions, and opposed the marriage of one of these daughters to a dark, tawny Indian of full blood, so they dodged the old man and "ran off." Knowing his opposition to the marriage, some one asked him whom his daughter married. "Damn Injun," was his prompt reply.
>
> Hon. David Shenck, magistrate in western North Carolina, <u>At Home and Abroad</u> 1882:2(5):331

Ethnographic Vignette: Remembering Effects of Institutionalized Racism

One day, working from what is known informally among members of the Eastern Band of Cherokees as the "*Christmas list*," I asked one of my informants, an elderly white woman, if she knew several people who lived in Polk and Cherokee counties who received this annual disbursement from the tribe. As I read from the list, an abrupt silence caused me to look up and discover the stunned woman staring back at me. I repeated the name of an Eastern Band member with an address in a Ducktown Basin community, and again asked my informant if she knew this person.

"Well, yes," she slowly replied. "She's my best friend. We've known each other for fifty years and I never knew she was an Indian." I then asked her to speak with her friend about talking with me. A few days later, my informant called to say that a meeting could be arranged. It appeared that the woman was anxious and tentative about the interview, and requested that her friend be present. Soon after my informant and I arrived at the woman's home, she indicated that she didn't want her real name used in my dissertation.

Mrs. X, who is now deceased, was born in a mountain community in Cherokee County, North Carolina around 1912. She said her father had been a "*part-Indian*," and an enrolled member of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, as were his children, including Mrs. X. One of the Cherokee converts of the Peachtree Mission in the 1820s was her great-grandfather. At the time of our interview, several of Mrs. X's relatives were active members of the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

Mrs. X had only been drawing "*Christmas money*" from the tribe for about four years. She had never received any type of tribal disbursement prior to then, although she did remember her father making sure that all of his children were enrolled members.

When she was a small child, Mrs. X's family moved in with her father's elderly uncle to care for him and the family farm. Their home was the story-and-a-half dogtrot cabin--she called it the "big house" and kitchen--which had been her Cherokee great-grandfather's last home. Her family continued to live on this farm until it was condemned by the federal government during construction of the Hiwassee Dam in 1925. At that time, the family moved to a community near Murphy.

As "*part-Indians*," Mrs. X and her family apparently occupied an ambiguous status locally--sometimes regarded as a separate group, ethnically and socially intermediate between Indian and white; sometimes subject to regulations and racist thinking directed at Indians, blacks, and other people perceived as non-white; at other times able to move in white social circles. During Mrs. X's early childhood she said "*part-Indians lived at Hanging Dog* [then including several mountain settlements] *and full Indians at Tomotla*" [near Murphy]. White neighbors were aware that Mrs. X's family, as well as a number of other families in that area, were part-Indians, but "*did not treat them like Indians*" nor "*consider them Indians.*" Yet, she felt

compelled to tell me that "*some people didn't say anything about it*," apparently meaning that other white people did comment on or react negatively to the family's Cherokee connections.

When the dam building forced many families from her community to relocate, Mrs. X's family moved to a farm outside Murphy to live near her mother's relatives, all or most of whom were regarded as white people. There she attended school and church with local whites. Speaking of the full blood Cherokees in her new neighborhood, she said, "*We didn't have anything to do with the Indians. They stayed on their side of the fence and we stayed on ours.*"

As our conversation progressed Mrs. X admitted that for most of her life she "*resented being part-Indian*." As a child, she longed to trade her dark hair and eyes for blonde hair and blue eyes. As a result of such ambivalent feelings about her ethnic and racial statuses as well as personal experiences with prejudice, Mrs. X made several important life choices as an adult which she believed would protect her and loved ones from legal restrictions and racism aimed at Indians.

Mrs. X trained as a teacher and then fell in love with a white man. In order to avoid a North Carolina law which outlawed marriage between Indians and whites, the young couple made their home in a community in Tennessee in the Ducktown Basin locale where neither of them was known. This move also eased Mrs. X's fear that she would be disallowed from teaching white students if her Cherokee ancestry was learned. So in Tennessee, Mrs. X "passed" as a white woman for half a century, while still keeping ties to relatives in Cherokee County, some of whom identified openly as Cherokees.

Decades after federal and state Civil Rights legislation officially erased color codes and segregation, Mrs. X's ambivalence about revealing her status as "*part-Indian*" began to subside somewhat. One incident in particular triggered these new feelings. After reading about

her great-grandfather in John Finger's (1984) history of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, she "*got to seeing how important... he was*," and thus in her last years began to take pride in her Cherokee ancestry.

After Indian Removal, southern Indian remnants were forced to deal with being pigeon-holed into racial and social hierarchies based exclusively on two races--white and black (see Porter 1986; Williams 1979a, 1979c). Small Indian enclaves like that in the Ducktown Basin were especially vulnerable to racial harassment and attacks (see e. g. Downs 1979). At the same time, racism snaked its way into the heart of American Indian identities as the externally-derived criteria of the "blood quantum" degree system gradually replaced traditional criteria for identifying group members (see Jaimes 1994; Thornton 1987). Pushed onto tribes by the federal government, the terminology of blood quantum was rooted in restrictive legal, scientific, and social definitions of race originally aimed at anyone suspected of having a black ancestor. In the Indian case, blood quantum terminology was introduced by federal authorities to usurp traditional authority and to restrict group membership as an aid in "vanishing" whole peoples who controlled strategic resources. My interview with Mrs. X raised a number of questions which I wanted to explore about the day-to-day effects of institutionalized racism, blood quantum, self-ascription and fluidity of ethnic identity and how these applied to the post-Removal Ducktown Basin Cherokees and other Cherokees with whom they associated after Removal.

Basin Cherokees From the Civil War to a New Century

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Cherokees who lived in and around the Ducktown Basin were exposed to effects of rapid industrialization in the 1850s, including accompanying changes in work, social interaction, and settlement patterns, at an earlier date and in more intensive ways than other

Eastern Cherokee enclaves. As a side effect of this greater interaction with white managers and a multi-ethnic laborer and supporting industry workforce, the Ducktown Cherokees faced the imposition of racial and class boundaries and racist actions to a degree that the *Qualla* Town and Snowbird Cherokees in North Carolina probably did not. In order to negate renewed demands by some local whites in the 1840s and 1850a for complete removal of the Eastern Cherokees, the remnant's white advisor William H. Thomas had encouraged all outlying Cherokees (including those in the Ducktown Basin) to move into these two major settlement areas which were located deeper in mountains and in places less valued for intensive agriculture (see Finger 1984, 1980, 1981). This move probably also insulated these two enclaves from the brunt of overt racial harassment and physical attacks from whites which many Southeastern Indian remnants endured (see Williams 1979).

Both Cherokees and local whites recognized that "a community of Indians" had existed at Turtletown before the Civil War (see USMRWB n.d.). They referred, of course, to the Cherokee families who lived at the Bearmeat's Farm settlement. The Civil War, however, devastated East Tennessee, including the Ducktown Indian enclave, causing widespread destruction, disruption, and death (Bryan 1978). As the war progressed, the Basin's copper mines and area churches shut down. This severely restricted the avenues of routine interactions between local Cherokees and whites. In addition, guerrilla activity in the surrounding region was widespread, but especially intense between mid-1864 until the war's end in 1865. During one infamous guerrilla raid 25 suspected Union sympathizers were murdered in a deadly spree through Bradley County, Benton, and along the Copper Road

approaching Ducktown. Many citizens of the Basin temporarily fled to safety behind the federal lines at Cleveland to avoid legitimate war operations, and also the unlawful violence unleashed by it (Barclay 1946; Bryan 1978; McClary 1957; Zion Hill n. d.). With several of its young men enlisted as soldiers, some Cherokee families at Turtletown abandoned their homes from mid-1864 until the war's end in 1865. They sheltered temporarily in Cherokee County, probably in one of the larger Indian settlements there. In 1864, *Walle yah* Bird's family moved there temporarily to a place called Glades Springs, about twelve miles away (*Walle yah* Bird 1879).

After the war, a new influx of Anglo-American settlers and industrial workers occurred in the Basin; many of these whites had no personal memories of the Cherokee Nation, of the once multiethnic frontier, or of Indian Removal. Some joined the workforce of the resurrected mining industry, which remained sluggish, employed far fewer people than it had before the war, and finally shut down for more than a decade beginning in 1878. Others were farmers, millers, and storekeepers, who cleared additional crop and pasture land in and around the long, narrow Turtletown valley (Barclay 1946; USBCASPC and USBCPSPC 1870, 1880).

Several shifts in settlement location and population size among the Basin Cherokees which occurred after the Civil War reflect these larger changes in local white society (Table 7.1). The once-thriving Bearmeat's Farm settlement (1852?-1869?) seems to have been located between the North Carolina line and the Croft's Mill vicinity of Turtletown. Lydia Bearmeat later told a grandson that her parents' cabin was split by the Tennessee-North Carolina line, while the Reverend A. C. Hunter, who bought the Bearmeat

tract, mentioned it was near the mill property (Newman *Aroneach*, personal communication 1991; Hunter 1875).

In 1865, the three remaining Cherokee families who owned shares in Bearmeat's Farm--Bearmeat (*Yona chu whe yah*), James Cat (*Tecosenaka*), and Jacob Bird (*Cheequa neet*)--sold their holdings to Hunter for $900 dollars. An unknown number of Cherokees, including *Walle yah Bird* and her children, continued to live on that property, however, until around 1868 or 1869 (Hunter 1875; USMRWB n. d.). In 1868, a woman identified in Polk County records as "Polly Luka" Bird, who was in fact *Qualla yu kah* Bird the widow of John *Cheesqua* and a daughter-in-law (or step-daughter-in-law) of Granny Bird, sold her land near Ducktown (Grassy Creek-Grear's Ferry) to Isaac Grear (Polly Luka Bird 1868). These land sales and the death of Bearmeat from influenza in 1869 effectively marked the end of the original post-Removal Cherokee settlements at Ducktown and Turtletown (Elizabeth Bearmeat 1885; USMRWB n. d.; USBCMOSCC 1870).

If there was a complete interruption in Cherokee occupation in the Ducktown Basin around 1870 as the U. S. census for that year indicates, within five years a smaller Indian settlement was in place at the head of a hollow at the base of Ditney Mountain, along an old mail route which ran between Turtletown and the McFarland neighborhood near the Hiwassee River. White oral tradition suggests that there were "two tribes of Indians" that lived at this vicinity. Census records bear this out. Residents were *Tecosenaka* (James Cat), children from his first and second families, and matrilineal relatives of his second wife, *Sal kin nih*, another daughter of *Cohena* Bird. A second cluster of Cherokee families, probably also relatives,

Table 7.1 Some Cherokee Residents of the Turtletown District after the Civil War (Hester 1884; Swetland 1869; USBCPSPC 1870, 1880).[19]

Resident and/or family	Relationship to household members	1869*	1880	1884	Ancestor identified
Lautee Long	hu		x		
Annie Long	wi		x		
John Long	so		x		
Bob Long	so		x		
John Brown	hu		x		
Lydia Brown	wi		x		
James Going (Jim)	hu		x	x	*In-le-stih-lih*
Nancy (*Se co hee* or *Chaw-caw-hih*)	wi		x	x	Jack Downing
Sah -lih (Sallie)	da		x	x	
E-na-kih Going	so		x	x	
Ah-le-na-kih	niece			x	*Nicy*
James Cat (*Tecosenaka*)	hu	x	x	x	*We-sah* or Cat
Sal kin hih (Sally)	wi	x	x	x	*Cohena*
Awih	wi's da	x			
George Cat (*Dau ga ne tah*)	so	x	x		
Johnson Cat (*Sca ha la seh* or *Scah-kle-las-kih*)	so	x	x	x	
Stacy Cat	da	x	x		
Chin-nih Cat (Jane or Jennie)	da	x	x		
Nancy Cat	da	x	x		
Su-sih	grda			x	*Se-que-che*
Ross Smith	--	x			Henry Smith, Sr.
Lucy Mumblehead	widow	x	x	x	Jesse Scott
John Mumblehead	so	x	x	x	
William Mumblehead (*Tes-quah-nih* or Chestnut Bread)	so		x	x	Ross Smith

Table 7.1 continued

Resident and/or family	Relationship to household members	1869*	1880	1884	Ancestor identified
Nancy Mumblehead (An-noo-yah-hih)	mo		x	x	Jesse
Sallie Mumblehead (Al-kin-nih)	da		x	x	
Sarah Mumblehead Sa-lih)	da		x	x	
Wah-lih	grda			x	Sallie Mumblehead
Jesse (Oo kee-tah-la-who-yah or Feather-in-the-water)	mofa?			x	
Ezekial Johnson	--		x		
Granny Bird (*Cohena*)			x		
Sallie			x		
Lucy			x		
Oo ta la gees kih	--	x			
Wa le ah (Betsy *Cheesqua neet*)	mo	x			*Wesah*
Ah le ah	da	x			
Steve (Ste-wih)	so	x			
Ah ya stah	da	x			
John *Ala chy* (John Elijih/Lige)	so	x			
Qualla yuk ah (Walkingstick's widow)		x			
Sally	da	x			
Elijah Ledford	grso	x		x	Walkingstick
Lucy	gd	x			
Nessie Ledford	grso'swi			x	*Tecosenaka*
E-si-ah	hu			x	*Ka lo na hee ski*
Ai-wih (Eve)	wi			x	*Wah-la-nu-ka*
Li-ye-sah (Eliza)	da			x	
Ta-y-ue-tah (Young Beaver or *Taw-yah-ne-tah)*	hu			x	*Tecosenaka*
Sah lih (Sally)	wi			x	Old Bird
Lu-sih	wi'sda			x	Walkingstick
Ah-nih Greenleaf (Annie)	mo			x	*Tecosenaka*
Malih	da			x	

Table 7.1 continued

Resident and/or family	Relationship to household members	1869*	1880	1884	Ancestor identified
Ah-le-nih	widow			x	*E-yu-cha-kuh*
Ai-nih	da			x	
Nau-ta-ha-lih	da			x	
Population totals		**21**	**27**	**30**	

* The Indian (Cherokee) population in the Ducktown Basin region was recorded as 0 in 1870.

lived nearby. All of these families were farmers who were only slightly less well off materially than white subsistence farmers in their district. One, or both of these clusters, was the place known by local whites as the Cat Settlement (Kilpatrick 1955; Miller 1908-1910; Paul Nicholson and Cordie Schlaeger 1985 and 1991, personal communication; USBCASPC 1880).

At some time in 1884 or 1885, the Cherokees abandoned the Cat settlement for life at the top of Little Frog Mountain. There, at Cold Springs, Mumblehead Springs, and Granny Bird Gap, several Cherokee families, including the Birds, Cats, Mumbleheads, and Walkingsticks, made Cherokee community once more. The Cold Springs settlement is the post-Removal Cherokee settlement most widely-remembered among twentieth century Basin white residents (Barclay 1946; David and Claudia Beckler, Hester 1884; George Mealer, and Alga B Kimsey, personal communications 1985, 1986, 1991, 1994; USBCASPC 1880; USBCPSPC 1880; USMRWB n. d.).

Shortly after Bearmeat's death, his widow *Sis sih or Leshi* (Elizabeth) and several children relocated deeper into the mountains at the Long Ridge settlement in northwestern Cherokee County, North Carolina, located 12 miles from Turtletown. An older daughter, Nancy Smith already lived there, as did *Sis sih's* brother Jacob Bird (*Cheesqua neet*) who would soon begin a new family in this settlement. A few other Turtletown families seem to have alternated between the two settlements during the 1870s and 1880s. *Walle yah* Bird, Jacob's first wife, and three of their children began this period in western Polk County as farm laborers in 1870, moved for a time to Long Ridge where her older children resided, and then returned to Turtletown to live in

the Cat settlement which was headed by her brother, James Cat (Hester 1884; USBCMOCC 1870; USBCPSPC 1870 and 1880; USMRWB n. d).

The white population of Turtletown expanded significantly between 1870 and 1880, as more farmers as well as several professional and commercial people moved into the Turtletown District. Census records indicate an overall increase in the majority population in the district from 344 to 521 people in the first full decade after the war (Barclay 1946; USBCPSPC 1870 and 1880). The local Indian population, however, was volatile at this time, moving from 21 to 0 to 27 to 30 to 10 people between 1869 and 1890 (Hester 1884; Swetland 1869; USBC 1910; USBCPSPCC 1870, 1880).

In this climate of change, the safety of numbers, potential for marriage partners, and presence of an Indian school in Long Ridge must certainly have been attractions for the Cherokees who moved from Turtletown. Even Cherokee families who remained in the Basin locale appear to have sent their children to the Indian school at Long Ridge in the 1880s. Political alliances no doubt also played an increasingly important role in the lives of the Basin Cherokees. Between 1869 and 1889, the Eastern Band of Cherokees defined itself as a tribal entity and achieved recognition (and indirectly political security) as a corporation by the state of North Carolina. Several young people from Turtletown intermarried with the large family of mixed blood Smiths which played a key role in the Long Ridge settlement and tribal politics in the 1870s and 1880s. During and after the war, Smith family members acted as interpreters and intermediaries between the traditionalists still living in the Basin and non-Indians. In 1880, N. J. Smith of Long Ridge was elected as Principal Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokees and John

Going Welch, another Long Ridge resident with Turtletown connections became his vice-chief (Carrington 1892; Donaldson 1892; Finger 1984; Hester 1884; Miller 1908-1910; UNC n. d.; USBCPSCC 1870 and 1880; USMRWB n. d.).

Redefining "Cherokee" by Degree of Indianness

Race, Indians, and Ancestry

The evolution of the concept and terminology of race as applied historically to the peoples of color of the Americas has been discussed by Marvin Harris (1964), Audrey Smedley (1993), Jack Forbes (1988, 1993), and Harrison (1995). When the great Age of Exploration began, Europeans had no word equivalent to modern folk and legal meanings of race. Rather, they first applied words from their existing vocabularies which were derived from observations about stock breeding to explain physiognomic differences among the bewildering array of new cultural groups they encountered in their explorations around the world. Over time, such words became entwined with the political agendas and ideologies of conquest and were transformed into negative, stereotypic labels for peoples stigmatized and exploited by European conquest, including American Indians.

Out of this milieu of "attitudes, beliefs, myths, and assumptions about the world's peoples," folk concepts of racial difference and "hierarchies of inequality" based on these ideas about race developed among the various conquering nations (Smedley 1993:27). Anthropologist Smedley posits that the particular racial worldview which dominated the United States historically was in place by the beginning of the nineteenth century and

incorporated five ingredients. These components were a "universal classification of human groups as exclusive and discrete biotic entities" based on superficial assessments and value judgments of phenotypic and behavioral variations," an inegalitarian ranking of groups based on the ancient model of the Great Chain of Being, a belief that "the outer physical characteristics of different human populations were but surface manifestations of inner realities," a belief " that all of these qualities were inheritable," and a belief that "each exclusive group (race) so differentiated was created unique and distinct by nature or by God" and thus was "fixed and unalterable" (1993:27).

