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The historical geography of cattle herding among the Cherokee Indians, 1761-1861

Brad Alan Bays

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Brad Alan Bays entitled "The historical geography of cattle herding among the Cherokee Indians, 1761-1861." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

Leonard W. Brinkman, Jr, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

John R. Finger, Lydia M. Pulsipher, John B. Rehder

Accepted for the Council:
Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CATTLE HERDING AMONG THE CHEROKEE INDIANS, 1761-1861

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Brad Alan Bays

December 1991

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Ahniwake Chuculate Webb (1913-), a beloved Cherokee woman devoted to her family and highly esteemed in her community. Born and raised in the Oklahoma Ozarks, her heritage will live in the genealogy of my own children.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study would not have been accomplished without the cooperation of many special people. I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Leonard W. Brinkman, Jr., for his unique wisdom and guidance without which, this thesis would not have been possible. Dr. John R. Finger provided me with specialized tutelage in Cherokee history and introduced me to its enormous literature. Dr. Lydia M. Pulsipher challenged my intuition by opening my mind to alternative perspectives. In our many discussions, Dr. John B. Rehder familiarized me with the realm of American frontier folk society.

Thanks also go to a few very dedicated people at various institutions. Nancy Laemlein and the staff of Interlibrary Loan Services at the John C. Hodges library was instrumental in locating and obtaining valuable materials scattered throughout the country. The professional staff of the Special Collections division at the Hoskins Library never failed me. Bill Welge and the staff of the Indian Archives at the Oklahoma Historical Society were particularly helpful in locating materials on Cherokee herding. The courteous staff of the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma were also of much assistance. Linda Vann of the

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Cherokee specialist Brett H. Riggs encouraged me to look into the subject of herding and provided great enthusiasm and initial insight. Judy Jacobi provided me with much census and claims data. Will Fontanez and his staff of the University of Tennessee Cartographic Services Laboratory were extremely helpful in the production of my maps.

A greater debt than anyone can imagine is owed to my loving wife, Sharon. She confidently encouraged me and relinquished her own professional goals so that I could pursue my own.

ABSTRACT

Maintaining their cultural and political autonomy, the Cherokees selectively accepted many European practices, one of which was cattle herding. The activity diffused from several sources and was transmitted through different vectors. Keeping cattle was an important innovation for the Cherokees culturally and economically and was adopted for different purposes. The acceptance of two regional herding complexes for different purposes resulted in a spatial distribution that reflected differential acculturation.

Various historical and ethnohistorical data are utilized to determine the spatial, cultural and ecological orientation of Cherokee cattle herding. Cultural traits are compared with those of previously documented complexes to evaluate regional variations. During the various migrations and removals, two differing complexes were transferred from the southern Appalachians to Indian Territory. Ecological adaptation in the East impeded expansion onto the prairies of Indian Territory, a fact that illustrates the importance of environmental perception among culture groups. The Cherokee cattle industry declined after 1861, due to the depredations of the Civil War and the expansion of the Texas herding complex.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the effects of cattle herding upon the Cherokee cultural landscape and the culture itself. It examines how a particular culture group transforms a natural landscape into its cultural landscape through a particular form of land use. An analysis of the ecological, locational and regional patterns of cattle herding that evolved to help form the Cherokee cultural landscape, as well as the transferal of Cherokee herding traits to Indian Territory will serve to illustrate the processes of diffusion and the spatial implications of Cherokee cultural change.

Background

As an historical geography, this study is concerned with the many different physical and human factors that have affected the creation of the cultural landscape. It attempts to follow a legacy of geographic scholarship launched by Carl Ortwin Sauer and sustained through the works of his students. Sauer promoted the concept of the cultural landscape, which he termed "our naïvely given section of reality," as the tangible

product of interaction over time between culture groups and their natural environment. He called this interaction "landscape morphology."[1] Paramount in considering how cultures utilize and therefore change their natural settings are their environmental perceptions. Historical geographer Ralph H. Brown revealed the importance of environmental perception in his study of the developing eastern seaboard.[2] Human cultures maintain continually evolving environmental perceptions that influence their land use decisions and are representative of their peculiar needs and values. To explain how cultures utilize their resources and transform their cultural landscape, it must be recognized that beliefs often have more influence on land use decisions than economic rationality. American historical/cultural geographers have explored many cases which illustrate this, though most studies are within the Euroamerican cultural context. By examining the activity of cattle herding through time, this study will ascertain how differentially acculturated Cherokees perceived and utilized a new environment.

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[1]Sauer, Carl O., "The Morphology of Landscape," University of California Publications in Geography 2 (1925):19-53; James, Preston E. and Geoffrey J. Martin, All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas, (1981). Second edition. New York: John Wiley and Sons. p. 321.

[2]Brown, Ralph H., Mirror for Americans, Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard, 1790-1810, (1943). New York: American Geographical Society; James and Martin, All Possible Worlds, p. 325.

Recent scholarship in American Indian studies has addressed the need to dispel the "noble savage" myth, widespread in the popular media, that has long affected scholarly literature. These newer perspectives typically address the compassionately ethnocentric biases of earlier writers by which American Indians were regarded as innate ecologists.[3] The discipline of geography was not immune to this; even after environmental determinism was abandoned in recognition of a human/natural environment dichotomy,[4] many geographers continued to deny the roles of American Indians as landscape modifiers. To many early geographers, European civilization settled and exploited the "virgin" landscape, while American Indians remained to be classified as a residual part of it.

The Cherokees held a unique role in noble savage mythology, since their successful adaptation to Euroamerican society was viewed by early academics as exceptionally progressive. The Cherokees were regarded by most nineteenth

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[3]See Jennings, Francis, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest, (1975). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, (1978). New York: Vintage Books; Drinnon, Richard, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building, (1980). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Cronon, William, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England, (1983). New York: Hill and Wang; Silver, Timothy, A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800, (1990). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[4]James, and Martin, All Possible Worlds, pp. 317-30.

century whites as superior to other Indians and many admired their apparent eagerness to emulate whites. Both academic and popular authors continue to emphasize Cherokee success in adapting to Euroamerican politics, religion and economy.[5] The forced removal of the Cherokees to Indian Territory in 1838 is a tragic story, so these two themes understandably dominate Cherokee studies.[6] The adaptationist perspective that has emerged concerning Cherokee acculturation should be reconsidered due to the fact that Cherokee cultural change was more complex than simple forfeiture of traditional values, beliefs and subsistence patterns for those of whites.

Indeed, the Cherokees were able to successfully adopt and even facilitate many Euroamerican practices while maintaining their own cultural autonomy. While this may be true for the tribal group as whole, the process of acculturation should be examined at the individual level. Many Cherokees refused to accept anything directly associated with whites, especially when imposed upon them. Some accepted innovations on their own terms, while others consciously sought new technology and abandoned all that was traditional. Contact with whites brought differential acculturation, social stratification and

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[5]See McLoughlin, William G., Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, (1986). Princeton: Princeton University Press; Ehle, John, Trail of Tears, The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation, (1988). New York: Doubleday.

[6]Williams, Walter L., "Cherokee History: An Analysis of Recent Studies," American Indian Quarterly 5 (1979):347-54.

political cleavage within the Cherokee tribe. In the early nineteenth century there developed socio-economic rifts among the Cherokees, which were reflected by labels such as "progressive" and "common Indian."[7]

The period during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a time of rapid change, both good and bad for the Cherokees. Progressives wholeheartedly solicited change, while traditionalists attempted to purge themselves of anything new.[8] On the other hand, there were certain Euroamerican cultural practices that were suitable to both progressive and traditional Cherokees. This was true of cattle herding, the subject of this study.

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[7]Goodwin, Gary Charles. Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775, (1976). University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 181. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 125-46; Wilms, Douglas C., "Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1800-1838," (1974). Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia. pp. 1-39; Idem, "Cherokee Settlement Patterns in Nineteenth Century Georgia," Southeastern Geographer 14 (1974):46-53; Idem, "Cherokee Acculturation and Changing Land Use Practices," Chronicles of Oklahoma 56 (1978):330-343; Idem, "Agrarian Progress in the Cherokee Nation Prior to Removal," Studies in the Social Sciences, West Georgia College 16 (1977):1-16; Evans, Raymond E., "Highways to Progress: Nineteenth Century Roads in the Cherokee Nation," Journal of Cherokee Studies 2 (1977):394-398; Pillsbury, Richard, "The Europeanization of the Cherokee Settlement Landscape Prior to Removal: A Georgia Case Study," Geoscience and Man 23 (1983):59-69; Riggs, Brett H., "Socioeconomic Variability in Federal Period Overhill Cherokee Archaeological Assemblages," (1987). M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, passim.

[8]McLoughlin, William. G., Cherokee Renascence, pp. 69-91; Idem, The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861, (1984). Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press.

In many respects, the popular symbolism of herding is contradictory to that of the Cherokee tragedy. Just as Cherokee history represents the villainy of American frontier expansion, cattle herding remains a triumphant symbol of American frontier conquest. And similarly, the history of cattle herding has been exploited and affected by the popular media.

Much of the earliest scholarship that dealt with cattle herding was based on folklore and tended to be environmentally deterministic.[9] A common belief of early intellectuals was that those who located between civilization (the settled East) and savagery (the unsettled West) would regress to a state of barbarism. Some early twentieth-century scholars associated the activity with environmental conditions such as precipitation levels and vegetation types, and explained frontier lawlessness through Social Darwinism.[10] Later, scholars began to recognize that open range cattle herding was subject to economic pushes and pulls: it located in frontier areas where large tracts of cheap or free land were available and where cattle would not destroy crops.[11]

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[9]For discussion of the environmental determinist view, see Jordan, Terry G., Trails to Texas: Southern Roots of Western Cattle Ranching, (1981). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. pp. 15-16.

[10]The classic interpretation is Webb, Walter Prescott, The Great Plains, (1931). Boston: Ginn and Company.

[11]Owsley, Frank L., "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," Journal of Southern History 11 (1945):147-76; Idem, Plain Folk of the Old South,

The subjects of Cherokee acculturation and cattle herding may seem disjointed, especially after exposure to their respective popular literatures. In reality, the two are intimately related. Cattle herding was an Old World economic activity composed of a unique complex of material and non-material cultural traits. It was adopted by the Cherokees through several channels and diffused from separate core areas. Owning cattle proved to be an important innovation for the tribe, both culturally and economically. Herding was adopted and developed in the Cherokee lands of the Southeast and was transferred to Indian Territory, where it became a vital part of the economy of the antebellum Cherokee Nation.

Neither was the exchange one-sided. At the level of the individual, Cherokees selected, rejected and modified certain traits introduced through Euroamerican sources. Cherokee herders manipulated the cultural trait complex to suit their own needs and modified their landscape in the process. At the same time, herding served as a viable alternative to declining activities, the most important of which was hunting deer for hides. The success of this innovation can be explained by examining Cherokee material trait modifications, the traditional roles and values that herding accommodated and the rewards it brought to the individual.

(1949). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. [Reprint 1965] Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks. pp. 23-51; Brown, Ralph H., Historical Geography of the United States, (1948). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. pp. 408-16.

A few definitions should be given for terms used herein that are associated with American Indian studies and cattle herding. For sake of clarity, the term "American Indians" or "Indians" will be used more often than fashionable terms like "Native American" or "Amerindian." "Mixedblood" and "fullblood" are two important terms that will be used to denote racial and cultural identity among the Cherokees. "Cherokee Nation" will generally refer to lands in the East from 1827-1838 and in the West from 1839-1861, while eastern lands prior to 1827 will be referred to as "Cherokee country" and Cherokee lands in the West prior to 1839 will be referred to as those of the "Western Cherokees" or the "Cherokee Nation, West." "Small-scale herding" and "cattle raising" are to be distinguished from "large-scale herding" and "cattle ranching." Small-scale herding and cattle raising will refer to a more labor-intensive practice of providing smaller numbers of better quality, multiuse cattle with shelter and feed. Large-scale herding and cattle ranching will refer to the labor-extensive practice of neglecting the shelter and subsistence needs of large herds of unimproved, semiwild beef cattle. Throughout the period covered by this study, both cattle raising and ranching were "open range" activities. Except for the occasional short term practice of feeding cattle in cornfields and canebrakes, Cherokee cattle were rarely confined to fenced pastures. The term "open range" often connotes the idea of an unfenced grassland, since much

of the literature on western cattle ranching concerns the Gulf Coastal Plain and Great Plains; however, because this study deals with open range grazing in a largely forested environment, the meaning of the term should not be misinterpreted.

Literature Review

The origins of open range cattle herding have been extensively researched by historians and cultural geographers.[12] Because it was practiced by several Old World groups in a variety of environmental settings, scholars tend to agree that the origins of North American cattle herding do not belong to a single ethnic group. Rather, they are traced to Anglo, Hispanic, Celtic and African traditions.

The first substantial research concerning the nature of cattle herding was accomplished by agricultural historians, folklorists and geographers.[13] Initial geographic inquiry

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[12]See Fritz, Henry E., "The Cattlemen's Frontier in the Trans-Mississippi West: An Annotated Bibliography," Arizona and the West 14 (1972):45-70, 169-190.

[13]Gray, Lewis C., History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, (1933). Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington; Pelzer, Louis, The Cattleman's Frontier: A Record of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Industry, (1936). Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company; Carmen, Harry J., ed., American Husbandry, (1939). New York: Columbia University Press; Dobie, J. Frank, "The First Cattle in Texas and the Southwest: Progenitors of the Longhorns," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 42 (1939):171-197; Thompson, James W., A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860, (1942). Agricultural History Series No. 5, United States

into the material culture complex and diffusion of western cattle herding traits[14] was followed by research into the colonial origins of British open range cattle herding.[15] Later, environmental and economic explanations prompted historians and cultural geographers to investigate ethnic influences of different herding complexes.[16] Among his many

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Department of Agriculture, London: Hutchinson and Company Limited; Brown, Ralph H., "Texas Cattle Trails: Notes on Three Important Maps," Texas Geographic Magazine 10 (1946):1-6; Gates, Paul W., "Cattle Kings in the Prairies," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 35 (1948):379-412; Carpenter, Clifford D., "The Early Cattle Industry in Missouri," Missouri Historical Review 47 (1953):201-215; Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South, pp. 23-51; Laing, Wesley N., "Cattle in Early Virginia," (1954). unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia; Idem, "Cattle in Seventeenth Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 67 (1959):143-163; Henlein, Paul C., "Cattle Driving from the Ohio Country, 1800-1850," Agricultural History 28 (1954):83-95; Idem, "Shifting Range-Feeder Patterns in the Ohio Valley Before 1860," Agricultural History 31 (1957):1-12; Idem, Cattle Kingdom in the Ohio Valley, 1783-1860, (1959). Lexington: University of Kentucky Press; Idem, "Early Cattle Ranges of the Ohio Valley," Agricultural History 35 (1961):150-54; Jones, R. L., "The Beef Cattle Industry in Ohio Prior to the Civil War," Ohio Historical Quarterly 64 (1955):168-94, 287-320.

[14]Kniffen, Fred B., "A Spanish (?) Spinner in Louisiana," Southern Folklore Quarterly 13 (1949):192-99; Idem, "The Western Cattle Complex: Notes on Differentiation and Diffusion," Western Folklore 12 (1953):179-185.

[15]Dunbar, Gary S., "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," Agricultural History 35 (1961):125-130.

[16]Post, Lauren, "The Old Cattle Industry of Southwest Louisiana," McNeese Review 9 (1957):43-55; Faulk, Odie B., "Ranching in Spanish Texas," Hispanic American Historical Review 45 (1965):257-66; Wilhelm, Eugene J. Jr., "Animal Drives in the Southern Highlands," Mountain Life and Work 42 (1966):6-11; Idem, "Animal Drives - A Case Study in Historical Geography," Journal of Geography 66 (1967):327-334; Atkinson, J. H., "Cattle Drives from Arkansas to California Prior to the Civil War," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 28 (1969):275-281;

works on the subject, Terry G. Jordan has described western cattle ranching as a cultural complex that was "creolized" with the meeting of Spanish, Acadian, African and Anglo traits in a frontier setting with a suitable physical environment under favorable market conditions. He further delineated open range cattle herding into complexes originating in the Upland and Lower South.[17]

Cattle herding in Indian Territory is the focus of several historical studies; however, most overlook the

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Kollmorgen, Walter M., "The Woodsman's Assault on the Domain of the Cattleman," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 59 (1969):215-239; Gersmehl, Phil, "Factors Leading to Mountaintop Grazing in the Southern Appalachians," Southeastern Geographer 10 (1970):67-72; Bowden, Martyn J., "Creating Cowboy Country," Geographical Magazine 52 (1980):693-701; Otto, John S. and Nain E. Anderson, "The Diffusion of Upland South Folk Culture, 1790-1840," Southeastern Geographer 22 (1982):89-98; Otto, John S., "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis," Journal of Southern History 51 (1985):183-200; Idem, "Open-Range Cattle Herding in Antebellum South Florida, 1842-1860," Southeastern Geographer 26 (1986):55-67; Wheeler, David, "The Beef Cattle Industry in the United States: Colonial Origins," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 46 (1973):54-67; McWhiney, Grady, Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South, (1988). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press; McDonald, Forrest and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," Journal of Southern History 41 (1975):147-166; Idem, 1985. "Celtic Origins of Southern Herding Practices," Journal of Southern History 51 (1985):165-182; Mealor, W. Theodore, Jr. and Merle C. Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 66 (1967):360-76.

[17]Jordan, Terry G., "The Origin of Anglo-American Cattle Ranching in Texas: A Documentation of Diffusion from the Lower South," Economic Geography 45 (1969):63-87; Idem, "The Origin and Distribution of Open-Range Ranching," Social Science Quarterly 53 (1972):105-121; Idem, "Early Northeast Texas and the Evolution of Western Ranching," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977):66-87; Idem, Trails to Texas, passim.

antebellum period because of the political intrigue and economic dominance of the post-Civil War cattle boom. An exception, Michael F. Doran has delineated the importance of cattle herding among the Five Civilized Tribes in antebellum Indian Territory and suggests that these cultures were first to introduce regularized herding practices west of Arkansas.[18] Many works that describe life in antebellum Indian Territory frequently note that the Five Civilized Tribes had a wealth of cattle.[19] Additionally, several works pertaining to the open

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[18]Doran, Michael F., "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," Geographical Review 66 (1976):48-58; Idem, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 68 (1978):335-50; Idem, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma 53 (1975):493-515.

[19]For examples see: Abel, Annie H., The American Indian Under Reconstruction, (1925). Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. pp. 73-97; Foreman, Grant, Indians and Pioneers, The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830, (1930). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 60, 103, 115, 125; Idem, The Five Civilized Tribes, (1934) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, p. 419; Woodward, Grace S., The Cherokees, (1963). The Civilization of the American Indian Series, No. 65. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 238, 252; Holland, Reid A., 1971. "Life in the Cherokee Nation, 1855-1860," Chronicles of Oklahoma 49 (1971):284-301; Condra, G. E., "Opening the Indian Territory," Bulletin of the American Geographical Society 39 (1907):321-40; Fitch, C. H., "The Five Civilized Tribes: Indian Territory," Bulletin of the American Geographical Society 32 (1900):15-21; Harriman, Helga, "Economic Conditions in the Creek Nation, 1865-1871," Chronicles of Oklahoma 51 (1973):325-34; Littlefield, Daniel F. Jr., The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship, (1978). Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 40. Westport: Greenwood Press. pp. 6, 15; Perdue, Theda, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866, (1979). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. pp. 125-26; Haliburton, R., Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians, (1977). Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 27. Westport: Greenwood Press. pp. 36, 67, 70.

range cattle kingdom acknowledge the existence of a significant antebellum cattle industry among the Cherokees in particular.[20] With the exception of Doran, most authors mention that herding was very important, but fail to elaborate. Fortunately, a handful of well-researched studies dealing with related topics have been more resourceful in substantiating the existence of an antebellum cattle industry in the Cherokee Nation.[21]

An enormous amount of material pertaining to Cherokee history and culture is available in the work of historians, anthropologists and a few geographers. While detailed works

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[20]McCoy, Joseph G., Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest, (1874). Reprint [1966]. Readex Microprint; Dale, Edward E., "History of the Ranch Cattle Industry in Oklahoma," American Historical Association, Annual Report, (1920). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. pp. 307-312; Idem, The Range Cattle Industry: Ranching on the Great Plains from 1865-1925, (1960). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 122-23; Graebner, Norman A., "History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma 21 (1943):300-311; Gard, Wayne, "The Shawnee Trail," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 56 (1953):359-377; Idem, "Retracing the Chisholm Trail," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 60 (1956):53-68; Towne, Charles W. and Edward N. Wentworth, Cattle and Men, (1955). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 157-58; Sandoz, Mari, The Cattlemen, From Across the Rio Grande to the Far Marias, (1958). New York: Hastings House, Publishers. p. 42; Guice, John D. W., "Cattle Raisers of the Old Southwest: A Reinterpretation," Western Historical Quarterly 8 (1977):167-187; Savage, William W. Jr., "Indian Ranchers," In Ranch and Range in Oklahoma, (1978). pp. 30-44. Edited by Jimmy M. Skaggs. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society; Worcester, Don, The Chisholm Trail: High Road of the Cattle Kingdom, (1980). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. p. 4.

[21]Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," pp. 359-377; Carpenter, "The Early Cattle Industry in Missouri," pp. 201-215.

relating to pre-removal Cherokee cattle raising are meager,[22] the enormous wealth of Cherokee literature serves as a beneficial guide to Cherokee cultural change. The literature size also serves to balance varying views and methodologies represented by different disciplines. Much of the secondary source material serves as an overall guide to other primary materials.

Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that the innovation of cattle herding among the Cherokees was adopted along two courses that reflect differing spatial origins of diffusion and differing levels of acculturation. Contrary to the popular notion that the Cherokees simply were more inclined to adopt white ways than other Indian groups, the processes by which the tribe adopted cattle herding were subject to careful selection of certain traits, as well as conscious modification of those traits to suit particular needs.

Open range cattle herding was voluntarily adopted from both Anglo and Iberian-derived Creek Indian sources by an elite class located in the Ridge and Valley region of present-

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[22]Unfortunately, the most specific work dealing with cattle herding among the Cherokees fails to recognize the difference between extensive, commercialized, open range cattle herding and intensive subsistence stock raising. See Newman, Robert D., "The Acceptance of European Domestic Animals by the Eighteenth Century Cherokee," Tennessee Anthropologist 4 (1979):101-107.

day Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee. It was adopted through selective acculturation and paralleled many roles and values of traditional male life; therefore, it diffused early and spread rapidly among the Cherokee elite who had kinship or economic ties to outside sources. Cattle herding served to strengthen waning male values connected to the declining deerskin trade and the ensuing growth in importance of agriculture, a traditionally female-dominated activity. An extensive form of large-scale cattle herding was transferred west to Indian Territory by way of the "Old Settler" migrations before 1835. There, a typically lower southern herding complex was reestablished in the comparable environmental setting of the Cherokee Ozarks before the majority of Cherokees emigrated on the Trail of Tears.

In contrast, the majority of Cherokees adopted a form of cattle herding that was characteristic of the Upland South. More traditional Cherokees adopted a more labor-intensive form of cattle raising as part of a small-scale mixed-farming system that developed under the auspices of government agents and missionary societies during the early nineteenth century. Among average Cherokee farmers, cattle raising was very different from the extensive beef cattle industry of the Cherokee elite. Instead, caring for smaller herds of multiuse cattle was often a female responsibility. Although it diffused more slowly than large-scale herding, small-scale subsistence cattle raising became widespread among most

Cherokees. By the time of their removal in 1838, most Cherokee farm families owned a few cattle that were used for dairying, draft purposes, extra cash and occasionally for beef.

Both groups regarded the Ozarks as ideal for grazing, but disregarded the tallgrass prairies west of the Grand River for both logical and perceptual reasons. After 1840, the extensive open range beef cattle operations of the Old Settlers were pushed to the western limits of the Cherokee Ozarks along the Grand River Valley by increasing population densities, while at the same time the transportation corridor there made new markets in the Corn Belt accessible. Economic pulls and the diffusion of the Texas herding complex had greater influence on the enterprising Old Settlers who, by 1861, had begun to locate their operations on the grasslands west of the Grand Valley.

The Cherokees were culturally and environmentally preadapted to cattle raising. Periodic burning, a traditional practice associated with deer hunting, greatly altered the Cherokee landscape to accommodate large herds of semiwild cattle. Huge canebrakes that had earlier supported large populations of deer offered plentiful grazing for cattle throughout the winter season. Cherokee hunters utilized natural salt licks, found throughout their country, because they attracted deer. After the adoption of herding, Cherokees used the same to collect cattle. Through cultural trait

selection and modification, a viable herding industry adapted to the forested southern Appalachians developed in the late eighteenth century.

The Cherokees found the Ozark portion of Indian Territory not too different from their eastern homeland and soon reinstated their cattle complexes there. They continued traditional forest management practices that facilitated herding, but hesitated to exploit the unfamiliar environment of the western half of their nation.

Methodology

This thesis employs a methodology that combines both the genetic and developmental form of explanation used by historical geographers to identify the origins and explain the geographic implications of Cherokee cattle herding from 1761 to 1861. The genetic approach is used to identify the origins of cattle herding among the Cherokees. Once cattle herding is established among the Cherokees, the evolution of the activity through time is traced using a cumulative developmental form of explanation.[23] The year 1761 was marked by several important stimuli for the onset of acculturation and adoption

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[23]James and Martin, All Possible Worlds, p. 385; Clark, Andrew H., "Historical Geography," In American Geography, Inventory and Prospect, (1954). pp. 70-105. Edited by Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

of herding among the Cherokees, while 1861 was the first year of the Civil War in Indian Territory and the beginning of the end of an exclusively Cherokee herding industry.

In considering the origins of Cherokee cattle herding, the holistic approach is used to consider exogenous changes initiated by the innovation of cattle herding within the Cherokee culture system. In examining the development of the Cherokee herding system, the comparative approach is utilized to examine endogenous changes in the form of divergence and/or convergence with documented Anglo herding practices. This methodology attempts to synthesize cultural change with landscape change. In other words, if it is accepted that cultures are self-regulating, interrelated systems, then the cultural landscape is certainly part of the system. Furthermore, the cultural landscape, if interpreted correctly, is one of the most reliable records of culture change within the system. The goal of this methodology is not simply to discuss the geography of a cultural complex within a changing society, but to examine the geography of change that it created.

A general chronological and spatial ordering of events enables analysis of cultural trait distributions. Next, the factor of timing is considered in order to explain why things occurred in the location and at the time in which they did. Finally, the extent of the Cherokee herding complex is

examined to find what impact it had on the nature of the Cherokee landscape and how it was linked to other regions.[24]

Analysis of the spatial evolution of Cherokee herding allows for comparison with previous material on the diffusion of cattle herding traits.[25] Since factionalization was a major facet of Cherokee geography, differentiation within the study areas provides a means to illustrate theoretical perspectives of innovation diffusion.

Data Sources

The spatial and temporal origins of cattle herding among the Cherokees are investigated using primary source materials such as personal accounts of travelers, ethnohistorical data, various census data, period newspapers and spoliation claims lists. The onset of herding is examined qualitatively through the use of personal journals and other miscellaneous items. Quantitative and cartographic data for analysis of both the onset and development of herding is assembled through the use of census records, spoliation claims lists and period

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[24]This methodology is discussed in Mitchell, Robert D., "The North American Past: Retrospect and Prospect," In North America, The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent, (1987). Edited by Robert D. Mitchell and Paul A. Groves. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield. p. 11.

[25]The guidelines for comparison of Anglo and Hispanic cultural traits have been set forth by Jordan, Trails to Texas, passim.

newspapers. Examination of antebellum herding traits is facilitated through utilization of an extensive collection of transcribed oral interviews.[26]

Spatial systems of herding and marketing are examined through various antebellum newspapers, which provide market information such as source areas, processing and transport facilities, seasonal price fluctuations and conditions of marketed cattle. A representative sample of antebellum Cherokee cattle characteristics, including locations, physical descriptions and marks is constructed from public notices found in the national newspaper of the Cherokee Nation.[27] According to Cherokee law, each district sheriff was required to report and describe impounded stray livestock in the Cherokee Advocate until either the rightful owner was located

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[26]In the late 1930s, the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Works Progress Administration compiled the Indian-Pioneer History Project, hereafter cited as IPH. The project employed college history students who interviewed and recorded the life experiences of thousands of elderly Oklahomans. The interviews were designed to record significant, first-hand accounts of Oklahoma history. A fortunate consequence of the design of the question format was that questions about ranching and cattlemen (intended for Anglo western Oklahomans) were asked of elderly Indians in rural eastern Oklahoma. The result was that many elderly Cherokees often described the nature of cattle herding in the Cherokee Nation. Many of them also referred to their parents' and grandparents' lives in the antebellum period. Since interview dates, addresses and ages of subjects were recorded, the collection is a very important ethnographic resource that has been little utilized. An exception is Perdue, Theda, Nations Remembered: An Oral History of the Five Civilized Tribes, (1980). Westport: Greenwood Press.

[27]The sample was extracted from stray property notices in the Cherokee Advocate (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation) 15 April 1850 - 10 August 1853.

or a public auction disposed of the stock. Each advertisement provides locations of stockpens, descriptions of markings and general characteristics of Cherokee livestock.

Study Areas

The study area is broken into two separate regions. From 1761 to 1838 the study area includes Cherokee landholdings in the Southeast. From 1794 to 1861 the study area includes Cherokee landholdings in Arkansas and Indian Territory. Since Cherokee landholdings were sequentially alienated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 1) and new lands in Arkansas and Indian Territory acquired, it is necessary to discuss Cherokee lands both east and west of the Mississippi River during the 1794-1838 period.

The precontact Cherokee country was large and used extensively. As were those of most other tribes before European contact, Cherokee land claims were based on loosely controlled generalities rather than neatly demarcated boundaries, which meant that territorial claims were very dynamic. The effects of European diseases, colonization and economics brought even greater dynamism to the aboriginal landscape, allowing the Cherokees to expand their landholdings in the early colonial period. Tribal peripheries overlapped and were often reserved by competing tribes for seasonal uses like hunting and warfare. The Cherokee region contained

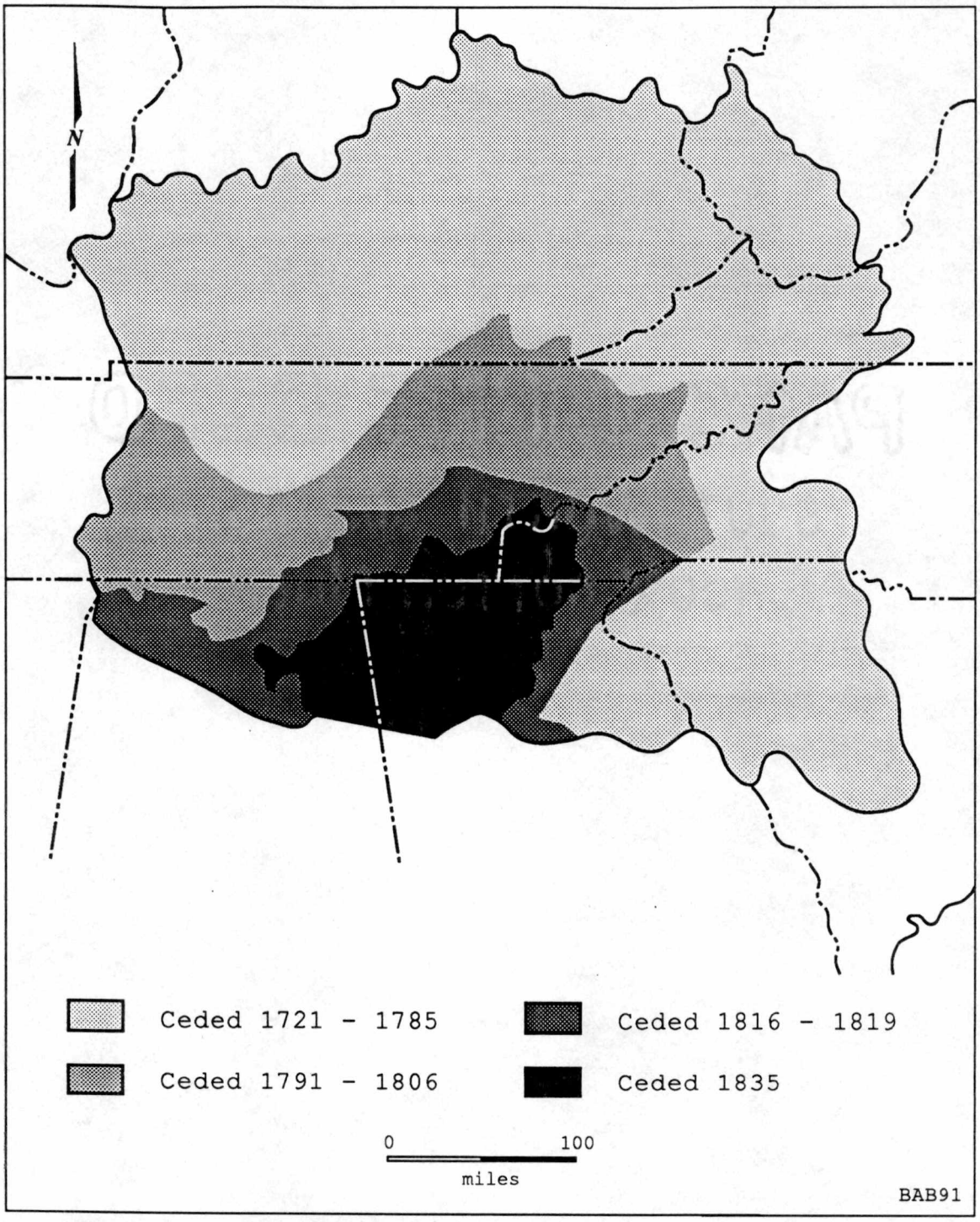

Figure 1. Cherokee Dispossession.