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century the American folk concept of race was absorbed into the work of and sanctioned by the overwhelmingly white scientific community of the day. While the tenets of scientific racism were applied most extensively and stringently to beliefs about peoples of African descent, scientific studies about American Indians of the time were tainted by these racist beliefs. In the wake of Indian Removal, this view of race suited scholarly and public sentiments and consciences better than the more humanistic model advocated by the nation's founding fathers which held that "the American Indians could be uplifted through exposure to the precepts underlying "civilized" white society (see Horsman 1979; Prucha 1981:184). Scientific racism at its most extreme was unbending and vitriolic, with adherents proclaiming that "the dark races are utterly incapable of attaining to that intellectual superiority which marks the white man" (Democratic Review 1850:48).

Along with the stigmatization which resulted from the long practice of slavery and later the institutionalization of racism through Jim Crow laws in the United States, the "one drop" principle of hypodescent insured that peoples with any known or reputed African ancestry were assigned a place at the bottom of the nation's racial and social hierarchies (see e.g. Dominguez 1986; Woods 1986). Other peoples of color, including American Indians, were affected by the hypodescent concept as well. Mixed race peoples and people suspected of having a mixed race background were marginalized socially and frequently formed distinct communities or neighborhoods. Social scientists have long referred to such racially-based enclaves as "tri-racial isolates;" although in some places, most notably Virginia, the term has been applied to small American Indian remnants or new groups which formed from colonial era amalgamations of several tribal remnants (see Blu 1980; Hudson 1970; Rountree 1979, 1990).

The enactment of laws restricting economic and social association between whites, Indians, and/or blacks as well as the wide-spread occurrence of mixed race isolates suggests that interaction and personal alliances between the races were common historically in America. Beginning in the eighteenth century, numerous laws were passed to suppress or deny rights to blacks, Indians, and other "peoples of color" (Bell 1978; Cartwright 1978; Dinnerstein et al. 1990; Forbes 1993; Weil 1975). In particular, laws governing miscegenation and marriage between whites and people perceived as non-white were periodically revisited in many states. After 1715 in North Carolina, a string of laws were enacted to regulate interracial marriage. In 1832, people of color there were disenfranchised and forbidden to hold

property. Once again in 1866, marriage was forbidden in the state between "a white person and an Indian, Negro, Mustee, or Mulatto...or any person of Mixed Blood to the Third Generation" (Forbes 1993:256-7). At the time, the term "mulatto" commonly referred to any person of mixed race ancestry, although dictionaries of the day limited its meaning to someone of half-African descent. Between 1796 and 1850, any non-white person born of a free mother was enumerated in the U. S. census as a "free person of color," including any Indians who paid taxes. Similar laws were enacted in Tennessee between the 1790s and 1830s (Forbes 1993:234-249).

In general, legal distinctions based on race, however, accorded a relatively higher status to Indian ancestry; manumission was granted to slaves with part-Indian ancestry and a distinction was made between free persons of color (including "persons colored by Indian blood") and free Negroes. In the 1850 and 1860 U. S. federal censuses, the letters "B" or "M" written by someone's name meant "black" (or "dark") and "mulatto" ("mixed" or "brown"), respectively. After the Civil War, the terms "mulatto," as well as "person of color," usually were restricted by whites to describe people with known or perceived African ancestry. Local censuses takers, however, often followed their own thinking and/or local categorizations in deciding the race of individuals. It was not unusual for them to assign different racial label (e.g. W, B, M, I, etc.) to members of a single family, in a manner reminiscent of the common practice in South America of distinguishing race by gradations in skin color (Beale 1958; Forbes 1993:242-250; Harris 1964).

The early post-Removal era has been characterized by historian John Finger (1984) as a time when the Eastern Cherokees were genetically, socially, and culturally homogenous. He and others (see Neely 1979a, 1979b; Perdue 1989) suggest that challenges to Eastern Cherokee traditionalism came under pressure beginning in the 1880s with the establishment of missionary and later federally-run schools which strove to prepare Cherokee students (and through them their communities) for cultural and structural assimilation into mainstream American culture, increased intermarriage with whites, and the expansion of tribal enrollments to include many people of questionable Cherokee ancestry. During this era several Cherokees with African ancestry were first listed and then stricken from a tribal enrollment (see Swetland 1869).

The factors and circumstances which affected Eastern Cherokee ethnicity and lifeways during the second half of the nineteenth century, however, were also complicated by living within the American, Southern, and upland South societies and the growing zeal by these groups to enforce community moral standards as well as laws governing interracial association. For all Eastern Cherokees during the second half of the nineteenth century the consequences of "being Cherokee" meant dealing routinely with such institutionalized racism. Most commonly this resulted in being identified (often stereotypically) by, or having to repeatedly prove, one's racial or ethnic status in the course of daily living, especially in legal matters including enrollments, disbursements, depositions, lawsuits, and marriage license applications. Comments by the officials in charge of recording such information often reveal their own stereotypical thinking and prejudices.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States government encouraged tribes to replace traditional means of identifying members with the concept of "blood quantum" (percentage of degree of ancestry of a particular Indian tribe). Blood quantum regulations have been characterized by Native American scholar Annette Jaimes (1994) as a form of bureaucratic racism, created and employed as yet another means to gain or control Indian land and natural resources. The federal push to implement blood quantum regulations became more insistent after the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887 which detribalized vast quantities of land into individual allotments that could then be taxed as well as bought and sold. Clearly, however, the idea of blood quantum was derived from the same common nineteenth century folk and scientific beliefs about race discussed previously. While many tribes continued (and still do) to use other membership criteria singly or in combination--lineage, enrollment or allotment status, and residence, along with or without blood quantum requirements--implementation of blood quantum policies has led to bitter internal factionalism along intraracial, intraethnic, and/or intratribal class divisions within many American Indian groups (Thornton 1990).

After the Civil War, the trend toward identifying Eastern Cherokees in tribal enrollments and federal censuses by percentage or "degree" of Cherokee ancestry ("blood quantum") was becoming increasingly more common (see Hester 1884; Swetland 1869; USBCPSPC 1870). The passage of the Dawes Act and the 1908-1910 Miller enrollment, which was meant to identify all Western and Eastern Cherokees eligible for potential allotment, swelled tribal rolls for both groups with people of minimal or dubious Cherokee ancestry

who hoped to gain access to detribalized lands. Although Eastern Cherokee allotment never occurred, intrusion of this form of racialized labeling into Eastern Cherokee society introduced new internal political and social divisiveness among a people for whom matrilineal descent and association still remained strong. Ironically, formal blood quantum criteria were finally enacted by the tribe in the 1920s in an effort to regulate the increase of "white Indians" (and their descendants) who had entered the tribal roll during the allotment period--people who did not participate socially in the Eastern Cherokee world (see Finger 1984, 1991; Thornton 1990).

Diversity Among Cherokees Neighbors

When I examined tribal enrollments, federal censuses, and miscellaneous testimonies for evidence about the amount and character of interaction of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees with neighboring Cherokees in the western part of Polk County and in Cherokee County, North Carolina immediately to the east, it became clear that older definitions of Cherokee ethnic identity were still largely in place but gradually being muddied by pressure to conform to externally employed racial labels and stereotyping. At the same time that social and legal boundaries between whites and blacks solidified in the post-Civil War South, Eastern Cherokees living in areas where they were an ethnic minority were forced to react to and collectively internalize and reinterpret the ramifications of such limitations on all peoples of color.

These processes are illustrated in several ways by the experiences of mixed blood Cherokees who resided in western Polk County and in Cherokee

County, North Carolina, and by the kinds of relationships they had with the post-Removal Ducktown Cherokees and the larger Cherokee enclaves (Figure 7.1). Ultimately, the indirect effects of growing internal and external dissension over who was Cherokee and how that fact was defined were important factors in the disappearance of Cherokees from the Ducktown Basin; racial harassment was even more critical in the enclave's withdrawal from the area. During my dissertation research, I did not find any examples of local white residents or federal and tribal representatives raising doubts about the Basin Cherokees' ethnic or racial statuses. Phenotypically, linguistically, socially, and by self-ascription it was clear to non-Indians and to other Cherokees that these people were Cherokee Indians. Further, observers frequently commented that they formed distinct Indian settlement clusters within the larger Ducktown Basin communities.

By comparison, the racial and ethnic statuses of a few mixed blood Cherokee families which lived around Benton in western Polk County after Removal were not so clear-cut. Significant historic Cherokee settlement in this locale appears to date to the 1790s, when a number of Overhill Cherokee families and settlements relocated south of the Hiwassee River following the Revolutionary War and Chickamauga Cherokee hostilities. More Cherokee refugees moved into the area after the 1819 Hiwassee Purchase, which ceded all tribal lands north of the Hiwassee River. In 1835, a number of prosperous mixed blood households were among the Cherokee families residing south of the river. Removal records, local history accounts, and census records indicate that almost all Cherokees living in western Polk County were removed during the Trail of Tears (cf John W. Hilderbrand 1908b; RFBCC

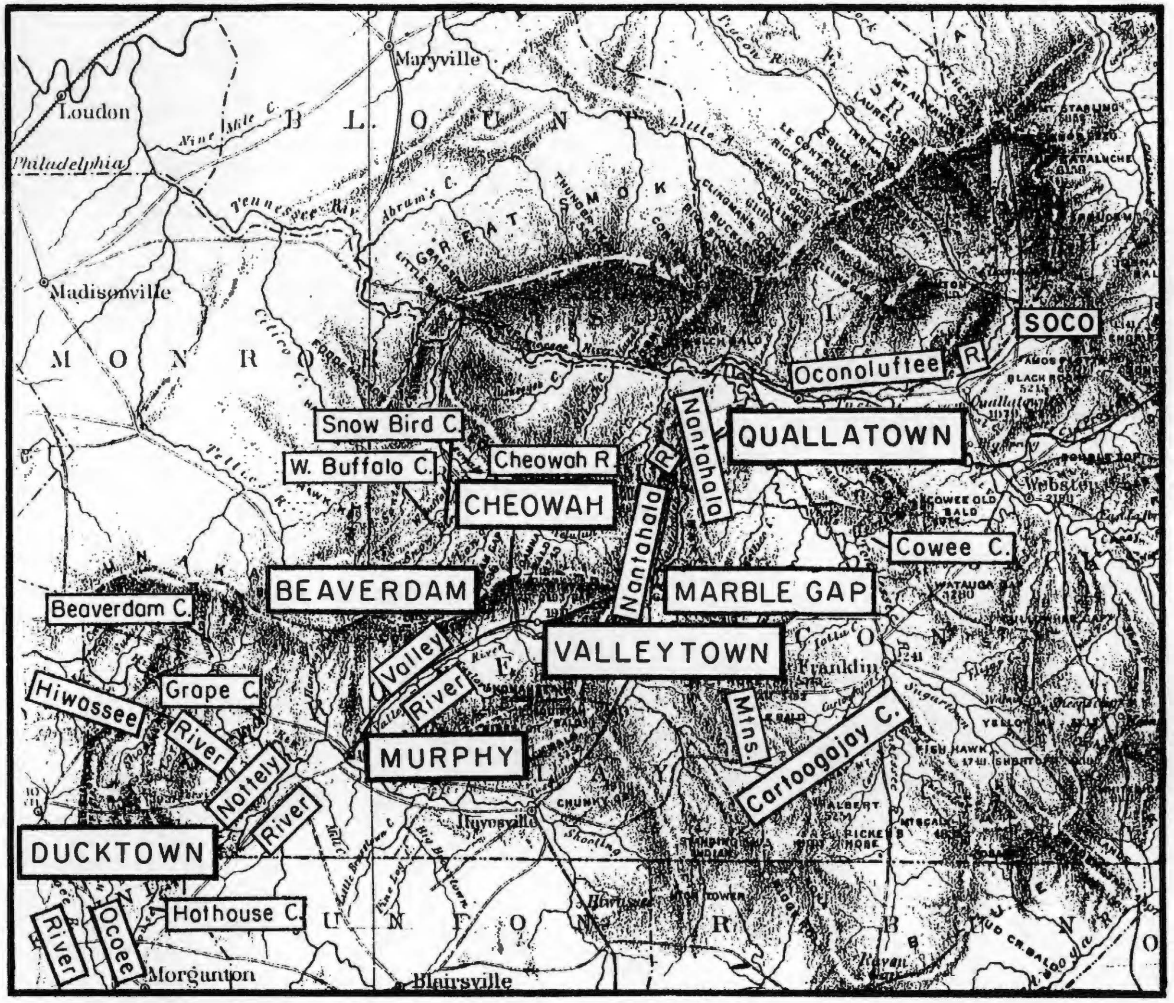


Figure 7.1. Ducktown and Selected Sites in Western North Carolina in the Late Nineteenth Century. Adapted from Kerr (1882) by Terry Faulkner.

1846-1847; Tovar 1986; Tyner 1974). The town of Benton was established soon after Removal near the site of the former *Amohee* Cherokee settlement (Polk County 1997; Brett Riggs, personal communication 1990s).

Several families living in western Polk County after Removal were the descendants of Cherokee women who had married white men before Removal (see McLoughlin 1984b). Most were descended from Nancy Ward, a Cherokee Beloved Woman widely revered by frontier whites, who died in 1822. Ward, formerly of the Overhill Town of *Chota*, spent her last years on the lower Ocoee River at her individual reservation and inn at Woman Killer Ford near the *Amohee* settlement (McClary 1957; Parker 1991; Polk County 1997). In the 1840 and later federal censuses for Polk County most of these people were usually listed as whites. For example, James McKamy, who is credited with being the "father" of Benton, was married to Barbara Hilderbrand, a great-granddaughter of Nancy Ward (McClary 1957; Polk County 1987). Neither Mrs. McKamy nor their children appear on post-Removal Cherokee enrollments as Indians on federal censuses. Similarly, Michael Hilderbrand, a wealthy white planter who appeared on the 1835 Henderson Roll as the head of a mixed blood Cherokee household and was also married to a descendant of Nancy Ward, continued to live in the same elegant mansion his family had occupied before Removal. A grandson from this union was identified as a Cherokee in 1850s tribal enrollments and a petition, but by 1908 stated that he was recognized in his community as a white man (Cherokee Indians 1853; Hilderbrand 1908a, 1909b; Siler 1951).

At least one mixed blood Cherokee family, and possibly others, in western Polk County were enumerated as "free persons of color" in 1840.

William Collake and his three children each appear in this census as "free persons of color;" his wife was listed as a white woman. In the 1835 Henderson enrollment, a man called "William *Cul la ke*, a half blood Cherokee," was living in the Cherokee Nation on the Nottley River (later Cherokee County, North Carolina) (Tyner 1974; USBCPSPC 1840). The two men are almost certainly the same person. Sometime between 1840 and 1850 the Collake family moved to Tellico Plains in Monroe County, Tennessee. In subsequent U. S. censuses members of the Collake family [now pronounced as "co-lake"] were usually enumerated as white people while being listed as mixed blood Cherokees on tribal enrollments. At least one member of this family--Cornfield Collake--lived for a time among Cherokees in Cherokee County where he was enumerated by the tribe as an "Indian" (Hester 1884; Miller 1908-1910; Swetland 1869; USBCPSMC 1850-1920). Enrolled descendants of the Collakes still live in Monroe County, Tennessee (Carroll Hamilton, personal communication 1997).

It is also possible that the mixed blood Cherokee, slave-holding family of Samuel Parks, which resided on Candy's Creek in McMinn County in 1835, is the same household as that of the Samuel Parks' family found in the 1840 Polk County federal census, or that of his son, Samuel Parks. The household size and number of slaves in the two households are strikingly similar. In addition, in Polk County it is said that a Samuel Parks was married to another great-granddaughter of Nancy Ward. While this Samuel Parks seems to have died around 1836, his wife and children stayed in Tennessee even though many relatives went on the Trail of Tears (Polk County 1997). Although there are two "free persons of color" in the Samuel Parks'

household in the 1840 census, it is not possible to tell whether these were family members who might have been Cherokees or were free mulatto servants. In subsequent Polk County censuses, all Parks are identified as white people.

Perhaps, the most intriguing example of the range of options open to people of mixed blood Cherokee ancestry in western Polk County is the family of John W. (Jack) Hilderbrand. Whether members of this family developed a panethnic identity (see Harrison 1995), were bicultural, or actively assimilating into the white community around Benton over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, however, are issues beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Jack Hilderbrand was another great-grandchild of Nancy Ward and by self-admission "1/2 Cherokee" (Clemmer n. d.; USBCPSPC 1870). As a son of Peter Hilderbrand, leader of one of the Cherokee Removal parties, Jack Hilderbrand completed the march to Indian Territory with relatives and many other Indians taken from their homes along the Hiwassee and Ocoee rivers and tributary streams. Either shortly before Removal or while he was in Indian Territory, Jack Hilderbrand married a white woman; his oldest children were born in the West. He returned to Polk County in 1844, where he became a prosperous storekeeper and farmer. At least late in life, he was lauded several times in the Polk County News for being a Ward descendant and as an expert in Cherokee history and lore (Clemmer n. d.).

In 1850, the citizens of Polk County (as elsewhere in the United States) were supposed to be identified as to one of three races--white, black, or mulatto. The local census taker, however, gave no racial designation for Jack

Hilderbrand, his children, and a mixed blood niece, Mary (Polly) Hilderbrand Mayfield. The next year (1851), four households from western Polk County--all Hilderbrands or Mayfields--appear on the 1851 Chapman roll as mixed blood Cherokees. Some members of these families also appear in the Swetland (1869), Hester (1884), and Miller enrollments (1908-1910).

Despite the presence of Hilderbrand and his children on Eastern Cherokee enrollments, there is little evidence to indicate that they maintained strong social ties, marriage affiliations, or other association with other post-Removal Eastern Cherokees. Rather, it appears that by choosing to live in nuclear families in a white community with white spouses, their ethnic statuses as Cherokees slowly became suspect to more traditional members of the tribe. When Hilderbrand attended the first Cherokee council meeting at *Cheoah* in the Snowbird Mountains in 1869, he claimed to represent the Cherokees of Polk County. James W. Terrell identified him as the "chairman of the council," but rather disparagingly says that he had the "appearance of a German," though "rather dark skinned;" spoke only English; had no clan affiliation because his mother was a white woman; and pushed for monetary, not communal land remuneration, from the federal government (Terrill 1877). Hilderbrand appears never to have been elected to a major tribal office or to have represented a settlement in the tribal council. I found only one instance in which he [or possibly Michael Hilderbrand's grandson, John] seems to have served briefly in a legal capacity in a pension case involving one of the Basin Cherokees (see USMRLM n. d.).