Adapted from Royce, Charles C. 1887. "The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments," Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-1884. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

densely settled places, wide areas of protected homeland, and unoccupied marginal lands claimed by other tribes. The concept of core, domain and sphere best illustrate the Cherokee culture area at the time of initial European contact (Figure 2).[28]

The Cherokee culture core dominated the southern Appalachians from the foothills of the Blue Ridge in South Carolina west to the Tennessee River and northeast to the headwaters of the French Broad River in North Carolina. In 1761, the Cherokee core region was composed of four settlement areas or "town" groups: the Lower Towns, Middle Towns, Valley Towns and Overhill Towns. The eastern most town group was that of the Lower Towns located in western South Carolina along the Keowee and Tugaloo Rivers overlapping both the Blue Ridge and Piedmont regions. The Middle Towns were found in the Blue Ridge of western North Carolina along the tributaries of the upper Little Tennessee River. To the west were the Valley Towns located in extreme western North Carolina and northeast Georgia centering on the headwaters of the Hiwassee River. The Overhill Towns were located in the western part of the core and focused on the tributaries of the lower Little Tennessee and Hiwassee Rivers. Each town group harbored small

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[28]For further discussion of the concept of core, domain and sphere see Meinig, D. W., "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):191-220.

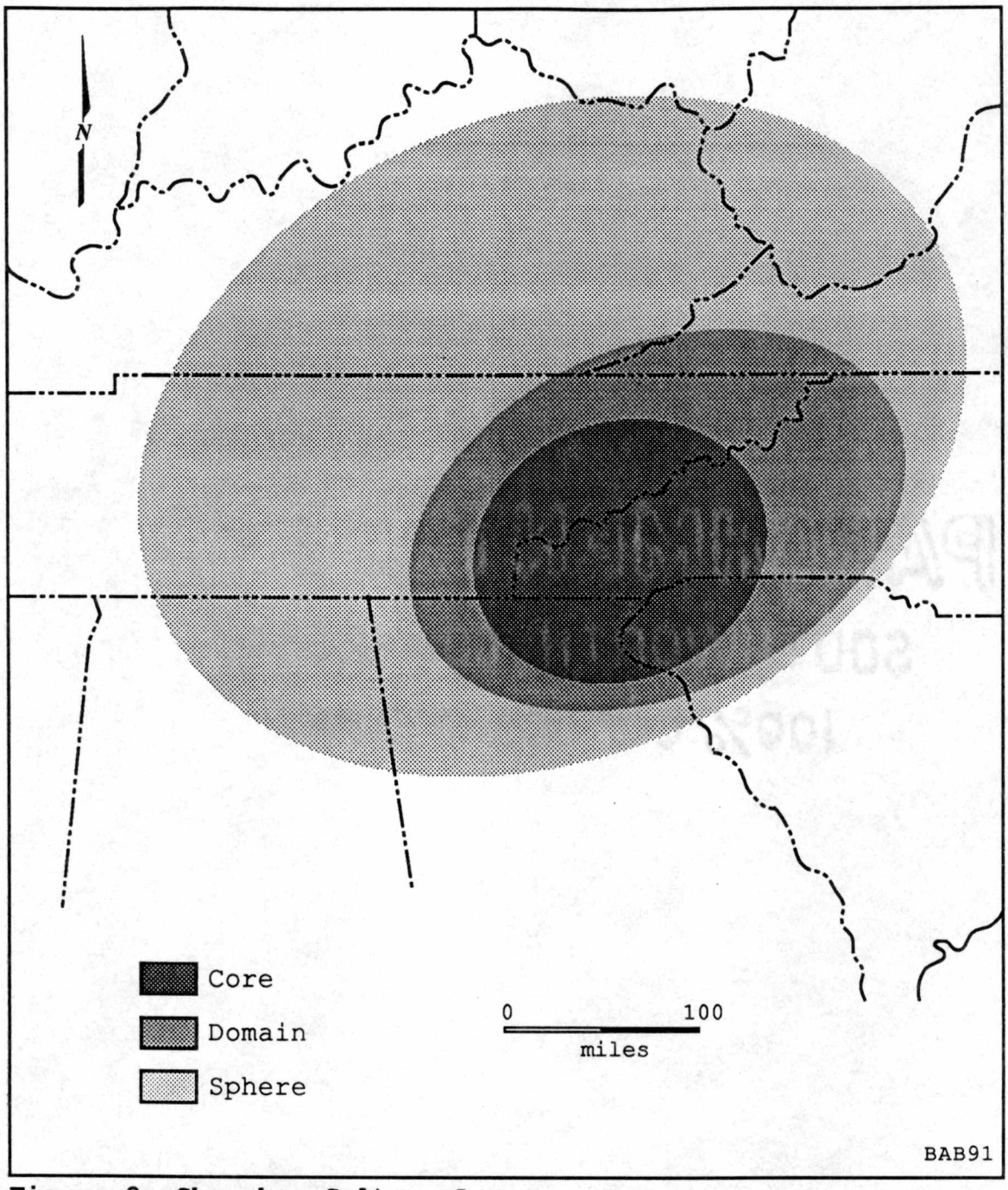

Figure 2. Cherokee Culture Area.

Adapted from Goodwin, Gary C. 1976. Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775. University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 181. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Concept from Meinig, D.W. 1965. "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55:191-220.

villages containing from a few dozen to several hundred people.[29]

Matrilineal kinship united Cherokees in every town through the existence of fictive clan relationships. Traveling Cherokees from distant parts were welcomed as family in the homes of their fellow clan members. The hospitality ethic facilitated intertown contact and created a common "Cherokee" identity that was most apparent in a universal language; even though individual towns were geographically isolated, only slight dialectic variations existed between the four town groups.[30]

Other social mechanisms preserved a common tribal identity. One of the most important functions of the clan system was to regulate intratribal hostilities and provide defense against other tribes. This "blood feud" gave each Cherokee a responsibility to vindicate the death of fellow clan members. Clan responsibility did not always doom guilty individuals; often it served to compensate the victim's family for their loss by requiring the guilty clan to provide goods or services to needy widows.[31]

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[29]Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition, pp. 36-40.

[30]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic. pp. 11-13, 140-41.

[31]On the subject of Cherokee tribal law, see Reid, John P., A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation, (1970). New York: New York University Press.

Cherokee clan relations supported other social mechanisms. Small villages depended upon conformity and group reciprocity to survive food shortages, so that overly-materialistic and antisocial individuals threatened the existence of the community. Nonconformists were sometimes accused of being witches disguised as Cherokees who secretly brought death and disease to others. Witches were expelled or executed upon their identification through dreams or other omens; and since they were not human, witches had no clan to avenge their death. Other aspects such as a common material culture and settlement morphology united each community within the Cherokee core.[32]

Traditional Cherokee towns were the centers of spiritual and economic life. They were composed of tightly clustered dwellings surrounding a central ceremonial square and subterranean ceremonial hothouse. Extended, matrilocal families lived in single-room dwellings built of wattle and daub and plastered with lye made from wood ashes. Around each house was a small garden plot for family use that supplemented the maize staple from the large communal field outside of the village. Water was a common element in every traditional Cherokee town, not only for subsistence and transportation, but for spiritual reasons as well; hence the four town groups

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[32]Ibid., pp. 29-48; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, pp. 13-14.

of the Cherokee core were often classified by the drainage basins that they occupied.[33]

The Cherokee domain can be defined as the area outside the settled core where the Cherokees maintained greatest influence. In the 1750s the deerskin and slave trade led to expansion of this area, and by 1761 it included lands in western South Carolina formerly occupied by smaller tribes. Reduced by European diseases and subjected to slavery, remnants of these tribes often merged with the Cherokees, blending their own traditions with those of the larger society.

The Cherokees also claimed regions that were sometimes used by the Creeks and though relations with this tribe were often hostile, contact may have introduced some important innovations. The Cherokee domain was an important region that linked the populated core area with outside influences in the peripheral sphere through the communication of innovations.[34]

The Cherokee sphere was the most dynamic and least well-defined of Cherokee lands. Huge expanses in the lower Tennessee Valley, the southern Ohio Valley and the Appalachian Plateaus can be included in this category. It was claimed by the Cherokees and other tribes for seasonal uses, particularly

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[33]Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition, pp. 41-48; Fogelson, Raymond D. and Paul Kutsche, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gadugi," Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, (1961). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. pp. 88-93.

[34]Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition, pp. 32-40.

hunting and warfare. Though these lands were used only seasonally and were never permanently occupied by the Cherokees, they were essential to the eighteenth century deerskin economy and, like the Cherokee domain, had expanded in response to this trade. Such marginal lands also acted as a buffer zone against traditional enemies like the Shawnee and Iroquois. Their peripheral nature and multitribal affiliation also destined these lands to early cession.[35]

The first Cherokees to migrate west of the Mississippi were small groups that joined other Shawnee, Delaware and Iroquois groups along the St. Francis River in northeast Arkansas shortly after the Revolutionary War. These first Cherokees were traditionalists and likely kept no livestock, so they will not be discussed in depth. Larger Cherokee groups, however, removed to west central Arkansas in 1809, and in 1817 were given title to a large area between the White and Arkansas Rivers. Pushed west by white settlement and assisted by new emigrants, the "Cherokees West" by 1818 were gaining control of Osage lands in the western Ozarks. Occupation began in 1818 after the Osages ceded the area to the federal government and in 1828 the western Cherokees gained formal title to what would become the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory. In addition, the 1835 Treaty of New Echota gave

[35]Ibid., pp. 36-37.

access to more land in the Cherokee Outlet and Neutral Lands.[36]

The southwestern lobe of the Ozark Plateau that extends into present-day northeastern Oklahoma covered roughly half of the Cherokee Nation, or about three-thousand square miles.[37] The Cherokee Ozarks began in the east along a political boundary that extended from present-day Tiff City, Missouri south to Southwest City, Missouri, and thence in a south-southeast direction to Dora, Arkansas. The region gives way to the Arkansas River Valley in the south, but is bounded more neatly along the west, since the Grand River follows the Ozark escarpment. The Grand or Neosho River, which flows in a southeasterly direction through Kansas, strikes the Ozark escarpment in the northeast Cherokee Nation, where it is diverted to the southwest and south, following the escarpment to the Arkansas Valley. Though the Grand River bisects the Cherokee Ozarks and the Prairie Plains regions, the river has cut into the plateau in a few places, creating mesas and buttes on the west bank that assume the same vegetative characteristics as the plateau itself. These areas housed

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[36]Foreman, Grant, Indians and Pioneers, The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830, (1930). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 63-79.

[37]Sauer, Carl O., The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri, (1920). The Geographic Society of Chicago Bulletin No. 7, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 3.

resources similar to the Ozarks that enabled Cherokee settlement.[38]

[38]On the geography of the Cherokee Ozarks see Hewes, Leslie. "The Geography of the Cherokee Country of Oklahoma," (1940). Ph.D. dissertation, University of California; Idem, "Cultural Fault Line in the Cherokee Country," Economic Geography 19 (1942):136-142; Idem, "Indian Land in the Cherokee Country." Economic Geography 18 (1942):407-12; Idem, "The Oklahoma Ozarks as the Land of the Cherokees," Geographical Review 32 (1942):269-281; Idem, "Cherokee Occupancy in the Oklahoma Ozarks and Prairie Plains," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 22 (1944):324-337.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL SETTINGS

A commonly asked question in regard to the tragic removal of the Cherokees from their ancestral homeland in the southern Appalachians to Indian Territory is: how did moving from the humid, upland, forested Southeast to the more arid lands of Indian Territory affect the Cherokees? From an environmental perception standpoint, this is especially interesting when one considers that Cherokee lands in Indian Territory contained both hills and plains and were climatically and biogeographically transitional between the eastern deciduous forests and the grasslands of the Great Plains.

Eastern Physiography

In 1761 the Cherokee domain was spread across four main physiographic provinces: the Piedmont, the southern Appalachian Mountains, the Appalachian Ridge and Valley and the Appalachian Plateaus (Figure 3). Though all these are upland regions, each is characterized by unique landform, hydrology and vegetation patterns.

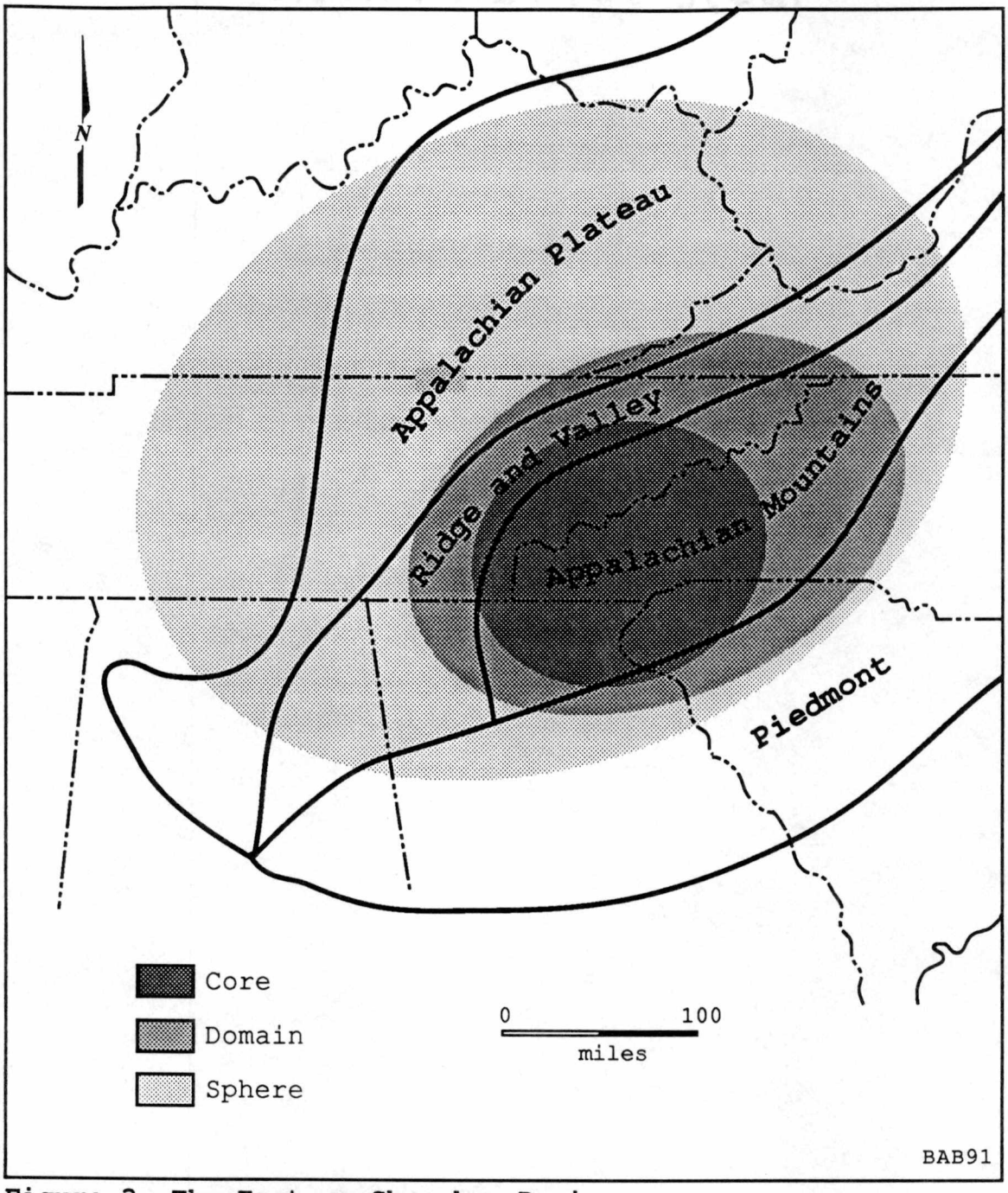

Figure 3. The Eastern Cherokee Region.

Adapted from Thornbury, William D. 1965. Regional Geomorphology of the United States. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

The Cherokee Piedmont is that part of western South Carolina and north Georgia distinguished by a gently rolling topography that slopes eastward toward the Atlantic Coastal Plain. It is a highly dissected plateau consisting of crystalline rock, underlain by limestone. Most of the Piedmont is classified as an irregular plain, with 100-200 feet of local relief. Closer to the Appalachians the process of erosion has created a series of isolated hills, or monadnocks, that dominate the landscape. In the northwest edge of the Piedmont, the foothills of the Blue Ridge range from 500 to 1000 feet from base to summit, while further to the south in Georgia the transition to the Appalachian Mountains is more sudden. Piedmont streams begin on the eastern slope of the Appalachians and flow parallel toward the Coastal Plain and Atlantic Ocean.[1]

The southern Appalachian Mountains contain the greatest elevation and physiographical complexity within the Cherokee domain. The Appalachian ranges include the Unaka, Great Smoky and Blue Ridge Mountains of Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. These average 3000 feet in elevation with several peaks exceeding 6000 feet. Local relief averages between 1000 and 3000 feet. Early Cherokee settlement was

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[1]Goodwin, Gary C., Cherokees in Transition, p.10; Hammond, Edwin H., "Classes of Land Surface Form in the Forty-eight States, U.S.A.," Map Supplement No. 4, Annals of the Association of American Geographers 54 (1964); Thornbury, William D., Regional Geomorphology of the United States, (1965). New York: John Wiley and Sons. passim.

centered in the isolated coves and river valleys of the southern Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains, which offered a great diversity of biological resources. The mountains are more open near the Asheville Basin and in southwestern Virginia. The province is bounded on the south and east by the Piedmont and on the west by the Appalachian Ridge and Valley. The southern Appalachians are bounded in the north by the New River.

The parallel folds of the Appalachian Ridge and Valley extend from Virginia southwest through east Tennessee and northwest Georgia before subsiding in central Alabama. The northern portion of the Cherokee Ridge and Valley in upper east Tennessee and western Virginia is characterized by high, narrow valleys and clusters of knobs that reach a local relief of 1000-3000 feet. The southern portion of the Cherokee Ridge and Valley between the headwaters of the Holston River and northeastern Alabama is dominated by the Great Valley. Here smaller ridges from 300 to 500 feet high are distributed further apart. Wide fertile river valleys, sometimes resembling small plains, were favored for agriculture by both the Overhill Cherokees and white settlers. Trellis drainage patterns are found throughout the Ridge and Valley. Numerous wind and water gaps linking the parallel-flowing streams provided the Cherokees with an efficient water transportation network. Folded stratigraphy resulted in a diversity of bedrock in the valleys, which produce soils of both high and

low productivity. Place names such as "Poor Valley" and adjacent "Richland Valley" attest to the geologic pandemonium. The Great Valley narrows in southeast Tennessee and large ridges such as Lookout and Sand Mountain become more prominent, until finally giving way to the southern bend of the fall line hills and the Gulf Coastal Plain.

The Cumberland Plateau is located west of the Ridge and Valley and has a northeast to southwest axis from the north side of the Tennessee River in northern Alabama to the edge of the Cherokee domain in southeastern Kentucky. It is an elevated peneplain that has been deeply dissected, creating a complex network of deep valleys and isolated hollows. The caprock is mainly limestone strata that gently slopes to the west. In 1761 Cherokee settlement was sparse in the Cumberland Plateau, although it was important as a fall hunting ground.[2]

The Cherokee Southeast was dotted with a myriad of mineral outcroppings, known as salt licks, that attracted herds of bison and deer. Cherokee hunters frequented these locations for the good hunting found there. After the introduction of European livestock and the adoption of herding among the Cherokees, these same salt licks were similarly visited during roundups, since cattle tended to congregate near them in the warmer months.

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[2]Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition, pp. 14-15.

Eastern Climate

The climate of the eastern study area is generally classified as a humid subtropical (Cfa) using the modified Köppen system. An exception is the Appalachian Mountain region, where altitudinal effects create a climate in the higher elevations that is cooler and moister throughout the year. Average annual precipitation in the Cherokee Southeast ranges between a high of 72 inches in the higher elevations of the South Carolina Blue Ridge to a low of 40 inches in the Ridge and Valley of upper east Tennessee. Mild winters and hot, wet summers prevail throughout the lower elevations, while orographic cooling brings cold winters, mild summers and very high precipitation levels to the mountains. The Ridge and Valley region contains the longest growing season with 190 to 210 above freezing. The Cumberland Plateau has between 160 to 180 days frost-free, while the mountainous areas have 145 to 180 depending upon local elevation.[3]

The climate of the Cherokee Southeast was suitable for the existence of semiwild range cattle. Elevation differences caused summers to be cooler and less disease-infested than

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[3]Oliver, John E., and John J. Hidore, Climatology: An Introduction, (1984). Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company. pp. 185-190; United States Department of Interior, Geological Survey, The National Atlas of the United States of America, (1970). Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. p. 97.

those of the Coastal Plain, where herds were more often eradicated by epidemics. Winters were cooler, but in the lower elevations and throughout the Ridge and Valley, they were mild enough to sustain ample vegetation for grazing. Occasional cold spells hit, but cattle found shelter in valley canebrakes.

Eastern Historical Biogeography

The Cherokee domain was located in the transitional region between the midcontinent oak-hickory forests and the shortleaf pine forests of the Lower South. Between these exists a region of mixed hardwood and softwood forests, generally classified by Küchler as oak-pine, which at best implies the heterogeneity of the species found there. At the local scale, pine and hardwoods are woven into a complex mosaic dominated by oaks and hickories in the north and yellow pines in the south. In places, small areas of unforested land -- the result of abandoned farmland -- are found throughout this otherwise wooded region. Remarkably, historical and ecological evidence suggests that treeless areas were more abundant before white settlement.[4]

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[4]Küchler, A. W. Manual to Accompany the Map on Potential Natural Vegetation of the Conterminous United States, (1964). Special Publication No. 36, American Geographical Society; U.S. Department of Interior, Geological Survey, The National Atlas of the United States of America, p. 97.

A few scholars have noted that eighteenth century vegetation patterns in the Southeast were much different from today.[5] Native Americans have conventionally been viewed as inherent ecologists who maintained a certain harmony with nature. While this assertion agrees with stereotypical images and even most tribal ideals, students of Native American cultures have recently begun to recognize that Indian peoples were hardly neutral components within a virgin wilderness. There were many aboriginal practices that in fact contradict the "Child of Nature" image, such as "buckeyeing" streams for fish and "jumpkilling" herds of buffalo. Certainly, American Indian peoples also transformed the natural landscape to suit their own needs, a fact that contemporary popular culture refuses to accept.

The use of fire was probably the most powerful tool of landscape modification used by Indians, and the Cherokees were no exception. Travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries observed park-like forests and open fields that had obviously been managed by fire. The botanist William Bartram, during his 1776 journey through the Cherokee country, provided descriptions of the Southeastern landscape that differ dramatically from what typically would be expected. For instance, when Bartram reached the headwaters of the Little

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[5]See Sauer, Carl O., "Grassland Climax, Fire, and Man," Journal of Range Management 3 (1950):16-22; for a very recent perspective see: Silver, A New Face on the Countryside, passim.

Tennessee River he saw large, treeless tracts of human-managed grassland rather than impenetrable expanses of climax riparian forest:

> My winding path now leads me again over the green fields into the meadows, sometimes visiting the decorated banks of the river, as it meanders through the meadows...[6]

Broadcast burning or "firing the woods" served many needs of the Indians. In the Southeast periodic burning eliminated understory brush and favored a growth of herbaceous plants that attracted game animals. Periodic firing was so widespread that grazing resources were expanded enough to boost deer populations beyond their natural limits, making hunting more productive. The absence of understory growth reduced numbers of harmful snakes and insects. Plants valued for food and medicine by the Cherokees also benefitted from periodic burning. Fire not only cleared the forest floor for planting crops, but also increased soil fertility by adding potash to the often acidic soils of the southern pine forests. Frequent firing kept biological fuel in the understory to a minimum, thus impeding chances for larger forest fires.

The practice of periodic burning as an American Indian cultural trait has received considerable attention by

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[6]Harper, Francis, ed. 1958. The Travels of William Bartram, (1958). Naturalist's Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 220.

historians, ecologists and geographers.[7] Among the Cherokees in particular, periodic range burning seems to have remained an important part of traditional life into the nineteenth century. In 1799 two Moravian missionaries observed Cherokees burning the forest understory as well as the effects of previous fires on vegetation:

> After riding through Tellico, we came again to more cleared woods and soon saw traces of forest fire. Toward evening we passed women and children, who were setting fire to the grass in the woods; and after that we emerged in the great Tellico Plain, through which we rode some distance in the midst of high grass...[8]

Sometimes understory fires became uncontrollable and scorched sizeable areas of timberland. Large scale burning of this type kept a substantial area in secondary vegetational succession, which is characterized by new growths of herbaceous plants such as the common strawberry (*Fragaria virginiana*) and other wildflowers. A few weeks after firing, new growth would spring up, prompted by the additional sunlight and fertility and creating a rich green cover that attracted wildlife. Indeed, a fire-managed landscape of this

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[7]Kuhlken, Robert, "Settin' the Woods on Fire: The Cultural Ecology of Rural Incendiarism." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Miami, Florida, 16 April 1991.

[8]Williams, Samuel Cole, ed., "Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Fredrick C. De Schweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements (1799)," Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, (1928). Johnson City, Tennessee: The Watauga Press. p. 478.

sort seemed very arcadian to northern Europeans traveling through the Cherokee country:

> [We] enjoyed a most enchanting view, a vast expanse of green meadows and strawberry fields; a meandering river gliding through, saluting in its various turnings the swelling, green, turfy knolls, embellished with parterres of flowers and fruitful strawberry beds; flocks of turkeys strolling about them; herds of deer prancing in the meads...[9]

The Cherokees' use of fire may have had other less obvious consequences. Deforestation on the steeper slopes of the southern Appalachians would have heightened erosion and washed topsoil and ash into the river valleys where Cherokee crops were located. In 1756, John G.W. De Brahm noted how burning and erosion replenished the valley bottoms in the Cherokee districts:

> Their vallies are of the richest soil, equal to manure itself, impossible in appearance ever to wear out; the putrified matter from the mountains are in rainy seasons washed down into the vallies, and leave the mountains bare of good soil; the land in the vallies, by this means is become a real matrice to receive from phlogiston [burning] the impregnation of niter, so that there is present a perpetual renewal of what encourages vegitation.[10]

Early travelers noted other vegetation patterns that were different from today. Throughout the Cherokee country, expansive stands of giant river cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) dominated river valleys. Cane is a bamboo-like annual that reaches twenty to thirty feet in height and thrives in poorly-

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[9]Harper, The Travels of William Bartram, p. 225.

[10]Williams, Samuel Cole, ed., "De Brahm's Account (1756)," Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, (1928). Johnson City, Tennessee: The Watauga Press. p. 193.

drained soils. It was formerly common in floodplains, but also occurred as a pioneer species in disturbed areas of the forest understory.

Like other plant species, cane had been expanded through the human use of fire before the nineteenth century. Cane sprouts from protected underground shoots and requires continual cropping to spread; otherwise it matures and declines.[11] This adaptation to fire allowed cane to dominate riparian lowlands and develop dense stands called canebrakes. As the name implies, large stands of cane had a tendency to "brake" movement in lowland areas. Travel through the fire-managed forest was easy compared to the river valleys, as Major John Norton found in 1816:

> Along its [Tennessee River] banks are extensive cane brakes; the canes of a larger size than any I had hitherto seen...the country is beautifully wooded with lofty trees, growing at such distance apart as hardly to shade all the ground below but so unincumbered by underwood or fallen trees that a person can ride in any direction on horseback. Nothing will impede his progress except...the impenetrable cane brake on the luxuriant banks of Rivers.[12]

Cane was an indispensable component in traditional Cherokee material culture and canebrakes were regarded as important resources. Southeastern canebrakes stayed green throughout the mild winter months, attracting and

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[11]Silver, A New Face on the Countryside, p. 22.

[12]Klink, Carl F. and James J. Talman, eds. 1970. The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816. Publications of the Champlain Society 46. Toronto: The Champlain Society. pp. 33-38.

concentrating deer that Cherokee hunters easily harvested. Cane was used for building houses, blowguns and various other articles, and it is still used by contemporary Cherokee artisans. Canebrakes disappeared with intensive agricultural development through draining, clearing and cultivating the rich soils of river floodplains.[13] Fire suppression all but extinguished any remaining cane, though it still exists in poorly drained and fire-disturbed areas in the South. Surviving toponyms such as "Caney Fork" and "Cane Hollow" serve as reminders of this once common vegetation type.

Other plants became scarce after intensive Euroamerican settlement. "Peavine" or "hogpeanut" (*Amphicarpa bracteata*) is a twining vine that inhabited damp woodlands throughout the eastern United States. Like cane, it also thrives in disturbed surroundings and likely benefitted from burning. It produces a small tuber upon which feral hogs feed by digging up the plant by its roots. Peavines still exist, but are not as common as they were in the fire-managed woods of the Cherokee Southeast.

Historical vegetation patterns in the Cherokee Southeast were significantly altered by the Indian use of fire as a form of land management that boosted wild game populations. In addition to deer, European-introduced livestock, such as hogs,

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[13]Hill, Sarah H., "From Cane to Curls: An Overview of Cherokee Basketry." Paper read at the Frank H. McClung Museum, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 21 April 1991; Silver, A New Face on the Countryside, pp. 179-80, 187.

horses and cattle, also found better grazing in Indian-managed areas, such as the Cherokee country. Understory grasses were more abundant than in other areas dominated by Euroamericans and huge canebrakes that could support entire herds of cattle throughout the winter season lined the river valleys.

Western Physiography

The Cherokee lands west of the Mississippi encompassed three main physiographic subregions. These included the Ozark Plateau, the Prairie Plains and the Arkansas and Canadian River Valley regions (Figure 4). The Cherokee portion of the Ozark Plateau can be further divided into two basic subregions: the Springfield Plateau,[14] which makes up the northern two-thirds, and the western extension of the Boston Mountains in the south. Both subregions are part of an uplifted peneplain with a resistant caprock of horizontal sedimentary strata consisting primarily of limestone and sandstone. The Springfield Plateau and the Boston Mountains are similar in elevation, but differential resistance to erosion has led to different landscape features.

The larger of the two subregions, the Springfield Plateau is more resistant to erosion and less dissected. Young

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[14]This region is also referred to as the Springfield Structural Plain. See for example, Sauer, Carl O., The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri, (1920). The Geographic Society of Chicago Bulletin No. 7. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

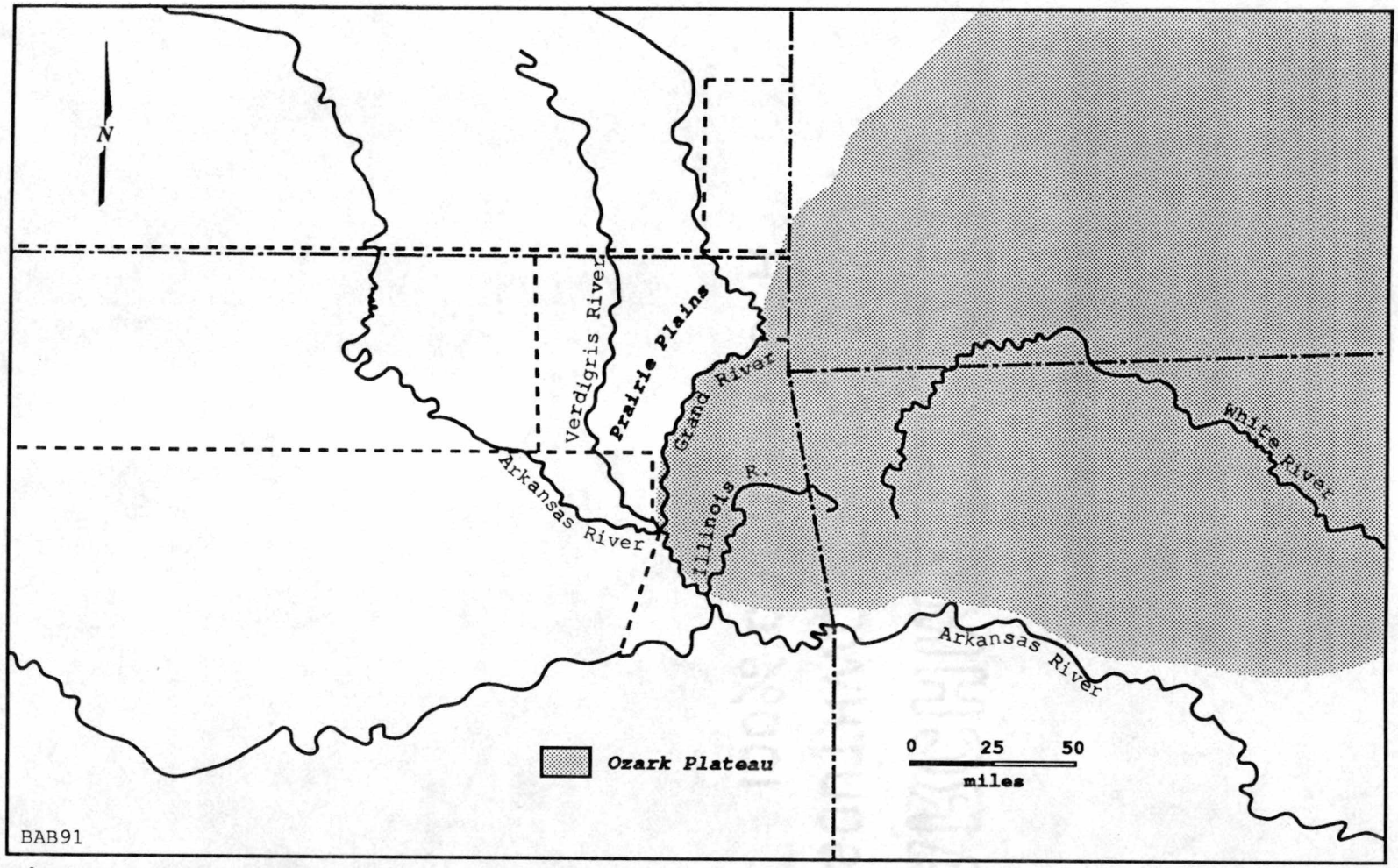

Figure 4. The Western Cherokee Region.

Adapted from Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds. 1986. Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. Third Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

streams flow radially away from the interior of the plateau and have carved small, narrow canyons that result in a local relief of 300 to 500 feet. The limestone base provides for great stream clarity, and subterranean flow results in numerous springs in the lower elevations. The tableland interfluves have a flat to rolling surface, depending on local bedrock resistance. Toponyms reflect a stream valley and tableland orientation, as seen in the names of Cherokee settlements such as Proctor Hollow and Lowrey's Prairie.

The Boston Mountains subregion is less resistant to erosion and highly dissected. Small tributaries of the Arkansas have cut the surface into numerous hills that obtain a local relief of 500 to 1000 feet. The most rugged section of the Boston Mountains subregion is locally referred to as the Cookson Hills: the areas inaccessibility and countless caves make it infamous as an outlaw hideout. Unlike the more regular Springfield Plateau, the complex topography of the Boston Mountains subregion is reflected in highland and lowland toponyms like Dahlonegah Mountain and Skin Bayou.

The Prairie Plains, located west of the Grand River, occupied as much area as the Ozark portion of the Cherokee Nation. The region is physiographically very different from the Cherokee Ozarks, being a southwest extension of the Central Lowlands province. The Prairie Plains region is low and very flat. Elevations average 600 feet above sea level and deviate little, especially between the Grand and Verdigris

River Valleys. The topography assumes a more rolling character near the extreme western border of the Cherokee Nation in the Osage Hills, near present Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Prairie Plains hydrology is characterized by large, meandering floodplains, which provide the greatest local relief and flow southeastward in a classic dendritic pattern. Cherokee occupance was extremely limited in this region, so Cherokee toponyms are rare.

The Arkansas and Canadian Valley region is located south of the Cherokee Ozarks and Prairie Plains, straddling the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers in a ten to thirty mile wide band. The region is low, being between 300 and 500 feet in elevation. Though the Arkansas and Canadian Valley region is dominated by broad floodplains, the rivers have carved into both the Ozark and Ouachita highlands, creating considerable relief. Rich, alluvial soils are characteristic of the region and slow-moving bayous and oxbow lakes are present along the major rivers. Uplands, at times equivalent in elevation to the Ozarks to the north, are divided by highly irregular valleys. In places, small tallgrass prairies resemble the larger region to the west.

Western Climate

Comparison of contemporary conditions shows that the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory must have been quite different climatically from Cherokee lands in the Southeast. Northeastern Oklahoma precipitation levels are lower and seasonal temperature variances are greater than in the part of the Southeast occupied by the Cherokees. Average annual precipitation in the region ranges from a high of 46 inches in the Arkansas Valley to a low of 36 inches in the Prairie Plains. The Cherokee Ozarks are one of the more humid regions in Oklahoma due to a slight orographic effect; precipitation averages 44 inches per year. Most precipitation occurs in the form of summer rainfall, while the winters are fairly dry. Average January temperatures range between 35 degrees in the northern Prairie Plains to 40 degrees in the Arkansas Valley. The pattern is different for average July temperatures, which range between a low of 78 degrees in the milder Cherokee Ozarks to 82 degrees elsewhere. The Cherokee Ozarks have a lower annual temperature range and the growing season is shorter than in surrounding areas.[15]

Reconstruction of the nineteenth century climate indicates that temperatures were slightly lower and

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[15]Oliver and Hidore, Climatology, pp. 185-190; U.S. Department of Interior, Geological Survey, The National Atlas of the United States of America, p. 97.

precipitation was distributed differently throughout the year. Average annual temperatures were 1% lower than present, resulting in cooler summers. A greater difference was seen in precipitation levels. Summer rainfall was as much as 10% lower and spring rainfall was as much as 15% lower. Since average annual precipitation was roughly equal to modern levels, more precipitation occurred in the winter. These conditions affected agricultural development throughout the South and would have certainly altered vegetation patterns along zones of climatic transition.[16]

Western Historical Biogeography

The Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory was located in the transitional region between the eastern deciduous forest biome and that of the western tallgrass prairies. The wooded hills of the Cherokee Ozarks most resembled their old home in the Southeast, the Arkansas and Canadian River Valleys were somewhat similar to the riparian lowlands of the old homeland, and the grasslands of the Prairie Plains were unlike anything the Cherokees had experienced previously.

The vegetation of the Cherokee Ozarks represent a western extension of the eastern broadleaf deciduous forests. During

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[16]Earle, Carville, "Regional Economic Development West of the Appalachians, 1815-1860," In Mitchell, Robert D. and Paul A. Groves, ed., North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent, (1987). pp. 172-197. Totawa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield. p. 187.

the period of initial Cherokee settlement, the Ozarks were dominated by several species of oaks (*Quercus*), walnuts (*Juglans*) and hickories (*Carya*). These include blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*), black oak (*Quercus velutina*), post oak (*Quercus stellata*), chinkapin oak (*Quercus muehlenbergii*), black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), pecan (*Carya illinoensis*), black hickory (*Carya texana*) and white hickory (*Carya tomentosa*). Larger trees were common in the protected valleys where moisture was abundant. Valleys and forest understories also supported an abundance of cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) before the twentieth century. At the time of initial Cherokee settlement and into the late nineteenth century, large canebrakes similar to those found in the Cherokee Southeast were found throughout the Ozark valleys and served similar purposes, as Elinor Boudinot Meigs recalled in 1937:

> I can remember when there were dense canebrakes in the river lowlands which afforded wonderful winter range for cattle, also a shelter for the stock from the severe winter weather and a refuge for game.[17]

On the plateau tops, drier soil conditions, in conjunction with frequent human-induced fires, led to the formation of tallgrass prairies dominated by Little Bluestem (*Andropogon scoparius*), and Indian Grass (*Sorghastrum nutans*). Many of these small prairies were valued by Cherokees who raised cattle, since they offered good grazing, but were surrounded by the more dominant forest. Although most of

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[17]Interview with Elinor Boudinot Meigs, IPH 62:80.

these prairies have been reforested through modern fire suppression practices, many are still recognized by Cherokee toponyms like "Pegg's Prairie," "Long Prairie," and "Cowskin Prairie," the latter of which was the largest.[18] On the steeper slopes east of the Illinois River, a few large isolated stands of Southern Yellow Pine (*Pinus echinata*) existed in the nineteenth century. S.W. Ross, a long-time resident of Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, recalled:

> When the Cherokees established their nation...the far-flung hills were covered with large oak, hickory, and walnut trees and extensive groves of the hardy yellow pine. Within a few years an occasional sawmill was established and workmen became engaged in felling numbers of pine trees which were sawed into lumber.[19]

Prairie Plains vegetational patterns have also changed since the nineteenth century. County soil surveys and field observations indicate that the region has recently experienced the spread of crosstimber woodland from the west, due mainly to twentieth-century fencing and fire suppression. Accounts of late nineteenth century travelers, however, indicate that tallgrasses were overwhelmingly dominant in the Prairie Plains, and that woodland had not yet invaded. Visiting the region in 1819, Thomas Nuttall first saw the vast Prairie Plains, then known as the "Osage Prairie," after traveling

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[18]See Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, (1986). Third Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Plate 36.

[19]Interview with S.W. Ross, IPH 78:294.

through the dense forests and canebrakes of the Arkansas River Valley:

> Contiguous to the lower side of Grand River, there was a thick canebrake, more than two miles in width, backed by prairie, without the intervention of hills... About eight miles from the Arkansa, commences the great Osage prairie, more than 60 miles in length [east to west], and in fact, succeeded by a continuation of woodless plains to the banks of the Missouri.[20]

Sixty-eight years later, another observer similarly recalled:

> We travelled [south] between Grand River and the Missouri Pacific Railroad. We crossed many small streams, some of which were Cabin Creek, Rock Creek, Pryor Creek...the prairies were so large there were thousands and thousands of acres of grass that had never been mowed. It would bow and bend to the gentle zephyr breezes until it would almost make one's head swim to look at it...[21]

The Prairie Plains grasses consisted of big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardi*), little bluestem (*Andropogon scoparius*), switch grass (*Panicum virgatum*) and Indian grass (*Sorghastrum nutans*). Today, all of these species are important for grazing purposes and they make up some of the best cattle range in Oklahoma.[22] The only trees in the region were limited to small, limited galleria forests that were dominated by southern cottonwoods (*Populus deltoides*) and Ozark-type

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[20]Nuttall, Thomas, A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa[s] Territory, During the Year 1819, (1821). Philadelphia: Thomas M. Palmes. Reprint [1966]. March of America Facsimile Series, No. 63. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms. p. 171.

[21]Interview with Emma Herrington, IPH 41:441.

[22]Staten, Hi W., Grasses and Grassland Farming, (1952). New York: The Devin-Adair Company. pp. 206-226.

hardwoods. Canebrakes were also found at the mouths of these tributaries near the Grand River, but climatic conditions apparently limited their growth further west and north.

The Arkansas and Canadian Valleys shared characteristics of both the Cherokee Ozark and Prairie Plains regions. The uplands surrounding the valleys harbored a mix of fire-managed hardwoods and pines, while the moister lowlands and floodplains were dominated by extensive canebrakes and old-growth forests that escaped frequent burning. Herbert Hicks, an elderly resident of the lower Grand River Valley, explained in 1937:

> The Arkansas and Grand River bottoms were a great canebrake, with immense growth of cottonwood, elm, overcup oak, pecan, sycamore and walnut trees, which was so heavy that the roads, which we travelled on horseback, were quite dark, even at midday. Many of those grand old trees were felled by soldiers, during the Civil War...[23]

Wooded portions of the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory housed a variety of fauna that was quite similar to patterns in the Southeast. Large quantities of mast from the oak-hickory forest provided an ideal habitat for whitetail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), which were the most traditional source of meat and hides. European wild hogs (*Sus scrofa*), an Old World invader species adapted to foraging in hardwood forests, later became the most important foodsource for the Cherokees. Swine raising was practiced among the pre-removal Cherokees and they certainly brought pigs with them from the

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[23]Interview with Herbert W. Hicks, IPH 42:147.

East; but the adaptive success of hogs they utilized suggests that many were semiwild animals, as one elderly Cherokee explained:

> The hogs would live on the nuts and acorns in the woods all the year and the wolves and coyotes did not bother the pigs. As the native hogs were of a wild nature and were ready for a fight at the crack of brush, all the hogs in the wood would help the mother sow to protect her young. But after the white man imported better breeds of hogs from the North and turned them loose among the native hogs, it was not many years until the wolves would steal the young pigs.[24]

Small game, such as cottontails (*Sylvilagus floridanus*), fox squirrels (*Sciurus niger*) and grey squirrels (*Sciurus carolinensis*), afforded a secondary source for Cherokee subsistence. Bird species utilized by the Cherokees included turkeys (*Meleagris gallopavo*), prairie chickens (*Tympanuchus cupido pinnatus*) and passenger pigeons (*Ectopistes migratorius*).

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[24]Interview with Bob Butler, IPH 14:75.

CHAPTER III.

SPATIAL ANTECEDENTS OF CHEROKEE CATTLE HERDING

Cattle herding was brought to New World colonies from different parts of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several different herding traditions that eventually influenced the Cherokees were transferred to North America.

After a slow start, the Spanish instituted an Iberian pattern of open range ranching in northern Florida during the second half of the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century this activity was adopted by Florida Indians. These, in turn, passed their experience to other tribes, including the Cherokees.

Along the eastern seaboard of North America, cattle herding was complex and widespread. Several herding regions developed that eventually influenced the Cherokee system. Open range herding became very important among the colonists in Virginia and the Carolinas. A cattle raising and mixed-farming system developed among the various northern European farmers of the Middle Atlantic colonies. There, syncretized traits were carried along the Appalachian corridor and mixed

with the Virginia complex before diffusing through the Upland South in the mid 1700s.

The Spanish Florida Hearth

Spanish expeditions brought large numbers of European livestock to the Southeast in the sixteenth century. Livestock lost along the route became either food for wolf packs or the progenitors of feral animal populations.[1] Among these, pigs got an early start, soon evolving into "razorbacks." The abundant mast of the Southeastern forests provided plenty of food, while their ferocious disposition and high fecundity insured their success in the wild.[2] More valuable horses and cattle were easier to keep track of, so strays were too few to sustain a feral breeding population.

The Spanish also successfully stocked cattle in the Southeast and established an Iberian-derived herding tradition among the Seminoles and Creeks. The Spanish brought cattle from Hispañola to St. Augustine throughout the sixteenth century, but pests, disease and Indian theft kept herds small until the middle of the seventeenth century.[3]

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[1]Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 9-13, 107-110.

[2]Silver, A New Face on the Countryside, p. 174.

[3]Arnade, Charles W. "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," Agricultural History 35 (1961):116-23; Gray, History of Agriculture, pp. 9-13, 107-110; Ackerman, Joe A., Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising, (1976).

The Iberian system, which evolved in the subtropical lowlands of Las Marismas,[4] was extensive and designed to obtain large numbers of animals rather than high quality stock. Cattle were left to fend for themselves and multiply on the open range. A Moorish tradition of horsemanship became deeply rooted in Iberian pastoralism and herders developed a unique material culture revolving around managing cattle from horseback. West African slaves also brought herding traits from their continent, though this subject needs more study.[5] Iberian and African traits, together with European cattle, converged in the Caribbean to form a distinctive Latin American herding tradition centering on Hispañola.[6] Cattle herding diffused wherever the Spanish went, so it is likely that Florida herders, like their compadres in New Spain and La Plata, were skilled in the use of the lariat and lasso.

Kissimmee, Florida: Florida Cattleman's Association; Dacy, George H. Four Centuries of Florida Ranching, (1940). St. Louis: Britt Publishing Company. pp. 22-24.

[4]Butzer, Carl W. "Cattle and Sheep from Old to New Spain: Historical Antecedents," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 78 (1988):29-56; Doolittle, William E., "Las Marismas to Pánuco to Texas: The Transfer of Open Range Cattle Ranching from Iberia through Northeastern Mexico," Yearbook, Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers 23 (1987):3-11.

[5]Wood, Peter H., Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion, (1974). New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Idem, "'It Was A Negro Taught Them,' A New Look at African Labor in Early South Carolina." Journal of Asian and African Studies 9 (1974):160-89.

[6]Bishko, C. J., "The Peninsular Background of Latin American Cattle Ranching," Hispanic American Historical Review 32 (1952):492-515; Sauer, The Early Spanish Main, Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 156-57.

The open pine lands and countless small savannas of northern Florida offered plenty of forage for range cattle. Winter mortality rates were low, but the absence of a cold season also allowed a variety of pests to plague Florida stock throughout the year. In the fifty years after 1655, haciendas with herds of several thousand cattle constituted the only significant white civilian presence in the north Florida interior.[7] The Spanish also brought their Caribbean slaves to perform the arduous work, so African traits likely became part of the Spanish Florida tradition.

Semiwild herds of Spanish cattle multiplied and spread throughout Florida, overrunning Indian maize fields and prompting social disruption among the various tribes. Indian men killed trespassing cattle, first to defend against crop losses and later for food. Facing starvation, the Indians began to actively hunt Spanish cattle, further impairing relations with St. Augustine.

Muscogulge Transfer

Known later as Seminoles, northern Florida Muscogulge-speaking tribes began acquiring their own herds in the early eighteenth century. By the 1740s Seminole herders were supplying the Spanish at St. Augustine and Pensacola with

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[7]Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," pp. 116-23.

stock for domestic use and export to the Caribbean. The Seminole complex diffused in the wake of an expanding wild herd that spread north and west throughout the Gulf Coastal Plain. By the middle of the 1700s their Muscogulge kinsmen, the Creeks in Alabama and Georgia, had begun to keep cattle. Spanish traits continued to diffuse to the Creeks throughout the rest of the eighteenth century: first from Florida and later from the lower Mississippi River Valley.

The Creek herding tradition was also influenced by British traders from South Carolina who lived among the Indians and kept herds of their own. But most British (often Celtic) influence diffused to the Creeks after 1775 by way of intermarried whites, particularly Scottish Tories who sought refuge among the British-allied Indians. Lower southern herders from South Carolina only reached the piney woods of central Georgia by the 1790s. By the latter part of the eighteenth century large herds of cattle were common in the Creek country of central Georgia and Alabama.[8] When Georgia herders began to encroach on the Lower Creek country in the early 1800s, the Indians were already engaged in the cattle

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[8]Thompson, A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860, p. 64; Israel, Kenneth Davidson. "A Geographical Analysis of the Cattle Industry in Southeastern Mississippi from its Beginnings to 1860," (1970). unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi. p. 60; Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People, (1986). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. pp. 67-69.

trade on a large scale.[9] During his 1790 travels through northwest Alabama, John Pope visited a Creek man who had apparently created a lifestyle modeled after both the Spanish and British traders:

> He has a considerable Number of Negroes at his different Plantations, probably more than fifty, and a common Report says, double that number in the Spanish-West India Islands; has also large stocks of Horses, Hogs, and horned Cattle. Two or three White Men superintend their respective Ranges, and now and then collect them together in Order to brand, mark, & etc.: This they effect by giving them a little Salt in their Inclosures.[10]

The custom of keeping hogs on the same range and salting cattle represent influences from the British complex. Even so, these traits diffused to the Creeks after the Spanish-derived, Seminole tradition. This timing reinforces conjecture that southern "Cracker" herders, upon reaching the piney woods of eastern Alabama, learned Spanish horseback skills preserved in the Creek tradition.[11]

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[9]Israel, "A Geographical Analysis of the Cattle Industry in Southeastern Mississippi from its Beginnings to 1860," p. 64.

[10]Pope, John. 1792. A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States North America, the Spanish Dominions on the Mississippi River, and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and Many Uninhabited Parts, (1792). Reprint [1888]. New York: Charles L. Woodward. p. 49.

[11]First suggested in Jordan, Trails to Texas, p. 49.

The Lower Southern Hearth

The British open range herding tradition that converged with the Spanish-derived Alabama Creek complex developed on the Coastal Plain of South Carolina in the late seventeenth century. This "cowpens" open range herding complex centered around Charleston and produced beef for export to the West Indies.[12] The word "cowpen" has several meanings: it is synonymous with the Spanish "corral," or holding pen in which semiwild range cattle were periodically taken after the roundup; it is also equivalent to "ranch," referring to the entire area utilized in the open range herding operation; and it is used by academics to describe the entire operation.[13] It has been suggested that similarities between the cowpens and Spanish Florida complexes abound because both systems ultimately originated in the Caribbean.

Cattle were first introduced to South Carolina from Virginia, as well as the islands of Barbados and Antigua. South Carolina cattle were genetically similar to Spanish Florida cattle, since they were both composed of Iberian cattle stocked in the Caribbean. Further, it is likely that Florida and Carolina cattle interbred freely on the same

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[12]Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," pp. 125-30.

[13]Laing, Wesley. N., "Cattle in Early Virginia," pp. 138-39; Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 27-29.

range, so their appearance was probably similar.[14] As in Florida, Carolina herders allowed cattle to forage on the open range throughout the year. Herds eventually became semiwild through natural selection, adapting to the humid Coastal Plain of lower South Carolina. Like Spanish Florida, priority lay in the production of large numbers of beef cattle for export to Caribbean sugar plantations. Men seasonally collected range cattle in sturdy cowpens built using the stake and rider technique. Most often they marked each animal by cutting away a portion of the ear or making an incision in the loose flesh below the neck, called a "dewlap." The method of burning brands onto the hide with hot irons was used by British herders, but was secondary to the previously mentioned methods. After collection and marking, cattle were driven to coastal markets where they were sold and processed. The beef was pickled and barreled, tallow was used for candles and soap, and hides were tanned and shipped to England for use in manufacturing shoes, saddles and harness.[15]

Contemporary scholars emphasize a thesis of diffusion and blending which holds that although some practices may be shared, most cultural complexes retain their own diagnostic

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[14]Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, p. 204; Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," p. 127; Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 37-38.

[15]Dunbar, p. 126-30; Jordan, Trails to Texas, 38-43.

traits that can be traced over space and through time.[16] For instance, South Carolinians, unlike their Spanish counterparts, were deficient in roping techniques, and also relied less upon horses in working and driving stock than did Spanish herders, so they had little need for saddles designed for cattle herding. They often walked their herds to market along fairly good roads, using long bullwhips and assisted by several highly trained shepherd dogs. In contrast, the use of horses and roping techniques by the Spanish enabled frequent stock handling, which may explain why British colonists rarely gathered their stock more than twice a year. Unlike the subtropical grassland-oriented vaqueros, Carolinians occasionally burned the range to improve grazing in the forest understory. Significantly, most British herders were not exclusively cattlemen, as were the Iberians; swine shared the same range as cattle, and it was not uncommon for cows, pigs and turkeys to be driven to market together. Carolina herders used salt to keep herds from ranging too far, a problem with which the mounted Spaniards were not familiar.

The classic Carolina cowpen operation consisted of centrally located dwellings and outbuildings near a large cowpen. White managers called "cowpen keepers" employed

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[16]Jordan, Trails to Texas, passim; Idem, "Early Northeast Texas and the Evolution and the Origin of Western Cattle Ranching," pp. 66-87; Idem, "The Origin and Distribution of Open-Range Ranching," pp. 105-121; Idem, "The Origin of Anglo-American Cattle Ranching in Texas: A Documentation of Diffusion from the Lower South," pp. 63-87.

skilled Afro-American slaves called "cowhunters" to perform the most hazardous work such as cutting and marking the stock.[17] Gambian slaves, who had an Old World herding tradition of their own, were preferred by Carolina slave traders. Gambian slaves may have introduced West African herding methods to the Lower South, such as horseback management techniques, capturing stock and seasonal transhumance.[18]

In South Carolina, stock was seasonally driven from summer pastures in the Piedmont to evergreen canebrakes in the Coastal Plain. Canebrakes were essential to the success of the herding system, since they provided abundant winter forage and shelter. Cowpens were ideally located on a river near the fall line in order to take advantage of the vegetation resources of both the Coastal Plain and Piedmont. An ill-defined droving trail linked the cowpen to port cities on the coast.[19]

South Carolina cattle were not high in quality, but they multiplied quickly. Large herds of range cattle required

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[17]Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," pp. 126-30.

[18]See Wood, " 'It was a Negro Taught Them,' a New Look at African Labor in Early South Carolina," pp. 168-169; Idem, Black Majority, pp. 28-34, 105-06, 212-13; Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 14-15; The Afro-American legacy in the western cattle industry is also discussed in Durham, Phillip C., The Negro Cowboys, (1965). New York: Dodd and Mead; Idem, "The Negro Cowboy," American Quarterly 7 (1955): 291-301. Bill Pickett

[19]Dunbar, "Carolina Cowpens," p. 127; Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 35-36.

large tracts of cheap land, so cowpen operations had to be located outside of valuable plantation areas and settled districts where crops were not adequately fenced. As settlement expanded inland, Carolina herders migrated in two directions.[20] Most clung to the Coastal Plain and began a migration to the prairies of Texas, learning Spanish skills along the way.[21] A much smaller number of Carolina herders moved inland to the temperate, hardwood-forested Appalachians occupied by the Cherokees. Coinciding with this minor westward movement was a much larger migration of settlers from Virginia and southeastern Pennsylvania.

The Upland Southern Hearth

Beginning early in the eighteenth century, a large agricultural population, originating in the Middle Colonies and Virginia, began to settle Appalachian valleys, moving southwest with the grain of the topography until they reached Cherokee lands in present eastern Tennessee. By the time of the American Revolution, settlers were squatting on the northern lands of the Cherokees. To the northwest, the Cumberland settlements guaranteed further white settlement

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[20]Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," pp. 147-76.

[21]Jordan, Trails to Texas, passim; Idem, "The Origin of Anglo-American Cattle Ranching in Texas," pp. 63-87; Israel, "Cattle Industry in Southeastern Mississippi," p. 64.

pressure. By the turn of the nineteenth century, settlement had spread around the northern edges of the Cherokee country, bringing with it upland southern agricultural practices that had syncretized in the Appalachian valleys from sources in Virginia, the Carolinas and the Middle Colonies.

English Quakers introduced Virginia cattle to Pennsylvania and began to practice a moderately intensive form of stock raising that included range improvement, feeding and housing stock in winter. Careful planning, range improvement and methods of husbandry not only made Pennsylvania self-sufficient in cattle, but furnished exports to the West Indies. Intensive stock raising methods were also practiced by Germans after their early eighteenth century emigration to southeastern Pennsylvania. This region subsequently became important for beef production for Philadelphia.[22]

The southeastern Pennsylvania core region came to be dominated by Germans, English and Scotch-Irish, but smaller remnant groups such as the Walloons had a significant influence on the development of regional cattle raising methods through the introduction of better quality cattle. Middle Atlantic cattle raisers were highly successful because they blended methods that worked to their advantage. The

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[22]Bidwell, Percy W. and John I. Falconer. History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860, (1925). Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution. p. 138.

Delaware Valley, in particular, was a region of great syncretism and diffusion of traits.[23]

Middle Atlantic settlers practiced a fairly intensive form of cattle raising rather than large-scale open range herding. At first, beef was processed and shipped to the Caribbean, but in the late 1700s, a substantial domestic market emerged for oxen, beef and dairy cattle. Unlike the South, cattle raising in the Middle Atlantic region became oriented toward smaller numbers of higher quality stock. Middle Atlantic stock raisers, following their northern European tradition, built barns to shelter cattle from cold winters and provided hay and feed of various forms. In contrast to southern herders, Middle Atlantic farmers prioritized crops over livestock. Cattle were usually allowed to graze outside of fenced cropland in summer, but were fed throughout the winter. After harvest time, cattle were often put on fenced cornfields to fatten. The Corn Belt feeding system apparently evolved here or in Virginia, where the practice was also common.

Open range cattle herding in Virginia began after 1619, when stock was imported from Britain and northern Europe. By the 1630s, small farming and tobacco plantations dominated the river valleys and herds of range cattle grazed on the

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[23]On syncretism and diffusion in the Delaware Valley see Jordan, Terry G., and Matti Kaups. The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation, (1989). Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

interfluves between tidewater estuaries. Like the South Carolina complex, early Virginia herding was subordinate to staple crop production and was inclined to locate in less accessible areas. As tobacco plantations expanded, cattle herders tended to move into the interior.

By the 1720s, Virginians and Pennsylvanians were settling the Shenandoah Valley. Within three decades, cattle raising had become a regional specialization and settlers were advancing southwest. Grain fields were protected with the Virginia worm fence, as cattle were kept on the open range throughout most of the year. During the second half of the eighteenth century, professional drovers took herds of western Virginia beeves to Philadelphia and Baltimore ports where they were processed, barreled in brine and shipped to the Caribbean. By the time of the American Revolution, western Virginia was recognized as a great cattle country where farmers walked their corn to market in the form of beef.

The lure of owning fertile farmland drew Middle Colonies and Virginia settlers deeper into the Appalachian corridor. The settlers gradually lost their regional affiliation as they continued to move inland; nevertheless, many European ethnic traditions persisted in the form of cultural traits, including cattle raising. Combining their folkways in the narrow valleys of western Virginia, these frontier settlers approached the Cherokee lands from the northeast in the Watauga-Holston country. As a result, an Upland South cattle

raising complex emerged from the intensive, grain-oriented methods of the southeastern Pennsylvanians and the open range, corn feeding tradition of the Virginians.