In western Polk County, however, Hilderbrand's Cherokee connections still were remembered decades after Removal. In 1908, the 92 year-old

Hilderbrand, in two depositions given to representatives of the Miller enrollment (1908a and 1908b), was asked to comment on people in Polk County who had applied to be enumerated as Cherokees. Hilderbrand's testimony (1908b) began in typical Cherokee oratorical style with an indirect recounting of important pre-Removal events and people in this section of the old Cherokee Nation. He named only one family (the Johnsons who lived in the Turtletown community for a time around 1853) as local Cherokees who had escaped Removal. In the other document, he dismissed one by one the claims of several Polk County residents who had applied for admission to the Miller roll. Ironically, in the 1880 and 1910 federal censuses Hilderbrand's race was enumerated as a white man.

Thus, Jack Hilderbrand--who as a small, mixed blood boy in the old Cherokee Nation attended the traditional burial of his great-grandmother, Nancy Ward; who survived the march to Indian Territory; whose name appeared on Eastern Cherokee enrollments and/or Polk County censuses as Indian for three decades after Removal--was recognized by his non-Indian neighbors and non-Indian officials a white man for the last forty or more years of his life. Did Hilderbrand consciously set out after his return home to Polk County to achieve white racial status as the preferred option in the South's biracial social system? Had he realized after not being elected to an office at the 1868 *Cheoah* Council that "whiteness" was the ethnic identity most open and beneficial to him? Or, perhaps, did Hilderbrand maintain in daily, although undocumented, practice a bicultural identity throughout his long life?

For the first fifty years after Removal a very different situation existed for the Cherokees who lived immediately to the east of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees in Cherokee County, North Carolina. Historic and anthropological discussions have long labeled the Cherokees who lived south of the Snowbird Mountains in Cherokee County as "white Indians," as persons with suspect or minimal Cherokee ancestry and/or social behaviors. Preliminary examination of this enclave in relation to my study group, however, suggests that this interpretation is a generalization based mainly on population shifts in blood quantum distinctions. Examination of settlement locations and internal composition, as well as members' social ties and interactions with other Cherokees, suggest that between the 1840s and 1900 there were several traditionalist enclaves south of the Snowbird Mountains.

Current dissertation research by Brett Riggs (personal communication 1990s) demonstrates that at the time of Removal the Valley Towns (the Cherokee villages located in this area) were still a stronghold for traditionalism. Two years after Removal, Thomas (1840a, 1840b) reported that 216 Cherokees lived south of the Snowbird Mountains. Of these people, slightly more than half resided in 29 households which were headed by full blood Cherokees. Twenty of these households were refugee families from culturally conservative, pre-Removal mountain settlements in the region, including Hanging Dog, Beaverdam, *Tusquitta*, Duck Town, and Fighting Town. Most had taken refuge during or shortly after the Trail of Tears on lands along the Valley River near Andrews, North Carolina that were owned by the mixed blood Welch family, which had actively opposed Removal (Finger 1984; Thomas 1840a, 1840b).

Thomas also identified small groups of Cherokees at three other locations in the southern portion of old Cherokee County: *Hiwassee* (13 people), Peachtree (31 people), and *Notla* (35 people). Except for one full blood couple at *Hiwassee,* these were mixed blood families which had not been been permanently displaced by Removal. Most people at *Notla* were associated with the large Raper kindred, some of whom were descendants of white brothers who had married mixed blood women before Removal. With one exception, it appears that subsequent generations of Rapers (in the East) never again married Cherokees or lived in traditionalist Eastern Cherokee enclaves (see miscellaneous tribal enrollments).

Mixed blood Cherokees in Cherokee County were not enumerated by federal census-takers as "persons of color" in the 1840 and 1850 censuses, as was the case with such families in Polk County, Tennessee. Most, including families which later produced at least two principal chiefs of the Eastern Band, were listed as white people by federal census takers, while full blood Cherokees in the county were completely ignored in the tallies (USBCPSCC 1840, 1850).

Taking into account numbers only, it appears that by 1851 a big shift in the composition of the Indian population in Cherokee County was underway (Siler 1851). That year, 27 households out of 32 households (total population 140 people) in the Murphy vicinity (including several outlying settlements) had one or more members who were mixed blood Cherokees or intermarried whites. On the Valley River, ten of the 21 households (total population 89 people) had one or more mixed blood or intermarried white members. By the 1869 Swetland enrollment, 154 of 483 of the county's Indians were

identified by blood quantum degree as being 3/8 to full blood Cherokee; the majority of the local Indian population--270 people--reported having less than 1/8 degree Cherokee ancestry. In 1870, many mixed bloods were enumerated individually as "Indian," on the federal census for Cherokee County, but counted in overall tallies as "coloreds." People with minimal Cherokee ancestry in the county, especially those living outside of Cherokee settlements, were listed as white people on the 1870 census (see USBCPSCC 1870, 1880). Subsequent tribal enrollments of Indians in Cherokee County would be swelled by even more people of marginal blood degree who had white spouses and lived in white communities. Some of these latter people had grown up in Cherokee settlements, including Long Ridge (discussed below), but the Cherokee ancestral connections of many others were early and limited (see e. g. Hester 1884; Miller 1908-1910).

It is important to note that emphasis on the overall increase in people of minimal Cherokee blood in the county actually masks the spatial movement of full bloods and a number of culturally conservative mixed bloods into several traditionalist settlements in more isolated portions of Cherokee County and in nearby East Tennessee. In 1870, four Cherokee settlements in the southern part of old Cherokee County had elected tribal council representatives--Long Ridge (3), Hanging Dog (1), Lower Hanging Dog (1), and *Notla* (1) (Carrington 1892; Donaldson 1892). Cherokees from the Ducktown Basin enclave developed strong social, kinship, economic and political ties with the Long Ridge settlement during and after the Civil War.

Before Removal, the term "Long Ridge" had referred to the landform which begins just north of the Hiwassee River in Monroe County, Tennessee,

extends eastward across Cherokee County, North Carolina, and then after a break, turns southeastward toward the Georgia line. Used in this sense, "the Long Ridge" essentially ringed the fertile floodplains of the Hiwassee, Nottley, and Valley Rivers where the historic Valley Towns had long flourished (Williams 1838). During the 1870s and 1880s, the Cherokees used "Long Ridge" to refer to a dispersed Cherokee settlement whose members had post office addresses ranging from Coker Creek, Tennessee to Beaver, Unaka, and Nina (Violet), North Carolina. Most of these people lived in the Beaverdam District of Cherokee County (USMRWB n. d.; USBCPSCC 1860-1880). [Cherokee County also formed a Long Ridge District which bordered Tennessee and the Beaverdam District, located immediately north of the Hiwassee River, and there is still a Long Ridge community in Tennessee near Coker Creek.]

The Long Ridge Cherokee settlement appears to have coalesced around the mixed blood Smith family which before and for several years after Removal was associated with the Peachtree Cherokee settlement. By 1860, Henry Smith, Sr., who was one of the largest landholders in Cherokee County, began to buy farms for his children in the Beaverdam District and later he represented the *Notla* settlement in the tribal council. After the war, other mixed blood families, their white relatives, a few Cherokees with African ancestry, and a number of full blood Cherokees were drawn to the dispersed Long Ridge Indian settlement which developed in the Beaverdam District. Kinship ties, ability to speak the Cherokee language, and participation in Cherokee community appear to have been important ethnic markers for members of this Indian settlement. Blood degree seems to have

mattered little and a number of the white residents spoke Cherokee. By 1880, only four full blood households in Cherokee County were located outside of the Beaverdam District. Four years later 21 Cherokee households, including 6 formerly of Turtletown, were in residence at Long Ridge (Hester 1884; Brett H. Riggs, personal communication 1990s; USMRWB n. d.; USBCPSCC 1860-1880).

The Smiths and several other families from the previously unreported Long Ridge settlement were politically prominent during the formative years of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. In 1870, Long Ridge had three tribal council representatives (R. B. Smith, Will West (*Aroneach*), and John Going (Welch); within a decade, it would produce a principal chief (N. J. Smith) and vice-chief (John Going Welch). Harry Smith (Henry Sr.), born about 1820, was described by whites as a "halfbreed" who was married to a Cherokee-speaking "Indian" woman. Before Removal, he had acted as an interpreter and translator for the Reverend Evan Jones at the Valleytown Mission at Peachtree. The Smiths were active participants at the first General Council of the Eastern Cherokees held on December 8, 1868 at *Cheoah*. Jarrett (N. J., or *Tsa´ ladihi*ˆ) Smith served as first clerk of the Council and was elected as the third Principal Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokees in 1880, a post he held until 1890. During his tenure as chief, he oversaw the institution of schools among his people. Born in 1837, Jarrett Smith's earliest memories were of Removal and late in life he became one of the Smithsonian ethnologist James Mooney's principal informants regarding Cherokee history, folktales, and mythology. Although a mixed blood Cherokee married to a white woman, Jarrett Smith (unlike John Hilderbrand in Polk County) always lived

among, identified with, and was apparently regarded by full bloods as a Cherokee traditionalist, a "real Indian." It was to the Long Ridge settlement, and to the Smiths in particular, that a number of Cherokees from the Ducktown Basin enclave turned for association and assistance from the 1860s through the 1880s (Mooney 1900; USMRWB n. d.; also see miscellaneous tribal enrollments and federal censuses).

Within a few years of Jarrett Smith's move to *Qualla* after his election as Principal Chief, the Long Ridge community began to disperse. Most traditionalists gravitated to other conservative enclaves at Turtletown, *Cheoah,* and *Tomotla,* or followed the Smiths to the *Qualla* Town settlements. The ethnicity of those mixed bloods who remained behind living among white relatives and neighbors below the Snowbird Mountains became increasingly suspect over time.

Living and Dying with Racism

By the mid-nineteenth century the idea of race as caste--an inescapable status one was born into and died within--was firmly embedded in law and social practice throughout the South, where in reality only two races--black and white--had come to be recognized (see Rountree 1990; Parades 1992; Williams 1979). The violence unleashed by the Civil War, especially the unsanctioned activities of bushwhackers, found continued life after the war in the persecution of blacks and other minorities, especially where economic hardship pitted groups against each other for limited resources and work. The Ku Klux Klan emerged in Giles County in Middle Tennessee and other less formally organized "night-rider" groups bent on enforcing racial

boundaries and/or moral codes appeared throughout the South (see Cartwright 1976; Fry 1975). In Sevier County in East Tennessee, the White Caps enjoyed a reign of terror in the 1890s which targeted not only the black population, but poor whites and people who broke commonly-held moral and religious regulations (Lewelling 1986).

After the legislated and then forced removal of the majority of American Indians from the East was accomplished, the vastly reduced native populations there were no longer a political, economic, or physical deterrent to expansion of white settlement. An Indian minority presence, however, still represented a philosophical affront to some settlers such as Andrew Barnard, resident of a North Carolina settlement a few miles east of Turtletown, whose virulent letter begins this chapter. Attitudes of other southern whites toward the scattered pockets of Indians who remained varied dramatically from uninformed coexistence to benign paternalism to economic exploitation and sometimes outright violence (see Porter 1986; William 1979c). In Mississippi, a small band of Tunicas suffered decades of land and property thievery, beatings, and unprovoked murders (Downs 1979). In Louisiana and Mississippi, a few scattered Choctaws virtually became serfs on local plantations after the Civil War (Peterson 1970).

It is not clear if the paucity of reports of racism against or harassment of Cherokees after Removal is because few incidents occurred, because the size and relative geographic isolation of the two largest on enclaves provided protection from such offense, or because of a blind spot or deliberate bias in historic reportage of the day. Several measures were passed in the 1850s at the *Qualla* Town settlements to stop the abuse of Cherokee resources by local

whites. Timber poachers were a particular problem in Wolftown in 1850, and the Cherokee Council passed an act against whites who ranged their stock on Indian lands (Cherokee Council 1859; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966). Some whites in western North Carolina and East Tennessee also continued to call for the removal of all remaining Eastern Cherokees to Indian Territory (Finger 1981; Mills 1857; North Carolina General Assembly 1842; North Carolina House 1842). Several Cherokees who grew up in outlying areas and states during the late nineteenth century reported that as children they were stigmatized or ridiculed for being Indian or "*part-Indian*" [see miscellaneous testimonies, Baker (1928)].

I found little evidence that Barnard's open hostility was widespread in the Ducktown Basin vicinity in the 1840s. On the contrary, there were still numerous white settlers--ministers, missionaries, farmers, and merchants--who had long-standing relationships, some which predated Removal, with specific Cherokees. Some such as the Standridge family had aided Cherokees during and after Removal. In 1851, members of the Zion Hill church at Turtletown had evangelized among the fledgling Indian settlement at Grassy Creek near Ducktown. Cherokees also apparently enjoyed good relations with the white wood and charcoal contractors for whom they worked to supply the Ducktown copper industry in the 1850s and with the white farmers in the surrounding region who hired some of them as farm hands before and after the Civil War (see Chapters V and VII; USMRWB n. d.).

By the mid-1850s, however, feelings of unease surfaced as the local Cherokee population expanded and work at the copper mines drew a new generation of white workers into the area. It was at this time as well that

dissension over Cherokee membership at the Zion Hill church in Turtletown sparked on-going debate. Most ominous was a petition sent by a sizable group of white citizens from Polk County (which included people from Basin communities) to the Tennessee Legislature calling for the growing number of Cherokees in their county be removed (Polk County 1855).

While I found no direct evidence of overt aggression against Basin Cherokees before the Civil War, one Cherokee descendant indicated that her ancestors spoke of unexplained disappearances of Indians when they had lived at "Duck Town," meaning the general locale and/or the Cherokee enclave there. No specific dates or incidences were attached to this oral tradition, but there is one intriguing entry in the 1848 Mullay roll reporting that the body of a young Cherokee male had been found in Silco (Sylco) Creek a few miles west of Ducktown. Did this young man drown by accident or was he murdered and left in this remote tributary in the Ocoee Gorge? What is clear from other evidence is that violence against Basin Cherokees unleashed during the Civil War increased in the 1880s and 1890s.

Duty, Death, and Denial

The Civil War was a watershed event for many American Indian groups (Gibson 1985). In Indian Territory, the Cherokee Nation led by slave-holding mixed blood elites made a compact with the Confederacy after an initial period of neutrality. A significant faction of full bloods in the Cherokee Nation, however, remained loyal to the Union (Abel 1910, 1919). Eastern Cherokees also initially remained on the sidelines. When neutrality was no longer possible the majority of North Carolina Cherokee males

enlisted as Confederate soldiers. This action was a personal favor to their white advisor, William Holland Thomas, who had received an appointment as a colonel in the Rebel army. Most of the 400 Cherokees who fought in the Thomas Legion were full bloods, traditionalists, and speakers of the Cherokee language (Finger 1984; Gotbold and Russell 1990).

In 1864, about 30 Cherokee Confederates were detained as Union prisoners in Knoxville. When these Cherokees learned that they were actually fighting to protect slavery and the wealthy planters who benefited from it, they renounced the Confederacy, were pardoned by their captors, and immediately re-enlisted as Union soldiers (Mooney 1900; Perdue 1989). At least another 50 Cherokee men from Cherokee County, North Carolina--a locale where Thomas' influence was weaker, the mixed blood population larger, and Union sentiments strong among neighboring whites--joined the federal forces directly (Finger 1984; Godbold and Russell 1990). The Cherokee enclave at Turtletown in neighboring Polk County, Tennessee supplied at least a half-dozen Cherokee youths to the Union army; one older Cherokee man from the community fought in both armies before the war was over. Bitter feelings developed between Eastern Cherokees who fought on opposing sides during the Civil War, fueling intratribal factionalism for many decades (USMRWB n. d.).

Historian John Finger (1984) notes that the Civil War allowed Eastern Cherokee men and youths to enact the traditional role of warrior for the first time since the tribe joined with American forces under General Andrew Jackson in 1813-14 against their traditional enemy, the Creeks. Prior to setting out for the Civil War, Cherokees in the Thomas Legion consulted oracle

stones, dressed in old time war regalia, and participated in ceremonial dances at the townhouse in at *Qualla* Town. A number of Cherokee women joined their Confederate husbands whenever the soldiers were camped nearby, but there is no evidence to suggest that Cherokee women participated in Civil War battles, as sometimes happened during eighteenth century wars. While we have no record of the Unionist Cherokees' preparations for war, traditionalists probably followed the same cultural proscriptions as the soldiers in the Thomas Legion.

The Cherokees in the Thomas Legion were skilled trackers and dutiful soldiers. The few skirmishes and battles they participated in occurred within a narrow strip of counties surrounding Knoxville, Tennessee, running eastward over the Great Smoky Mountains to Asheville, North Carolina. Their assignments were usually routine and tedious (long rounds of guard duty and forays to confiscate civilian food and supplies), sometimes dangerous (hunting down deserters and bushwhackers) (Finger 1984; Godbold and Russell 1990). Union sympathizers in East Tennessee and North Carolina circulated rumors about the Confederate Cherokees and their naturally "savage" behavior, dress, and demeanor. One East Tennessean, upset by the presence of the Cherokee Confederates, protested having white women and children frightened by these "long-haired greasy looking savages, who could not speak a word of English, or understand a plea for mercy" (in Scott and Angel 1903:98, 321).

Only on two documented occasions did Confederate Cherokees in the Thomas Legion seem to conform to white stereotypes about reputed Indian brutality (Finger 1984). The special circumstances of each incident suggest to

this author that both were possibly acts of revenge led by the dead men's clan relations. When the grandson of *Junaluska*, the great Cherokee military hero of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, was killed during battle, some Cherokees present quickly scalped several Union soldiers who were present. Later in the war, triumphant Cherokee soldiers paraded through the streets of Murphy, North Carolina in the bloody, bullet-riddled clothes of Captain Goldman Bryson. Bryson had taken a lead in the 1856 robbery and murder of the elderly John Timson, first Cherokee convert of the pre-Removal Peachtree Mission.

Union sentiment was so strong in East Tennessee that initially the section tried to secede from Tennessee when the subject of secession from the United States was raised. Throughout the war East Tennessee remained a hotbed of Unionist activities. Battles, skirmishes, bushwhackers, divided families and communities, starvation, temporary exile, and death were the war's immediate gifts to the residents of East Tennessee's towns and countryside. First, the Confederate army held the region. During this period, many Union sympathizers abandoned their homes and even the state. Hundreds more were arrested and sent to prisons in the deep South after guerrilla raids and an episode of tactically brilliant bridge-burnings in the state's eastern mountain counties (Bryan 1978).

In 1862, the Confederates passed a law which required all white males, ages 18-45 and not already in service, to join the state militia. Some of those forced into Confederate service acted as spies or passed on information to the Union (Bryan 1978). The next year, Federal troops seized control of East Tennessee. From then until June, 1865, the Confederates launched guerrilla

attacks against Union forces and bands of bushwhackers terrorized anyone they encountered, regardless of their political persuasion. Civilians in East Tennessee suffered terribly as all three groups freely confiscated their belongings, crops, and supplies, destroyed property, and brought the threat or actuality of death (Bryan 1978).

The summer and fall of 1864 was the bleakest of times in the region, with many rural families fleeing to cities and towns to avoid murderous bushwhackers who were taking advantage of the transfer of many Union troops to General Sherman's command on his grim march through the South. In December of that year, 25 Union sympathizers were murdered during a systematic killing spree through Bradley and Polk counties perpetrated by a Confederate soldier-turned-bushwhacker and his large gang of thugs. Several of the killings and attempted murders occurred on the Copper Road which wound along the Ocoee River between Cleveland and Ducktown (Barclay 1946; Bryan 1978).

The rugged terrain of the Unaka Mountains in Loudon, Monroe, and Polk counties provided an especially fine base for Union guerrilla operations, as well as for opportunistic bushwhackers (Bryan 1978). Polk County was divided in sentiments, with property owners from the fertile agricultural lands in the western part of the county leaning toward the Confederacy and small farmers in the mountains generally favoring the Union (Bryan 1978; McClary 1957; Polk County 1997). The Cherokees residing at Turtletown were left in an unenviable position; they lived in a Unionist stronghold, the majority of their tribesmen were fighting with the Confederacy, and their closet Indian neighbors in Cherokee County were Unionists. Some of the

Turtletown Cherokee families fled that winter to more secluded places they knew in the mountains of neighboring Cherokee County (USMRWB n. d.).

At least six young Indians from the Ducktown Basin--John Cat, William Bird, Daniel Bearmeat, David and Moses Mumblehead, and Samuel Walkingstick--were mustered into Tennessee's Union forces in 1864. This was the year when military and bushwhacking activities dramatically increased close to home. The first five were assigned to Company D of the 10th Regiment of the Tennessee Cavalry. The Mumblehead brothers were soon transferred to Company E of the same regiment, the outfit in which Samuel Walkingtick had previously served for almost two years. Many of the white soldiers in both companies were from counties in southeastern Tennessee, including a number of men from Polk County and the Ducktown Basin. Earlier in the war, William Bird's father, *Cheesqua neet* (Jacob Bird), had served with Confederate forces. After *Cheesqua neet* deserted from the Rebel army and returned home, local Unionists suspected he was a spy, even after he enlisted again as a Union soldier (USMRWB n. d.). All of the young men were full blood Cherokees, who came from traditionalist families, other members of which spoke little or no English (Swetland 1869; USMRWB n. d.). At least two, the father and son from the Bird family, had worked as laborers along local whites for the contract wood and charcoal industries which supplied the Ducktown mines.

Only *Cheesqua neet* survived the Civil War. Three youths--John Cat, William Bird, and Daniel Bearmeat succumbed to common camp diseases--pneumonia and mumps--within months of joining the army. Another, Samuel Walkingstick, died in a prison camp. The deaths of the two

Mumblehead boys remained a point of contention between the federal government and survivors for decades, with behind-the-scenes intrigue only now made public. The loss of so many young men of one generation dealt a devastating social and economic blow to the Turtletown Cherokee settlement, and undoubtedly contributed to the exodus of several of the bereaved households from Turtletown within a few years of the war's end.

The events leading up to and following the deaths of the Mumblehead brothers and the treatment of their families afterward are still disturbing more than a century later. The reassignment of David and Moses Mumblehead from Company D to Company E placed them under the command of Lieutenant Gilbert Harvey, who was known a notoriously "desperate character." Gil Harvey, who just prior to his enlistment with the Union held a Knoxville family hostage while he was intoxicated, was also a known killer. Harvey took a particular dislike to Private David Mumblehead, whom another officer in the unit, remembered as a "good and faithful soldier" (Andrews 1869). Bad feelings escalated between Lieutenant Harvey and Private Mumblehead after an incident in which Harvey tied up the Indian soldier for no apparent reason (Abernathy 1870).

On the evening of May 5th Company E was on duty near the town of Charlotte in Middle Tennessee. At about nine or ten o'clock, Lieutenant Harvey was ordered to take out ten of his best men to scout for deserters. Later that night Dave Mumblehead, who had not been selected, caught up with the detail. Harvey was incensed by his presence and told him to leave. Perhaps, the Cherokee-speaking Mumblehead did not understand Harvey's

dismissal for he remained. As the night passed the entire detail became increasingly intoxicated.

Three principal accounts survive of the culminating events that night. Several witnesses, unidentified in the few papers which survive from Harvey's court martial, maintained that Lieutenant Harvey killed Private David Mumblehead in self-defense. One of these witnesses may have been Private John Woods, a Polk County resident, who a decade later in a pension deposition, swore that Dave Mumblehead began to shoot at him that night without provocation. Woods explained this purported action by saying that "as is Indian nature, when he is drunk he wants to kill some one" (Woods 1875). Woods further alleged that Dave then turned on Harvey, attacking the Lieutenant with a carbine after his pistol failed to fire. In Woods' account, Harvey felled Mumblehead with a single gunshot. Later the same day, Harvey also killed Moses Mumblehead, who "attempted to shoot one of the detail because Dave his brother was shot" (Woods 1875).

A second account of the events is the most plausible. During pension depositions taken in 1869 and 1870, sworn testimony was given by Lieutenant Colonel James T. Abernathy of the 10th Regiment, the commanding officer in charge of the official field investigation conducted immediately after the deaths of the Mumblehead brothers. Abernathy stated that at the time of the court martial proceedings, he and the 10th Regiment were on active duty away from their post at Nashville, which allowed Harvey to procure "testimony and aid from friends." According to Lieutenant Colonel Abernathy, who was "personally acquainted with the shooting," Dave

Mumblehead was "willfully and maliciously" shot by the drunken Lieutenant Harvey, who believed that the Indian soldier had insulted him (Abernathy 1870). Pension depositions given by three other soldiers or officers in the 10th Regiment concurred that David Mumblehead was in the line of duty when killed and/or that Harvey provoked the shooting (Andrews 1869; Haskins 1881; McJunkin 1881). Other official charges outlined in court martial proceedings against Harvey suggest that a second, even more heinous crime took place later at or near Camp Gillem: the brutal gang murder of Moses Mumblehead.

In his court marshal hearing, Lieutenant Gilbert Harvey was indicted first on four counts: disobedience of orders for being absent until arrested; conduct prejudicial to good order; military discipline for being drunk; and allowing his command to become drunk and riotous. In the matter of Private Moses Mumblehead, Harvey was further charged as an accessory to murder for allowing his men to shoot, stab, and beat this young Cherokee soldier to death. Another charge of murder was preferred against Harvey in the death of Private David Mumblehead, whom it was alleged that he "wilfully and maliciously" shot with a pistol. In the end, Harvey was found guilty on two amended charges--being drunk and allowing his men to get drunk and behave "in a riotous manner" and of killing David Mumblehead under justifiable circumstances. Lieutenant Gilbert Harvey was cashiered out of the Union Army a few months later as punishment for these offenses (Whipple 1864).

There is abundant evidence that Lieutenant Harvey was a man who quickly turned to unprovoked and indiscriminate violence, especially when

drunk. However, Harvey's repeated taunting of Dave Mumblehead and the events on the night the Mumblehead brothers were killed strongly suggest that race baiting was at the heart of these actions. If the original charges brought against Harvey were true, as the investigating officer Lieutenant Colonel Abernathy swore a decade later to government representatives, Moses Mumblehead's murder, its viciousness, and its perpetration as a collective act by Harvey's entire detail must be interpreted as a racially-motivated hate crime. If Moses Mumblehead's murder occurred after he attempted to shoot "one of the detail...because of his brother's death" (Woods 1875), he died for trying to exact the traditional Cherokee revenge allowed to the closest clan kin--one life for the murder of his brother, Dave Mumblehead. Thus, the Mumblehead brothers died because they were Indian and for acting in an appropriate Cherokee fashion.

After the war, dependents of the Basin's Cherokee war dead were subjected for decades to a more subtle form of racism as they tried to claim pension rights. Repeatedly, the wives or mothers of the five young soldiers who died were held to differential application standards by the U. S. pension board which required them to prove their "Indianness," as well as their relationships to the deceased soldiers. In the *Walle yah* [*Whyleyh*] Bird case, 28 depositions were taken from Cherokees and whites who knew her situation. At the same time, the Cherokees' veracity as witnesses was questioned repeatedly because of their ethnicity. (Examination of pension files for local white soldiers or their dependents revealed only minimal materials to authenticate marriages or injuries.) In addition, the Mumblehead widows, along with dozens of whites in southeast Tennessee,

became victims of a scam in which two Sweetwater, Tennessee lawyers who represented their claims to the government collected pensions for fabricated claimants while real dependents went unaided for years (USMRLM n. d.; USMRNM n. d; USMRWB n. d.). Among the false pension claims were two filed for the fictitious widows and children of two non-existent soldiers named Mumblehead (USMRNEM n. d.; USMRSM n. d.).

Perhaps most poignant pension case was that of *Whyleyh* Bird (*Walle yah or* Betsy *Cheesqua neet*), mother of William, who, whenever she could not trade her traditional baskets, was reduced to begging from house to house for provisions to feed her younger children. Explanations by this Cherokee mother about (traditional) dependence on her eldest son's labors, rather than reliance on an absent spouse, fell on deaf ears at the pension board.

Dependents of David Mumblehead tried unsuccessfully for nearly three decades to gain a pension for his widow, Lucy. More than a dozen people who knew the couple provided depositions for this case over the years. A special investigation conducted in 1875 gathered testimony from eight individuals, seven Indians from Turtletown or Long Ridge, and one white man from Polk County. While the special agent accepted Indian testimony concerning the legitimacy of Dave and Lucy's marriage and child as defined by tribal customs, his attitude toward the case was lacking in sympathy. In his final report, which is peppered with insinuating comments about Indian behavior in general and about the personalities and traits of specific Indian witnesses, he complained: "This was a most vexatious case. Witnesses all Indians." He was quite willing, however, to accept the testimony of Private Woods who had testified at the Harvey court martial

that Dave's death was justifiable homicide. Nancy Mumblehead, widow of Moses, on the other hand, was granted a pension shortly after her first application, something that lawyers for her sister-in-law's case always found incongruent (USMRLM n. d.; USMRNM n. d).

Ultimately, the Civil War claimed a disproportionate number of the young men from Turtletown, striking a devastating social and economic blow to the Cherokee settlement. At least a quarter of the households were left without adult males to assist the women, children, and elders with traditional duties such as heavy farm work, hunting, or hiring out for barter goods and wages (USMRLM n. d.; USMRNM n. d.; USMRWB n. d.). Undoubtedly, the relatives of the Union soldiers also suffered some repercussions for their men's decisions to side with whites over the majority of their tribesmen (cf Finger 1984).

Enclavement as Ethnic Survival

Sociologist Calvin Beale (1957) and anthropologist Frank Porter (1986) credit the importance of geographical isolation in marginal places--swamps, hollows, ridge tops, and backwoods--for the long-term survival of many small Indian remnants in the East. This action limited contact with non-Indians and at the same time strengthened Indian ethnic group identity through a heightened sense of cultural and social difference from outsiders. For some remnant groups, geographical and social isolation also offered a measure of protection from racially-motivated harassment and violence, common in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave did not fit this model from the 1840s through the 1860s, but

from the 1870s into the new century gradually increasing social distance from the white majority was mirrored by geographical separation. Each of the several physical withdrawals from the local white society which the Cherokees at Turtletown enacted during this period intensified the process of enclavement for them, and in pulling together and into themselves increased their resolve to remain a separate people following their own customs and practices.

It is difficult to ascertain from the literature the kind and extent of interaction which routinely took place between Cherokees in the *Qualla* and Snowbird settlements and their white neighbors. This is both an artifact of research approaches and of the historic success of William Holland Thomas, the North Carolina Cherokees' white advisor. After Removal, Thomas waged a campaign to persuade the federal government and North Carolina to recognize these Cherokees' state citizenship and their right to permanent residence in the East. To do this, he presented a uniform and unvarying image of the North Carolina Cherokees to the press and authorities. His message, supported by petitions from neighboring whites, was always the same: the Cherokees were law-abiding farmers who kept to their own communities and were rapidly assimilating to American lifeways, and offered no political, economic, or physical threat to nearby white farmers and townspeople (Finger 1980; Frizzel 1981; Godbold and Russell 1990). In fact, gaining access or title to limited farmlands was a major point of contention between Eastern Cherokees, whites, and state and local governments after Removal, with violence occasionally erupting. *Qualla* Town Cherokees were

also sometimes plagued by whites who slipped onto their lands to cut timber illegally (Finger 1984).

The oral traditions about post-Removal Cherokees which remain in circulation in the Ducktown Basin today, and most of those published earlier in the twentieth century, connect the Basin Cherokees with events and places which took place roughly between the 1880s and about 1905. These accounts passed down among local whites record congenial interactions or neutral sorts of information about ordinary events and places associated with particular Indians. Paradoxically, this is the period when the least number of Cherokees lived in the Ducktown Basin locale and when overtly racist acts committed against them escalated. This scenario of increasing local interethnic tension fits the pattern of racial intolerance and violence which inflamed many Southern communities during and after Reconstruction, and throughout the nation as the century continued. Restrictive new laws and illegal mob actions were directed against blacks, socially marginalized "non-white" groups, and growing numbers of immigrants of non-Northern European extraction who were often viewed as non-whites (Bell 1978; Brown 1979a, 1979b; Carpenter 1962; Cartwright 1976; Dinnerstein 1990; Fry 1975; Garson and O'Brien 1979; Lewelling 1986; Sorelle 1983).

When the Basin Cherokees moved from the Cat Settlement at the base of Ditney Mountain to the top of Little Frog Mountain in the mid-1880s, they became physically separated from the most intense local white population growth. The new Cherokee settlement at Cold Springs, however, was still connected to Benton, Harbuck, Zion Hill, and Higdon's Store (near Grassy Creek) by old Indian and frontier trails. By the end of the century, the racially

mixed Morgan and Dover families and a few young white families (including John and Lois Kimsey) also lived in scattered cabins on Little Frog Mountain.

The move to the mountain top represented a drastic reduction in property and farmland for the Indian families. Their cabins and gardens were now restricted to limited flat places perched above the steep mountain slopes. Trading the traditional baskets which the women routinely made and the ginseng that the men collected in the fall for corn and other essentials became even more critical to these Cherokees' subsistence strategies, and to keeping them connected to the Basin's majority population. For more than thirty years the Basin Cherokees had worshipped, hunted, farmed, and labored alongside and among their white neighbors. Now the few families which remained were marginalized geographically, economically, and socially from local Anglo-American society (Hester Roll 1884; George Mealer, personal communication 1985; USBCASPC 1880; USMRWB n. d.).

The short tenure of each of the post-Civil War Indian settlements around Turtletown is vaguely unsettling. This was a time of repeated retreat by the Basin Cherokees into more inaccessible places. Throughout the South this was the period when racial segregation and harassment became more open and aggressive, when the hard and harsh boundaries of the Jim Crow world came into being. Indians were caught in the middle, an anomalous third race in a biracial society. Railroad construction through the Basin between 1888 and the early 1900s brought a resident population of more than 40 black workers to the Turtletown-Farner area, setting the stage for heightened racial tension and animosity. When mining operations restarted at Ducktown around 1890 large numbers of non-English speaking

immigrants, including many recruited from outside of northern Europe, were settled into a section locally tagged the "Dago Camp," a neighborhood set on the outskirts of Ducktown (Barclay 1973, 1975; Cartwright 1976; Clemmer n. d.; Dinnerstein 1990; Duggan et al. 1998; Porter 1986; USBCPSPC 1900).

Local Cherokees and these newer, non-white workers were pitted against the white majority for jobs, living space, and social space, and all were caught up in the South's hardening biracial social codes. Strikes in the mines and at least one attack on black railroad workers around this time reflect increasing class, ethnic, and/or racially-based unrest and violence in the locale (Barclay 1973, 1975; Clemmer n. d.; Duggan et al. 1998; USBCPSPC 1900).

In 1890, only 10 Indians were reported as living in Polk County (United States 1910). Since most 1890 census records were destroyed by fire it is impossible to know for certain who these people were and where they lived, but this number probably represents the Cherokees at Cold Springs, since the few mixed blood Cherokees in western Polk County were being tallied as white people before and after this date. Sometime between 1885 and 1890, *Tecosenaka* or James Cat, the leader of the Cold Springs Indian settlement, was killed by a white neighbor in a hunting accident--mistaken for a wild turkey it is said (Clemmer n. d.). This incident effectively marked the end of permanent, traditionalist Cherokee settlement in the Ducktown Basin locale. In 1890, the last Cherokee member of the Zion Hill church in Turtletown--either Sally Cat, Sr. or Sallie Cat (Catt), Jr.--asked to transfer her membership letter to another, unnamed church (Zion Hill n. d.: Book B,56). In 1908, a daughter of James and Sally Cat--Jennie Axe--reported to Miller enrollment

officials that her family had left Ducktown about thirty years before, but other sources strongly suggest that their permanent occupancy there did not end until about 1891 (Zion Hill n. d.:Book B,56). Periodic reoccupation of the "old Indian cabins" at Colds Springs by Cherokee families continued at least until 1905 (Hester 1885; George Mealer and Alga B Kimsey, personal communications 1985, 1986, 1990s; USBCPSPC 1880; USMRWB n. d.).

Before and after the accidental death of Jim Cat, violent incidents involving local Cherokees were increasing. Cherokee descendants speak vaguely of undated and unexplained "disappearances" of Indian people from the Basin. Ross Smith, who lived at different times in the Long Ridge and Turtletown settlements, had to flee the area after shooting a white man USMRWB n. d.). George Mealer (personal communication 1985) recounted at least two attacks on unsuspecting Cherokees in the locale, including one incident early in the new century which resulted in the ambush murder of a Cherokee who may have been Jim Cat's son-in-law, Elijah Ledford.