Two Primary Herding Sources

By the time of the American Revolution, the various core regions of cattle herding had blended to produce two identifiable types. In the South, Spanish traits blended with those brought by British colonists to form a lower southern planter/rancher complex that was also practiced by Muscogulge-speaking Indian tribes such as the Creeks and Seminoles. By 1775, this tradition began to expand west and north toward the Cherokee country. In the central Appalachians, various northern European groups blended their traditions to produce an upland southern form of cattle raising that also diffused southwest toward the Cherokee country. Although many traits were shared, there were several that differed, enabling identification of diffusion paths of upland and lowland southern forms to new areas such as the Cherokee country.[24]

Wealthy planters and landless professional herders dominated the cattle industry of the Lower South. Although these individuals owned work oxen and dairy cattle on their

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[24]Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 25-58; Newton, Milton B. Jr., "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," pp. 143-154; Otto and Anderson, "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis," pp. 183-200.

plantations, their business -- the production of large herds of semiwild beef cattle -- was an activity that required a considerable investment in time and labor with the objective of making large annual profits. Lower southern herders often owned very large herds of cattle, numbering in the hundreds and even the thousands. Herds of this size could only be managed on enormous stretches of unsettled, open rangeland. Labor was rarely confined to the family unit, and enslaved cowhands were more common than hired whites. Shelter and feed for the unimproved stock were negligible throughout the year, and the process of natural selection often adjusted range cattle to their surroundings. Cattle were marked using earmarks and brands, and herd location was controlled through the use of salt. Limited, horizontal transhumance was practiced; herds were driven to ranges where grass and canebrakes remained green through the winter. Originally a Spanish trait, management from horseback was adopted widely by lower southerners in the eighteenth century. Cattle were regularly collected during cowhunts, taken to cowpens and driven overland to coastal markets along designated trails.[25]

In comparison, upland southerners owned much smaller herds, usually less than two hundred animals. Smaller herds were kept on the open range surrounding individual family farms and pastures were sometimes improved. Fences kept cattle out of crops, which were the most important part of the

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[25]Jordan, Trails to Texas, pp. 38-51.

system. The upland southerners often provided feed in the form of hay and corn that was stored in outbuildings, and occasionally provided shelter for cattle during the colder Appalachian winters. Better care enabled their higher quality eastern cattle to survive without degrading into semiwild animals. Higher quality, tamer cattle were needed for dairying, transport and cultivation. Through most of the year, cattle were kept on the nearby open range and limited transhumance was occasionally practiced. Earmarks were the preferred style of marking cattle, and bells, salt and feed were all used to control herd location. Most Appalachian farmers annually sold a few head to professional drovers in order to obtain cash for goods, while a few farmers raised larger herds and marketed excess grain in the form of fattened livestock.[26]

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[26]Ibid., pp. 51-58; Otto and Anderson, "The Diffusion of Upland South Folk Culture, 1790-1840," pp. 89-98; MacMaster, "The Cattle Trade in Western Virginia, 1760-1830," pp. 127-49. In Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era. Edited by Robert D. Mitchell. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

CHAPTER IV.

CULTURAL ANTECEDENTS OF CHEROKEE CATTLE HERDING

The spatial stage was set for the diffusion of cattle herding to the Cherokees from the Upland and Lower South by the time of the American Revolution. This exogenous change, however, was not the sole factor that enabled the acceptance of cattle herding by the Cherokees. During the same period, internal cultural change began to fragment the tribe socio-economically, accelerating the adoption of new innovations. Because cultural change is a continuing process, it would be futile to designate a precise date for the acceptance of herding. From a chronological standpoint, the catalyst for the adoption of cattle herding was contact-induced social disruption caused by disease, trade and warfare during the eighteenth century.

Herding was preceded by the deerskin trade, which altered traditional values and locked the tribe into the mercantile economy. As the deerskin trade declined and agricultural practices became more important, the Cherokees began to keep cattle for two different purposes that suited their individual needs: commerce and self-sufficiency. Although a prejudice against cattle at first stalled their acceptance of the

innovation, a number of cultural parallels eased the adoption of open range herding among progressive, status-oriented Cherokee males. For Cherokees who maintained a semitraditional lifestyle but adopted new agricultural methods, raising cattle for subsistence purposes fell under the auspices of Cherokee women farmers. This acceptance for differing reasons occurred in the late eighteenth century and was a result of cultural divergence prompted by European contact.

Causes of Cultural Change Before 1761

The earliest recorded contact between Europeans and the Cherokees occurred during the De Soto expedition in 1540. The Spaniards left several head of cattle and horses with the Cherokees, but all were lost or killed within a few years. The conquistadors had some influence, however, since the Spanish term for cow, "vaca" became instilled into the Cherokee language as "wá'ka."[1]

Regular contact between the Cherokees and Charleston traders began in the late seventeenth century. The British sought trade relations with the tribe, explaining to Cherokee headmen that the whites only wished to obtain deerskins and

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[1]Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, (1891). Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1897-98. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. pp. 265; Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition, p. 135.

that settlement would never intrude on Cherokee land. By 1720, Virginia and South Carolina traders had established posts in many Cherokee towns from which they distributed English goods, but eventually the trade became a Charleston monopoly. Among the many luxuries available from the traders were glass beads, textiles, cookware, metal tools, firearms and rum. After a generation of trading, the new conveniences became necessities and many traditional crafts began to disappear. Potters neglected their trade after Cherokee women became used to brass kettles. Log houses held up better than traditional wattle and daub structures, but constructing them required English tools. Both men and women coveted English calico and linsey and willingly exchanged buckskin for them.

By the 1720s the trade had been regulated. Cherokees in western South Carolina seeking better prices traveled through white settlements, which sometimes led to conflict. A particular problem for the Cherokees was the herding economy. It was not long before range cattle overran Cherokee crops. Farming was a female role, but Cherokee males were obligated to solve the wives' problem. The quickest solution was to simply kill cattle on sight, whether they were wrecking Cherokee fields or not. Apparently, trouble was brewing between frontier cattlemen and Indians in 1730 when the British authorities tried to calm the situation:

> The Great King and the Cherrokee Indians being thus fasten'd together by the Chain of Friendship...he desires that the Indians and the English may live together as the Children of one Family, whereof the Great King is a kind

> and loving Father; and as the King has given his Land on both sides of the great Mountains to his own Children the English, so he now gives the Cherrokee Indians the Privilege of living where they please; and he has ordered the Gov't. to forbid the English building Houses or planting corn near our Indian town, for fear that your young People sho'd kill the Cattle and young Lambs & so quarrel with the English and Hurt them; and hereupon we give one Piece of Red Cloth.[2]

Needing more goods and recognizing the British craving for deerhides, the Cherokees began to center their economy on commercialized hide hunting using two newly introduced innovations: firearms and horses. Keeping firearms was difficult because they required expensive powder and shot available only through the traders. Moreover, trade guns were shoddy; they were inaccurate, discharged irregularly and simply fell apart, so new ones always had to be purchased. Traditional longbows were safer and more efficient, but Cherokee hunters insisted on guns because of their novelty and because they intimidated enemies in warfare.

Introduced about 1740, horses became essential to Cherokee hunters.[3] They were used for transportation to distant hunting grounds, driving deer during the hunt and hauling hides to market. Well-trained dogs were also used by

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[2]Williams, Samuel C., ed., "Articles of Friendship and Commerce Proposed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to the Deputies of the Cherrokee Nation in South Carolina, by His Majesty's Order, on Monday, Sept. 7, 1730." In Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, pp. 139-40.

[3]Newman, "The Acceptance of European Domestic Animals by the Eighteenth Century Cherokee," p. 102.

Cherokee hunters to track and catch deer.[4] During most of the eighteenth century, small groups of heavily-armed hunters, along with a string of horses and a pack of dogs, ventured into Kentucky for weeks at a time. Upon returning, deerhides were tanned and traded for merchandise that was distributed among family and friends.

A Cherokee hunter's reputation depended on his ability to provide goods for others. More experienced individuals traded for and distributed goods throughout the community, thereby extinguishing much of their own wealth, but raising their position in the community. White traders living among the Indians, however, rarely practiced this ethic.

The traders who married Cherokee women and lived among the tribe were backwoods frontiersmen; they hunted, raised some garden crops and chickens and let their horses, hogs and cattle range in the woods. By the middle of the 1700s their presence in many Cherokee towns played a significant role in exposing the Cherokees to stock raising. James Adair reflected on these individuals in his History of the Indians:

> The industrious old traders have still...plenty of hogs...likewise some hundreds of fowls...plenty of venison, dried flesh of bears and buffalos, wild turkeys, ducks, geese, and pigeons...[5]

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[4]Harper, Travels of William Bartram, p.228.

[5]Williams, Samuel. C., ed., Adair's History of the American Indians (1775), (1930). Johnson City, Tennessee: Watauga Press. p.445.

Cherokee women very early integrated hog raising into their subsistence farming routine. Hogs, called by the Cherokees, "grinning opossum," fit into the traditional female agriculture role, since they remained within the locality of the village and served as a secondary food source when wild game was insufficient. Pigs were allowed to forage in the nearby woods throughout the fall and winter, where they lived on roots and nuts.[6] Since swine often damaged crops in the field, in the spring pigs were put into enclosures and fattened for slaughter, as trader James Adair explained: "The women...confine the swine to convenient penns, from the time the provisions are planted, till they are gathered in..."[7]

In contrast, semiwild range cattle were categorized as game animals -- the specialization of males -- so Cherokee females had no use for them. Cherokee hunters rarely killed cattle for food purposes. They believed that if eaten, the "white man's buffalo," would "give the Indian the white man's nature, so that neither the remedies nor the spells of the Indian doctor will have any effect upon him."[8] An aversion

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[6]Newman, "The Acceptance of European Domestic Animals by the Eighteenth Century Cherokee," p. 102-03; Hatley, Thomas. 1991. "Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground," In Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era, pp. 37-51. Edited by Robert D. Mitchell. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

[7]Williams, Adair's History of the American Indians (1775), p. 436.

[8]Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee and Scared Formulas of the Cherokees, p. 472.

for beef developed that was based on a belief that one acquired the characteristics of food animals. Large, docile bovines became taboo, particularly to Cherokee warriors, who preferred traditional game such as the swift and elusive deer. Most encounters between Cherokees and cattle during the 1760s were not positive. The Cherokees' prejudice against cattle may go back to a circumstance in that period in which their belief was fulfilled by an epidemic of cattle distemper that broke out on the South Carolina range.[9] In 1767, James Adair was told of a group of Cherokee hunters who killed and ate an afflicted cow; to the horror of their fellow villagers, doing so apparently caused their glands to swell enormously.[10] Beef was an impractical source of meat on the frontier, both for white settlers and the Cherokees. Unlike cheaper pork, which could be butchered, smoked and stored in a variety of small forms, more expensive beef had to be pickled in brine in large quantities.[11] Most Cherokees despised cattle for ruining their crops, and traditional food was abundant.[12]

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[9]Gray, History of Agriculture, p. 147.

[10]Williams, Adair's History of the American Indians (1775), pp. 138-40.

[11]Pork was the food of choice before refrigeration. Until then, beef was most economical for feeding large groups of people; hence its use by plantation owners and the military.

[12]On southern foodways see: Hilliard, Sam B., Hogmeat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860, (1972). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

If anything, Cherokees desired more horses, which were prized for their utility and as status symbols. However, horses were expensive, especially to younger Cherokees not yet involved in the deerskin trade. At times, this ambitious group solved their problem by stealing horses from nearby white settlements. Great Britain established military garrisons in western South Carolina in the 1750s to settle increasing frontier discord and protect the interests of its empire. Fort Prince George annually purchased beef cattle from local whites who kept them for subsistence purposes; by the 1750s large herds must have been a common sight on Cherokee lands.[13] As the French threat increased, the English became friendlier to Cherokee chiefs, regularly inviting them to Charleston to receive special gifts.

The first half of the eighteenth century was characterized by the seemingly equal meeting of the two cultures. Although bloodshed lurked in their future, it should be noted that both sides adopted technological innovations on their own terms that improved everyday life. In less mundane ways, frontier British culture was radically different from what the Cherokees were used to. White families were nuclear, patriarchal and condoned the retention

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[13]In 1756 "horned cattle were driven to the Cherokee town of Keowee and 100 steers were driven to Ft. Prince George. See Milling, Chapman J., Red Carolinians, (1940). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Newman, "The Acceptance of European Domestic Animals by the Eighteenth Century Cherokee," pp. 101-07.

of personal wealth. Sometime after midcentury, a few Cherokee men began to emulate the southern Anglo lifestyle to enhance their own situation. White ways gave them more authority over family and property, while their Cherokee blood retained their Indian identity. At that point, Cherokee society began a long divergence that divided the tribe socially and politically. Since Cherokee chiefs had extended contact with frontier whites during this period, it is possible that cowpen herding practices may have been learned by a few influential, yet profit-oriented Cherokees. The wealthy chiefs certainly were aware of the colonial herding economy, for it was visible all around them. But even if they had decided to enter into it, it was too late.

Military Defeat and Chaos in 1761

The colonial frontier had reached the Cherokee domain by 1760. The tribe was locked into the deerskin trade both economically and psychologically through dependency on European manufactures. Along with the useful innovations of contact came lethal diseases and alien ideologies that Indians had never before encountered. The 1730s had also brought epidemics of smallpox and measles that killed thousands. Infectious disease rendered meaningless traditional medicine, which was closely integrated into religion and thus everyday

life.[14] This loss of spiritual confidence left many Cherokees bewildered, further dividing the tribe. Alcoholism had become a major part of the deerskin trade and it spawned violence and death. Many blamed the suffering on their new found luxuries and chose to return to a purely subsistence lifestyle.[15] Others concluded that white culture was superior and decided to abandon their own.

Contact between the socially disrupted Cherokees and the increasing numbers of whites led to frontier conflict. In 1760 a group of boisterous young Cherokees killed some white settlers. In response, South Carolina troops detained several chiefs in an effort to identify the guilty party. This humiliation, together with encouragement by the French, led the Cherokees to negate their alliance with the British and step up their raids on English settlements.

Raiding Cherokees killed settlers and cattle, but stole horses and slaves.[16] Though many of the Cherokees in western South Carolina did not desire war, the South Carolina militia retaliated against all Cherokee towns within the colony. The most important town in the region, Keowee, was within only a

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[14]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, pp. 17-18; Mooney, James, Historical Sketch of the Cherokee, (1975). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. p. 26.

[15]On the subject of Cherokee revitalization movements, see McLoughlin, The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861.

[16]Cattle were killed at the outset of a raid, so that their lowing would not disclose the Indians' presence.

few miles of Fort Prince George. Colonel Grant and his Carolina volunteers introduced systematic warfare to the Cherokees by burning foodstuffs and launching offensives on civilians. By 1762 the Lower and Middle Towns were crushed, sending refugees fleeing to the Overhill Towns.

Except for the intermarried white traders, the Cherokees in the mountains and the Overhill Towns in Tennessee seemed to be out of the reach of most Carolinians. However, they were directly in the path of Virginia and Pennsylvania settlers pouring into the Great Valley from the northeast. These pioneers illegally squatted along the upper Holston River about 1760, but a 1769 agreement calmed the situation. Along the tributaries of the Tennessee, the Cherokees resumed their semitraditional hunting/farming economy.

In the past, warfare built comradery and served to bond males within the matrilineal, matrilocal Cherokee kinship system. Cherokee warriors had an obligation to correct past infractions against their kinsmen; so, the cyclical nature of warfare always created a need for young warriors who wished to prove themselves. By 1763 Britain's control of eastern North America brought a period of stability to the frontier. In the new time of stability, a void was created that left males without an integrating mechanism or route to status. In that sense, hunting became even more important as a surrogate for warfare.

Military defeat instilled a new element of respect for the British, and relations were mended. The war-induced depression was hard to overcome even though the deerskin trade was immediately resumed. With more and more Cherokees hunting for profit, whitetail deer became harder to find; even the huge Ohio Valley range did not produce as many deer as it did in the 1750s. By 1761 wild pigs that competed for mast were beginning to displace deer in the southern ecosystem. Whitetails were not yet extinct, but their numbers took a sharp fall after the hide trade resumed. A few hides could still be collected locally in order to buy necessities, but big profits required longer hunts, which meant that larger investments in horses and supplies were needed.

The hide trade became more dangerous because Cherokee hunters had to go deeper into territories controlled by the Shawnees and Chickasaws who were also trying to procure hides. Warriors came along because larger groups were needed for safety. Though offensive warfare was discouraged by British traders, Shawnee scalps were sometimes found among the loads of deerhides. Cherokee hunting parties took on an expeditionary character and stayed gone for months at a time in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.

Hide hunting in the 1760s was a harsh business that did not always promise good returns, but it was an activity derived from the traditional economy. Hunting was the passion of Indian men and it provided much more than profit. Like

warfare had earlier, hide hunting allowed Cherokee males to build fellowship by embarking on ventures that had uncertain outcomes. The more goods hunters could provide their family and friends, the greater their status became in the community. Shrewdness, however, became a virtue among the most successful Cherokee traders because they had to deal with white businessmen at the trading posts. Those who could cross back and forth between cultures -- the mixedbloods and those who had frequent contact with British traders -- became the most successful within the contexts of both Cherokee and colonial society. These groups were largest where Indians and whites had the greatest contact: in western South Carolina.

CHAPTER V.

ADOPTION AND DEVELOPMENT, 1761-1839

The adoption of cattle herding among the Cherokees had begun before the Revolutionary War, but like most innovations, it remained a novelty practiced by a minority far from the mainstream. In the late 1790s, however, the adoption curve[1] pointed upward as a significant number of Cherokees began to keep cattle. Widespread by the first decade of the nineteenth century, cattle distribution reflected two differing channels of diffusion from both the Lower and Upland South. Both types became intertwined in the economic system of the Cherokees, though both served quite different purposes. In the first part of the nineteenth century, the two types diffused to the new environment of Indian Territory through the process of relocation diffusion; one over a span of twenty years and the other over the winter of 1838-39.

The first channel of diffusion from the Lower South was apparent among the Lower Cherokees in South Carolina on the eve of the Revolutionary War, where a handful of chiefs adopted the Carolina Coastal Plain form through the vector of

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[1]The curve of innovation adoption, with the number of adopters on the X-axis and time on the Y-axis, typically assumes an S-shaped curve.

traders from that colony. The Lower Cherokees moved to the Tennessee River Valley in northeast Alabama, southeast Tennessee and northwest Georgia after 1777. There, they came under the influence of the Spanish-Creek complex and blended that tradition with the former. Aided by intermarried whites, large-scale open range herding became a preferred activity among wealthy Cherokees in the 1790s. A core area of large-scale open range herding, termed "planter/rancher," was located along the Tennessee Valley from the mouth of the Clinch River near present Kingston, Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals in northern Alabama (Figure 5). There, innovative Cherokee mixedbloods adopted large-scale cattle herding as a market-oriented activity within the male realm.

The Lower Cherokees early practiced a planter/rancher form of herding oriented toward extensive, commercial production of beef cattle. The abundant natural resource base of the region -- specifically grasses in the forest understory, canebrakes, salt licks and streams -- allowed herds of range cattle to multiply prodigiously. Markets for beef cattle were found at military posts, frontier communities and even eastern markets. With a few exceptions, Cherokee cattlemen were much like their lower southern white planter/rancher counterparts. But as a growing Cherokee bourgeoisie began to keep cattle on the open range, this herding form became less of a class-oriented activity. By 1816, average Cherokee men outside of the open range core area

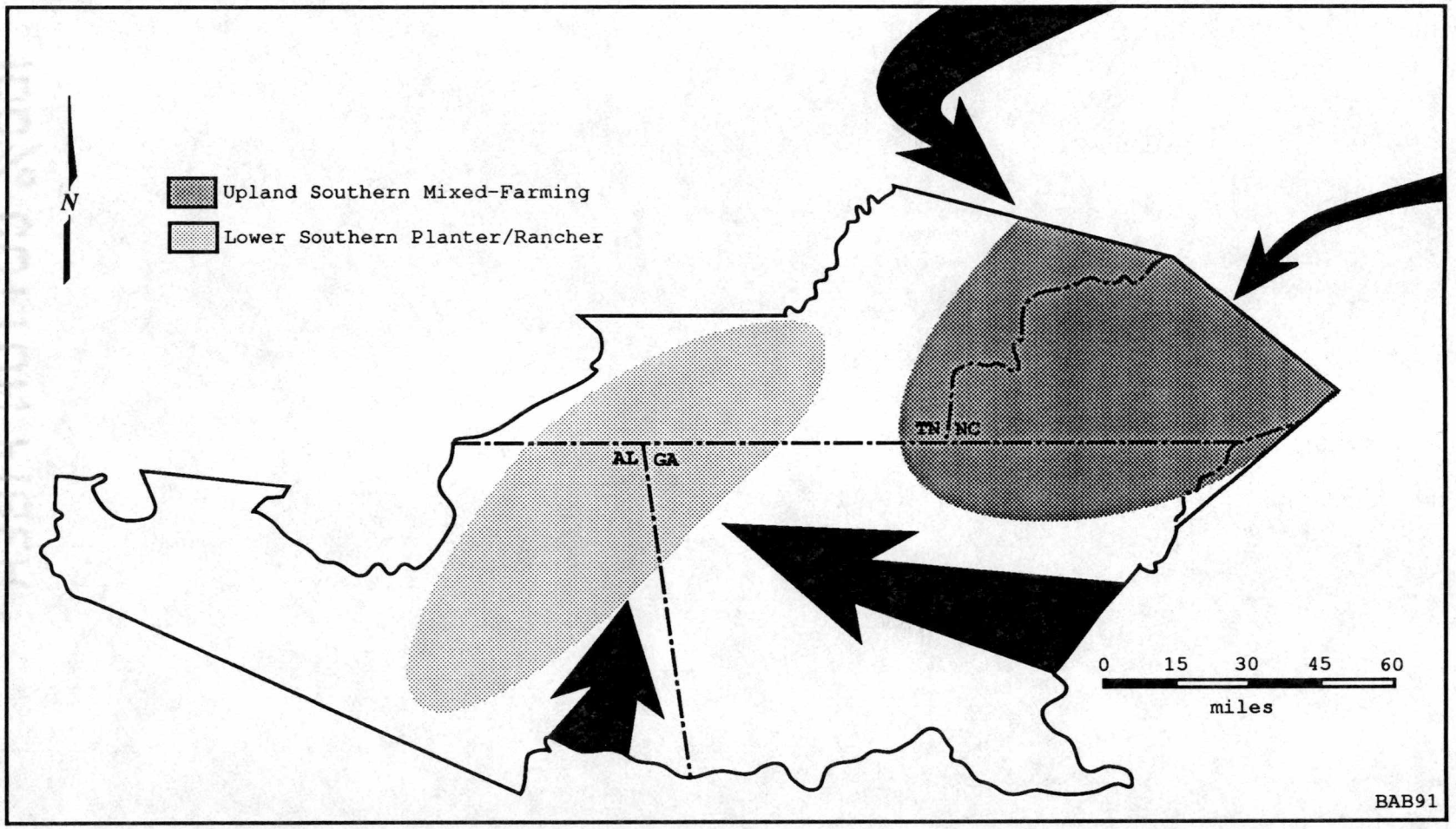

Figure 5. Diffusion of Herding Complexes.

Source: Meigs, Return J. 1809. A General Statistical Table for the Cherokee Nation. Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

owned moderate herds that they sold for cash, a lifestyle not too different from small-scale subsistence cattle raisers to the north.

The second channel of diffusion was apparent among the Overhill Cherokees in Tennessee shortly after the American Revolution. Military defeat, famine and social chaos prompted the adoption of cattle raising. Through the vector of frontier whites, small-scale cattle raising was adopted among Cherokees located in the upper Tennessee Valley. Diffusion paths originating in western Virginia and North Carolina affected this region the most, as intermarried frontiersmen from those two colonies introduced cattle raising as part of a farming/hunting/herding lifestyle. The federal civilization program, initiated by government agents and missionary societies by 1800, institutionalized the upland southern herding complex among average Cherokees. Cattle raising first gained widespread acceptance in the Tennessee Valley; more traditional Cherokees in the highland regions adopted it later.

A core of upland southern mixed-farming cattle raising centered on the mountainous region of western North Carolina. Because cattle raising was adopted as part of the farming regime, it was often the responsibility of Cherokee women. By the 1830s and a population shift southwest to northern Georgia, most Cherokee families kept a small herd of cattle on the local open range. Cherokee farmer/herders at times

provided feed and shelter for their cattle in the manner of upland southerners, though the natural resource base, mild climate and low population density made such improvements unnecessary. Cherokee farmers occasionally sold a few head of cattle seasonally to passing buyers who drove them to market. After 1828 and the emigration of most large-scale herders to the West, this form of cattle raising prevailed in the East.

Incipient Diffusion in the Colonial Period

After 1762, Anglo traders in Cherokee towns were keeping herds of beef cattle on the open range, which they sold to British military garrisons in western South Carolina. Even earlier, Carolina herders had supplied cattle to Forts Loudon and Prince George. In 1756, at least one herd was driven upcountry to the Cherokee town of Keowee.[2]

Cattle herding initially began to be practiced by the Cherokees a few years before 1775, as more and more whites were introducing Anglo materialism to Cherokee society. The transfer of European family structure to Cherokee society was facilitated by the typical pattern of interracial marriage. The absence of white females on the frontier prompted many white traders to take Cherokee wives. Cherokee identity (i.e. the clan) was inherited from the mother's side, while

[2]Milling, Red Carolinians, pp. 295-99.

European identity (i.e. the surname) was inherited from the father's side. Therefore, mixedblood children of white traders and Cherokee women typically shared a dual cultural identity, rather than being alienated from both societies. The mixedbloods were much more familiar with Cherokee culture and society through its complex matrix of extended-family relationships and support systems. The most significant contribution of their fathers, who were often the only whites with which they had regular contact, was the transimission of European economic values. Mixedblood children not only benefitted from the social network of their Cherokee clans, but also inherited the accumulated wealth of their fathers.

Intermarried Anglos and Scotch-Irish introduced cattle herding through their mixedblood children in the Lower Towns of western South Carolina. Patriarchal, nuclear families combined Cherokee folkways with other practices, including the fencing of crops and keeping cattle on the open range. The diffusion pattern is not surprising, since a myriad of other innovations of material culture, such as log construction, were introduced in the same way. Before the American Revolution a pattern of slow adoption by a select group of Cherokee and Creek innovators was evident. South Carolina Indian trader James Adair noted, "some of the natives are grown fond of horned cattle, both in the Cheerake and Muskohge

countries, but most decline them, because the fields are not regularly fenced."[3]

Still, an overwhelming majority of Cherokees would have nothing to do with herding, since cattle remained a menace to crops and a symbol of encroachment by lawless American colonists. The decade of peace after 1761 with the non-expansionist British authorities prompted the Cherokees to join in subduing the American colonists in 1776. The Indians raided Virginia and North Carolina settlements, stealing horses and killing whites and their cattle. According to one early chronicler:

> The Indians delighted in killing the cows, to the distress of the women...They brought bows and arrows for this purpose, disdaining to waste shot and powder on them. They liked to leave the cows stuck full of arrows in derision.[4]

The following year, the main body of Cherokees was resoundingly defeated by colonial militias, and once again the Lower Towns suffered the greatest devastation. As his troops burned Lower Town cornfields, Major Samuel Jack reported that a large herd of cattle were driven off.[5] Within a decade of 1775, the Cherokees were forced to cede the remainder of their territory east of the Appalachians. From that year on, the

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[3]Williams, Adair's History of the American Indians (1775), p. 242.

[4]Brown, John P., Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Removal to the West, 1838, (1938). Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc. p. 212.

[5]Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 317.

treaty process consistently alienated more and more Cherokee land, and systematically pushed the Cherokee population to the southwest.[6]

During the Revolution, the Lower Cherokees in western South Carolina refused to accept defeat and evacuated to the Chickamauga Creek region near present Chattanooga. In this way, the "Lower Towns" of western South Carolina shifted locations to the region where the present borders of Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee meet. Allied with the Creeks and Spanish, the "Chickamauga Cherokees" directed raids on American settlements in Tennessee from the Creek-Cherokee border country, downriver from the main area of Cherokee settlement. Retaliating whites rarely distinguished the Spanish-allied Lower Town guerrillas from the peaceful Upper Town Cherokees, who suffered tremendously by way of John Sevier. But by 1794, strife within their leadership led to the defeat of the Lower Towns.

Adoption of Lower Southern Herding

The war with the Americans produced diplomatic and economic ties with Spain as early as 1784. In 1792, as their cause became even more hopeless, the Lower Town chiefs signed an alliance with Spain. A contributing factor to the collapse

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[6]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, p. 30.

of the Lower Town leadership was that many chiefs had simply quit the war effort. A few Lower Cherokee chiefs led small migrations of people who chose to escape white influence to Spanish territory west of the Mississippi in the 1790s. However, most Lower Town chiefs stayed in the region centering on the five communities of Running Water, Nickajack, Long Island Village, Crow Town and Lookout Mountain Town and embarked on more profitable ventures introduced by the large number of British Tories who had fled to the Cherokee country.[7]

Along the upper Tennessee River between the mouth of the Clinch River and the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee lived chiefs such as the Glass, Dick Justice, Tahlontuskee and John Watts who became wealthy in the 1790s by trafficking stolen livestock on the frontier black market. Their operations became apparent after a 1793 assault on the Lower Towns, when John Sevier proudly reported that he and his volunteers "took and destroyed near three hundred beeves many of which were of the best and largest kind."[8] Tennessee volunteers may have preyed on Cherokee stock more often. An elderly Lower Town

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[7]These towns were all within a thirty mile radius of the junction of the present borders of Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

[8]Quoted in Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 52.

Cherokee in 1816 recalled how "they plundered and burnt all the houses, killing and taking away many cattle and horses."[9]

Upon relocating in northeast Alabama, the Lower Cherokees were no doubt influenced by the Creek complex. The Muscogulge-speaking tribe had already developed an open range herding tradition by way of both the Spanish-derived Seminole complex and that of the intermarried British traders. The Upper Creeks and the Lower Town Cherokees shared common territory and intermingled tribal customs in the border region of northern Alabama. Cherokee and Creek towns retained their respective tribal affiliations, but information must have flowed easily between towns. The problem of keeping livestock out of unfenced communal fields certainly hindered the acceptance of cattle by town-dwelling Indians. But large herds of open range cattle could be kept away from towns on individual farmsteads of the acculturating Cherokee minority. Also, such individuals were the most receptive toward capitalistic innovations. By the turn of the century, Creek and Cherokee herds were a common sight in the region.[10] Nevertheless, planter/ranchers remained a minority among the Cherokees in 1800; most continued to sell their hides and furs

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[9]Quoted by Selukukigh Wohellengh [Turtle at Home] to Major John Norton in Klink and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, p. 44.

[10]Williams, "Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Fredrick C. De Schweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements (1799)," Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, pp. 460-520.

in Pensacola for cash that they used to buy goods at American trading posts.[11]

By the mid-1790s, wealthy Lower Town Cherokees built plantations in the lower southern style and increased their herds of range cattle with the help of their black slaves. At the same time, they were supplied with western horses via their allies in eastern Arkansas. Livestock continued to be sold on the frontier black market and perhaps to Spanish traders, since Lower Town chiefs frequently went to New Orleans on business. In succeeding years, the innovation continued to spread north to other wealthy Cherokees throughout the Appalachian Ridge and Valley.[12]

In 1799, the Moravians Abraham Steiner and Frederick De Schweinitz traveled through the Cherokee country of present southeast Tennessee; their observations recorded a period of great change among the Cherokees. They reported that horse theft was on the downturn in the region and that the chiefs

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[11]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, pp. 61-62.