Mealer described this latter incident, which seems to have occurred over an intercultural misunderstanding about free-ranging hogs. This explanation, however, may mask a racially-motivated attack:

> There was a half Indian lived on the head of Wolf Creek. He was out cleaning honeycomb, getting the bees, where he'd cut a bee tree on the hill. And he was a'cleaning the bees out of the honey, standing on the porch, and somebody shot and killed him. That settled that bunch [of Indians]. I don't know whatever become of them. [That was a] Ledford...I don't remember what his other name was; but Ledford, I remember that. I seen him a few times, not many times...Well, Mr. Ledford, he was a

> half Indian. He married some woman from out of the Smokies; moved down and built a little shack there and moved into it and stayed there nearly one summer and somebody shot him and killed him...They had some reason to that. He'd been messing with their jobbin' some way. For I'll tell you, way back, back yonder, people'd kill you.
>
> That's all I...know about them poor old people. They [the Cats (Catts), Mike Walkingstick, and unknown other Cherokees at Cold Springs] didn't bother nobody. Them and this other man [Ledford], they didn't [bother] nobody...but they [local whites] accused 'em of killing their hogs and eating 'em...

Hostile acts against the Ducktown Cherokees are either not talked about or survive in abbreviated and fragmented form among their descendants. One incident which occurred at Cold Springs is recounted by grandchildren of Johnson Cat (Catt), the oldest surviving son of James and Sally (*Sal kin nih*), who was one of the last Cherokees to start a family at Turtletown in the late 1880s (Figure 7.2). Johnson, along with his wife Sallie, the oldest child of Moses Mumblehead (one of the murdered Union soldiers discussed above) were among the Cherokees who periodically reoccupied the cabins on Little Frog Mountain after Jim Cat's death. Paul Catt related a bare-bones description of the attack on his grandparents and their children to me which I summarize here:

> One night, when Paul's father, Will Cat, was about eleven or twelve years old(ca. 1897), a gang of white men appeared at the family's cabin at "Duck Town" [Colds Springs settlement]. The men began to make a



Figure 7.2. Family of Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt), ca. 1900. Courtesy of Mary Ellen Thomas and Paul Catt.

> ruckus, shooting and shouting, and otherwise harassing the Indian family. Believing the gang was intent on robbing them, or worse, Johnson Cat (Catt) shot out from the cabin, hitting one of the thugs; the white men then retreated with their wounded comrade. Afraid for their lives, the Cats (Catts) abandoned their home that night. Traveling by night, Johnson and Sallie led their other children northeast through the rugged Unicoi and Snowbird Mountains to another traditionalist Cherokee settlement at Almond, North Carolina (Paul Catt, personal communication, 1985, 1994). Another grandchild recalled that the family's haste was so great that a daughter who was away visiting friends was temporarily left behind (Mary Ellen Thomas, personal communication 1992).

Once again, Johnson and Sallie set about farming, this time on a small twelve acre farm in their new place of residence at Almond on the Nantahala River. The "*Nantahala* Indians," as members of the settlement where they took shelter were called by Eastern Band officials, were mainly Cherokees, who like themselves, had formerly lived in the Ducktown Basin locale. A few others had moved to the *Nantahala* Indian settlement from Long Ridge or other outlying Indian communities. In 1898, the names of 17 families (82 people) appear on a community census of the *Nantahala* Indians conducted by the tribe; most members of this enclave that year were kin or former neighbors of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees (Table 7.2) (Cherokee Indian Agency 1894-1910).

Despite the inhospitable social climate in the Ducktown Basin, members of the Johnson and Sally Cat (Catt) family and an unknown number of other Cherokees still returned periodically to Cold Springs, even after their midnight flight to Almond (George Mealer and Alga B Kimsey, personal

Table 7.2. Households of the *Nantahala* Indians, 1898 (Cherokee Indian Agency 1898; Hester 1884; Siler 1851; Swetland 1869).

Name	Relationship	Age	Identified as former Basin resident	Ancestor(s) identified
Steve Bird	fa	48	x	Jacob Bird & *Walle yah*
Rosy Bird	wi	44	x	
Quaty	da	17		
Loyd [sic]	so	13		
Ollie Otter	mo	50		
Allen Otter	so	20		
Wilson Otter	so	18		
Daniel Bird	neph	19	x	Jacob Bird & *Walle yah*
David Hornbuckle	fa	36		
Polly Hornbuckle	wi	30		Jacob Bird
Japhat Hornbuckle	so	7		
Daniel Hornbuckle	so	10/12		
Young Bird [Jacob Bird]	fa	78	x	Old Bird & *Cohena*
Jennie Young Bird	wi	55		
Annie Fodder	stda	18		
Timson Young Bird	stso	14		
Mike Walkingstick	fa	47	x	*Te to le nust* & Nancy
Caroline Walkingstick	mo	36	x	
Jasper Walkingstick	so	22		
Susie Walkingstick	da	18		
Jim Walkingstick	so	15		
Bascum Walkingstick	so	12		
John E. [Lige] Bird	fa	45	x	Jacob Bird & *Walle yah*
Sarah Bird	mo	25		
David Bird	so	4		
Dinah Bird	da	1 1/2		
Esiah Colonuhesky	fa	41	x	*Ka lo ne hes kee*
Annie Colonuhesky	mo	30	x	*Wah la nu kah*
Quaty Colonuhesky	da	3		

Table 7.2 continued

Name	Relation-ship	Age	Identified as former Basin resident	Ancestor(s) identified
Loyd Smoker	hu	28		Tobacco Smoker
Nancy Smoker	wi	47		
John Brown [Greenleaf]	fa	58	x	E yu cha kuh
Leddie [Lydia] Brown	mo	48	x	*Le she* Bearmeat
Jonas Brown	so	18		
Eve Brown	da	15		
Allie Brown	da	12		
Peter Brown	so	9		
Ar quar daga [Okwataga]	fa	99	x	
Lizzie Ar quar daga	wi	68		
Jefferson Ar quar daga	so	22		
Johnson Long	--	30		
Jessie Taylor	hu	37		
Stacy Taylor	wi	40	x	James Cat & *Sal kin nih*
Kiliniga Kanott	stpso	14		
Jack Leadford	-	24		
Riley Leadford	br	19		
Annie Leadford	mo	50		
Will West [Aroneach]	fa	49		
Lusie West	mo	37		
Mary West	da	10		
Maggie West	da	7		
Jim West	so	4		
Nellie West	da	1 1/2		
Andrew Otter	fa	31		
Sarah Otter	wi	30	x	Nancy & Moses Mumblehead
Lindy Otter	da	5		
Jackson Otter	so	8		
Polly Graybeard	stda	17		
Nancy Goins	stda	12		

Table 7.2 continued

Name	Relation-ship	Age	Identified as former Basin resident	Ancestor(s) identified
Johnson Cat	fa	43	x	James Cat & *Sal kin nih*
Sallie Cat	mo	41	x	Nancy & Moses Mumblehead
Willie Cat	so	12	x	
Quaty [Bettie] Cat	da	10	x	
Margrette Cat	da	6		
Jessie Cat	so	3		
Manda Cat	da	1 1/2		
Nancy Mumblehead	momo	-	x	
John Saunook	fa	48		
Lucinda Saunook	mo	47		
Samuel Saunook	so	20		
Nora Saunook	da	16		
Stillwell Saunook	so	7		
Rachel Saunook	da	11		
Jennie Reed	[gr]mo 70			
John Mumblehead	fa	35	x	Lucy & David Mumblehead
Lindy [Lucinda] Mumblehead	mo	25		
Jim Mumblehead	so	9		
Will Mumblehead	so	7		
Rogers Mumblehead	so	3		
Charlie Mumblehead	so	1/12		
Lucy Mumblehead	fa mo	70	x	
Willie Mumblehead	fa br	18	x	

communications 1985, 1986, 1991, 1994). Such movement between various Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina and East Tennessee was common in the last days of the nineteenth century (cf Cherokee Indian Agency 1894-1910; Greene 1984).

Another period of reoccupation in the Basin occurred around 1905. The Cat (Catt) family was in residence long enough for Sallie to put in a garden and for Johnson and the other Cherokee males to hunt ginseng with George Mealer's father. Perhaps they intended to only to spend the summer and early fall there, for the few furnishings in their reclaimed cabin [at Mumblehead Springs on Little Frog Mountain]--iron cooking pots, wooden utensils, sheepskin blankets, and traditional sleeping platforms--were quite rudimentary compared to the modest comfort of the farmstead they also occupied during this period among the *Nantahala Indians* (see Tribal Censuses 1894-1910). The Indian family also remained long enough to pique the curiosity of their friend's young son, George, who later recalled frequent visits with them. On their last trip to the cabin, the father and son were shocked at the scene before them:

> I don't know how come 'em [the Catts] to leave up there, but we's up there like on the Saturday, stayed through the night Sunday, and they was a going to stay up there. And we went back then on the next Saturday night, Saturday evening, ready to go a 'seng digging and they'd moved, even the house's burnt down. Everything in the world that them Indians owned was gone. And I don't know no more about it now than I did when we got there... (George Mealer, personal communication 1985).

This time the Cherokees who comprised the post-Removal enclave in the Ducktown Basin were gone for good, perhaps the victims of an accident or once again racially-based animosity (Riggs and Duggan 1992).

Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt) lived among the *Nantahala* Indians until the building of a dam and reservoir forced these Cherokees and others living at the *Cheoah* and *Buffalo* settlements to relocate (see Neely 1991). While Cherokees from the latter Indian communities moved nearby onto Little Snowbird Creek, the Cats (Catts) and several *Nantahala* families resettled near each other a few miles outside *Cherokee* at Ela, North Carolina, on the Eastern Band's newly purchased 3,200 Acre Tract. Here Johnson and Sallie spent the last years of their lives carving out yet another farmstead, this time on 132 acres of mountainous tribal lands. Just over the hill lived the family of Sallie's sister, Sarah Mumblehead Otter (Paul Catt, Maybelle McDonald, and Mary Ellen Thomas, personal communications, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1994; Riggs and Duggan 1992).

Several of Johnson and Sallie's grandchildren, who in typical Cherokee fashion stayed with them for extended periods, describe a place that sounds much like the average mountain homestead of the day in terms of material comforts and landscape. Yet these children's extended presence in this home, the Cherokee language still spoken by the adults, the old Cherokee recipes that Sallie Cat (Catt) prepared, and the testament in the *Sequoyah* syllabary from which she read each day, were witness to lifeways and experiences within the Indian community that this Cherokee family and many others like them struggled to protect as their lives became increasingly encircled by American society after Removal (Paul Catt, Maybelle McDonald, and Mary

Ellen Thomas, personal communications, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1994; Riggs and Duggan 1992).

Life also was changing for the Cat (Catt) family. When Johnson died in 1927, his grandchildren, like thousands of other American Indian children, were forbidden to speak their native tongue in the government boarding school at Cherokee. Sallie Cat's (Catt) final years foreshadowed another major change which would become both a challenge and a rallying point for twentieth century Eastern Cherokee identity. Sometime in the 1910s, she switched from making the traditional basketry and pottery she learned as a girl in Turtletown after the Civil War to the fancy beadwork Anglo-American customers expected to buy at the new Indian Fair at Cherokee (Mary Ellen Thomas, personal communication 1992; Riggs and Duggan 1992; Tribal Censuses 1894-1910; also see Duggan 1997).

The "Last Indian in Polk County"

Today there are over 400 federally recognized tribes in the United States, and such a status remains undecided for many other small remnants (Porter 1986). While historically, many American Indian groups in the South were physically decimated by war or disease, absorbed into or expanded by other ethnic or racial groups, and/or removed to Indian Territory, contemporary census data indicate that by demographic patterns, by self-identification, and in terms of the continued presence of tribal enclaves the "Vanishing Native" myth which predicted the demise of American Indians has not been fulfilled. Rather, it has been revealed as an historical and

ideological justification for political and economic domination of the American Indians.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the Vanishing Native myth was still firmly in place. Throughout the eastern United States local newspapers carried articles about the quaint habits of an aging local Indian, the final speaker of a native language, or the death of the last member of a particular tribe (see Porter 1978). Ethnologists, including James Mooney and Frank Speck, hastened to document these disappearing people and lifeways (see Duggan and Riggs 1991b; Moses 1984). Small pockets of American Indians, however, like the Cherokee who once lived in the Ducktown Basin, remained throughout the Eastern United States.

From 1900 through 1920, no Indians are listed in the U. S. census as living in Polk County, Tennessee. As previously discussed, oral histories nevertheless indicate that a few traditionalist Cherokees returned periodically to the old Indian cabins on Little Frog Mountain into the first years of the twentieth century (George Mealer and Alga B Kimsey, personal communications 1985, 1986, 1991, 1994). By this point, the few people of mixed blood Cherokee ancestry residing in western Polk County were tallied as white people in public record keeping (see USBCPSPC 1900, 1910, 1920).

In the early twentieth century, a new national wave of nostalgia about the supposedly doomed natives prompted publication of many newspaper articles about the local Cherokees in the Polk County News. Most dealt with prominent figures or events in the pre-Removal Cherokee Nation or before. In particular, legends about Nancy Ward, whose grave is on the outskirts of Benton were favorite topics. Her descendants, especially the Hilderbrands

and McNairs, also drew much attention. Only a couple of people from the post-Removal traditionalist Cherokee families--who had lived in sufficient enough numbers "above the mountain" around the Ducktown Basin to cause collective alarm among Polk County's white citizens in the 1850s and who continued to return in small numbers into the early twentieth century--were mentioned in passing in newspaper accounts.

One full blood Cherokee who lived in the county after Removal did gain public recognition as the "Last Indian in Polk County." *Esiah Kalonaheskie* (*Colonahesky*), or "Doc Esi" or "Doc Esiclonahi," as he was known around Benton, had lived in the Turtletown Cherokee settlement as a young husband in the 1880s and around the turn of the twentieth century resided with former Ducktown Basin Cherokees at Almond, North Carolina in the *Nantahala Indian settlement* (Cherokee Indian Agency 1898; Hester 1884; Polk County News 1920).

In the 1920s, *Esiah Colonahesky* (Figure 8.1) was living in Polk County again, this time as the husband of a white woman, Rachel Dunn. The two may have met when her family sharecropped in Reliance along the Hiwassee River in western Polk County, for local whites say that Doc Esi did some commercial fishing. The couple eventually settled on a farm near Benton. Aside from his status as the purported last Indian in Polk County and his fullbloodedness, *Esiah Colonahesky* is remembered in local written and oral accounts as an "herb doctor," whose services were sometimes used by local whites. Although well-liked, his Cherokee mannerisms and language were often interpreted as quaint or odd behavior by local non-Indians, especially children. Locals also recall that although buried among his wife's non-Indian



Figure 7.3. *Esiah Colonahesky* (left), the "Last Indian in Polk County" with Unidentified Child. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. and Mrs. H. V. Dunn, Benton, Tennessee.

kin at Reliance "for many years and maybe still Indians came down from North Carolina to tend his grave" (Pearl Bailey, Mr. and Mrs. H. V. Dunn, Roscoe and Blanche Rogers, personal communications 1991).

People of more tenuous or dubious Cherokee descent also lived in and around the Ducktown Basin in the early twentieth century. In the 1910s, in the Sugar Creek and Mobile vicinities just southwest of the Basin, residents included at least one man and one family whom local whites recognized by physical appearance and social distinction as "Indians." Their surnames, however, never appeared on Cherokee enrollments, nor were they identified in census records as Indians (Isaac McVey; Thomas and Stella Patterson, personal communications 1991). These people might have been undocumented Cherokees, ethnically Indian but members of another tribe, or peoples of mixed race heritage "passing" as Indians. Their locally recognized status as "Indians" was socially certain enough to distinguish them from the few blacks who remained in the locale and to gain them membership in a white church.

In 1908, a number of Ducktown Basin and other Polk County citizens joined thousands of people across the country who tried to gain federal recognition as Cherokee Indians during the Guion Miller enrollment (Miller 1908-1910; also see Finger 1991a). In reading through local applications, there is a vagueness about ancestry in general which can be accounted for on several levels. Some, who could not even recall all of their grandparents' names, betrayed the transient frontier ties of their ancestors; many claimed an unnamed Indian ancestor several generations removed; a number claimed their Indian blood came from a Cherokee grandfather; several

people were descendants of slaves who claimed both Indian and/or Portuguese ancestors, perhaps in a bid for a less stigmatized racial and social status; and others, who clearly had no Indian (much less Cherokee) ancestry, merely hoped to profit financially from enrollment if tribally-held lands were eventually allotted to individuals members.

Very few of the applicants from the Ducktown region were admitted to the Miller roll. One of those rejected was Abraham Guinn (born 1819), who had grown up in the Ocoee River Gorge. Stories he passed on to his grandson suggest that Guinn had had close social relationships with pre-Removal Cherokee neighbors. He told of hunting with the Wasp [killer] boys (members of a pre-Removal family who would have been his neighbors) in the Frog Mountains, taught his grandson to make blowguns and the "Cherokee" names of a few plants, and claimed to have gone on the Trail of Tears (R. R. Quintrell, personal communication 1991). When Miller enrollment officials sought out Benton resident John Hildebrand's advice on the veracity of Polk County applicants' claims, he credited Abraham Guinn's sister with marrying a Cherokee in Oklahoma, but said that Abe Guinn was not an Indian (Hilderbrand 1908a, 1908b).

Guinn, at the request and specification of Miller enrollment officials, had his photograph taken while dressed "like an Indian did...when they didn't have any store clothes; when they made their own." According to his grandson, Guinn "rigg[ed] hisself up in some old clothes. He said they [the Cherokees] didn't have no certain way, just whatever they could get ahold of." In the notarized photograph, Guinn, standing on a dirt road in front of a patch of woods, faces the camera squarely. Balanced over one shoulder is a

long-barreled hunting rifle. A bandanna tied around his forehead holds a sparse array of short feathers. A powder horn hangs across his chest, and a Cherokee conjurer's turkey-tail feather wand is strapped at his waist. Against the artifacts, his jeans, brogan shoes, and thin pullover sweater look strangely modern. The photograph and its genesis form a compelling and poignant visual and political statement about outsiders' perceptions of ethnic markers and federal efforts to institutionalize (i. e. control) ethnic identity.

∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞

Ethnologist Charles Hudson posits that today a "person can be an Indian in at least three ways"--genetically, culturally, and/or socially (1976:478-79). Many white people in the southern Appalachians, including a few in the Ducktown Basin area, proudly claim some undocumented Indian (usually Cherokee) ancestry. Mrs. X's story of "passing" as a white person in a Ducktown area community recounted at the beginning of this chapter, however, illustrates that openness and pride about Indian ancestry was not always possible in earlier times. Against the changing definitions and ambiguous attitudes toward ethnicity and race, the Cherokees who reestablished traditional community and lifeways in the Ducktown Basin after Removal stand in stark contrast. Even though they eventually withdrew from the area, members of this Cherokee enclave continued for several decades afterwards to maintain themselves as a distinct social group and discrete spatial entity within the larger Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians. They accomplished this by firmly knowing and continuing to enact who they were as a local people (settlement group) which was united by

history, language, custom, and the matrilineal principle of descent to other Cherokees.

CHAPTER VIII

ON BEING AND STAYING CHEROKEE: LESSONS FROM THE DUCKTOWN BASIN

Being an Indian, being a Cherokee, doesn't depend upon how you dress or whether you have an old Ford or a young pony. Being a Cherokee is a way of thinking and a way of knowing. The Cherokees in bright cars and neat suits are still men of the eagle race, the people of the eternal fire. And we are still a proud people who have kept alive a great spirit. The eternal fire still burns brightly for my people, the Cherokees.

Adventures of an Indian Boy,
Gregory and Strickland (1972:29)

Question: Your great-grandparents, grandparents, and father once lived around the Ducktown Basin. Do you know other Cherokees whose people came from there?

Betty Duggan, anthropologist

Answer: *We are all from there.*

Paul Catt, 1990s, grandson
of Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt)

Locating the Basin Cherokees in History

This dissertation has examined the intersecting histories of post-Removal Cherokee and white communities in the Ducktown Basin in Polk County, Tennessee. I have concentrated in particular on examining ethnic persistence (Spicer 1961a, 1962; 1971) at the analytical levels of settlement,

community, and family by examining this historic enclave and its members as simultaneous participants in Indian and non-Indian societies and communities. Data were drawn from a broad spectrum of primary and secondary sources, and include evidence derived from documentary, oral, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and material sources.

Recollections about the Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin preserved as oral traditions were important indicators about settlement locations and duration, personnel, economic strategies, and interethnic relations during my study. I first located the oldest people who resided at or near places I knew post-Removal Cherokee families had lived and who could acquaint me with the culturally significant topographic, social, and historical landscapes of the Ducktown Basin locale. More focused interviews were carried out with a small core of key informants who are descendants of the Basin Cherokees or their white neighbors. Key informant interviews gave depth, texture, and connection to the sometimes sketchy and fragmentary information about individuals, families, chronology, activities, and events derived from other historical sources.

The credibility and value of oral traditions as historical evidence has been hotly debated by scholars for more than a century, as discussed by Montell (1970), Vansina (1965, 1985), Sturtevant (1968), Tonkin (1992), and others. Most of the oral traditions gleaned in my study can be categorized as secondary evidence. Three interviews conducted with one key informant provided the only in situ eyewitness accounts collected. A few other oral traditions about Basin Cherokees were written down in local history accounts during the wave of national and local nostalgia over "Vanishing Natives"

earlier in the twentieth century. Descendants of Basin Cherokees had eyewitness accounts of ancestors dating from the 1910s and 1920s, long after they had left the study area.

The use of oral history accounts in my study was limited in several ways. These secondary accounts were fragmented and, except for a few interviews with one informant, they presented curated memories which had been passed down through the cultural filters and biases of from two to four generations. Most interestingly, oral traditions about this Cherokee enclave reflected distinctive ethnic group perspectives, which narrowly codified, collapsed, or ignored particular places, events, and interactions associated with the Other. In this way, the curation and content of these oral traditions symbolically carried and/or reinforced separate world views as well as revealed actual life events and relationships between Cherokee and white residents of the Ducktown Basin. In the overall scheme of the history of this enclave as reconstructed here, oral traditions curated by each group were more frequently complimentary than overlapping in nature, especially as they reflected historic power relationships.

The most commonly encountered oral traditions among contemporary white residents of the Ducktown Basin were family stories about one of their ancestors who had personal relationships with particular local Cherokees. Topics included hiding out particular Cherokees during Removal, hunting game with both pre-and post-Removal Cherokees, and ginseng collecting together at the turn of the twentieth century. The most prevalent family stories were about anonymous Cherokee peddlers, groups of anonymous local Cherokees, or specific local Cherokee women trading baskets to ancestral

whites in exchange for corn, clothing, or other necessities. Most accounts were nostalgic in content and telling, and emphasized pleasant relations between their ancestors and the post-Removal Cherokees.

Not surprisingly, the most detailed accounts about the local Cherokees were oral history narratives based on the first-hand experiences of one illiterate man, who as a small boy around 1905 had accompanied his father on many visits to the cabin of one local Cherokee family. His memories included details about individuals in the family, members' idiosyncrasies, their cabin and its furnishings, and about sleeping arrangements, gardening practices, trapping equipment, and other details which caught the youngster's attention. The same man was the only white resident who provided historic gossip and information about incidents of violence committed against the Basin Cherokees.

Elderly descendants of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees were aware that their ancestors lived in the locale they call "Duck Town" before settling on tribal land on the *Qualla* Boundary or in the Snowbird/Nantahala area. Their own childhood memories reflect personalities, lifeways, idiosyncrasies, and personal relationships of their relatives, most usually grandparents, who had grown up in the Basin but spent their later years away from the area. Descendants' descriptions differ from those of Basin whites in recalling their Cherokee ancestors as being more materially acculturated and economically secure in their new lives on tribal land than white traditions suggest for their years in the Ducktown Basin.

In sharp contrast to descendants of white Basin families, the Cherokee descendants recall few if any stories about their ancestors' lives at Ducktown

and curate no stories in which named white people from that area figure. What the Cherokee descendants do curate about their ancestors' residence in the Ducktown locale are allusions to unexplained disappearances of Basin Cherokees and abbreviated accounts about their ancestors' repeated flights from the aggression of anonymous white people.

A few key historic places, people, and dates identified in white oral traditions served as starting points for searching through various written sources. Over time I expanded this list and developed an historic chronology from which to cross-check new information. This was essential because data often came in snippets from many sources which themselves needed to be evaluated for accuracy and/or biases in generation.

Taken at face value and singly, tribal enrollments, population censuses, church minutes, county records, federal depositions, and personal documents provided only partial and sometimes contradictory evidence. Even a few clearly falsified documents were encountered. Mistakes in written records occurred most frequently because of linguistic or cultural miscommunications or biases, particularly recording in Cherokee names, ages, and genealogical relationships, and became obvious through the comparison of information from multiple sources.

It was clear from the outset of my project that the presence of the Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave was sometimes obscured or even lacking in commonly consulted local, state, and federal documents. An oral history clue did lead to a community resource--church minutes--which preserved in embedded form local debate and attitudes about the Indian membership during the peak period of post-Removal Cherokee occupation. My expanding

historical chronology of the enclave helped to compensate for this problem somewhat. Actually, being forced to search for information about individual members turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Following a lead on one individual led me to military pension records about several Cherokee families which were rich in detail about these people, their Indian community, and their relationships with neighboring whites and white officials.

Ultimately, it was necessary to synthesize pertinent oral, written, and material sources available to me and analyze them within a very broad cultural and historical framework, taking into account relevant local, tribal, regional, and national contexts. Studied in this light, the history and experiences of the post-Removal Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin constitute the story of people who in the second half of the nineteenth century became peripheralized members of an emerging class-based and industrialized local society set in an increasingly racialized South. Four phases of local Cherokee residence were revealed by my study.

Phase One: After 1775-1838

Pre-Removal Cherokee occupation of the Ducktown Basin remains largely unexplored in this dissertation, and in the published literature. I did, however, examine this period enough to establish a base line from which to explore connections with local post-Removal resettlement. Preliminary examination of maps and other archival sources suggest that significant Cherokee occupation of the Basin locale was late. It post-dated the American Revolution and subsequent frontier conflicts, when large numbers of

Cherokees from major settlements were forced to flee temporarily or permanently from their villages and towns to more remote sections of their territory. Between 1799 and the Trail of Tears in 1838, Cherokee residency in the Basin locale grew from one (Duck-Town) to three settlements (Duck Town, Fighting Town, and Turtle Town), reaching a combined population of 312 people in 1835.

Local Cherokees had begun to incorporate a few aspects of European material culture into their economic lifeways by 1810, but village and personal lifeways remained traditional and culturally conservative through Removal. Direct contact with frontier whites and blacks was limited and probably not significant until after discovery of gold at Coker Creek, about a dozen miles north of Turtle Town, in 1828. As would be expected, residents of Turtle Town, especially ferry boat operators who plied their trade on the Hiwassee River which then served as the major gateway into the locale, showed the most evidence of influence from American culture. While acceptance of American domestic and mechanical crafts was common in the Basin's three Cherokee settlements, even at Turtle Town acculturation remained a minimal force for change outside of economic matters. Most, if not all, residents of the Basin settlements were Cherokee speakers; of the small literate population more could read in the *Sequoyah* syllabary than in English; the majority of the Basin's population resided with kin on multi-family farms; and only three people were of mixed race ancestry and two were non-Indians.

Between 1835-38 the native population of the Ducktown Basin experienced another period of growth as this mountainous region again

became a place of refuge for Cherokees displaced by whites in Georgia and other areas. By the eve of Removal, missionaries from the Valley Town Mission in Murphy, North Carolina had established preaching stations at Duck Town and Turtle Town. When the arrests and deportations associated with the 1838 federal Removal were completed, few, if any, Cherokees were left in the locale.

Phase Two: 1844?-1860

These two decades were a time of reclamation and population growth for returning Cherokees and their families, the heyday of the post-Removal Ducktown Basin enclave. During the Trail of Tears, one man from Fighting Town--Little Bird--and a party of about two dozen relatives and friends escaped from the forced march determined to return to their homes. Not until 1844 do we find definitive evidence that they were able to accomplish this goal. From this time forward until this Indian community's disappearance, *Cohena* (Granny Bird) who was probably a life-long resident of the Basin, her children, and/or grandchildren and spouses would form the core of the post-Removal Cherokee enclave in the Ducktown Basin locale. Their efforts to make community were complicated by the discovery of a major copper reserve in the Basin in 1843, followed by an influx of national and international mining companies in the 1850s.

By 1851, the 20 Cherokees residing in the Basin probably lived in two family clusters, one around the area whites called Grear's Ferry (Grassy Creek) and the other nearby on Tumbling Creek; in official documents both are included in the term "Duck Town." Sometime between 1851 and 1853,

Cherokee settlement at Turtle Town was reestablished. The Basin's post-Removal Cherokee population probably peaked around 1853, when a minimum of 79 Cherokees were associated with one or the other of these settlements.

The Cherokee population appears to have increased so rapidly because of development of mining operations in the Ducktown District during this period. For a time in the 1850s, an unknown number of Cherokee men, women, and children worked in the subsidiary wood-cutting and charcoal-making businesses which supplied fuel for processing the copper ore for export. Probably because the heart of the Ducktown mining district (and associated population growth and environmental damage) was developing only a few miles east of the Cherokee Duck Town settlement, the Indian population shifted to the Turtle Town Cherokee settlement by 1853. Several white wood contractors for whom the Indians worked lived in that vicinity as well.

During this period, the Turtle Town settlement was known locally as "Bearmeat's Farm," after the Cherokee man who legally held the deed for the 300 or more acres of property on which the Cherokees resided. Bearmeat (*Yona chu whee yah*) was a son-in-law of *Cohena*, and he may have been headman of this settlement. In reality, Bearmeat's Farm was communally-owned by four or five Cherokee families who bought shares in the land with their moneys from the Siler disbursement, including the families of three of *Cohena's* children. This pattern of land ownership simultaneously reflects an adaptation to American property laws and an effort to preserve traditional Cherokee land use practices which were controlled by local lineage segments

of the Cherokee matrilineal clans. It was a protective strategy employed earlier by a number of traditionalist Cherokees (including the families of some of these particular people) who took up individual reservations, but shared them with relatives after the Calhoun Treaty of 1819.

Phase Three: 1861-1890 (?)

The Civil War was a watershed event for the Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave as well as for the United States. As with local white communities, the Indian settlement's membership was at least temporarily scattered as people sought safety from bands of bushwhackers, and several of the enclave's young men died as soldiers. In 1865, Bearmeat's Farm was sold to a white man and the money distributed among the Cherokee shareholders. With the new owner's permission, several Cherokee families continued to live on their old property until about 1868 or 1869. No Indians appear in the 1870 U. S. census for Turtletown or elsewhere in the Basin.

After Bearmeat died in 1869, his widow, *Le seh* or Elizabeth (a daughter of *Cohena* Bird), several of their children, and her brother, Jacob Bird, along with his second family, were living in the Long Ridge settlement in northwestern Cherokee County, North Carolina. Other families formerly from Turtletown soon joined them for a time. *Walle yah* Bird (Jacob's first wife) and some of her children worked for a time as farm laborers for whites in western Polk County before temporarily joining relatives at Long Ridge. A slow down in the Ducktown copper mining industry, an expanding white population around Turtletown, the potential for Indian marriage partners and political alliances, and the presence of an Indian school certainly

influenced the move to the Long Ridge enclave which was about 12 miles away, deeper in the Unicoi Mountains.

The 1870s and 1880s were a critical period for the Eastern Cherokees, a time when the various remnants coalesced into a tribe once again. At the *Cheoah* Council meeting in 1869, N. J. (Nimrod Jarrett) Smith of Long Ridge was elected secretary of the tribal council and that community was allotted three council representatives. Ties between the Turtletown Cherokee families and the Smith family, which formed a large block of the Long Ridge population, were forged at this time. Several young people from Turtletown intermarried with the mixed blood Smiths and moved to Long Ridge. Several men and women in the Smith family also acted as interpreters and go-betweens for the traditionalist Basin Cherokees during the 1870s and 1880s in dealings with federal agents and other whites. Whether significantly or by coincidence, the last full-time occupation by Cherokees in the Ducktown Basin ceased within a few years of N. J. Smith's election as Principal Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokees and that of another Long Ridge resident with Turtletown ties, John Going Welch, as his vice-chief.

If there was a complete interruption in Cherokee occupation in the Ducktown Basin around 1870, within five years another smaller Indian settlement, the Cat settlement, was in place at the head of a hollow near the base of Ditney Mountain. Residents were the family of James and *Sal kin nih* Cat, her mother, *Cohena* Bird, and the Mumblehead widows, who were probably matrilineal relatives as well. Nearby was a second cluster of Cherokee families--the Goings, Browns, and Longs. All of these families were farmers who were only slightly less well off materially than white subsistence

farmers in their district. The local post-war Cherokee population peaked in 1884 when 30 people lived at Turtletown.

At some time between 1884 and 1885, the Cat Settlement, which was located on the fringes of Turtletown valley, was abandoned for the remote reaches of Little Frog Mountain. There, what local whites call the "old Indian cabins" at Cold Springs and Mumblehead Springs, were home to several Cherokee families for a few years, with the Cats, Mumbleheads, and Walkingsticks being the most frequently mentioned residents. After the late 1880s, when James Cat was killed in a hunting accident by a white neighbor, and 1891, when the last Cherokee left the fellowship of the Zion Hill church, the Cold Springs Indian settlement broke up. A few residents joined matrilineal relatives at the traditionalist Cherokee settlement at *Tomotla* in Cherokee County, North Carolina, but most resettled together on the Nantahala River north of the Snowbird Mountains in that state.

The short tenure of each of the new Indian settlements around Turtletown during this period is disturbing. It appears to be a time of almost constant retreat until there literally was no place more remote to go without leaving the Basin. I do not think that this behavior was random. For the first time, the Ducktown Basin enclave appears to be have followed the pattern of physical and cultural isolation adopted by other remnant Indian peoples in the Southeast for purposes of self-preservation.

Throughout the South this was a time when racial segregation and harassment became more open and aggressive, when the Jim Crow world came into being. Indians were caught in the middle, an anomalous third race in a biracial South. The start of railroad construction through the Basin in

1888 brought a large resident population of black railroad workers to Turtletown, setting the stage for heightened racial tension and animosity. Local Cherokees were now caught squarely between two racialized social divisions; following Cherokee custom withdrawal was the only route to follow.

Phase Four: 1890 (?)-1910s

The final years of Cherokee occupation of the Ducktown Basin region came at the interface between two centuries. For the Cherokee traditionalists at Turtletown this phase can be characterized by farm and/or settlement abandonment, periodic short-term returns, and final withdrawal from the Basin.

In 1890, there were 10 Indians living in Polk County, Tennessee. Since the manuscript of the U. S. census for that year was destroyed there is no way to know if these people lived at the Cold Springs Indian settlement on the mountain overlooking Turtletown. However, oral history sources indicate that this is the likely case. Even though the 1900, 1910, and 1920, the U. S. censuses reported no Indians in Polk County or in adjacent Fannin County, Georgia, at least a half dozen independent oral history accounts indicate that Cherokees were present locally at this time.

Members of the Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt) family, the John Mumblehead family, Mike Walkingstick, and other individuals returned to Little Frog Mountain, possibly seasonally, into the early twentieth century. From at least 1894, however, their permanent homes and farms were around the Judson-Almond, North Carolina locale, where they were associated with

the Cherokee settlement referred to in tribal records as the *Nantahala* Indians. In terms of personnel, the *Nantahala* Indian settlement at the turn of the twentieth century was almost a duplicate of the people and/or families formerly associated with the post-Removal Ducktown Basin enclave. Preliminary evidence also suggests that several of the males who had intermarried with women from the Basin had been members of *Euchella's* band from the Nantahala River area before and/or around the time of Removal.

A Cherokee descendant as well as my only eyewitness informant in the Ducktown Basin independently described incidents of racial harassment directed at the Johnson Cat (Catt) family on one or more of their returns to the Basin. The local man also reported the ambush murder of another Cherokee man around this time in the general locale. This was a period of heightened racial and labor unrest in the Ducktown Basin [as throughout the United States], when black railroad workers, Southern and Central European miners, a Russian mining company, and Middle Eastern residents faced prejudice, harassment, and/or violence.

Several elderly informants from the Basin recalled that one or two other "Indian" families and an "Indian" man lived and/or frequented communities on the southwestern edge of the Basin around the 1910s. These people are not recorded in U. S. censuses, nor do the names they are remembered by appear on Cherokee tribal enrollments. Physical descriptions suggest that they were non-whites and local whites accepted them as Indians, according them social privileges not accorded to the few blacks remaining in the area. It is possible that these were people of mixed racial background who

were passing as Indian or were Indians from another tribe who were itinerant sharecroppers.

Ironically, this period, which saw the final Cherokee traditionalists forced to abandon their homes in the Basin, was also the time when many people with purported Cherokee ancestry tried to gain entry onto the Miller enrollment which was taken in anticipation of allotment of Cherokee lands, something which never occurred in the East. Only a few people from the Basin locale were admitted, and these were descendants of people whose own Cherokee status had been questioned even before Removal. Several other applicants clearly had lived among local pre-Removal and post-Removal Cherokees and learned something of their practices, but could offer no proof of their claims or give the name of an Indian ancestor.

Ethnic Persistence of a Post-Removal Cherokee Enclave

Edward Spicer (1962, 1971), in discussing his ideas on "persistent identity systems," and Fredrik Barth (1969) have stressed the importance of a shared sense of historic peoplehood in the maintenance of ethnic groups over time. Yet each has pointed out that it is the continuation of belief in a separate collective identity, not its expression in particular beliefs and symbols, which must remain intact over time in order for the group to survive as a separate social entity. Barth has referred to this basic feature of ethnicity as the "unit of continuity in time (1969a:11-12)."

Both also attribute critical importance to "oppositional processes" (Spicer 1971:799) or social contrasts ("we/they" distinctions) along ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969a) in the maintenance of ethnic groups. In the face of

such contrast (or even open conflict), an "intense collective consciousness and a high degree of internal solidarity" often results (Spicer 1971:799). Barth (1969) points out that clearly defined criteria for inclusion and exclusion of membership in the ethnic group must be present and that ethnic status overrides other ascribed statuses. Membership is signaled to insiders and outsiders by selected cultural features, or "ethnic markers," which may be overt, highly visible symbols such as homeland, language or dress, or less obvious differences in values. Again, the ethnic markers emphasized by an ethnic group can, and often do, change through time.

As the Ducktown Basin was drawn abruptly into the national and international capitalist economies in the mid-nineteenth century, profound changes in the social worlds of its white and Cherokee inhabitants were set in motion. Contrasts between how the two groups' responses to these changes reflect differences in their social structures and organizations, and in particular in their sense of ethnic identities. Changing perceptions about ethnic, racial, and class differences in the dominant national, regional, and local white societies heightened the boundaries between Basin whites and Cherokees. Options for the post-Removal Basin Cherokees to articulate spatially and socially with local whites and/or local white society without loosing their sense of group identity were increasingly restricted through time (see Barth 1969).

When the first Cherokees returned to the Basin in the early 1840s few whites had entered the area, so for a short time replication of their old world was possible. With the advent of industrial development and attendant population growth in the white sector, local Cherokees were increasingly

forced to share the contiguous geographical space. Until the mid-1850s a sense of complementarity and interdependence seemed to be developing between the two groups; but as white workers and Cherokees were drawn into competition for periodically limited industry-related jobs and for access to a shrinking agricultural land, tensions between the two groups increased. Heightened racialization of Southern and American society, especially after the Civil War, further reduced opportunities for positive interactions between the two groups.

As an ethnic subclass or minority in an industrial society, the Basin Cherokees' options were limited if they wanted to continue residing in their old homeland (see Barth 1969). Since members of the Ducktown Cherokee enclave were almost exclusively full blood and Cherokee-speaking none had the option of disguising their old ethnic identity and passing into local white society. Being culturally conservative few probably desired to assimilate, even if it had been possible. Instead, Basin Cherokees continued to emphasize their ethnic and social identity as Cherokees, but eventually in the racialized dominant society which evolved in the late nineteenth century it became impossible to maintain Cherokee personal or group identity locally. Withdrawal of the Basin Cherokees into the protection of larger Cherokee enclaves became the only option for their continued social existence.

Ethnic Strategies and Ethnic Markers

In the case of several American Indian peoples in the Southwest, Spicer (1972) found that these groups had survived as separate ethnic entities despite intense political and cultural pressures to assimilate into American

society because of continuity in their traditional social structures, especially at the level of family and community. Following Spicer's lead, anthropologist Sharlotte Neely has described the contemporary, culturally conservative Cherokees of the Snowbird Cherokee community of Graham County, North Carolina as a people whose story "is one of cultural persistence," who have survived because in important arenas of personal life and society they resisted absorption into Euro-American civilization (1991:7). Elsewhere, speaking of the pre-Removal Cherokees and the remnant Eastern Band of Cherokees, Neely has said:

> To understand the degree of change the Cherokees have undergone (which may have been exaggerated) and the causes of that change, it is necessary to view Cherokee adaptation in a cultural as well as an environmental setting...If nothing else, the Cherokee are survivors. They survive despite intragroup diversity, harsh economic and political situations, and overpopulation, to name but some of the more obvious adaptative problems in the historic and contemporary periods (1984:108).

Neely contends that the culturally conservative, contemporary Snowbird Cherokee enclave (whose membership derives in large part from the historic *Cheoah,* Buffalo, and *Nantahala* Indians settlements) remains a distinct, traditionalist "real Indian" community despite "intense interactions with non-traditionalist Indian and non-Indian communities" (1991:144). She attributes this to a balance of constraining factors and incentives. Neely posits, "individuals must choose to live in the *geographical* area, the homeland, as a visible reminder that the group survives; enough must choose to marry other Indians to thus preserve the *physical* dimensions of

fullbloodedness; and enough must both choose to learn, habitually speak, and teach their children the Cherokee language and ingrain in their children the values of the Harmony Ethnic to thus preserve the major cultural dimensions of fullbloodedness" (1991:144). In addition to the psychological benefits of ethnic group membership, contemporary incentives for maintaining a traditional Cherokee status include access to tribal housing, land, jobs, medical care, and educational programs.

Neely further identifies several ethnic markers used by the Snowbird Cherokees to signal their real Indian status to outsiders. These include: use of the Cherokee language; the special status of their reservation lands, or homeland; the annual Trail of Tears Singing commemorating this and the ancestral Cherokee homeland; native crafts; singing in Cherokee; occasional use of Indian dress and food; and use of native medicine. Because of acculturation of the Snowbird Cherokees to aspects of the generalized and local American lifestyles, these symbols overlap, but do completely replicate, the group's ideological, sociological, and technological worlds (1991:144-145). These are key ethnic markers in the Snowbird community at the close of the twentieth century. What symbols and symbolic behaviors would have bounded traditional life there (historically the *Cheoah* and Buffalo settlements) and at *Qualla* Town a century ago? Although the larger social contexts of these two Cherokee enclaves were different, and distinct still from the experiences of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees, the answer may lie in five ethnic markers of critical importance in the latter situation. It should be recalled that these markers were then active elements of traditional Cherokee culture which when in use during interaction with the dominant American

society/local societies clearly signaled to outsiders that the Cherokees were a separate people and at the same time reinforced the Cherokees own sense of peoplehood.

Matrilineal Community Structure and Organization. Aside from Neely's recent work on ethnicity and community, many earlier historical and ethnographic studies have focused on the acculturation of the Cherokees as individuals or as a group to American society, economics, and culture before Removal and among the Eastern Cherokees in the twentieth century. Therefore, in examining the genesis and nature of the post-Removal Ducktown Basin enclave I turned to research conducted among traditionalist Cherokees in Oklahoma for a model of how community was reestablished there after the Trail of Tears.

Anthropologists Albert Wahrhaftig (1972, 1978) and Willard Walker (1981) have attributed the ethnic survival of the Western Cherokee peoples to a particular emphasis on the link between personal and group identity. Wahrhaftig says:

> ...participation in a Cherokee settlement is at the heart of Cherokee self-definition, it is a matter of where an individual's life is rooted..I have in mind an entire community of people who participate in a specific ancient yet continually evolving way of life that is permanent (although not unchanging) (1978:109).

Wahrhaftig (1978, 1968) also reports that contemporary, dispersed settlements of traditionalist Cherokees in Oklahoma usually consists of 20-40 families from a single matrilineage and their in-married partners. Significantly, many such settlements were "hundreds of years old."

Ancestors of modern residents were preferably reorganized at the departure points for Removal into in their own town or settlement groups, made the trip west under the leadership of local headmen and their assistants, and then reestablished their old social communities in the West, if possible on and in relation to land which was reminiscent of their settlement's physical and social setting in the East.

In her ethnography of a Cherokee community in eastern Oklahoma, anthropologist Janet Jordan (1975), further clarified the role of participation as key to community survival and to its members' sense of personal identity. She found that to the people of the pseudonymous Long Valley, a settlement born in the turmoil of the post-Removal Indian Territory and tried by the fires of the federal government's disastrous land allotment policy, "being Cherokee" meant to participate in community decision-making and activities and to act always for the common good, even when physically absent from residence in the community.

Similarly, I believe that it was a sense of group corporacy and the communal values which protected that corporacy which were key to the immediate and ultimate survival of the Eastern Cherokees as a distinct cultural and ethnic group during and after the crises surrounding the Trail of Tears. While the sense of group corporacy necessarily had to expand beyond village identity in order for the Eastern Band of Cherokees to emerge as a political and social entity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, local group identity (i. e. settlement, or later neighborhood) continued to play an important role in the lives of individual Eastern Cherokees. It was reported historically that after Removal the Cherokees' white advisor, William

Holland Thomas, organized the people at *Qualla* Town into settlements roughly based on clan affiliation. Such a sorting, whether instigated by Thomas or by the Cherokees themselves replicated older settlement patterns, as did settlement patterns in the *Cheoah*-Buffalo enclave which was not displaced.

The emergence and disappearance of small post-Removal communities, including those around the Ducktown Basin, among the *Nantahala* Indians, and at Sand Town, were intimately connected to the interwoven ideas of village identity and group participation passed down through untold generations of Cherokees, especially as enacted through the matrilineal principle which historically defined who was or was not Cherokee. All of this stood in sharp contrast to the surrounding dominant American society which stressed individual motivations, nuclear families, and private ownership.

Because of geographical isolation, until Removal the people of the Ducktown Basin area maintained highly traditional, matrilineally-and matrilocally-based communities and lifeways, even though these were modified by the absorption and reworking of selected aspects of American material and economic culture. After Removal, the Cherokee families which reestablished community life in the Basin relied in large part on traditional political, social, and ethical structures and practices to guide them in a world which was rapidly being modified by intense industrialization and associated environmental changes, population restructuring, and sociopolitical realignments. Time and time again for more than half a century, the core matrilineage(s) which constituted this small enclave became physically

displaced, only to re-emerge again as close as possible to the pre-Removal matrilocal homelands--Duck Town and Fighting Town (Grear's Ferry/Grassy Creek, Tumbling Creek, Mobile) and Turtle Town (Bearmeat's Farm, the Cat Settlement, Cold Springs).

After the Civil War, increasing accomodation to white expectations--regarding kinship through bilateral descent, male-dominated property rights, and the nuclear family as the basic settlement unit--became an expedient strategy for preserving this Cherokee social entity. First, part of the Basin's core matrilineage relocated for a time to a settlement (Long Ridge) where marriage alliances with a politically powerful family had taken place. Later in the century, all key matrilineally-related families from the Ducktown Basin coalesced once again, this time on the Nantahala River in the Judson-Almond area (pre-Removal *Stekoa* and *Alarka*, respectively), near the matrilineal homeland of several key male spouses. In Spicer's terms (1962, 1971), the Ducktown Basin enclave survived as a social entity [in that place and later in new locations] because in their daily realm traditional Cherokee social structure remained intact.

Cherokee Language Use. Many researchers, including Barth (1969a), have noted that native language use is a critical ethnic marker. Gudykunst and Schmidt (1988:1) explain that there is a reciprocal relation between language and ethnic identity; that is, "language usage influences the formation of ethnic identity, but ethnic identity also influences language attitudes and language usage." In this sense, language both carries and helps maintain the worldview and values of a particular group. When a traditional people becomes an ethnic minority in a larger political entity,

structural inequality and relative powerlessness are inherent in the new situation (see Wallerstein 1966). Native language use is often deemed an audible symbol of the stigmatized sociocultural roles imposed on the ethnic group by the dominant society. In such situations, native language use may be targeted for eradication or even required to reinforce desired social boundaries by the ruling majority. Where interethnic association is frequent and sustained the native language is often replaced with the language of the dominant culture or by a modified pidgin language (Ross 1979).

On the other hand, in minority situations native language use may become a tool for ethnic mobilization through its use as a symbol of ethnic consciousness. A revitalization in the language, or even the purging of foreign words from the vocabulary, may occur. Neely (1991) emphasizes the importance of the use of native language among the contemporary Snowbird Cherokees as a primary means of preserving traditional lifeways and values, and as an ethnic marker between themselves and non-Indians and/or white Indians. Gulick (1958) has discussed the common use of the Cherokee language in interethnic situations as a means for individuals or representative groups to demonstrate resistance to assimilation into the dominant American culture, albeit in a "passive" (typically non-aggressive, Cherokee) manner. Perdue (1992) suggests a similar usage for written Cherokee in the derivation and quick adoption of the *Sequoyah* syllabary by the group in the nineteenth century.

Historic records strongly suggest that the Cherokees of the post-Removal Ducktown Basin enclave were primarily native speakers, if not monolingual. The intense interaction with whites in economic and social

spheres, however, necessitated that at least some of the local Cherokees be able to communicate in English well enough to follow orders on the job, to conduct trade, to translate for monolingual Cherokees, and/or communicate with close non-Indian neighbors. The gradual transition to English personal names for many Basin Cherokees, at least used in public situations involving non-Indians, attests to this interaction. In many public settings, including contact with government agents and in services at the predominantly white Zion Hill Baptist Church, Basin Cherokees as a block and as individuals spoke only Cherokee, requiring the presence of a translator. Occasionally, their written depositions translated into English bear both a "x" and the appropriate characters from the *Sequoyah* syllabary to demonstrate their personal identity. How much of this public use of the spoken and written Cherokee language in interethnic situations was passive resistance, or on the other hand, unfamiliarity with English, cannot be fully known, but a number of frustrated English speakers with whom these Cherokees dealt believed the former to be the case.

Cherokee Values. Another important ethnic maker for contemporary and historic traditionalist Cherokees (see Fogelson and Kutsche 1961; Gulick 1960; Kupferer 1966; Neely 1991) is the maintenance of Cherokee values, particularly those which promoted communal goals and community good. Robert Thomas, a Western Cherokee and an anthropologist described central traditionalist values operating in the 1950s on the *Qualla* Boundary in the following way:

> The Cherokee tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with his fellow Cherokee by avoiding giving offense, on

> the negative side, and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his mutual goods, on the positive side (1958b).

Kupferer (1966) and others have referred to this minimal standard of behavior according to Cherokee ways as the Harmony Ethic.

Historic Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin demonstrated these critical values, not only in the treatment of each other but in their interactions with local whites. The work Basin Cherokees accomplished in non-Indian economic spheres was usually carried out by groups of local Cherokees (*gadugi*), family units, and/or the wages or goods of individual laborers pooled for family use or divided among the whole. Indeed, evidence demonstrates that Bearmeat Farm's (1850s-1860s) at Turtletown was communally owned by several families who had pooled their resources to buy the large tract of land.

In dealings with local whites the Basin Cherokees demonstrated their values of non-aggression and of not giving offense whenever interethnic conflict arose. When faced with prolonged debate over their church membership, Cherokees at Zion Hill withdrew until the issue was resolved. When pressured by the spread of white industrial development Cherokee settlement shifted to the Basin's periphery and began again. Later, when threatened with physical violence homes or settlements were abandoned in favor of new, more remote places, or until the immediate threat was thought to have ceased.

Use of intermediaries. Cherokees have historically used intermediaries to deal with situations of potential crisis or conflict which threaten traditional values or lifeways (see Duggan 1997; Kupferer 1966;

Wahrhaftig 1975). During the 1820s and 1830s, a mixed blood, bicultural or Westernized Cherokee leadership was empowered by culturally conservative Cherokee community leaders who represented the Cherokee majority to deal with the federal government for them. After Removal, Eastern Cherokees relied on their white advisor and adopted Cherokee William Holland Thomas in a similar capacity for several decades.

The culturally conservative, post-Removal Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin often dealt with non-Indians through intermediaries as well. The most common use was as interpreters for public situations involving interaction with whites, including the church dispute routine or special legal matters. While whites were in control of selecting interpreters in some instances, it is clear that the Basin Cherokees developed social, marital, and political ties with one politically powerful, mixed-blood family (the Smiths) in the Long Ridge Indian community of Cherokee County, North Carolina. Designation as selected intermediaries demonstrated the esteem that traditionalist Cherokees of the Ducktown Basin had for the Smith family [and a few other mixed-blood families at Long Ridge]. These mixed blood families were regarded as full participants in Cherokee community and life (that is, they were "real Indians"), not as "white Indians," who had minimal or questionable blood and social connections with "real Indians" (see Neely 1991).

Traditional Crafts. Many researchers have discussed traditional crafts as important ethnic markers (e. g. Graburn 1976). Duggan and Riggs (1991a), Hill (1991, 1997), and Neely (1991) discuss the critical role which crafts, especially basketry, play in maintaining contemporary Cherokee ethnicity.

As Riggs and I pointed out, two introduced functions for Cherokee basketry became increasing important in the nineteenth century: economic exchange and social interchange with white neighbors. The forms, designs, and uses of this craft remained largely unchanged during this period; Cherokee baskets still visually conveyed traditional family, clan, and regional information to traditionalist Cherokees. Aboriginally, the distinct Cherokee features of these material objects had set them apart from baskets made by other Southeastern Indian groups, and thus they served as material reminders of ethnic boundaries even then. Later, the incorporation of Cherokee baskets and selected other crafts into the wider capitalist economy as commodities for exchange facilitated economic and social relations between Cherokees (in the Ducktown Basin and elsewhere) and non-Indians. Thus, their value as ethnic markers, this time between Cherokees and the dominant white society, increased even as they still functioned traditionally within Cherokee society. Basic basketry forms and designs were not affected by these added social and economic functions until the rest of Cherokee material culture came to differ little from that of their white neighbors and marketing to faceless tourists (circa 1900-1910) began to replace more intimate and socially necessary trade with local or more distant neighbors.

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Economic and social interactions between the Ducktown Basin enclave and non-Indians stand in marked contrast to the experiences of other Eastern Cherokee enclaves during the post-Removal period. In particular, the discovery of a major copper reserve in 1843 quickly led to national and

international industrial speculation and development in the Ducktown Basin. The Cherokees who reestablished communities in the Basin, and especially those who were drawn into the early local copper industry as peripheral industrial workers, were deeply affected by the changing nature of local white society. Not only did these Cherokee families have to adjust to living in a white dominated social and political world in the wake of Removal, but they literally were faced each day with the transformation of their familiar natural world as it was profoundly effaced by heavy industrialization. As the Ducktown Basin's copper industry developed, competition for limited agricultural lands and industrial work intensified. These changes, coupled with local and national tightening of racial boundaries, increased social and racial stratification, and growing racial intolerance eventually caused Cherokee families to withdraw from the Basin.