[12]For instance, Bold Hunter, a wealthy acculturated man who resided on the Tennessee River, represented the Lower Towns on a diplomatic mission to New Orleans in 1792. He was later compensated by the American government for stolen cattle upon his migration to Arkansas sometime between 1805 and 1819. Perhaps he desired access to the New Orleans market. See Panton to Carondelet in Whitaker, Arthur P. "Spain and the Cherokee Indians, 1783-1798," North Carolina Historical Review 4 (1926):252-260; also, Old Settler Claims in American Senate Papers: Class II., Indian Affairs. 2 Vols. (Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, December 4, 1815 - March 3, 1827), I. 79. pp. 123-25, 203, 205, 638.

maintained ties with the Spanish in Pensacola. They met fullbloods, mixedbloods and intermarried whites who kept herds of cattle on the open range. They also saw examples of the older Spanish-derived Creek tradition that must have influenced the region:

> Early in the morning of the 10th we saw a number of Creek Indians, who had been driving cattle thither for the garrison. The cattle had been made to swim the river and were immediately shot...[The Creeks] were mostly young, with silver rings in their noses and slits in their ears. They wore short striped shirts, a strip of blue cloth about their loins, long, leatheren stockings laced at the side and Indian half-boots. Instead of a coat they throw a blanket about themselves. One of them had his left eye painted red and his right cheek black and pleased himself not a little with this decoration...The Creeks bring much cattle into this region, some of it very fine.[13]

Steiner and De Schweinitz met a mixedblood Cherokee named Moses Price, a man caught in the middle of a changing culture. Often drunk, Price approached the Indian agency:

> On this occasion he begged the agent for permission to bring whites to the place to work for him, but not granted this, receiving, on the contrary the advice to hire Indians for the work. Upon his objection that these were now upon the chase, he was ordered to wait until they returned. He was now engaged in bringing his family, household goods, cattle and many hogs to this place.[14]

The two missionaries traveled along the Little Tennessee River to the blockhouse at Tellico, where they were provided with a local Cherokee named Tye to guide them. Although Tye could not speak English, he had other skills that were needed;

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[13]Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, p. 464.

[14]Ibid., p. 466.

as the agent explained, "because he is a very reliable Indian, he is often employed as a messenger and overseer of cattle, so that he earns comfortable support for his family."[15]

Later in Hiwassee, the two travelers met a progressive fullblood Cherokee named Kulsathee, who had a reputation among his people as an innovator. Mechanically inclined and self-educated, he had few inhibitions when it came to new technologies. He apparently raised horses and kept a few cattle for dairy purposes. Perhaps he also provided salt to Cherokee cattlemen:

> Several people told us that if Kulsathee could not secure a loom soon enough, he need only look at one carefully and then he would be able to make one, so clever is he. He has many horses, cattle, hogs and fowl. The first named he rents out to the Traders, who give him salt in payment. When we left Kulsathee to return to our quarters, he sent a boy after us with good fresh milk.[16]

The travelers eventually came to the plantation of Joseph Martin, an intermarried white who emulated the lifestyle of lowland southern planter/herders:

> The fields lie on high, level land and are well fenced in. The corn fields were plowed and cleared of grass; the wheat had been sown, and we saw a field of turnips. The inhabitants of this region have horses, cattle, hogs, fowl, dogs and cats. Our hosts had, also, negro slaves that were well clothed; bright, lively and appeared to be happy and well cared for. These conducted themselves toward us as toward the Indians, with all courtesy.[17]

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[15]Ibid., p. 471.

[16]Ibid., p. 485.

[17]Ibid., p. 490.

Martin was a man of great wealth by any standard and his black slaves may have assisted in his cattle operation. Martin is most significant, though, in the fact that he was a progenitor and role model for the next generation of Cherokee planter/ranchers who would expand their operations further.

Character of Large-Scale Herding

The lower southern complex that diffused to the Cherokees is depicted in the journals of travelers. Seventeen years after the Moravians, Major John Norton toured the Cherokee country. The most striking part of his report is the abundance of cattle among the canebrakes and open forests of the Tennessee Valley; there Norton found wealthy Cherokees who kept large herds of cattle on the open range.

Upon reaching the border region in 1816, Norton described life among the Lower Town Cherokees:

> ...they have extended and improved their agriculture, increased their cattle, and applied to trade. It is now very common for a man to possess a hundred head of horned Cattle, and as many hogs. The women are extremely industrious, have always an abundance of victuals cooked in their houses, and make good cloth, not only in sufficient quantity for their own families, but sell great quantities of it to the Creeks or Muscogui in exchange for cattle.[18]

Norton arrived at Selukuki Wohhellengh's home on the Tennessee River. He was a fullblood, but epitomized the

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[18]Klink and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, p. 125.

typical Cherokee large-scale cattleman. He located his home in Cherokee fashion near a spring and hired outside farm labor so that he could be free to tend his livestock:

> My friend's house is about half a mile from the mountain, yet its rocky summits seem to overhang his abode; by the side of which is a transparent fountain, which gushing out from the earth forms at once a pretty running stream. He has an American, a tenant on his place, who pays him half the crop as rent, there are now upwards of twenty acres of land [under] tillage, he has besides sixty head of cattle and about twenty horses which he takes care of himself.[19]

Like their lower southern counterparts, early nineteenth century Cherokee cattlemen managed their stock from horseback and occasionally drove bunches of cattle to market. Cherokee herders provided cattle with salt to control their location and to condition them to be used to humans. Many Cherokees utilized natural salt licks to control the location of their herds in summer, a practice that had parallels in their hunting tradition, but which was also used by lower southern Anglos. Other parallelisms were the wintering of cattle in the huge evergreen canebrakes of the river valleys and the late winter burning of the range to improve grazing habitat. Traveling along the Coosa River near present Rome, Georgia, Norton stayed at the plantation of John Rogers, a wealthy Lower Cherokee planter/rancher. Norton's stay at Rogers' place allowed an understanding of the nature of large-scale cattle herding in the southwestern Cherokee country, the ease of which amazed him:

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[19]Ibid., p. 38.

> After two days, we went down the River, to visit Mr. R. and his family. When we arrived, he was out collecting cattle; but we met with a hearty welcome from those at home. In the afternoon, he returned - he had undergone a fatiguing day's ride, driving up the Cattle, which he intended for market. In this country, people raise cattle with the greatest facility, and without any further trouble or expense than that of giving them salt. In the winter, they feed in the cane brakes, and in the summer, they are dispersed in herds in the vicinity of little Salt Licks, or rather spots impregnated with saline or sulphureous particles, of which cattle and horses are very fond. Thus the greatest trouble they have with their herds is when they collect them to send them to market.[20]

A common feature of the lower southern herding system and that of the Cherokees in the Ridge and Valley was the use of highly skilled cowhands outside the immediate family. Among white and Cherokee lower southern planter/ranchers, these consisted of both hired whites and enslaved blacks. Most black slaves among the Cherokees came from South Carolina and had their roots in west Africa. Therefore, the cultural baggage of many Cherokee slaves included a long legacy of handling cattle in both the Old World and colonial South Carolina. While among the Lower Towns Norton visited a wealthy Cherokee cattleman named Thompson who apparently used both hired and enslaved labor: "I found he was well established, with an extensive improvement, abundance of cattle, several slaves, and some Anglo American Servants."[21]

By 1816, large-scale, open range cattle herding was no longer just a novelty for wealthy individuals like Rogers and

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[20]Ibid., p. 57.

[21]Ibid., p. 117.

Thompson. Instead, it had become a common activity among average Cherokee males. By the time of Norton's visit, acculturating individuals who wished to increase their own personal wealth were becoming more common. Modest, individual farmsteads with nuclear, matrilineal families became a frequent sight throughout the Cherokee country. In the Ridge and Valley region, though, cattle remained an important measure of wealth:

> ...in the evening, arriving at a fine rivulet, on the banks of which grew an abundance of cane, I heard the bellowing of cattle. On crossing the rivulet, I perceived I was near some habitation, which I concluded to belong to Nautatoo, a young man, whom I had seen at several public meetings...His wife is a handsome, industrious woman; they have three fine children; a pleasant and fertile situation, about fifteen acres in Indian corn, thirty head of cattle, some horses, and great many hogs.[22]

Continuing through the Lower Town region Norton saw a myriad of Cherokee community types in which open range herders could be found. Such settlement diversity exemplifies how mundane a practice keeping cattle had become by 1816, even among the more traditional communities. Near Chickamauga Creek he found:

> After having passed some hills, we descended into a fine valley, a continuation of the Chickamauga. We passed some small Villages, where we saw extensive Corn fields, with droves of cattle, horses and hogs.[23]

Maintaining the Cherokee tradition of locating near a source of good water and timberland, other places reflected a

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[22]Ibid., p. 81.

[23]Ibid., p. 71.

new, dispersed settlement type that was consistent with keeping cattle. Like their counterparts in the Lower South, Cherokee herders raised a variety of crops for domestic use that were fenced for protection, but their main occupation was keeping cattle. Near Lookout Mountain Norton came upon a more dispersed village that had recently expanded in size:

> This place is situated in a delightful Valley, pleasantly wooded with Oak, Hickory, Chestnut and Walnut. The corn fields are extensive, and the inhabitants have considerable droves of cattle...It is now so populous, as it was in the time of the war; the people having scattered and seated themselves on eligible situations, where the Cane, yet abounding, enables them to raise cattle with less labour than here where it has been eaten up.[24]

Markets for Lower Town cattle were often distant. Drives usually consisted of about fifty or more head of cattle as well as other stock, and were conducted by Cherokee middlemen who bought stock from surrounding herders and drove them to markets in Augusta and Charleston, and Knoxville.[25] If not sold to other middlemen, southbound Cherokee cattle were usually packed and shipped, while those going to Knoxville sometimes made it to more northerly markets such as Baltimore or Philadelphia.[26] In 1816, Norton witnessed a Cherokee cattle drive: "About mid-day we met a Cherokee from the

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[24]Ibid., p. 72.

[25]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, p. 64.

[26]Wilms, "Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1800-1838," pp. 36-38.

Muscle Shoals, who was driving a number of his Cattle, which he intended to dispose of at Knoxville."[27]

Near present Chattanooga, Norton visited several other Cherokees who were engaged in the cattle business. He came upon the home of an elderly intermarried white who had in years past been a trader among the Creeks and Cherokees. He owned "numerous droves of horses and cattle."

By 1816, the Lower Cherokees had instituted a form of large-scale cattle herding that diffused north to other Cherokees in the Ridge and Valley. Impressed with the situation of Cherokees in the Ridge and Valley, Norton gave this commentary:

> The nations situated to the south of the Tennessee have been more fortunate in the natural advantages of their more temperate climate; in proportion as the animals of Chace have been decreased by the exertions of the huntsman, domestic animals have been increased by the Care of the industrious, to effect this, no great labor is necessary. The winters are mild, and the vallies and intervals along the banks of rivers abound in cane, which affords excellent winter food for cattle, and equal if not superior to hay.[28]

By incorporating many aspects of their former hunting tradition, open range cattle herding acted as a transition to a market-based economy. It was an equestrian activity that allowed Cherokee men to leisurely patrol their environs; Cherokee cattlemen shared the same mental maps of salt licks and canebrakes as did deer hunters. Most importantly, herding

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[27]Klink and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, p. 117.

[28]Ibid., p. 131.

was a commercial activity that provided large profits to Cherokees in a time when material wealth was changing from a vice to a virtue. As Cherokees in the Ridge and Valley increasingly adopted a materialist philosophy, cattle herding was transmitted from the elite class to those who aspired to become elite.

Adoption and Character of Small-Scale Herding

Although the lower southern herding form diffused to the Lower Town Cherokees early, other Cherokee groups were introduced to a different herding form. As early as 1776, the Overhill Cherokees attacked the Watauga settlements and took several whites captive. Their prisoners included a Mrs. Bean, whom they took to Tellico to burn at the stake. According to the story, a mixedblood Cherokee woman named Nancy Ward called off the execution and allowed Mrs. Bean to share her home in return for knowledge of making butter and cheese. Soon after, Nancy Ward built her own herd and introduced dairying to other Cherokee women, who widely adopted it.[29]

Nonetheless, the majority of Upper Town Cherokees had little to do with cattle until after 1800. When Martin Schneider visited the region earlier in 1783 he observed that:

> They have no Fences about their Fields, on which account no Cattle are kept except by Traders; for if a

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[29]Brown, Old Frontiers, pp. 153-54; Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, pp. 48, 204.

> Beast comes into their Fields they are used to shoot it.[30]

Schneider, however, did report that the Upper Cherokees were aware of the ability of the forest to sustain livestock:

> If a Indian has a Horse (they have scarce ever more than one) he ties it in the Wood from one Place to the other, where the Reed is growing in great Plenty & is good Fodder for them.[31]

Unlike the Chickamaugas, the majority of Cherokees in the Upper Towns opted for peace with the United States under the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785. By that time most were busy rebuilding their towns further to the southwest, away from the Tennessee settlements. A new relationship between the Upper Cherokees and whites began in the 1790s, though occasional reprisals spawned by Chickamauga attacks soured local relations.

The 1791 Treaty of Holston outlined a plan for economic development among the Cherokees and officially committed the government to supply livestock and disseminate methods of animal husbandry. The administration's primary goal was to reduce the Cherokees' need for large tracts of undeveloped land by intensifying their farming practices. At the same time, this would serve to integrate the Indians into the larger white population and eliminate the inevitable problem of American expansion into the West.

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[30]Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, p. 261.

[31]Ibid.

The policy, while paternalistic and ethnocentric, was considered a very liberal one at the time. The type of farming that the government intended the Cherokees to adopt reflected its own ideals. Instead of the frontier southern form that the Cherokees had earlier incorporated from the traders, or the plantation complex of the Virginia Tidewater aristocracy, the government envisioned Cherokee yeoman farmers who cleared and plowed fields of grain, rather than hoed corn hills among girdled trees. They wanted Cherokees who fattened good stock with corn and renewed their soil with manure, not Indians who hunted range cattle and set fire to the forest. The fourteenth article of the Treaty of Holston outlined how the United States would foster the agricultural sciences:

> That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time, furnish the said nation with useful implements of husbandry. And further, to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such, and so many, persons to reside in said nation, as they may judge proper, and not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves to act as interpreters. These persons shall have lands assigned them by the Cherokees for cultivation, for themselves and their successors in office...[32]

A full year after the treaty was signed the Cherokees had received nothing. Chief Bloody Fellow requested that the

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[32]Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 36.

government follow through with its offer to provide "ploughs, hoes, cattle and other things for a farm."[33]

The government finally delivered in 1796, when Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins arrived. Apparently, the Upper Town Cherokees had already begun to comply with the Treaty; in that year, Hawkins documented cattle raising there when he met two women driving "ten very fat cattle" to market.[34] Also in that year, he met a man named the Terrapin who raised some cattle: "His farm is fenced, his houses comfortable, he has a large stock of cattle, and some hogs. He uses the plow."[35]

More typical of the Upper Town region was the home of Halfbreed Will, whom Hawkins visited in December of 1796:

> They gave me good bread, pork and potatoes for supper, and ground peas [peanuts] and dried peaches. I had corn for my horses. The hut in which I lodged was clean and neat. In the morning I breakfasted on corncakes and pork. They had a number of fowls, hogs, and some cattle, the field of four acres fenced, and half an acre of potatoes.[36]

The Moravians Steiner and De Schweinitz reached the Cherokee community of Big Tellico in 1799. The two Moravians explored the area and were impressed by the fine natural resources. But unlike similar areas in the Ridge and Valley, they did not see any range cattle, even though they took their "horses into the near, lying, fine field of the Indian

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[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., p. 52.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid, pp. 52-53.

Kulsateehee, where, particularly, along the river, in the cane they found good pasture."[37]

Their descriptions, however, indicate that the area had begun the transition from the traditional, tight-knit communal settlement form, to a group of dispersed farmsteads. A striking example of cultural change was seen outside of the community at the farm of Kulsateehee. Though his farm maintained several traditional aspects such as a house garden and outlying cornfields, Kulsateehee owned a road house and likely supplied cattle drovers with corn, an upland southern herding trait:

> Kulsateehee received us in a friendly manner and conducted us to quite a large house, opposite the house of his family, that appeared to be intended for the entertainment of strangers and visitors. For our horses, a cornfield, about one fourth of a mile from the house, was shown us...Our Tye did not permit the hanging of bells on our horses, because he feared that they might be stolen. The cornfields here are quite large, scattered in the vast plain and are as little fenced in as the cabbage gardens lying near the houses...There are little cattle here, but there are many horses, hogs, and especially, chickens...Everything indicated that the inhabitants [of Big Tellico] were still far behind their brethren in culture.[38]

Movements to halt Cherokee acculturation were also witnessed by the two Moravians. They met a white man named Frederici who claimed to be a "Seventh-Day Baptist."[39]

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[37]Ibid., p. 481.

[38]Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, p. 479.

[39]Ibid., p. 484.

Frederici lived among the Indians and tried to spread his utopian ideas, which included an attempt to abort the emerging materialism he saw in Cherokee society. He felt that one of the greatest evils leading to the loss of traditional values was the innovation of cattle raising. When the Moravians met him, he stubbornly preached against his progressive Cherokee neighbors who were raising cattle:

> ...further down the river there lived people who had fenced in a great place covered with cane as pasture for their cattle. In this they had done wrong, for the Creator had intended that cattle should run about free.[40]

Frederici provides the earliest known account of fencing cane for cattle pasture. This Cherokee innovation seems to be a syncretization of Virginia field feeding and Carolina cane grazing practices, both of which were introduced by eighteenth century traders. Frederici may have been referring to a Cherokee cattleman near Hiwassee named Burgess, who Steiner and De Schweinitz visited a few days later:

> While we were riding toward his place, past large level corn-fields, his sons met us. They...took us to their father's house, partly through broken land and past large stretches of enclosed cane. He is a half-breed and was away trading in Charleston, South Carolina. His wife, who is white, received us in a kindly manner. She had lived formerly in Pensacola. The children have a half-brown color and talk both the English and the Indian language very well.
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> The house is like that of other white people and everything was in good order, as might be the case in the home of any well circumstanced plantation people; they have, also, a milk-house at a spring. The plantation lies entirely on high land; is in good order and is fenced in.

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[40]Ibid.

We found very fine green wheat fields and a large cotton field.[41]

Effective initiation of the federal civilization policy did not occur until the arrival of agent Return J. Meigs in the year 1801. Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Meigs' staff distributed implements and provided advice to Cherokees who wished to start farms. After a few years, many Cherokees in the Upper Towns came to depend on the agency for their farming needs. The agency, however, began to unevenly favor the Lower Towns in its distribution of federal aid, since that region seemed more promising. Notwithstanding, mixed-farming agriculture became the occupation of choice by most Upper Cherokees by 1830.

After 1810, the federal program was augmented by New England religious societies which were given permission to build missions in the Cherokee country. The Moravians, and later the Presbyterians and Baptists, all built model farms in the Cherokee country. Along with Christianity, the missions were influential in spreading education in the form of vocational skills. Missionaries from the Northeast taught Cherokee males methods of mixed-farming and livestock raising that required plowing fields, building barns and fences, and providing feed for livestock. To a large extent, this effort by the missions was successful among the Upper Town Cherokees, particularly in the Ridge and Valley region of eastern

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[41]Ibid., pp. 486-87.

Tennessee. By the time of the adoption of the Cherokee constitution in 1827, the average Cherokee family was practicing a more intensive form of agriculture that included keeping a few cattle on the open range.

The most neglected Cherokee areas were the traditional villages in the mountains that had previously experienced little contact with outsiders. George Barber Davis, Return J. Meigs' fieldworker, reported in 1809 that the most "backward" Cherokees were those in the Valley Towns. This region was home to most of the fullbloods who consciously retreated from the onslaught of white influence. Agricultural improvement there, while somewhat affected by the federal policy, was quite different from the rest of the Cherokee country.[42]

Davis' view was supported seven years later by Major John Norton. Toward the end of his tour he left the Ridge and Valley and visited the highland Cherokee towns. While there, he found more populous communities and families with small numbers of dairy cattle. Along the upper Hiwassee River, Norton wrote:

> There is a great body of the Cherokee Nation, that dwell in these vallies; they are said to consist of ten thousand souls: - they are not so generally advanced in civilization and industry, nor do they possess property equal to those who inhabit the banks of the Tennessee; but they are a simple, honest people, living nearly in

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[42]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, p. 171.

the same manner as their progenitors, with the addition of some horses, cattle and hogs.[43]

When he encountered people who owned cattle, their practices reflected those of upland southerners in Tennessee and Virginia. The conservative Cherokees of North Carolina and the Georgia Blue Ridge tended to give their fewer stock better care than the large-scale herders to the west. For example, Norton came upon at least one Cherokee farm where cattle were feeding in a cornfield. Also, Cherokee women owned the cows, just as they did the house, fields and hogs.[44]

Cattle in the Cherokee Country, 1809

A decade after Steiner and De Schweinitz and seven years before Norton visited the Cherokee country, Indian agent Return J. Meigs published a "Statistical Table" of the Cherokee country that attempted to inventory Cherokee progress in agriculture.[45] Meigs had reason to exaggerate the extent of Cherokee agriculture, so data from his census should not be accepted superficially. Also unfortunate is the fact that data was tabulated by individual town or plantation and not by region. The nature of Cherokee place names and the lack of

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[43]Klink and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, p. 146.

[44]Ibid.

[45]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, pp. 168-74.

reliable maps for the period also make it difficult to accurately pinpoint locations.[46] Further, it is probable that many habitations were overlooked and estimates were sometimes used. With that in mind, the census does reveal certain quantitative patterns that support the patterns seen by the various travelers.

In 1809, there were 12,395 Cherokees in the East who owned 583 black slaves and 19,165 cattle. On a national scale there were a meager 1.5 cows per person, a figure comparable to settled areas of the United States where cattle production was of little significance. But the early nineteenth century Cherokee country was increasingly diverse; for instance, only five of the 583 slaves found in the Cherokee country lived in the entire Valley Town region, which was home to 30% of the Cherokee population.[47] One can only imagine how other distributions, particularly of newer innovations, were skewed.

Large-scale, open range cattle herding is characterized by high numbers of cattle per capita,[48] not just large numbers of cattle.[49] Using Meigs' data, it is evident that many Cherokees participated in both large-scale and small-scale

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[46]Ibid., p. 170.

[47]Ibid., p. 171.

[48]See Jordan, Trails to Texas, passim.

[49]For instance, the feeding regions of the American Cornbelt had enormous herds of cattle. See Henlein, "Shifting Range-Feeder Patterns in the Ohio Valley Before 1860," pp. 1-12.

cattle herding by the year 1809. Comparison of local populations, tabulated as "towns, villages, plantations and places," to numbers of cattle revealed a great diversity of cattle ownership within the Cherokee country. Many localities had relatively low cattle per capita; others had many cattle per capita. A perusal of individual placenames within the census indicated that localities classified as "towns or villages" most often had low numbers of cattle, while "places and plantations" often had very high numbers of cattle per person.[50]

The 1809 census suggests a cut-off point between high cattle per capita and low cattle per capita at three. Above that value, cattle per capita values climb rapidly; below, it stabilizes. Large-scale, lower southern herding operations typically involved fewer than 20 people and often less than ten, including slaves and hired hands.[51] The large-scale Cherokee system was not much different. Comparison of population to cattle for places with a cattle per capita value of four and above indicated that most operations were characterized by a herd of 70 to 200 head, managed by anywhere from three to thirty individuals. The large variance in population size for places and plantations with a cattle per capita value above three most likely reflects differences

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[50]Meigs, A General Statistical Table for the Cherokee Nation, 1809, passim.

[51]Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," p. 126; Jordan, Trails to Texas, p. 29.

between slaveholding Cherokee planter/ranchers and non-slaveholding Cherokee herders. Comparison of locations with a cattle per capita value of four and above with total numbers of slaves indicated that while most Cherokees involved in large-scale cattle herding owned between one and five black slaves, slightly less than half of all Cherokee large-scale herders were not slave owners.[52]

It is apparent that most Cherokee herders owned every kind of livestock that could survive in the wolf-infested southern Appalachians. Sheep could only survive with continual care and sheltering at night, which necessitated feeding. Conditions such as these were only possible in places where fairly intensive agriculture was practiced. If it is assumed that most Cherokees were not prejudiced against sheep, then upland southern, intensive cattle raising may be revealed by their presence. With the exception of a few large plantations, this is the case of Cherokee towns and villages listed in the 1809 Meigs census, most of which were located in the mountainous regions. In contrast, sheep were almost entirely absent from places with a value of four cattle per capita and above. In those places, livestock had to fend for itself on the open range without the protection of large population densities and sheltering.[53]

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[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

In 1809, large-scale cattle herding in the Cherokee country closely resembled other lowland southern operations. A large herd consisted of 100 head of stock cattle, but rarely did a herd number over 200 head. Horses were of great value to many cattlemen, both for their utility and market value, though some Cherokees with large herds of cattle did not own many. Horses were well accepted among traditional Cherokees, and may be considered a transitional element in the acceptance of cattle herding. Droves of hogs shared the open range with cattle, just as they did in the Lower South.[54]

In 1809 most Cherokee "villages" and "towns," had small numbers of cattle. Actual cattle per capita figures were probably even lower, since an occasional large-scale herder may have been included in village totals. Many residents of Cherokee villages probably owned a few dairy cows by 1809; the Meigs census categorized these as "cows and calves," since lactating cattle were periodically milked by tethering calves. Small numbers of open range dairy cattle could be controlled by hobbling or belling them. Large-scale production of beef cattle was impossible in Cherokee villages, where high population densities depended on large, unfenced communal cornfields. Significantly, large numbers of swine were found in areas with high populations and low cattle per capita; but pigs, like milk cattle, served a subsistence role and were penned.

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[54]Ibid.

The differences between the open range form practiced by the Lower Cherokees and the mixed-farming form among the less affluent Upper Towns led to contrasting ideas when it came to the removal question. Return J. Meigs was an optimist who viewed cattle herding as an intensive farming component that reduced the land needed by the Cherokees. To him, cattle raising was a boon that increased the chances for the Cherokees to remain in the East:

> Those [Cherokees] of the mixed Blood are at least one half in numbers of the nation, & they are attached to the pursuits of husbandry & domestic manufacture and will eventually become an acquisition of usefulness for the U. States...the great body of the people will be established ere long in regular community or incorporated with some of the adjacent states. They now have much property in Horses, Black Cattle & other domestic animals & money & slaves.[55]

In contrast to Return J. Meigs, John Norton's perception of keeping cattle -- large-scale cattle herding -- must have left him with a feeling of despair for the Cherokees, for he recognized that the "hunt" had taken on new meaning as the "cowhunt." Instead of shrinking Cherokee landholdings, the growing cattle industry required large expanses of unoccupied land comparable to the enormous hunting grounds that the Cherokees were losing through treaties. Reflecting on the new innovation Cherokee men had adopted, Norton gathered his feelings:

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[55]Meigs to Dearborn 4 August 1805, in United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835 (1963). Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service.

> ...the females have however made much greater advances in industry than the males; they now manufacture a great quantity of cloth; but the latter have not made proportionate progress in Agriculture; however, they raise great herds of cattle, which can be done with little exertion; and the sale of these brings much wealth into the Nation. Could they retain their Territory within the present limits for one hundred years, I think they might become a flourishing, civilized Nation; but, if they are crowded upon, this can hardly be expected to take place.[56]

Cattle in the Cherokee Nation, 1826

The political evolution of the Cherokee Nation culminated in the adoption of a constitution modeled after that of the United States on July 26, 1827. The republic not only sought to retain its political sovereignty over tribal lands, but formally instituted laws within its boundaries, several of which affected the cattle industry. Cattle raising was such an important part of the Cherokee economy by the 1820s, that at least seven laws directly affected cattle owners.

Stray livestock were a real problem to the growing number of Cherokee farmers. In 1824, to offset disputes caused by stray animals, the National Committee and Council passed a law that authorized Cherokee Rangers to confiscate stray cattle and return them to their rightful owners. If no owner was found, the stock was sold at public auction "for the benefit

[56]Klink, and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, pp. 59-60.

of the Cherokee Nation."[57] The law was amended in 1826 to reimburse owners whose stock was sold before it was recovered.[58] A related law passed that same year defined a "legal fence" around crops as one five feet high. This made owners of stock that broke through legal fences liable for any crop damages.[59] Cowhide began to replace deerskin for most uses by the 1820s, and individual Cherokees sometimes killed cattle for their hides.[60] Although killing another's cattle was considered to be theft, an 1824 Cherokee national law attempted to regulate the sale of cowhides to deter poachers from illegally killing range cattle.[61]

Such attempts by the evolving Cherokee central government to regulate its decreasingly egalitarian society epitomized Cherokee acculturation. On a more mundane level, Cherokees were accepting many other European customs and losing traditional ones. Although most Cherokees rarely ate it as a staple, the strict avoidance of beef seemed to be disappearing among most Cherokees by the 1820s. The annual meeting of the Cherokee National Council was a political festival,

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[57]Cherokee Nation, Laws of the Cherokee Nation, (1875). Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation: Cherokee Nation Printing Office. pp. 34-35.

[58]Ibid., p. 80.

[59]Ibid., p. 41.

[60]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, p. 64.

[61]Cherokee Nation, Laws of the Cherokee Nation, p. 43.

culminating in dancing and feasting that attracted thousands of people from throughout the nation every November. Feeding such a crowd in a limited time was a problem and in 1824 a law was drafted that requested bids for a supply of "good wholesome beef," to be paid for by the Cherokee Nation.[62]

Beef consumption was not the only aspect of Cherokee cultural change reflected in laws. The traditional Cherokee practice of winter broadcast burning, practiced by both hunters and large-scale open range cattle herders, was coming under fire by progressive Cherokees who practiced more intensive, mixed-farming cattle raising methods. An 1824 law decreed:

> That any persons or persons, whatsoever, who shall set the woods on fire before the month of March, in each year, such person or persons, so offending, upon conviction, shall pay a fine of five dollars, one half to the prosecutor and the other half for the benefit of the Cherokee Nation. This law to be in force and take effect, after the month of September, 1825.[63]

By the mid-1820s, Cherokees living along the borders of Georgia and Tennessee began to lose livestock to thieves from the states. In 1825 a law was passed that designated assistant rangers to patrol the national borders and impound stock being grazed illegally on Cherokee land. If Americans claimed the stock, a fine of one dollar plus handling fees was levied for every head of cattle.[64]

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[62]Ibid., p. 42.

[63]Ibid., p. 41.

[64]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

In 1824 the Cherokee Nation ordered a census of its citizens to be taken.[65] By that time, the nation was divided into eight districts (Figure 6).[66] In the mountainous northeast were the districts of Aquohee, Tahquoa, the eastern half of Coosewaytee and a small portion of Hickory Log. Districts in the Cherokee Piedmont, located in the southeastern part of the nation, were Hickory Log and Hightower. The remaining districts were located in the Appalachian Ridge and Valley and made up the western half of the nation. These included all of Chattooga, Chickamauga and most of Aumohee districts, as well as the western half of Coosewaytee district. Completed in 1826, the census also counted slaves, livestock and manufactures. In that year, there were 13,934 Cherokees, 938 slaves and 205 whites living in the Cherokee Nation. As in 1809, cattle were present in every district of the nation, but they were not evenly distributed (Figure 7).

The mountainous districts, though heavily populated, had very few cattle per capita. Although cattle were present, it is safe to assume that most cattle were owned by families for domestic purposes, primarily dairying. Another factor that reveals the condition of the mountainous districts is the low

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[65]Ibid., pp. 43-44; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, p. 279.

[66]The names of districts within the Cherokee Nation often vary among secondary sources. The names of the districts used herein were taken from the Cherokee Phoenix 18 June 1828.

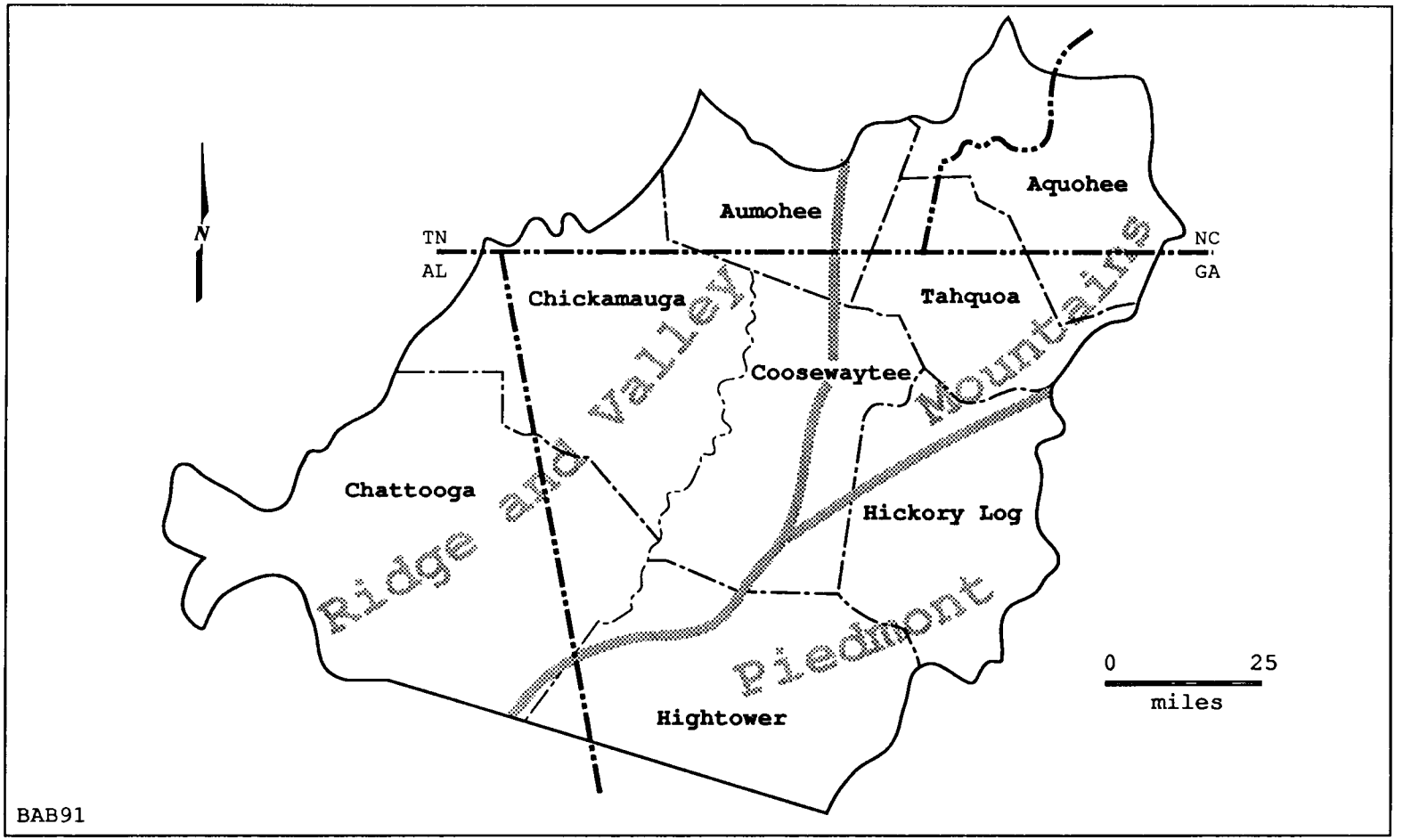

Figure 6. Cherokee Nation Districts, 1826.

Adapted from Wilms, Douglas C. 1974. "Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1800-1838." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia.

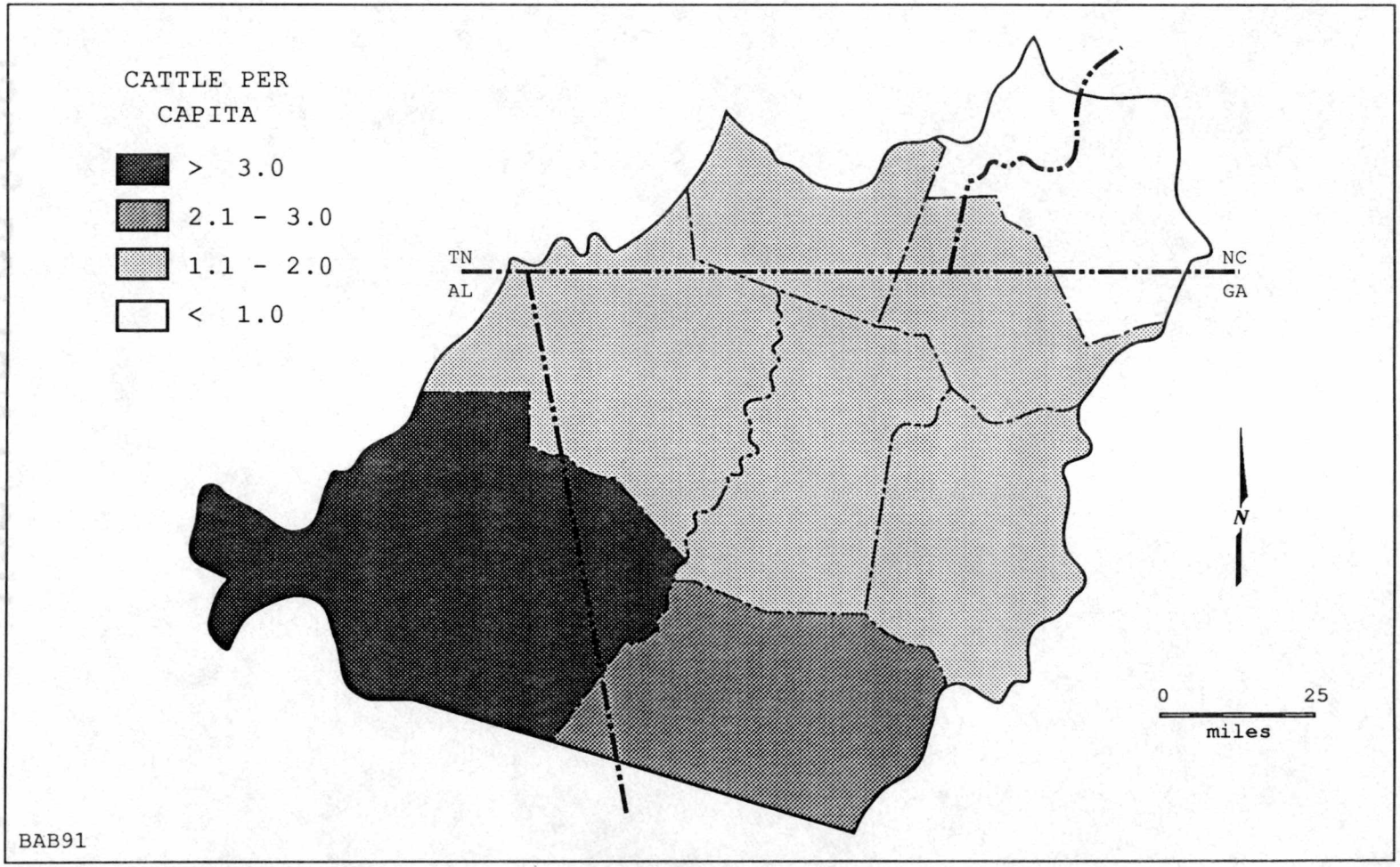

Figure 7. Patterns of Herding and Raising, 1826.

Source: Cherokee Phoenix, 18 June 1828; High cattle per capita figures indicate large-scale herding, while low figures indicate small-scale raising.

slave population. There were only 43 slaves in Aquohee and Tahquoa districts combined. By 1826, mixed-farming and small-scale cattle raising methods predominated among the more traditional Cherokees in North Carolina and northeast Georgia. A few large, open range operations must have also been present in Coosewaytee district, which surely exaggerated cattle per capita figures.[67]

Larger herds were more common in the Cherokee Piedmont to the south. More lower southern in character, the Piedmont had been influenced early by large-scale herders; but by 1826, the upland southern cattle raising complex had begun to penetrate south into Hickory Log district. Other evidence of the spread of the upland southern herding form into the Piedmont is the fact that Hickory Log district reported no black slaves in 1826.[68]

Herding in the Ridge and Valley districts had changed between 1809 and 1826. Aumohee and Chickamauga districts, in which John Norton visited so many large-scale Cherokee cattlemen a decade earlier, contained herds comparable to the Piedmont region in 1826. The reason why this part of the old Lower Town region had less cattle in 1826 is because most of the Upper Town region had been ceded by 1819, forcing the population to shift south to new lands in north Georgia. Like the Piedmont to the east, the region's population density

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[67]"Statistical Tables," Cherokee Phoenix 18 June 1828.

[68]Ibid.

increased and was soon dominated by more intensive cattle raising methods that reflected the upland southern tradition of its new inhabitants.

The enormous district of Chattooga in the southwest Cherokee Nation was the only remaining outpost of large-scale, lower southern herding in 1826. In that year, there were nearly four times as many cattle as people. Chattooga district had the smallest population density and 50% more slaves than the next highest slaveholding district. Willstown, the nucleus of the Cherokee range cattle industry, was centrally located on the route to Knoxville and Augusta. Northern markets continued to attract drives of beef cattle from the southwestern Cherokee Nation, which the Cherokee Phoenix often promoted as representative of the nation's progress in civilization:

> Droves of beef cattle and hogs are driven annually from this nation to the different states. A few weeks since, not less than 200 beeves were driven from this vicinity to the northern market; and I think as great numbers were collected in previous years.[69]

A month later, the editor of the Phoenix added:

> Large numbers of cattle and hogs are sold...every year to citizens of Georgia and other states. Large droves of cattle purchased in this nation are driven annually to Virginia, and some are taken and sold in the Pennsylvania markets. I am personally acquainted with individuals engaged in this business. Cattle raised in this nation, I am informed, are sold in markets as far

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[69]Cherokee Phoenix 22 September 1830. Quoted in Wilms, "Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1800-1838," p. 36.

> distant as Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania.[70]

From its Creek-Cherokee border beginnings, Chattooga district retained its prominence as a great cattle herding region and most beef cattle likely came from there; but the articles that the Phoenix ran were not just misconstrued propaganda. A year later, the observation was made that:

> It is supposed that not less than one thousand beeves will be driven from the Nation for the northern markets this season, besides those taken into Georgia and South Carolina. Those for the north are bought by the Tennesseans, not from the half breeds only but (as the expression is) from the common Indians.[71]

By 1826, most Cherokee planter/ranchers had already migrated west to new ranges in Arkansas, where they were in the process of settling the western Ozarks. Replacing them were Cherokee farmers who raised better quality cattle and sometimes fattened them on corn. The connection between Cherokee cattle raisers and northern markets must have augmented the upland southern complex through the introduction of better stock and methods of husbandry, since the succeeding decade was dominated by the Cherokee farmer/herders.

Diffusion of Cattle Herding to the West

Cherokee emigration occurred sporadically between 1785 and 1840, and trans-Mississippi destinations varied over time.

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[70]Cherokee Phoenix 23 October 1830, ibid., p. 37.

[71]Cherokee Phoenix 27 August 1831, ibid.

The emigration pattern is further complicated by varying reasons for emigration, which included cultural revitalization, economic opportunity and forced removal. The removal process is customarily divided into two phases: the voluntary removals from 1785 to 1837, and the forced removal, or Trail of Tears, which occurred in 1838-39. Migrations consisted of yearly movements by relatively small groups before 1809. After that year larger voluntary migrations of "Old Settlers" left periodically until 1828.

A separate group of voluntary migrants reached Indian Territory after the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which ceded all Cherokee lands in the East. The forced removal of 1838-39 brought the balance of the Cherokee population to Indian Territory, except for over four thousand who died enroute and a small number that remained in the East. In nearly every case, Cherokees moved from adjacent areas in the East to adjacent areas in the West.

The voluntary migration of the Lower Town Cherokees to the West stems to the American Revolution. After defeat in 1794, traditionalists in the Lower Towns were left disoriented. The Upper Towns had disowned them a decade before, and many of their own chiefs had begun to live like whites, accumulating property and building large plantations. For the most adamant Cherokee traditionalists, the best solution seemed to be removal to Spanish Territory across the

Mississippi River, where traditions such as the reciprocity ethic, the clan system and warfare would not be lost.

The first known migration was led by Kanati[72] and consisted of a small group of Cherokee traditionalists dissatisfied with the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell. They migrated to the St. Francis River Basin in present eastern Arkansas, where they remained for a few years before moving to the White River further to the west. In 1794, an outlaw chief named "The Bowle" led a group to the lower Arkansas River, where they established a settlement. Continuing upriver, they lived on the south side of the Arkansas River for a time before moving to the Red River Valley and finally to east Texas.[73] Before 1803, other Cherokee groups applied to the commandant of New Madrid for lands west of the Mississippi. The Spanish welcomed the Lower Cherokees as allies against the United States and allowed them to stay.[74]

Most Cherokees still hunted deer or farmed on a subsistence basis into the early 1790s. Upper Town Cherokees traded with the Americans, but the Lower Towns usually traded with Panton, Leslie and Company.[75] A solution to the deer overkill in eastern Cherokee areas had recently been

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[72]Everett, Diana, "Ethnohistory of the Western Cherokees in Texas," (1985). Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University. p. 109.

[73]Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, pp. 26-28.

[74]Ibid., p. 27n.

[75]Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, pp. 40, 49.

discovered by western Cherokee hunters in the Osage-controlled Ozarks, north of the Arkansas river. Deer remained plentiful in the wooded Ozark hills, whites were few, and the Indians there were less organized. The Osages, who claimed the Ozark region, left their settlements every summer to hunt buffalo on the prairies, and the news eventually reached Cherokee hunters in the East.

Using Cherokee settlements along the Arkansas River as bases, Eastern Cherokee hunters began to travel to the western Ozarks in search of hides and horses.[76] The Osages often attacked the trespassing Cherokees, who retaliated with superior firepower. By 1800, Cherokee-Osage clashes created a great rivalry that attracted Cherokee warriors to the West.

When Major John Norton commented on the removal question as it pertained to the Lower Town Cherokees in 1816, he detected the importance of a growing movement to migrate to the West:

> Perhaps those who have crossed the Mississippi, as they are less likely to be surrounded by European Settlements, are in the most promising situation; they have carried with them the art of manufacturing, and they have great herds of cattle, which multiply without end, as they have no market for them, and the animals of (Chase) are in such abundance, that the cattle are seldom killed for food.[77]

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[76]Meigs to Dearborn, May 31, 1805, Office of Indian Affairs "Retired Classified Files," in Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, p. 28.

[77]Klink and Talman, The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816, p. 60.

Norton touched on the main reasons for voluntary Cherokee removal. First, both traditional Cherokee hunters and progressive Cherokee merchants wanted to retain the lucrative hide trade. Such an arrangement, however, was not feasible in the East. The tribe was losing its place in the industry in 1816, since the frontier had already passed the Cherokee Nation; by that year white traders were plying the western rivers of the Mississippi drainage. But the Cherokees' own political sovereignty gave then an advantage over white traders, who had problems with Spanish-allied southern plains tribes and whose only market was the United States. In the West, Cherokee middlemen could hunt, trap and trade with western Indians for deerskins, buffalo robes, Spanish cowhides and furs that could be tanned and shipped downriver by flatboat to New Orleans or freighted overland to St. Louis. Alternatively, they could trade with the Spanish in Texas. Further, the new region also offered Cherokee entrepreneurs wealth through the manufacturing of salt that could be floated downriver.

Norton's other point related to cattle. Their most sizable assets, Cherokee herds would have to be driven to new markets. By 1816 these were already appearing west of the Mississippi. The hinterland of St. Louis was beginning to extend northwest along the Missouri River. There were new settlements in the Mississippi Valley along the Grand Prairie near the mouth of the Arkansas River, in addition to pockets

of settlement in the St. Francis Basin and the Red River region of southwestern Arkansas. Cherokee beef cattle, along with hides, could be sold for processing and river shipment at these new markets. The Arkansas Valley between the Ozarks and Ouachitas, then, was a pivotal region between the two great prongs of settlement originating in the lower Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. Representative of the Lower Town chiefs and one of the earliest to indicate his awareness of the region's economic importance was Doublehead of Muscle Shoals. Doublehead was a fullblood Cherokee chief and a shrewd businessman. He made large profits by charging pilot fees to whites floating through his section of the Tennessee River; when boats failed to clear the Muscle Shoals near his plantation, he profited by salvaging the wreckage.[78] In one of his many requests to agent Meigs, he told of his interests:

> My intention is to come and trade with you, But I am so Engaged in Gathering my Beef Cattle that I expect it will be a moone or two before I can come [to the agency]. I...have now one Request to ask of you, that is, to have me a boat Built. I want a good Keal Boat some 30 to 35 feet in length and 7 feet wide. I want her for the purpose of Descending the River to Orlians & back by Water...I am Determined for to see up the White and Red Rivers in my Route & oppen a trade with the western wild Indians.[79]

Beginning in 1808, the federal government was inducing Lower Cherokee chiefs to exchange their lands for new ones in

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[78]McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, p. 85.

[79]Doublehead to Return J. Meigs, 20 November 1802. Quoted in McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, pp. 84-85.

Arkansas that had been secured from the Osages, although the Arkansas Cherokees were not formally granted a tract of land until 1817 (Figure 8). Tahlonteskee, a Lower Cherokee chief and cattleman, organized a movement of three-hundred Cherokees, seventy of whom were warriors.[80] By 1809, the first contingent of over a thousand Cherokees led by a few wealthy chiefs set off for the new lands. Minor chiefs began to exchange eastern tracts for personal payments and new lands in the West. Most were wealthy, non-traditional Cherokees who owned plantations and kept large herds of cattle. This group recognized the Arkansas region's potential for their own personal enterprises, including large-scale cattle herding. But success there also depended on the retention of their political and cultural autonomy.

Chiefs who cooperated with the federal government had a lot to gain. They profited at once from treaties that carried provisions that gave them payments. After moving they assumed political leadership and were singled out for further government inducements. If the chiefs believed that all Cherokees would inevitably be removed by force, then cooperation with the federal government would secure their own status in the future. Through agent Return J. Meigs, minor chiefs gained federal recognition and increased their material wealth by removing voluntarily. The Lower Town chiefs also realized that their occupance of the Arkansas region would be

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[80]Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, p. 34.

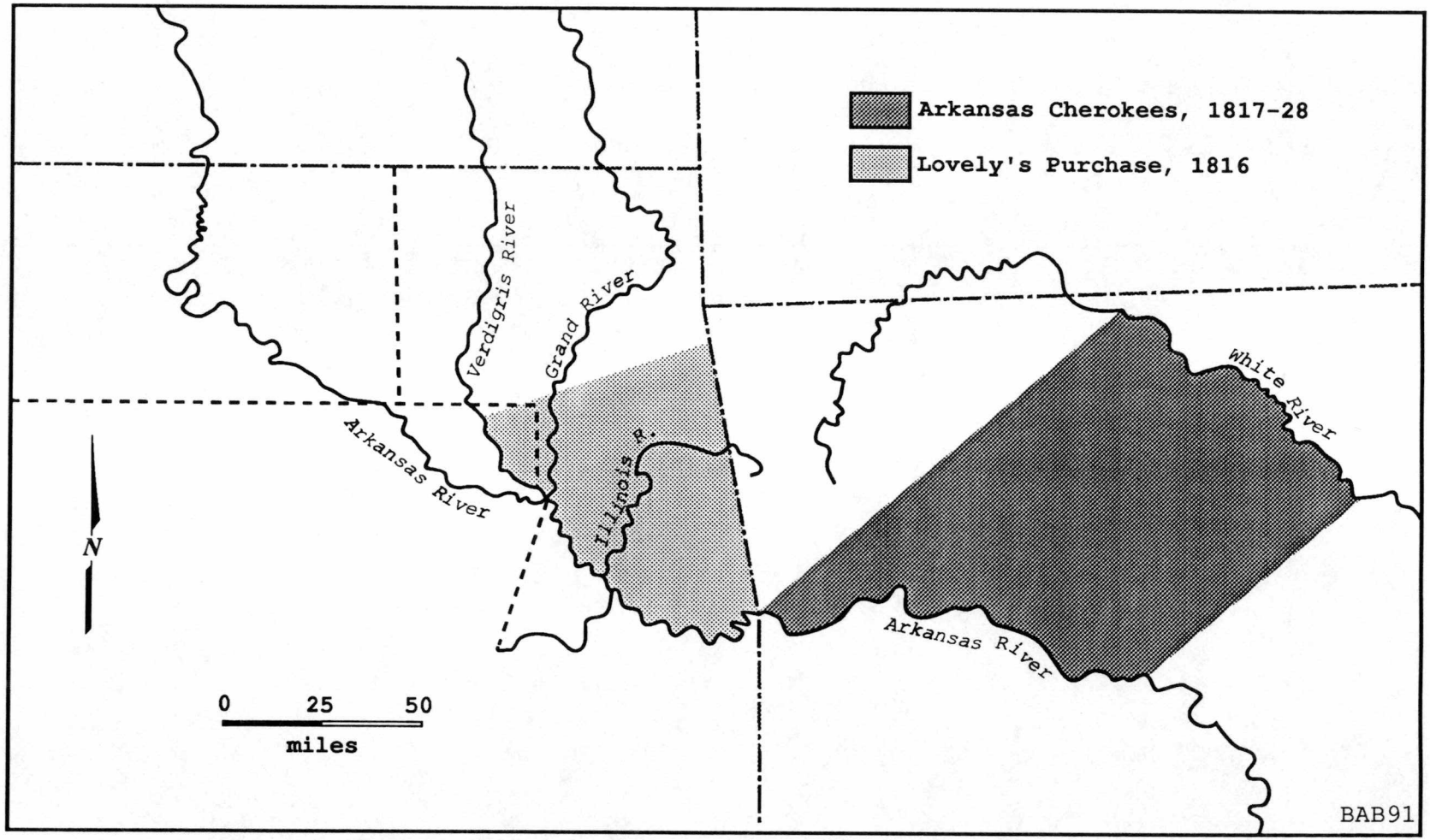

Figure 8. Early Cherokee Occupance of the West.

Adapted from Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds. 1986. Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. Third Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

challenged by their traditional Osage enemies. But their constituency of traditional warriors, together with the favoritism of the federal government, would overwhelm the Osages.

Initial Cherokee evaluation of Arkansas lands were positive. By 1807 one of the earlier removed traditional chiefs reported that "twenty families had joined his settlement, bringing a few hundred cattle and horses."[81] He distinguished between his own group and the newcomers who "all incline to farming and raising stock" rather than hunting.[82] Another western Cherokee, Kaimee, told Meigs how life in Arkansas was better than in Tennessee. According to him, game was more plentiful, farming was good, and herds of cattle and hogs were growing.[83]

Lower Cherokee emigration to the Arkansas Valley and Ozarks increased due to both political unrest and economic opportunity between 1809 and 1818, with peak migrations occurring in 1817 and 1818. Cherokee emigrants at first took their herds with them, but ran into unscrupulous ferrymen at the Mississippi River crossing. Herds could not be ferried across the river, so the Indians had to sell them at a loss, which began to discourage Cherokees who favored removal. John

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[81]The chief's name was Kanati. See Everett, Ethnohistory of the Western Cherokees in Texas," p. 109.

[82]Ibid., p. 113.

[83]Ibid., 112-13.

Rogers, a Cherokee who leased Arkansas salt springs from the Quapaw tribe, lobbied for federal restitution for property left in the East by emigrating Cherokees.[84] Not wanting to stall emigration, the government agreed to compensate the western Cherokees for their abandoned property.

The claims made by the Cherokees who migrated to Arkansas between 1805 and 1819 illustrate a few characteristics of their herding complex in the East. Many Cherokees owned at least a few cattle, whether for dairy purposes, draft or sale. Not all who owned cattle made claims, while those who did probably did not abandon all of their stock to the government. Low prices granted by the Indian agency must have prompted some Cherokees to sell off their stock, while others took their stock with them overland. Using the 1805-1819 claims data as a sample, it seems that the Cherokees who emigrated before 1820 owned both large and small herds. A perusal of individual names indicates that both mixedbloods and fullbloods owned cattle. Also, some Cherokees made more than one claim.[85]

The negotiation by the Arkansas Cherokees of Lovely's Purchase in December of 1816 attracted over two thousand

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[84]Meigs to McMinn, 17 January 1817, BIA, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835.

[85]United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835, (1963). Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service; Hook, Charlene, ed. 1851 Drennen Roll of Cherokees, (1973). Tulsa: Indian Nations Press.

eastern Cherokees to the western Ozarks.[86] Several more Lower Town chiefs such as John Jolly, John Rogers and The Glass, all of whom owned large herds of cattle, organized migrations and moved during this period. They traveled by flatboat down the Tennessee and Mississippi, transferring to keelboats and steamboats before going up the Arkansas and Grand Rivers. Finally in 1828, the "Old Settlers," as they were then called, gained formal title to seven million acres west of the Arkansas border.

The relocation of Cherokees after 1828 was much quicker, but very tragic. In the eastern Cherokee Nation, a minority of wealthy chiefs illegally signed the 1835 Treaty of New Echota, ceding all Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi.[87] Those who complied with the 1835 treaty moved voluntarily and became known as the Treaty Party. Most made the trip to the West without any trouble, coming by riverboat. Their slaves soon began to build large plantations in the small valleys of the Ozark tributaries of the Arkansas River. The Treaty Party had many things in common with the Old Settlers, whose lifestyles both reflected that of the Lower South. Shortly

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[86]Royce, Charles C., "The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments," Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-1884. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office. pp. 117-18.

[87]The Treaty of December 29, 1835 provided the Cherokees already in the West with additional rights and access to lands in Kansas and the Cherokee Outlet. Royce, The Cherokee Nation of Indians, pp. 125-76; Morris, Goins, and McReynolds, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, Plate 22.

after arrival, alliances were made with the existing Tahlonteeskee government.

Beginning in 1838, the remaining Cherokees in the East were incarcerated, taken to holding camps and forced to migrate overland in several large assemblages. Along with their improvements, many Cherokee cattle were stolen by marauding Georgians. But according to surveys of Cherokee improvements and spoliation claims, many of the eastern Cherokees appear to have sold much of their stock prior to their removal, due to the small numbers of cattle mentioned.[88]

Those who survived the trip entered Indian Territory in the spring of 1839. They entered the new land along the Arkansas Valley corridor, passing through Fort Smith. Most families began to set up temporary shelters immediately upon crossing the Indian Territory boundary. Though the trauma of removal took its toll, after the first year the emigrant Cherokees spread into the surrounding hills. Cherokee lands were held in common; therefore, settlement was not hindered by a survey process or the need for investment capital. Subject only to site selection and the construction of improvements, emigrant Cherokees swiftly occupied the narrow stream valleys of the wooded Ozark hills east of the Grand River. In the fall of 1839, the federal government supplied a herd of Texas

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[88]Survey records of Cherokee improvements and spoliation claims lists have been researched by Brett H. Riggs and Judy Jacobi, respectively.

cattle that were reportedly in poor condition from being driven overland during the fall season. Many Cherokees used their allocation of cattle to start new herds of their own, while others sold theirs to Old Settler cattlemen for hogs and corn.

Cherokees involved in the cattle business were present in both removal phases, but patterns of herding complexes can be distinguished among the two groups. The Old Settlers, especially those from the Ridge and Valley hearth region who moved to the western Ozarks between 1817 and 1828, as well as the wealthier, slaveholding Treaty Party members, transplanted the Cherokee large-scale planter/rancher complex in Indian Territory. The majority of Cherokees who were removed in 1838 reinstated their mixed-farming cattle raising economy in the Ozarks of the eastern Cherokee Nation ten to twenty years after their "Old Settler" predecessors. The period between the voluntary migrations and the forced removal was a transitional period for Cherokees settling the west. In the Arkansas Valley and Ozarks, they became frontier middlemen who linked the "civilized East" with the "savage wilderness in the West."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANTEBELLUM CHEROKEE NATION CATTLE INDUSTRY

In 1920, Oklahoma historian Edward Everett Dale wrote of the antebellum cattle industry among the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory:

> The people through contact with the whites in their old home east of the Mississippi, had passed from the hunting to the pastoral stage of society, but at this point had been driven westward to Oklahoma. Here they had continued the herding industry begun in the old home, but their herds were destroyed by the Civil War and their country so devastated that after the struggle they never reached the point in cattle raising that they had previously attained.[1]

Indeed, the transfer of the Cherokee cattle herding traditions to the West via relocation diffusion was a much more complex process. The differing motives for removal resulted in the divergence of tribal identities; these would later lead to factional rivalries that plagued the tribe throughout the nineteenth century.

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[1]Dale, "History of the Ranch Cattle Industry in Oklahoma," p. 312.

Herding among the Arkansas Cherokees

In Arkansas, Cherokee cattle mixed freely with stock owned by whites on the open range and disputes of ownership sometimes resulted. In 1819, Thomas Nuttall traveled among the Arkansas Cherokee settlements and described what he saw:

> Both banks of the river, as we proceeded, were lined with the houses and farms of the Cherokees, and though their dress was a mixture of indigenous and European taste, yet in their houses, which are decently furnished, and in the farms, which were well fenced and stocked with cattle, we perceive a happy approach toward civilization.[2]

The legal western limit of Cherokee settlement roughly corresponded with the present boundary of Arkansas and Oklahoma; but beginning in 1818, the influx of Cherokee settlers pushed settlement across the line and onto federal land occupied by the Osages. Fort Gibson was established to maintain peace among the two tribes, but the Old Settlers and visiting eastern Cherokee warriors continued to harass the Osages. The trouble climaxed in 1818 with the massacre of an entire Osage village by 565 Cherokees. Warfare against the Osages, the Cherokees claimed, was based in the tradition of clan revenge. But the systematic methods they used began to resemble European strategies of acquiring new lands. By this

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[2]Nuttall, Journal of Travels into the Arkansa[s] Territory, During the Year 1819, p. 125.

time, white settlers were flooding into Arkansas and crowding the Cherokees out.[3] As chief Tahlonteskee bluntly put it:

> ...when forced into a war with the [Osage] Nation, I did not expect a return of property as they had none to give, but my object was to be remunerated by an accession of their country. I hope that the Osage in satisfaction for our claims on them, give up country -- we do not wish to be cramped by them...[4]

The 1828 agreement that gave the Cherokees official title to the Ozarks west of Arkansas included another reimbursement, this time for property lost to white settlers in Arkansas during the 1820s. The list of these spoliations furnishes a better representation of how the cattle industry existed among the western Cherokees in Arkansas.[5]

During their Arkansas stay in the 1820s, the Cherokees owned many cattle as well as other livestock. Some Cherokees, like John Crossland, lost large numbers of beef cattle; of 158 head stolen, almost a third were steers. Others, such as Charles Coody or Susan S. Wolf, lost several cattle but no other kinds of livestock. The largest Cherokee operations, however, were owned by wealthy chiefs who were not exclusively

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[3]Disputes occurred between white farmers who lost cattle that became mixed with the Cherokee herds. See Everett, Ethnohistory of the Western Cherokees in Texas, p. 117.

[4]"Cherokee (West) Tolentiskee," Office of Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files, Quoted in Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, p. 70.

[5]United States, Report from the Secretary of War, (1838). Office of Indian Affairs, 25th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document 125: Schedule of Stock Taken. Blair and Rives, printers.

cattlemen. Walter Webber is the best example among this group; he lost 265 stock cattle to white thieves in Arkansas, but also 23 horses and 100 hogs. Other Cherokees lost smaller numbers of stock cattle and milk cattle, which were classified as "cows and calves." The diversity of socioeconomic levels is evident in the fact that many western Cherokees owned no cattle; these included people involved in raising other types of stock, as well as traditionalists who did not raise livestock. Significantly, those who lost no cattle often lost large numbers of horses and hogs.[6]

A brief period of stagnation and adjustment in the cattle trade began with the move across the Mississippi. Although Cherokee entrepreneurs such as John Rogers often visited markets such as St. Louis before their relocation further west to Indian Territory, it is not likely that large herds of Cherokee beef cattle were driven there.[7] Instead, as Major John Norton suggested in 1816, Arkansas Cherokee herds grew due to lack of markets. If at all, cattle were sold locally in the growing white settlements along the St. Francis and Red Rivers. But in the late 1820s, however, new markets developed at military garrisons on the frontier. Arkansas Post, Fort Gibson and Fort Smith all required supplies of fresh beef, which the western Cherokees supplied.