Maintenance of social ties with traditionalist Cherokee communities in North Carolina, however, expressed through the traditional kinship and social relationships which were then central to Cherokee identity, assured their place within Eastern Cherokee society. At least through the 1910s, this meant replication of the core matrilineage(s) of the Ducktown Basin enclave as a separate settlement group on the Nantahala River (Judson-Almond/*Stekoa-Alarka* area), and possibly later at Ela (3200 Acre Tract) near *Qualla* Town.

Even though an historic post-Removal Cherokee enclave disappeared from the Ducktown Basin nearly a hundred years ago, it continued in other locations for several decades and its essence still lives on among contemporary descendants. I have long pondered Paul Catt's

answer--"*We are all from there*"--to my query about other descendants of the Basin Cherokees whom I might interview for this project. At the most basic level, Mr. Catt meant that he had genealogical connections to the post-Removal Ducktown Basin enclave and that his wife, Doris West Catt, had family ties to other nearby historic settlements. He may have implied that many of his close associates are descendants of Basin Cherokees. He could have referred to the melding of the several post-Removal Cherokee enclaves, including the Ducktown Basin peoples, into the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Or, he could have alluded--to borrow anthropologist Fredrik Barth's words--to that "unit of continuity in time" which links the Cherokees as one people--past, present, and future. In the latter sense, Paul Catt's words at the end of the twentieth century--"*We are all from there*"--echo the challenge of the eighteenth century Cherokee *Onitositah* (Corn Tassel) of *Chota* (see Chapter I:1) to federal authorities: "*We are a separate people*!." Both attest to a strong, continuing, though changing, sense of ethnic identity for the ones who call themselves *Ani´-Yun´wiya*, the "Principal People."

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ODLR	Ocoee District Land Records
TDC	Tennessee Department of Conservation
USBCAS	United States Bureau of the Census, Agricultural Schedule
USBCMO	United States Bureau of the Census, Mortality Schedule
USBCMS	United States Bureau of the Census, Manufacturing Schedule
USBCPS	United States Bureau of the Census, Population Schedule
USMRLM	United States Military Records, Lucy Mumblehead pension file
USMRNM	United States Military Records, Nancy Mumblehead pension file
USMRNEM	United States Military Records, Nannie Mumblehead pension file (fraudulent case)
USMRSM	United States Military Records, Sarah Mumblehead pension file (fraudulent case)
USMRWB	United States Military Records, Whyleyh [Walle yah] Bird pension file

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APPENDIX:

AUTHOR'S ANNOTATIONS

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[1]Pg. 26. The fact that the Cherokees completely disregarded the imminent threat of Removal in their daily lives until arrests actually began may indicate disbelief that such an event could happen. However, since Creeks and Catawbas sought refuge among the Cherokees during this time this scenario is unlikely. A more plausible explanation rests in the Cherokee ethos which stresses avoidance and withdrawal from aggression as a first line of defense in situations of conflict (Gulick 1960; Thomas 1958a). This interpretation suggests that the continuation of routine behavior by the Cherokees, which was widely reported, represented a collective act of passive resistance to the threat of Removal.

[2]Pg. 26. Participation in these frequent night-time dances and Christian services momentarily may have relieved the unexpressed tension building around the Removal issue. Such actions by the Cherokees also may have been efforts to invoke the power of traditional spiritual forces and customs, in addition to the power of the Christian God, to protect them from the pending ordeal. McLoughlin (1990) reports that traditional ceremonies and healings, as well as Christian services, peaked during the Cherokee captivity when they became daily occurrences. Mooney (1896), Wallace (1956, 1961) and Kehoe (1989) have discussed the significance of revitalization movements and activities for other Native American societies under duress.

[3]Pg. 38. Estimates for the number of Cherokees removed from the East range from 15,000 to 17,000 people (Finger 1984; Mooney 1900; Satz 1989), with suggestions that the higher figures probably include voluntary emigrations

preceding the Trail of Tears. The Henderson enrollment, however, indicates that at least 16,542 Cherokees remained in the East in 1835: 8,946 in Georgia; 3,644 in North Carolina; 2,528 in Tennessee; and 1,424 in Alabama (Finger 1984:16). These latter figures represent a minimum number since Cherokees in some of the most culturally conservative communities refused to enroll (Litton 1940).

[4]Pg. 42. Frederick J. Turner, the noted historian and proponent of a theory of successive stages of American settlement history, ignored the contemporary Indian presence. He posited, "Long before the pioneer farmer appeared on the scene, primitive Indian life had passed away" (Turner 1893:209).

[5]Pg. 44. For alternative interpretations of the *Tsali* incident as a historical event and as a cultural myth which reflect Cherokee resistance to Removal and a focal point for tribal identity refer to Finger (1979), King (1979b), and Kutsche (1963).

[6]Pg. 75. Early efforts to apply bivariate and multivariate statistical tests to selected categories of data derived from Cherokee tribal enrollments were abandoned on the advice of a social statistician. I had hoped to isolate contrasting styles of expressing and maintaining Cherokee ethnic identity employed by members of the largest traditionalist community I was studying and a reputed "white Indian" enclave. A combination of factors--the small sample size from the traditionalist community, missing, incomplete, or clearly incorrect information from some enrollment categories, lack of consistent categories between enrollments, and, the controversial manner in which several enrollments were generated--caused me to put aside this approach.

[7]Pg. 81. Ongoing research by fellow University of Tennessee doctoral candidate, Brett H. Riggs on pre-Removal communities in southwestern North

Carolina extends this pattern backward through time. Riggs and I have demonstrated how it worked in the case of three generations of the Cat (Catt) family, which played a prominent role in this dissertation (see Duggan and Riggs 1991, 1993; Riggs and Duggan 1992; also see Chapter V).

[8]Pg. 83. I was introduced to the Zion Hill church minutes prior to commencement of my Ph.D. studies. In 1985 and 1986, Brett Riggs and I led a team of local volunteers in scanning the minutes for reference to the Indian members as background research for use in an exhibit, "Natives Americans of the Ducktown Basin," at the Ducktown Basin Museum which was funded by the Tennessee Humanities Council (THC). Later, as part of my dissertation research, I returned to the Zion Hill minutes and prepared a verbatim computer transcript of all entries between the 1840s and 1900 that referred to Cherokee members.

[9]Pg. 87. The first interview with George Mealer was conducted in 1985 during the above-mentioned THC grant. Brett Riggs, local project director David Beckler, and I conducted the interview as a team effort. In 1986, I carried out a second interview with Mealer at which descendants of the Cherokees, Johnson and Sally Cat (Catt), were present, and later a third interview and photographic session on my own. These three interviews provided the initial impetus for this subsequent dissertation project. Another interview with a second Turtletown resident, the late Paul Nicholson, was conducted jointly by David Beckler and me in 1985. I also conducted my first interviews with descendants of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees --Paul Catt and Glydis Griffin of the Qualla Boundary, both grandchildren of Johnson and Sallie Cat (Catt)--during the THC project.

[10]Pg. 91. Age and birth year for the same individual often differ widely in the various types of documents in which information about historic Cherokees

was recorded. For example, *Cohena* Bird was said to be about 40 years old in one 1838 document. In 1851, the Siler enrollment listed her age as 80. The ages of three people I identified as her children--*Le she* (Elizabeth) Bearmeat, *Sal kin nih* Cat, and *Cheesqua neet* (Jacob) Bird--also vary up to 10-15 years each in different documents. Thus, I have given a range of years for *Cohena's* birth year (1770s-1790s) which takes into account the widely varying ages attributed to her and the divergent dates of birth given for her children.

[11]Pg. 116. My figures in Table 4.1 and in the text are taken from a microfilm of the Henderson enrollment produced by the National Archives. Some of the figures for the Turtle Town settlement reported in Tyner (1974) are incorrect.

[12]Pg. 128. Brett Riggs located this account of the Bird family's escape from the Trail of Tears during the course of his dissertation research which focuses on the Removal era. I am grateful to him for sharing it with me.

[13]Pg. 131. In this ethnographic vignette I have excerpted long portions from the 1985 interview with George Mealer which I co-conducted with Brett Riggs and David Beckler for the exhibit project. Brett transcribed the interview shortly after it was done. In his transcription, he tried to approximate the dialect and pacing of Mr. Mealer's speech through digressions from standard English spelling and punctuation. Unfortunately, the project research files were lost during a later transition period at the Ducktown Basin Museum so I could not go back to the original tape. I have modified Brett's transcription in several ways for use in this vignette.

First, I eliminated the interviewers' questions which periodically interrupted and/or directed the flow of Mealer's words. I rearranged the

placement of a few blocks of text, especially where a subject was discussed more than once in the interview. I also modified punctuation in a number of places where I believe the local dialect would break differently, or where meaning could be clarified for the reader. In most places I retained the nonstandard spellings Brett chose. I also use the spelling "Mealer," rather than the more common "Meeler" which Brett employed because this is the spelling used in historic census records for the local family.

[14]Pg. 155. In 1853, the *Cheesqua neet* (Jacob Bird) family was identified as follows: *Chese Kenete* , *Wolia Kenete* , Billy *Kenete* , Allen *Kenete*, Stephen *Kenete*, Austa *Kenete* (Cherokee Indians 1853). I found no other records in which these six individuals were surnamed in such a manner.

[15]Pg. 158. To date I have identified at least three children of *Cohena* [Granny Bird] who were associated with the post-Removal Ducktown Basin Cherokee enclave. In one enrollment Elizabeth Bearmeat is identified as *Cohena's* granddaughter. This is a mistake or mistranslation of a kinship term. In several enrollments she is identified as the daughter of a man named*Su-saw-la-ta* . In pension depositions she and James Cat independently confirmed that Jacob Bird was her brother. In tribal enrollments no ancestor is listed for *Sal kin nih*, the wife of James Cat. In testimony given by their daughter Jennie Axe to Miller enrollment officials in 1908-1910, however, *Sal kin nih's* parents were given as *Su-saw-la-ta* and *Cohenie*. It appears then that *Sal kin nih* Cat and Elizabeth [*Si sih or Le she*] Bearmeat were *Cohena's* daughters from this relationship, and, therefore, were siblings by matrilineal recogning (or half sisters by bilateral descent) of Jacob Bird [*Cheesqua neet*], *Cohena's* son by *Cheesqua* [Bird or Old Bird].

John or Johnny Bird, who seems to have led the Ducktown enclave in the 1840s, was the son of Old Bird and a woman named, *Ool skin nah*, who died in 1837. His grandmother was *Chu na liska* who was also the mother of *Cohena*. This suggests that Old Bird was married to sisters (sororal polygamy), a practice not uncommon among the aboriginal Cherokees. *Cohena* would have been John Bird's maternal aunt, a matrilineal clan equivalent of his biological mother.

Another woman named *Sal kin nih* (a fairly common name for Cherokee women in the nineteenth century) bought land from William Holland Thomas in the Shoal Creek District of that county, an area which borders part of the Turtletown, Tennessee area. This woman's ancestry, however, does not match Jennie (Cat) Axe's identification of her maternal grandparents. In addition, the names and ages of the two oldest children of *Sal kin nih* Cat are the same as the Cherokee woman named *Sal kin nih* enumerated in Polk County, Tennessee in the Chapman roll (1851).

[16]Pg. 191. In 1991, I showed a senior Cherokee basketweaver through a guest exhibition which Brett Riggs and I co-curated for The University of Tennessee's Frank H. McClung Museum. She paused in front of this one hundred year-old basket and announced it was the work of Lucy Martin, a deceased Cherokee County, North Carolina basketweaver. This amazing identification of the previously unattributed basket, which was traded anonymously around 1890 by itinerant Cherokees to a Polk County family living on the Hiwassee River (Reliance, Tennessee), is further substantiated by the fact that Mrs. Martin is known to have traded and sold baskets in Polk County around the turn of the twentieth century. The Polk County News (1919) reported a basket-selling trip made to Benton by Mrs. Martin, her son, daughter-

in-law, and an unidentified relative who acted as their interpreter (see Duggan and Riggs 1991a:30, 39).

[17]Pg. 201. Apparently the unfilled minute book from Turtle Town Baptist was reused after its membership rejoined Zion Hill; the Turtle Town Baptist church records are now both preceded and followed by minutes from Zion Hill. I first had to extract the chronology of events for each congregation in order to then reconstruct the sequence of the Cherokee debate from the tangled records.

[18]Pg. 202. This local Cherokee religious leader is probably "*Asekillah*" or "*Arsakillah*," a Cherokee convert who, according to Baptist missionaries, hosted preaching services in his home in northern Georgia shortly before Removal. According to the Mullay enrollment (1848), *Osekillah* had several sisters associated with the *Cheoah* settlement. All these names could also refer to the man "*Archi Killer*," whose name appears in the general locale in Removal-era records (Henderson Roll 1835; RFBC 1846 to 1847). *Osekillah* has tentatively been identified by a descendant of Basin Cherokees as Jake *Canot* (*Kanot*).

[19]Pg. 217. One man listed as a "mulatto" was enumerated as resident in an Indian household at Turtletown in 1870. The use of this term after the Civil War suggests that the census-taker was indicating a person with some black ancestry; however, much earlier it was sometimes applied to persons of mixed Indian and white ancestry. It is not clear if the man, who gave his occupation as farm laborer, worked for the family temporarily or was considered a member of family. He does not appear in association with the Basin Cherokee enclave in any other records which I examined.

VITAE

Betty J. Duggan was born in Union County, Georgia, one valley away from where her paternal ancestors settled in the 1830s on recently confiscated Cherokee lands. One maternal great-grandmother, dead nearly half a century, is still remembered as a "part-Indian" by her former neighbors. The other one appeared as a mixed blood child on an early Eastern Cherokee enrollment but later "passed" as a white woman.

After the death of her mother during Betty's early infancy, she became a member of her maternal aunt's family in Chattanooga, Tennessee. She attended the first four years of school in Trussville, Alabama and Bradley County, Tennessee before her family returned to Hamilton County. Betty graduated from Ooltewah High School with highest honors in 1970 and was named recipient of the school's Spanish Department and Danforth Achievement awards.

In 1974, Betty graduated magna cum laude from Carson-Newman College in Jefferson City, Tennessee where she majored in Spanish and minored in history. Her years at the college, which occurred during a period when the Southern Baptist school was experiencing a notable brush with liberalism, were exciting and full of intellectual challenge. While enrolled there, she held offices in student government as well as academic, service, and social organizations. She was elected to membership in several national honor societies--Sigma Delta Pi (Spanish), Phi Alpha Theta (History), Alpha Chi (Academic Achievement), and Mortar Board (Service). She was named to Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges during her senior year and received the college's Outstanding Spanish Graduate award at commencement.

Significantly for her future professional work, Betty participated in three language study and homestay programs in Mexico--in Saltillo, Mexico City, and San Cristóbal de las Casas--as part of her B. A. program. It was during her months living in the homes of two Ladino families in San Cristóbal while on an Outbound Ambassador scholarship from the Experiment-in-International-Living that she became aware of the discipline of anthropology. Visits to nearby Mayan villages, reading ethnographies and ethnohistories about the historic and contemporary peoples of Mexico, and meeting a couple of the many Mexican, American, and European anthropologists then conducting research in the state of Chiapas led Betty to take a course in cultural anthropology during her senior year; she knew immediately that she had found her intellectual home.

Betty was accepted and funded in the Latin American Studies program at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee to pursue advanced study in history and anthropology. During her first year there, however, a desire to become independent from her parents, an opportunity to join an archaeological dig, and later a field romance eventually lured her away to study at the University of Tennessee, where she received the M. A. degree in anthropology in 1982. While in the M. A. program she held research assistantships, taught in the UTK Evening School, and worked for the Normandy, Columbia, Tellico, and Averbuch archaeological project laboratories during the school year and for the University of Alabama's Little Cedar Creek and Aliceville archaeological projects, among others, during summers. Betty interrupted her M. A. degree work for two years to become a senior staff member for the University of West Florida's Midden Mound archaeological project on the upper Tombigbee River. It was

during the latter project that Betty met fellow anthropologist, Christopher T. Hays, to whom she was later married for eight years.

Shortly after receiving the M. A. degree, Betty was offered a project directorship for a Tennessee Humanities Council grant to Historic Rugby, Inc. After that oral history and exhibit project was completed, the THC hired her as a Regional Scholar-in-Residence for their three-year, state-wide, interdisciplinary community history project called the Tennessee Community Heritage Project. The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga and Cleveland State Community College served as her academic hosts while she worked full-time with more than a hundred communities and organizations in East and Middle Tennessee. Betty's responsibilities included teaching and organizing workshops in research techniques; assisting local organizations, museums, and educators with grant writing, project development and implementation; and supervising grant research and editing the exhibits, books, radio series, and public lectures about community history, local and native cultures, and folklife which evolved. This program significantly impacted her subsequent research interests and applied anthropology skills as well as introduced her to the historic Cherokee enclave which later became the centerpiece of her dissertation research.

After the TCHP ended, Betty returned to the University of Tennessee to complete a Ph. D. degree, this time choosing to emphasis cultural anthropology. She has since received teaching assistantships, lectureships, and research scholarships from the Department of Anthropology and travel grants from the University of Tennessee, which have all contributed greatly to her educational and professional experiences. At the same time, she worked for the UTK Transportation Department's Division of Archaeological Services as a

research archaeologist, ethnographer, and ethnohistorian and continued to free-lance on community history projects.

In 1987 and 1989, Betty was appointed to represent the state of Tennessee and the Tennessee Humanities Council at planning meetings for the Southeastern Columbus Quincentenary Commission. In 1990 and 1991, she and a graduate student colleague collaborated on an exhibit about Cherokee basketry and culture for UTK's Frank H. McClung Museum, done in cooperation with the Qualla Arts and Crafts Cooperative of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. The two also collaborated on a monograph for the museum's publication series on the subject. Subsequently, they each received UTK Chancellor's Citations for Professional Promise, in part for this work. In 1993, she received a graduate student travel grant from the American Society for Ethnohistory to present their collaborative research findings at the organization's annual meeting. Research with two UTK student colleagues about a frontier era cemetery led to the team being presented with the first annual poster session award by the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in 1996.

As a result of her varied research experiences, Betty has authored or co-authored numerous technical reports and several professional journal articles and book chapters in the fields of cultural anthropology, folklife, and archaeology. She has also served as curator and/or advisor for more than a dozen exhibits and is the author or co-author of two recent interpretive guidebooks intended for museum and cultural tourism audiences. She is very happy to finally complete the Ph. D. degree and looks forward to more opportunities for interesting and exciting anthropological research, writing, exhibit curation, and teaching in the future.