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[6]Ibid.

[7]Meigs to McMinn, 17 January, 1817, BIA, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835.

Cattle Ranching among the Old Settlers

As more white settlers arrived in Arkansas and squatted on their lands, many Arkansas Cherokees began to move out. There were two directions for them to go: northwest to the Osage portion of the western Ozarks, or southwest to east Texas and Mexico. The few who crossed the Red River into Texas built settlements and immediately began to raise cattle until they were evicted in 1839. Most Cherokees did not wish to move further west, but realists began to set their sights on Osage lands in the western Ozarks, in case diplomatic efforts with the federal government failed. The Osages must have perceived Cherokee hunters and trappers as a great threat to their own livelihood, which was also dependent on the fur trade. Meeting with federal officials in 1821, the Osage chiefs declared:

> ...we don't want the Cherokees to steal what game there is on our land, we want it for ourselves, our women and our children...we cannot farm like the Cherokees, we have not yet learned how to raise Hogs, Cattle and other things like the Cherokees - when we want meat for our women and children and clothing, our dependence is in the woods - if we do not get it there we must go hungry and naked...[8]

The Osages made little distinction between Cherokees and whites, since both groups hungered for land and were moving west. Frontier whites must have been the lesser of two evils

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[8]Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, p. 105.

to the Osages, since they were somewhat constrained by their eastern government; the western Cherokees were not. Having ceded their lands in Arkansas, in 1828 they formally relocated to the west side of the Arkansas boundary. Most established farm communities and plantations in the rugged hills immediately across the border.

White trappers, traders and others who owned cattle occupied the Ozarks west of Arkansas, before the treaty of 1828. Joseph Revoir, a mixedblood French-Osage, traded furs, farmed and raised cattle along the Grand River near Grand Saline. Revoir was murdered in 1821 by a group of Cherokee warriors.[9] Colonel A.P. Chouteau took over Revoir's operations on the Grand River in 1822[10] the year before, Union Mission was established to bring Christianity to the Osages. By 1823, the missionaries owned 100 head of cattle, as well as other livestock.[11] Even as the Cherokees were beginning to bring their cattle into the region, they were joined by a considerable number of whites, coming overland and ascending the Arkansas River.

Attracted by the prospects of providing supplies and milling services to the Cherokees in the Ozark interior, frontier towns such as Dutch Mills, Evansville, and Cincinnati, Arkansas, developed along the Indian Territory

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[9]Ibid., p. 101, 140-42.

[10]Ibid., p. 54.

[11]Ibid., p. 125.

border. Cherokee traders provided Arkansas buyers with western hides that were tanned and shipped to eastern markets.[12] In addition to hides, a few Cherokee cattle were occasionally sold for cash to Arkansas whites.[13]

More acculturated individuals owned slaves and built their plantations in the fertile limestone valleys of the Illinois River and its tributaries. Second generation Alabama Cherokee Old Settler Josephine Wood, told how her family established their home in one of these valleys:

> [her grandparents] settled Bayou Manard about five miles from Fort Gibson where they established and improved claim, built a large double-log house, two stories...[14]

The Old Settlers found the upland prairie grasses and wooded lowlands to be good grazing for their herds throughout the summer. Assisted by their black slaves, they retired their herds to the narrow cane-filled creek valleys in late fall when the prairie grasses dried. In the spring they drove small herds of cane-fattened cattle by horseback to white settlements and military garrisons.

A few men sought further opportunity west of the Arkansas boundary. Walter Webber set up a trading post at the falls of

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[12]Ibid., pp. 70-72; Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C. McReynolds, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, (1986). Third Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Plate 22; Interview with Minnie L. Miller, IPH 63:211-12; Interview with Tixie Miller, IPH 63:268-274; Interview with Fred Palone, IPH 69:136.

[13]Interview with Mrs. E. H. Whitmire, IPH 97:386.

[14]Interview with Josephine Andre Reid Wood, IPH 100:11.

the Arkansas River, where he collected furs and hides that were shipped directly to eastern markets and bypassed Arkansas middlemen. Walter Sanders and John Rogers moved their salt business even further upstream to the Grand Saline near Chouteau's place.[15] Other Cherokee entrepreneurs began to secure the trade between the southern Plains Indians and ports on the Arkansas River. To cement their new position in the West, a capital of the western Cherokees was built on the Illinois River and named Tahlonteeskee after the late chief.

Reverend Cephas Washburn lived among the western Cherokees and recorded many of his experiences in his Reminiscences of the Indians. In particular, he recalled an element of Cherokee folklore that stemmed from a problem of their open range herding complex. Into the 1820s, most Cherokee herders still kept cattle in the vicinity of mineral licks. In the West, however, mineral licks often had high clay contents that caused hard hair and mineral deposits to form in the digestive systems of cattle. This sometimes fatal affliction plagued western Cherokee herds. Upholding their spiritual dogma, traditional Cherokee cattlemen rationalized that malevolent beings secretly shot these objects, called "witchballs," into their cattle. Washburn, adhering to his own convictions, described the Cherokee safeguard against witchballs:

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[15]Carselowey, James M., Cherokee Pioneers, (1961). Adair, Oklahoma: James Manford Carselowey. p. 9.

> According to the current belief among the Indians, salt is considered a powerful preservative against the influences of witches. Hence, they say the reason why white people are not bewitched like the Indians is because they use so much salt. But I have protracted my remarks on this subject of so little interest, and so indicative of human folly...[16]

The Arkansas Cherokees constructed "licklogs," rather than depend on witchball-producing mineral licks. Licklogs were usually constructed from fallen tree trunks by chopping a series of small indentions in the top side of the log. The indentions were periodically filled with granular salt, which attracted range cattle. Periodic salting kept the herd from wandering away from the operation and conditioned cattle to the presence of humans. The practice was common among herders in the southern Appalachians, so the trait was surely adopted before migration to the West. Salt had always been an expensive commodity in the East, but in the West cheap granular salt was obtained from former Tennessean Mark Bean, who floated it downstream from his saltworks on the lower Illinois River.[17] Apparently licklogs came into more common usage among the western Cherokees, as Washburn saw many in the woods surrounding Dwight Mission near present Sallisaw, Oklahoma:

> These were simply fallen trees with notches cut in them a few inches deep, and at the distance of two or three feet apart. To these logs it was usual to repair once or twice a week and salt the cattle. In this manner

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[16]Washburn, Cephas, Reminiscences of the Indians, (1869). Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication. pp.139-40.

[17]Foreman, Indians and Pioneers, pp. 59-60.

each man attended to his own flock, and was enabled to keep them separate from others.[18]

Western Cherokee stockmen also blamed malevolent spirits for droughts that sometimes desiccated the prairie grasses and canebrakes.[19] Except for the switch to processed salt, though, the hardwood forests of the Ozarks were similar enough to their former homeland for the Cherokees not to considerably alter their herding tradition. Cattle thrived on the mix of cane, tallgrass prairie and fire-managed woodland. Most western Cherokees practiced a different type of herding than their mixed-farming relatives in the East. Their frontier isolation necessitated the raising of limited food crops for domestic use, a characteristic shared by lower southern herders. Western Cherokee herders primarily sought range for their cattle and additionally raised crops, which remained the occupation of women and slaves. Depending on large expanses of rangeland and local markets, they began to reinstate their lower southern open range planter/rancher economy. It is evident that Cherokee cattlemen had adopted the practice of marking their stock by the time of Washburn's visit. He encountered one Cherokee who related: "If any man puts his mark upon my cattle when they go to his lick-log, I call him cow thief."[20]

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[18]Washburn, Reminiscences of the Indians. p. 38.

[19]Ibid., p. 134.

[20]Ibid., p. 169.

In addition to growing food crops and keeping livestock, the Old Settlers continued to trade for hides that were shipped to eastern markets and wage war against their traditional enemies. Washburn explained:

> The Cherokees...were raising large stocks of horses, cattle and hogs, were building comfortable log-cabins and beginning to cultivate the soil. All these improvements and sources of wealth had to be left whenever they were called out on a war expedition against their enemy; and their stock was continually exposed to the marauding parties of Osages.[21]

Early in 1831 the Old Settlers began to pass laws at Tahlonteeskee that reflected their herding tradition. Among them was the most detailed livestock law passed by either Cherokee government.[22] The presence of large herds of open range cattle necessitated that crops be protected with legally-defined fences that were at least "nine good rails high, and the cracks in the fence within the space of two feet from the ground up, not to exceed four inches in width."[23]

Two other laws protected western Cherokee forests; one made it illegal for whites to cut trees on Cherokee lands and the other outlawed cutting pecan trees and firing the woods before March.[24] The laws are significant in that they illustrate how Cherokee Old Settlers retained their woodland

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[21]Ibid., p. 115.

[22]Cherokee Nation, Laws of the Cherokee Nation, pp. 161-63.

[23]Ibid., p. 173.

[24]Ibid., pp. 171-72; 169.

tradition, even though they had adopted the innovation of cattle herding.

By 1837 the Old Settlers had successfully put the resources of their new land to use, which included grazing their herds on the Ozark open range. Their 1200 farms produced grain, cattle and hogs that were sold to the military at Forts Gibson, Smith, Towson and Scott for an estimated $60,000 yearly.[25]

The treaty of 1828 also gave the Old Settlers title to the tallgrass prairies of the Prairie Plains. Significantly, the Old Settlers chose not to utilize the region for grazing their cattle. Instead, it became an uninhabited region that divided the Cherokees from the Osage tribe, now further up the Arkansas River in the Osage Hills.

There are several possible explanations why the Old Settler Cherokees chose not expand their cattle operations onto the open range of the Prairie Plains. First is the presence of the Osages; but by 1837 that tribe was no longer a threat to the Cherokees. A second possible explanation is their orientation to towns on the eastern border of the Cherokee Nation, like Dutch Mills, Evansville, and Cincinnati, Arkansas. During the initial period of occupance in Indian Territory, the Old Settlers depended on supplies obtained from the East. As settlement filled in and spread west, in the 1830s, supply orientations shifted to the Grand River Valley.

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[25]Carselowey, Cherokee Pioneers, p. 9.

The most convincing reasons why the Old Settlers did not graze their herds on the tallgrass prairies are environmental. Water resources on the Prairie Plains were enough for other cattle herding complexes, such as that of the Texas-Hispanos, but perhaps not nearly enough for Old Settler Cherokees. Central to the Cherokee system was the individual farmstead or plantation, which was always located near a spring and plenty of timber. Old Settlers who built elsewhere were considered to be rather strange:

> [Switch Lowry] was not like other Indians...when he built this first settlement house, he didn't hunt out a spring and a thickly wooded place as every other Indian had always done, but instead...built his home...out there in the middle of that bald prairie...The Cherokee Indians accused him of overthrowing their beloved tradition, "of the home near a spring." Therefore his name was given him...that would tell what he had done, "switched."[26]

Large-scale herding among the Cherokees had evolved successfully as a forest-oriented complex and the low population density in the 1830s Cherokee Nation West permitted plenty of unobstructed range in the hills. Cattle did well in the fire-managed forests and canebrakes of the Ozark valleys just as they had in the southern Appalachians. The Prairie Plains, though, were perceived as having a limited supply of cane. In 1821 frontiersman Jacob Fowler traversed the Three Forks region near the Ozark-Prairie Plains ecotone:

> ...the Bottom between the Six bull [Grand River] and verdegree [Verdigris River] is High and Rich Well timbered With Some Caine and is about one and a Half

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[26]Interview with Samuel S. Foreman, IPH, 31:180.

miles Wide to the [Ozark] Hills - from What We Cold Learn there is no Caine above this on the arkensaw...[27]

In reality, canebrakes probably did exist further up the Arkansas River, and it is possible that they could have sustained cattle. But more importantly, people believed otherwise.

Cattle Raising among the Emigrants

The new emigrant majority expected to impose their own government on the Old Settlers, even though they held nearly opposite political philosophies. The tension exploded with the assassination of three Treaty Party leaders on June 22, 1839. Chaos prevailed until 1844, when unification was declared, and in 1846, a treaty compensated the Old Settlers for their lost authority.[28] Laws were rewritten that reconciled those of the previous governments and the nation was divided into nine districts (Figure 9). A new national capital was designated that was centrally located within the Cherokee Ozarks and agreeable with traditional settlement standards. It was named Tahlequah, after the town known as Tellico in Tennessee:

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[27]Coues, Elliot, ed., The Journal of Jacob Fowler, Narrating an Adventure from Arkansas Through the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, to the Sources of Rio Grande Del Norte, 1821-22, (1965). Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc. p. 6.

[28]Royce, The Cherokee Nation of Indians, p. 171-87.

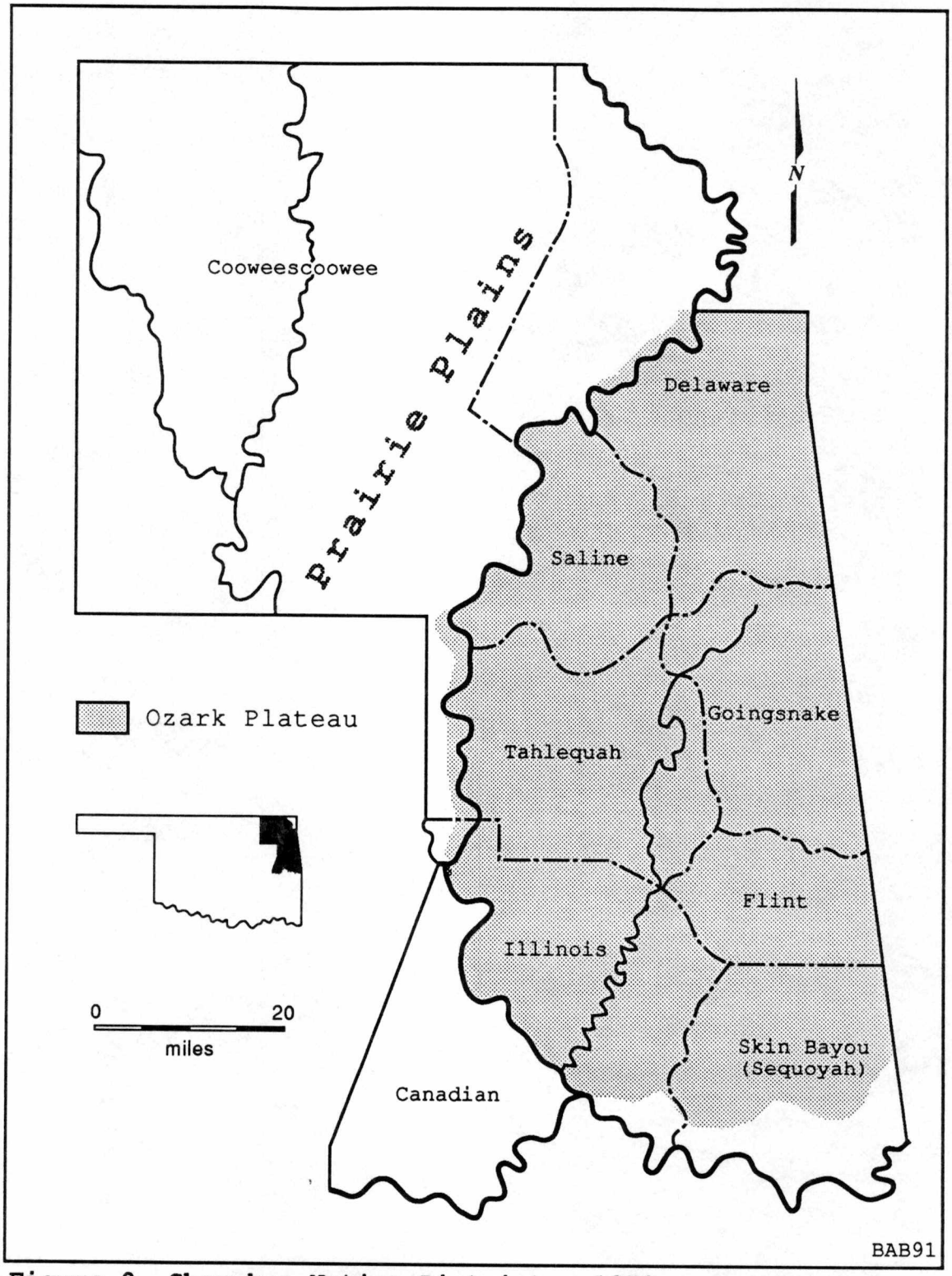

Figure 9. Cherokee Nation Districts, 1850.

Adapted from Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds. 1986. Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. Third Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

> The location of the Town, is central and beautiful and combines the advantages of good health, excellent spring water, and plentiful supply of timber for firewood and purposes of building. The surrounding country is, in our opinion, of surpassing beauty, presenting a diversity of mountain, woodland and prairie scenery. The prairie which extends within the town reservation, affords luxuriant grass, which is a good substitute of hay...[29]

Many eastern Cherokee towns emigrated as groups along the Trail of Tears and resettled their villages in secluded Ozark hollows. The majority of emigrant Cherokees had adopted an upland southern lifestyle of grain and livestock farming augmented by hunting and fishing. They maintained many traditional practices such as stomp and green corn dances, ballgames and stalkshoots, hog and fish fries; but their settlement preferences were not as strict as the traditionalists. Emigrant Cherokee farmers first sought fertile cropland and additionally raised livestock. They raised staples like maize, beans, and squash, but accepted new food crops. Along their fenced fields they planted apple and peach trees and crops of wheat and cotton were also raised.[30] Within a few years after initial settlement, they began to own small numbers of cattle that they kept on the open range as part of the general farming strategy. Cherokee fullblood Isaac Batt described the experience of his grandfather, Walter Adair:

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[29]"Our Town," Cherokee Advocate 19 October 1844.

[30]Interview with Bob Butler, IPH 1:73-74.

> He settled Cowskin Prairie and when he first arrived the Government gave them an ax, a bulltongue plow and a hoe. He then began building a house, daubing the cracks with mud. Then he cleared some land and started a crop. He raised corn, pumpkins, and beans, also they raised some sheep, cattle and hogs.[31]

Small plots called "Tom Fuller patches" were cleared by ringbarking trees in the oak-hickory forest and rails were split to protect them from range cattle.[32] The emigrants hewed oak and sometimes pine logs to build their dogtrot houses.[33] All land was held in common and only fields and outbuildings were considered real property. According to Cherokee law, farmers could claim land for their own use within a quarter mile radius of their improvements. The law proposed to minimize land use quarrels by creating a quarter-mile unimproved perimeter between farms.[34] The law was not at all a radical one; it merely institutionalized the customary Cherokee settlement pattern. Since the best land was located in the stream bottoms, towns were actually linear sets of scattered farmsteads. More ambitious Cherokees manipulated

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[31]Interview with Isaac Batt, IPH 6:48.

[32]"Ringbarking," more commonly known as "girdling," seems to have been the term of preference among the Cherokees in Oklahoma. Interview with Anna Scarlet Barnes, IPH 4:269; Interview with Bob Butler, IPH 14:72-74.

[33]I am convinced that the dogtrot housetype dominated the early Cherokee Ozark settlement landscape. Incredibly, this form was mentioned in a majority of interviews discussing Cherokee housing found in the Indian-Pioneer History sample. Reasons no doubt stem to its origins in east Tennessee and the adaptability of the double-pen design to shorter western oak timber.

[34]Cherokee Nation, Laws of the Cherokee Nation, p. 29.

the law to acquire large tracts of grazing land. Superfluous improvements such as corncribs or building foundations were made one-quarter mile apart to prevent other Cherokees from settling within the area.[35]

The emigrant Cherokees brought with them a tradition of keeping higher quality cattle and giving them better care. In 1843, a cattleman named J. A. Scott of Van Buren, Arkansas who was known for his "short horned Durham" stock, took "some of his fine blooded stock to Bayou Menard, for sale among the Cherokees."[36] The sale was apparently not the first. In 1845 Tahlequah merchant G. M. Murrell advertized for sale in the Cherokee Advocate, "A Durham Bull, 4 years old."[37] Elite emigrant Cherokees controlled the newspaper and at times ran articles on improving stock raising methods.[38] All Cherokees kept their stock on the open range, however, so breed improvement was difficult if not impossible.

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[35]Interview with Tom Foster, IPH 31:337.

[36]"A Great Calf," Arkansas Intelligencer 22 July 1843. p. 1; "Stock Going Up," Ibid., 2 September 1843. p. 2.

[37]Cherokee Advocate 27 November 1845. p. 1.

[38]For instance, the May 22, 1845 edition of the Cherokee Advocate ran an lengthy article entitled "Indian Corn For Fodder."

Ranching and Raising in the Antebellum Period

In the two decades before the Civil War, cattle herding in the Cherokee Nation, like Cherokee culture itself, continued to diverge. Such cultural change, as represented through cultural trait distributions, manifested itself in the antebellum Cherokee landscape. The two evolving forms of cattle herding in the Cherokee Nation continued to function into the late 1850s. The majority of Cherokees in the isolated eastern hills practiced their mixed-farming form of cattle raising, while a few wealthy, large-scale open range cattlemen continued to keep large herds. Pulled by the migrations along the Texas Road and pushed by the growing population density in the Cherokee Ozarks, some planter/ranchers began to relocate their operations in the Grand Valley in the 1840s. These cattlemen led the way in supplying the new market west of the Cherokee settlements.

The most significant aspect of large-scale cattle herding in the Grand Valley -- by then known as ranching -- was that enslaved cowhands performed most of the labor. Both the largest cattle herds and the largest slave populations were found along Grand River plantations in the districts of Saline and Tahlequah.[39] By the time of the Civil War Joseph Lynch

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[39]Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes," pp. 335-50; Idem. "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," pp. 493-515.

Martin owned many slaves and four ranches along the Grand River.[40]

Many of the elite emigrant Cherokees participated in large-scale cattle ranching in addition to growing plantation staples. Lewis Ross, brother of chief John Ross, shipped five hundred slaves from his Georgia plantation to Fort Gibson in 1838 for sale among the Cherokees. He built a plantation that covered over three square miles in the Grand Valley and owned 150 slaves. At first Ross grew tobacco and cotton that was shipped downriver, and later in the 1850s he entered the cattle business, keeping large herds on the open range along the Grand River.[41]

Another slaveholding Cherokee cattleman was Dave Rowe. An exception to most Cherokee ranchers, but representative of a changing culture, Rowe ventured west of the Grand River and established his place on an isolated knoll in the Prairie Plains. Ex-slave Sam Vann recalled:

> Dave Rowe had a big cattle ranch five miles west of Pryor, at the foot of a big hill, on the south side of the hill, and he had cattle scattered from his home in Saline district to his ranch west of Grand River, a distance of more than twenty miles.[42]

Cherokee planters were also inclined to use slave labor in dairy production. Ex-slave Morris Sheppard, born on his

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[40]Interview with Mrs. Ned Chochran, IPH 18:45.

[41]Interview with Eliza Hardrick, IPH 38:322; Interview with Moses Lonian, IPH 55:220-29.

[42]Interview with Sam Vann, IPH 93:246-47.

Cherokee master's place near Webber's Falls on the Arkansas River, recalled his boyhood job:

> ...When crop was laid by de slaves jest work 'round at dis and dat and keep tol'able busy. I never did have much of a job, jest tending de calves mostly. We had about twenty calves and I would take dem out and graze 'em while some grown-up negro was grazing de cows so as to keep de cows milk. I had me a good blaze-faced horse for dat...One time old Master and another man come and Pappy say old Master taking dem off to sell...[43]

It is clear that Cherokees and their black cowhands worked cattle from horseback, but Spanish roping and riding skills remained absent into the middle 1850s. Raising horses grew to become an important activity among the Cherokees; on many plantations the value of a few horses often surpassed the worth of range cattle.

Although Cherokees and their slaves valued horses in their open range strategy, dogs were of little use. Mention of a "bobtail bull dog, a brindle colored animal," was made by one enslaved sheepherder,[44] but solid evidence of the use of dogs among Cherokee cattle ranchers is absent. This comes as no surprise, since travelers among the Cherokees in the East never mentioned the use of dogs in controlling cattle. Other southern traits such as keeping swine on the same range and the growing of garden crops persisted into the 1850s, though

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[43]Interview with Morris Sheppard, 7:285-87. In Rawick, George P., ed., The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, (1972). Vol. 7, 12. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company. Hereafter cited as American Slave.

[44]Interview with Henry Henderson, American Slave 7:179.

the largest ranchers also owned plantations that produced commercial staples that were shipped downriver.

Analysis of cattle characteristics from an early 1850s sample of ninety-eight stray cattle advertized in the Cherokee Advocate between 1850 and 1853 illustrates several aspects of small-scale cattle raising in the antebellum period. First, the growing farming population in the Cherokee Ozarks created a need for the impoundment of stray cattle as an expedient way to settle conflict between Cherokee farmers and cattle raisers. Open range cattle owned by Cherokee mixed-farmers often strayed into the cornfields of other Cherokee farmers, which explains why most cattle were impounded in the heavily populated districts surrounding the Illinois River, centrally located in the Cherokee Ozarks (Figure 10). Second, the physical descriptions of Cherokee cattle indicate that breed improvement may have been attempted, but was probably unsuccessful due to mixing on the open range with semiwild range animals. Since none of the few bulls found in the sample were marked, they must have been feral animals that failed to be rounded up earlier in life. Third, the relatively large ratio of marked cattle in the sample indicates that roundups for cutting and marking must have been held at least annually. Fourth, impounded cattle were penned on at farms, usually termed "places" owned by Cherokee cattle raisers, who fed the stock until public auction disposed of them. Most "places" were usually located along a creek or

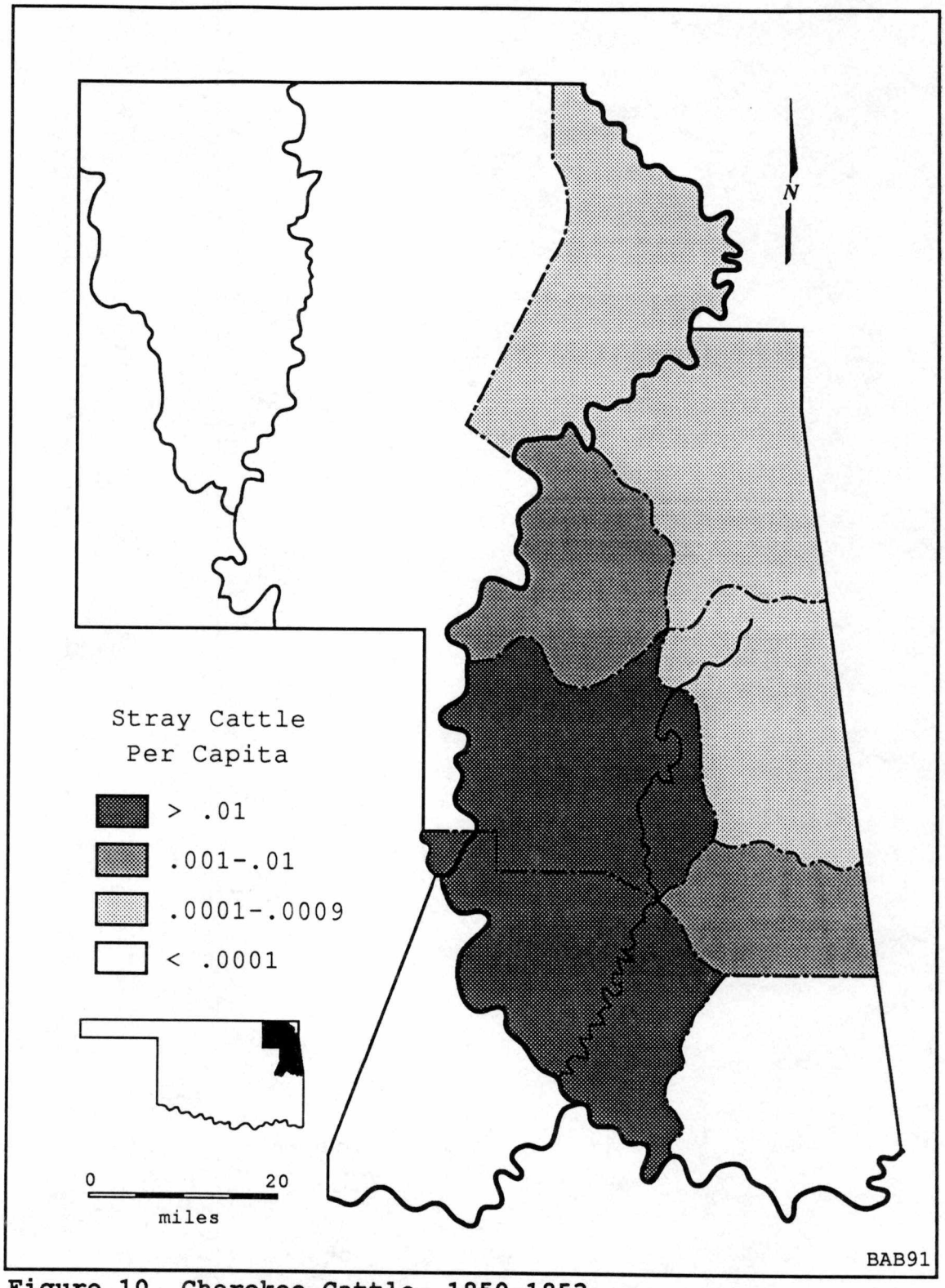

Figure 10. Cherokee Cattle, 1850-1853.

Compiled from various stray cattle notices in the Cherokee Advocate, (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation) 15 April 1850 - 10 August 1853.

river valley, upholding the traditional Cherokee settlement pattern.

Significantly, the sample of stock found among cattle raisers of the Cherokee Ozarks displayed characteristics representative of the upland southern herding complex. Small-scale cattle raisers in the Cherokee Ozarks had an overwhelming tendency to earmark their stock rather than brand it, a bias also shared by upland southerners elsewhere (Figure 11).[45]

Among the mixed-farming Cherokees, cattle were kept for three main purposes: dairying, work and extra income. Families occasionally fed surplus grain to their cattle, but there was usually a market for grain at Fort Gibson. Since their hogs were often fattened in pens, Cherokee cattle may have been penned and fattened on corn. Fatter, better quality cattle were marketed at home to buyers from Arkansas and Missouri in the 1850s. Women were often responsible for the family herd, since they were part of the overall farming strategy:

> Mother and the oldest boys raised a small crop of corn each year to provide feed for the stock including a number of milk cows from which was recruited a new yoke of oxen every year or so. To mother fell the task of breaking the wild young cattle to work...[46]

With the exception of chiefs like Lewis Ross, most

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[45]See Jordan, "Early Northeast Texas and the Evolution and the Origin of Western Cattle Ranching," pp. 66-87.

[46]Interview with Nancy Rider, IPH 76:162-63.

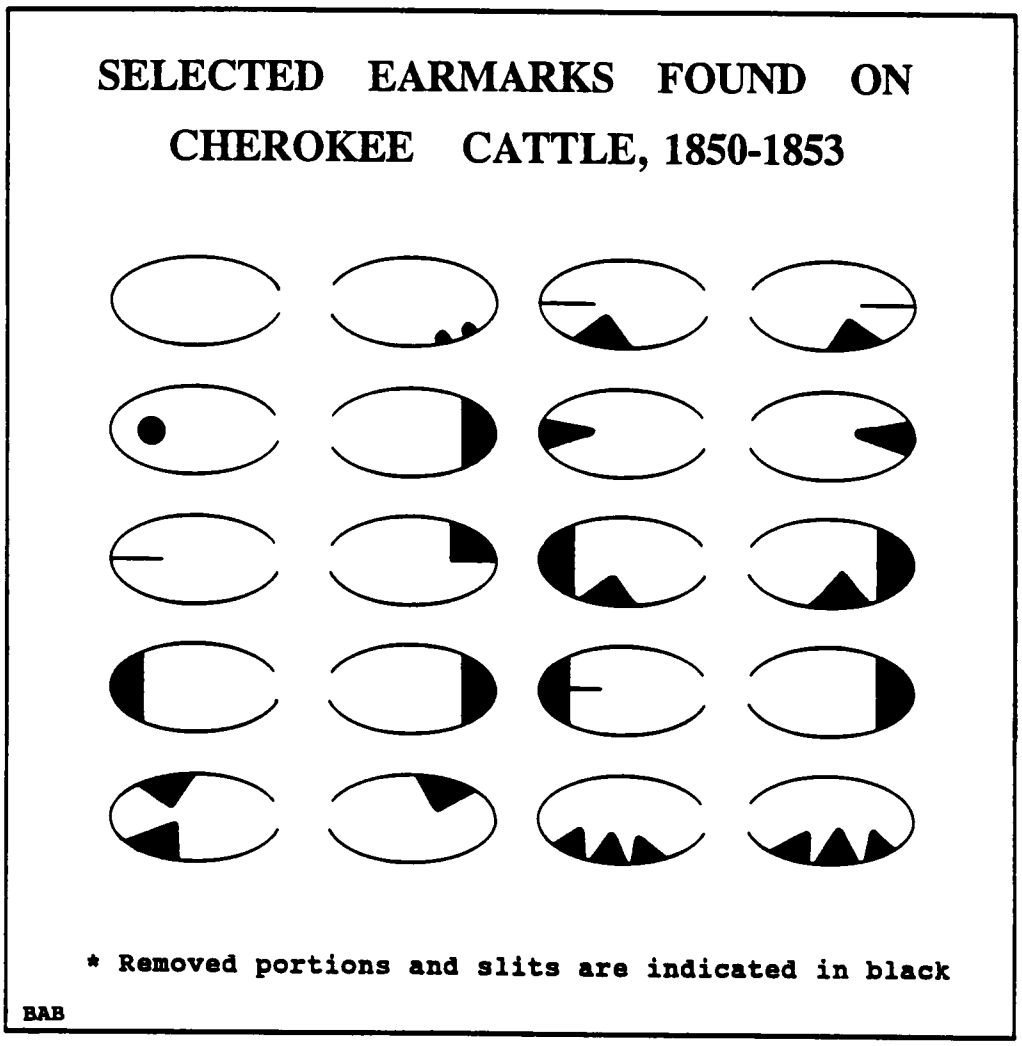

Figure 11. Earmarks of Cherokee Cattle.

Compiled from various stray cattle notices in the Cherokee Advocate, (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation) 15 April 1850 - 10 August 1853.

Cherokees in the Ozarks owned very few slaves. Each family had a small herd that ranged a short distance from the farmstead:

> There were hundreds of cattle to be found in the Cherokee Nation although everyone did not own in the hundreds. But they did own several heads to a family. They usually had some cattle to sell every fall.[47]

The herding system of the antebellum Cherokee Ozarks was described in detail by James B. Russell, a Cherokee whose parents settled near the fullblood hill country near Westville in 1839:

> There were many cattle to be found in the Cherokee Nation in the early days. Every family owned a small herd of cattle. John Gunter was the only man who owned a large herd in this part of the Cherokee Nation; he owned about two hundred at all times. All other families usually owned about twenty head at all times. They would not sell cattle by weight, that is the fullbloods would not. They priced their cattle by age. A yearling would bring about five dollars, and so on.
>
> Most of the cattle that left the Cherokee Nation was bought by white men from Arkansas. Vol English was the early day trader in this part of the country. Sometimes buyers from Caldwell, Kansas, would come to the Cherokee country. These men would drive the herds that they bought through the country. Among the Cherokee fullbloods, Wash Lee and Soldier Sixkiller were stockmen. These two men usually bought up all the stock the fullbloods had to sell. They then traded with the white men from Arkansas or Kansas.[48]

Markets for Cherokee cattle were gradually pulling herds east and north to Illinois and Missouri in the late 1840s.[49] Traders such as Jesse Chisholm, born of a Cherokee mother and

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[47]Interview with Wyly Beavers, IPH 6:319.

[48]Interview with James B. Russell, IPH 79:226-27.

[49]Worcester, The Chisholm Trail, p. 4.

Scottish father in Tennessee, profited by supplying military garrisons with Cherokee beef. His normal route bypassed the rugged Ozarks and followed the "Osage Trace," which ran along the Grand Valley from Fort Gibson to Fort Scott, north to the Missouri border.[50] Chisholm's commercial ventures soon took him even further west among the Plains Indians; the later trail named for him after the Civil War was his trade route in the 1850s.[51]

The year 1850 turned the orientation of Cherokee herds toward the west. Lured by gold, several Cherokees sold their improvements and left for California in 1849, taking droves of beef cattle with them.[52] In April of 1853, the Cherokee Advocate reported:

> There is a considerable emigration this year from the surrounding country to California. A large number of teams and droves of cattle are daily passing this place on their way to the gold region...[53]

Located along the major route of north-south travel in the southern plains (Figure 12), wealthy Cherokee planter/ranchers in the Grand River Valley began to send herds of draft animals and beef cattle to Independence, Missouri for

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[50]Dary, David, Cowboy Culture: A Saga of Five Centuries, (1981). New York: Alfred A. Knopf. p. 116; Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," p. 362.

[51]Idem, "Retracing the Chisholm Trail," pp. 53-68.

[52]"California Ho," Cherokee Advocate 5 February 1849, p. 3.

[53]"☞" Cherokee Advocate 13 April 1853. p. 2.

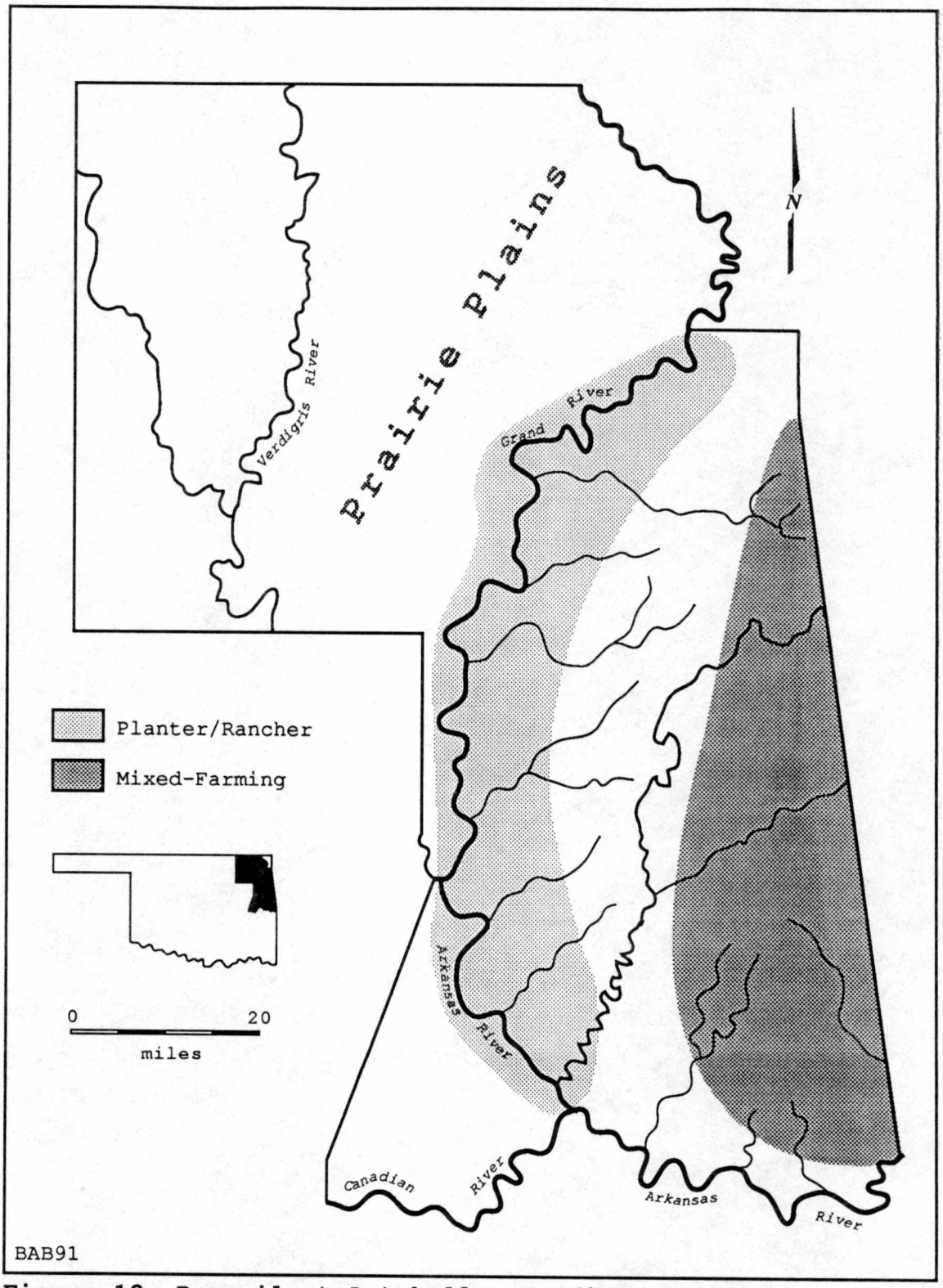

Figure 12. Prevailent Antebellum Herding Types.

By 1850, a Planter/Rancher complex was centered in the Grand Valley, while a Mixed-Farming complex was centered in the Ozark interior.

sale to the main stream of California emigrants. Midwestern buyers had apparently been importing large numbers of Cherokee cattle prior to 1853, since a Cherokee herd was driven into the New York City cattle market that year:

> Seymour G. Renwick [Renick], of Darby Creek, Ohio, has 74 head of cattle which were bought in the spring of '52 by Joseph Mallory of Platt Co., Ill., of the Indians west of Arkansas. They all bear their original owner's brand, some of the figures of which may belong to the Cherokee alphabet - certainly they do not to ours. These cattle are rather coarse, many have the long horns peculiar to the "Spanish Cattle," once a very fine breed in Louisiana and Texas. All of them show at a glance that they come from the "outside barbarians" somewhere. They will average about 7 cwt. and sell for $65 each: 15 sold for $78 each. It would be curious to know how much was paid to the Indians. They were kept in Illinois till the middle of June, drove to Laporte, then by cars to Toledo, Lake Erie to Buffalo, cars to Albany, and here they are at the end of a long journey at last. Theirs is a history worthy of a little thought.[54]

As illustrated by the use of branding, by 1846 Texas herding techniques had begun to diffuse to the planter/rancher complex of the Grand River Valley by way of experimental northern drives. By the middle 1850s drives of large herds of Texas cattle were crossing Indian Territory via the Texas Road every year bound for midwestern feeding areas. But with their earlier and closer connections among Missouri and Arkansas buyers, Cherokee herds could reach northern markets in less time and at lower costs than those from Texas (Figure 13). The physical description of a second drove of Cherokee cattle

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[54]"Cattle from the Cherokee and Creek Nations," New York Daily Tribune 12 July 1853. p. 8; Seymour was part of the famous Ohio Renick family. See Henlein, Cattle Kingdom in the Ohio Valley, pp. 176-79; Renick, William. 1880. Memoirs, Correspondence, and Reminiscences. Circleville, Ohio.

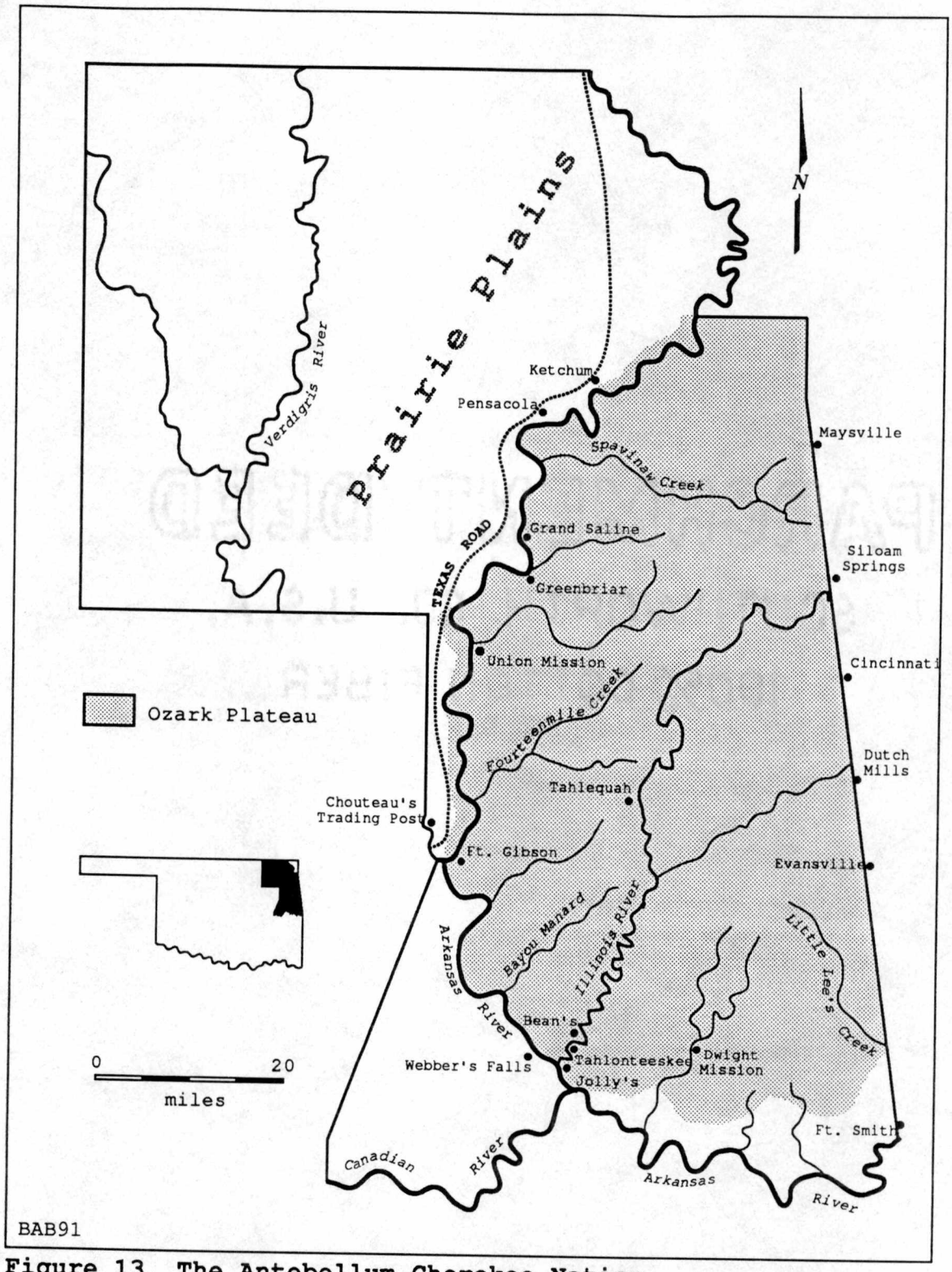

Figure 13. The Antebellum Cherokee Nation.

Adapted from Morris, John W., Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C. McReynolds. 1986. Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

in New York City reveals that they differed little from Texas Longhorns. By midcentury, the northern drives of Texas cattle had begun to affect the bloodlines of stock owned by the Grand Valley ranchers:

> Seymour Rennick [Renick] - 91 head from the Cherokee nation, mostly coarse, raw boned, and some of them aged, and a large number of them black, all with heavy horns and big bones and none fat. Average weight 6½ cwt., and sell by hard packing at nearly 9c. per lb., varying from $47 to $72 per head.[55]

Such long-distance cattle shipments to the east coast were anomalies, however, as cattle from Cherokee ranchers were more often driven to feeding regions in central Illinois once they were bought by Missouri dealers. As the railroads stretched toward St. Louis, that city became a new focal point for Cherokee ranchers along the Grand River. After fattening in Missouri, Cherokee cattle were butchered in St. Louis and shipped downriver to New Orleans.[56] In 1853 the Cherokee Advocate boasted of their nation's cattle trade:

> ...We have an idea of the toil, the sweat, the cares, that attend the cultivation of a field of corn, oats or wheat, and the trouble of raising beef for the California, and St. Louis markets, and pork for our Indian brethren and the south...[57]

In reality, raising beef was no trouble at all to Cherokee ranchers. Stock multiplied in the canebrakes of the

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[55]"Livestock Market," New York Daily Tribune 26 July 1853. p. 8.

[56]Sandoz, The Cattlemen, p. 42.

[57]"To The Public," Cherokee Advocate 7 September 1853. p. 2.

large river valleys without the trouble of providing feed, hay or shelter. Cherokee stockmen occasionally drove herds north along the Texas Road, by then called the Shawnee Trail, to St. Louis; but most simply relied on professional drovers from Missouri who bought stock in the nation and took them north at their own expense.[58] From St. Louis, destinations for Cherokee cattle changed almost yearly with the westward extension of the railroads. These market towns were always about one hundred miles short of the actual railhead and moved west as the railroad progressed. Missouri buyers accumulated herds before shipping beef or driving herds to the East. When the railroad reached St. Louis, the market moved west to Booneville, and then Lexington.[59] In 1857 the point of flow to the eastern beef markets collided with the westward point of flow to the California market at Independence.

In 1856, there had been no demand for cattle in Kansas City.[60] A year later new emigrants flooded Kansas, exhausting local supplies and creating a great demand for southern cattle. Cherokee traders immediately capitalized on soaring stock prices by taking their herds north and selling them to

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[58]Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," pp. 359-377.

[59]"The Cherokee Nation - Geography and Trade," Western Journal of Commerce 17 July 1858. p. 2.

[60]Beef, which was between 3 and 4 cents per pound, was cheaper than pork in 1856. "Livestock Market," Kansas City Enterprise 17 May 1856. p. 2.

Kansas settlers.[61] Traders from the Cherokee Nation became a common sight in Kansas City in the spring of 1857.[62] Jennie McCoy Chambers remembered how her father, Joseph, would take his herd north:

> Joseph McCoy was a rancher and the family lived on the place near Claremore until the Civil War started...Purchases of guns, beads, etc., were in Kansas City when the cattle were driven over the trail twice yearly...[63]

Cherokee cattle selling "for home use, to emigrants, farmers and trains," supplied the Kansas City market, which moved over 15,000 head weekly:

> Large droves have come forward from Texas and the Cherokee country, and numbers are being driven north to Iowa and Nebraska. We were unable to obtain an estimate of the number sold, but the sales have been up to any previous week of the season.[64]

By early summer of 1857, Cherokee Nation cattle production was comparable to that of northeast Texas. Cattle were most often bought by Missourians in the Cherokee Nation for about $5 per head, driven along the Shawnee Trail to midwestern states and sold as stockers for $12 to $25 per head. Many Cherokee cattle were sold to migrating settlers at

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[61]In 1857 "good quality oxen" sold for $80 to $130, "young cattle not completely broken" brought $65 to $75, and "Milch cows with calf" sold for $35 to $40. Over 1000 head of livestock were selling per week. "Livestock Market," Kansas City Enterprise 28 March 1857. p. 4.

[62]"Still they Come," Kansas City Enterprise 4 April 1857.

[63]Interview with Jennie McCoy Chambers, IPH 17:92-95.

[64]"Livestock Market," Kansas City Enterprise 30 May 1857, 6 June 1857. p. 2.

jumping-off points like Independence, Missouri. By July, however, prices fell since wagon trains departed before summer:

> We notice several droves of Texas and Cherokee cattle crossing the river at this point for the northern markets. All descriptions of stock are in good condition. The droves for the California market have gone, and the demand, in consequence, for stock cattle has fallen off.[65]

Eastbound Cherokee herds continued to sell in Kansas City throughout the summer. Herds often accompanied Cherokee freighters in the fall, who got good prices for hides in Kansas City since upstream transport stagnated on the Missouri River. The success of 1857 urged stockmen in the Cherokee Nation to improve their system of production. In the fall of that year the first agricultural fair was held at Grand Saline on the Grand River.[66] Optimistically, the Western Journal of Commerce outlined the future of Kansas City as a center for eastern beef supplies:

> Some of our old fogies, who persist that nothing can be done where they live, will be surprised to learn that a large trade is going on in their midst in beef, for the New York market, and that Prairie beef bought in Kansas City, is sold every morning at the stalls of that city.
>
> The cattle are bought here, driven to Chicago, slaughtered, packed in ice, and delivered fresh and sweet, with the rich prairie flavor so peculiar to our beef, at the market stalls of New York, where it commands remunerating prices. This is but the beginning of a trade that in three years more will be done here, as we can then slaughter, pack, and ship by rail to New York,

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[65]"Livestock Market," Kansas City Enterprise 11 July 1857. p. 2.

[66]"Agricultural Fair in the Cherokee Nation," Western Journal of Commerce 9 January 1858. p. 1.

> Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, and save the shrinkage which is now lost by driving. This is just as certain as that the same thing is now done in Chicago.[67]

Speculative ventures such as J. L. Mitchener & Company anticipated another cattle boom, building stockyards, slaughterhouses and packing facilities along the planned routes of the railroads.[68] Their plans were all but spoiled, however, with the problem of Texas fever.

Texas Fever, the Civil War and Collapse

Cherokee herds reached Kansas City again in 1858 and 1859, as did herds from Texas, northern Arkansas and Missouri.[69] But by 1858, Texas drovers increasingly ran into trouble with incensed Missouri cattlemen along the Missouri border who complained of Texas fever among their stock. Drives of Texas stock through the Grand Valley also spread splenic fever, sometimes called "Spanish" or "Texas" fever, among Cherokee cattle. Texas cattle were resistant to the disease, but it was often fatal to northern cattle. The fever was carried by ticks which could not survive cold midwestern winters, but it was transmitted to northern cattle during

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[67]"Kansas City Beef -- Chicago and New York," Western Journal of Commerce 14 August 1858. p. 1.

[68]"To Stock Raisers, Stock Feeders and Dealers," Western Journal of Commerce 16 July 1859. p. 3.

[69]"Live Stock Market," Western Journal of Commerce 26 July 1858. p. 1.

spring drives from Texas. By the time of large outbreaks in Missouri, Cherokee cattle had enough longhorn blood to also be resistant, and they no doubt spread the disease upon their arrival in Missouri.[70]

As early as 1855, the Missouri legislature recognized Texas cattle as causing fever outbreaks and passed a law banning them from the state. Not until 1858 were Texas and Cherokee herds stopped at the border; still, some herds got through, only to be met by angry mobs along the Shawnee Trail. In 1861, Missouri passed a strict law that required inspection of all imported cattle.[71] Shortly after, other midwestern states banned Texas cattle, some of which singled out cattle from Indian Territory and in particular, the Cherokee Nation.

The outbreak of the Civil War in Indian Territory brought an abrupt halt to the legitimate trade in cattle by the Cherokee Nation. The tribe was divided by the Civil War; most of the fullbloods in the Cherokee Ozarks allied with the Rosses and sided with the Union, while the wealthy Cherokees and mixedbloods mainly allied with the South. As the war got under way, many of the wealthy Cherokee planter/herders evacuated south to the Choctaw Nation and Texas, leaving their

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[70]Gordon, Clarence W., "Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine, Supplementary to Enumeration of Live Stock on Farms in 1880." In Report on the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census, (1883). 3 Volumes. pp. 951-1116. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[71]Carpenter, "The Early Cattle Industry in Missouri," pp. 204-05; Gard, "The Shawnee Trail," pp. 366-69.

large herds behind. Among them was Old Settler slaveholder and cattleman, Jonathon Whitmire, who in 1825 had settled the Peavine community in the Boston Mountains just across the Arkansas line.[72]

Those who stayed in the Cherokee Nation lost all of their stock through a plague of guerilla warfare between the two rival factions. Both Union and Confederate forces were stationed in the Cherokee Nation and confiscated at will large quantities of beef. Southern sympathizers were harassed by the Union-allied "Pins," who in turn were targets for Stand Watie and the Confederate Cherokee Home Guard. Conservative farming families in the Ozarks remembered:

> During the war my mother and grandmother lived together and kept house. The soldiers would steal her cows and if a stray cow came along with a calf, mother would put it up and milk it until they would steal them.[73]

Some Cherokee stockmen cooperated with the armies, as did Clifton P. West's grandfather, who in 1862:

> ...secured a contract with the Government to furnish meat for the [Federal] soldiers at Fort Gibson. He raised lots of cattle and hogs and fought all he could and would butcher them and deliver them to the army post.[74]

Union and Confederate troops often destroyed cattle along with other enemy property during the small campaigns in the

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[72]Interview with Charles Whitmire, IPH 97:361-63; Interview with Mrs. E. H. Whitmire, IPH 97:386.

[73]Interview with Charlotte Pressley, IPH 73:26.

[74]Interview with Clifton P. West, IPH 96:382.

nation. After most of the confederate-allied Cherokees had fled the nation, a systematic looting of Cherokee cattle by individuals from southeastern Kansas commenced. These Kansas "cattle brokers" led expeditions into the Cherokee Nation and rounded up large herds of range cattle in the Grand Valley and its Ozark tributaries. Herds were driven north to ranches in Kansas where they were sold to midwestern buyers who supplied beef through contract with the army. Many Cherokee cattlemen who sympathized with the Union also suffered, though the federal government made motions to compensate for their losses.[75]

Historian Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. best explained the trauma that the Cherokee Nation experienced after Civil War:

> Crossed and recrossed by both Union and Confederate military units and raided by foraging parties, guerrillas, bushwhackers, cattle thieves, and border bandits, the Cherokee country suffered more destruction than did any of the other Indian nations that comprised Indian Territory. Their houses were burned, and their schools and seminaries ruined. Their herds, estimated in value at $2 million to $4 million, had been stolen, their fields were overgrown, and their slaves had been freed.[76]

Indeed, actual numbers of how many Cherokee cattle were looted will never be certain, but an experienced estimate made shortly after the war by government agents put Cherokee losses at 300,000 head. Their estimated value, which must have included other types of livestock, was much higher than that

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[75]Graebner, "History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma," pp. 302-03.

[76]Littlefield, The Cherokee Freedmen, p. 15.

of Littlefield's. Speaking of the Cherokee Nation in 1870, government agents concluded:

> They owned immense herds, one individual alone owning 20,000 head of cattle. Others owned 15,000; 10,000 and so down to 300, and the man who owned less was considered a poor Indian...The aggregate value of stock stolen by both armies during the war is estimated at $15,000,000.[77]

Although the cattle industry of the Cherokee Nation had been destroyed through looting and pillaging of ranches and plantations, cattle did not disappear. Much to the contrary, Cherokee longhorns continued to thrive in the stream valley canebrakes, so much so that in 1866 wild cattle became a menace to the reconstruction effort. On November 16, 1866 the Cherokee National Council enacted a law authorizing district sheriffs and their employees to construct large corrals and begin rounding up wild cattle to sell at public auction. The law also stated that: "In case the sheriffs of the districts mentioned are unable to pen the said wild cattle, they are hereby authorized to have them killed."[78]

The boom period for cattle ranching in the Cherokee Nation occurred in the three decades following the Civil War, the period not covered by this study. The range cattle industry of post-Civil War Indian Territory was the first northern extension of the Texas complex that rapidly spread

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[77]U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Report of the Board of Commissioners, Appendix 37, Second Annual Report 1870, Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory, 16 December 1870.

[78]Interview with Elizabeth Ross, IPH 109:309-11.

throughout the Great Plains in the second half of the nineteenth century. The original Cherokee cattle industry dissappeared after 1861, as the immense Texas herds swarmed onto the relatively ungrazed prairies west of the Grand Valley. Were it not for bad timing and an unfortunate location in the political geography of the region, Cherokee cattle barons might have rivaled those in Texas after the Civil War; in the two previous decades, they had already linked the open range cattle kingdom of the Lower South with the emerging American Cornbelt.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION

In evaluating the origins, development, diffusion and demise of the cattle industry among the Cherokees, several important points should be illustrated in support of the previous hypothesis. The antebellum cattle industry among the Cherokees reflected two different origins that had their beginnings in the previous century. The two complexes were adopted for differing reasons and serve as an early indicator of differential acculturation among the Cherokees.

An open range ranching complex, derived from Spanish, British, African and American Indian sources in the Lower South, diffused to elite Lower Town Cherokee chiefs just prior to and during the American Revolution. For Cherokee males, open range cattle ranching served as a surrogate for the repressed and waning practices of warfare and deer hunting. Its widespread, voluntary adoptive success is explained by its parallels with traditional male activities. That is, herding was an innovation that improved individual success within the Cherokee social context and was therefore willfully sought by individuals. Reinforced by intermarried whites and widely adopted by wealthy Cherokee mixedbloods who could afford to

undertake it in the Federal Period, a Cherokee planter/rancher complex grew in the early decades of the nineteenth century. At the same time, it was gradually transferred west of the Mississippi by Cherokees who voluntarily removed.

Concurrently, a mixed-farming, cattle raising complex, derived from northern European sources through the Upland South, diffused to the northern Cherokees in the Ridge and Valley of Appalachia during and just after the American Revolution. Unlike large-scale cattle ranching, raising cattle was part of the female domain among this Cherokee majority, since their small family herds were primarily used for subsistence purposes. Surplus cattle were occasionally sold for cash, but higher population densities limited large scale cattle production among this group, primarily located in the more mountainous regions. Even so, a few large ranching operations were present among them, but they were almost always owned by elite individuals. Small-scale subsistence cattle raising among Cherokee farmers was not exclusively a voluntarily accepted innovation, but it did serve to augment food supplies in densely populated areas that had been depleted of game. More importantly, it was simply part of the mixed-farming system that the acculturating Cherokee majority recognized as "progress." Disseminated by intermarried whites, government agents and missionaries, the Cherokee mixed-farming complex became widely adopted in the early nineteenth century before it was transferred west in 1839.

After the transfer of both herding forms through relocation diffusion to the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory, the two types continued to evolve separately, both culturally and geographically. The first Cherokees to bring a cattle herding tradition to Indian Territory were the Old Settlers, who positioned their large-scale planter/rancher operations in the familiar setting of the Ozark interior. But when 12,000 eastern Cherokee mixed-farmers poured into the region, the large-scale operations of the Old Settlers were pushed to the periphery of possible Cherokee settlement in the Grand River Valley. The timing of the westward movement of the American frontier accordingly resulted in economic pulls on Cherokee ranchers to locate along the Grand Valley transportation corridor. The ranching tradition of the Old Settlers was culturally preadapted to the mosaic of small prairies, woodland and giant canebrakes of the Grand River and Ozark regions. Beef cattle were first sold in the 1840s to migrants moving south along the Texas Road and military posts located along the Grand Valley. By 1850 the California migrations and the settling of Missouri pulled Cherokee herds, usually driven by Missouri middlemen, up the Shawnee Trail, where they were taken west to the goldfields and east to Midwest feeding regions.

Meanwhile, the more culturally conservative emigrant Cherokees, often fullbloods, reinstated their mixed-farming herding complex after arriving in the Ozarks. The typical

Cherokee small farm of the forested hills of the Ozark interior was oriented toward self-sufficiency and almost always included a few multiuse cattle on the local open range. In order to obtain cash to purchase supplies, surplus cattle were occasionally sold to outside buyers or local Cherokees who drove small herds to large ranchers and Arkansas markets. As in the East, a few open range herders were intermixed among the fullblood majority of the more rugged region east of the Grand River. A common site on Cherokee farms in the Ozark interior, cattle remained to be part of the overall subsistence strategy and responsibilities often fell to Cherokee women.

The Civil War considerably altered both the Cherokee open range and mixed-farming herding complexes. Texas-Hispano cattle culture quickly submerged any remnants of the large-scale Cherokee planter/rancher complex; alternatively, the tribe found it more profitable to tax Texas drovers and lease out their western prairies. After the war, small-scale subsistence cattle raising persisted among Cherokee farmers. In fact, the Cherokee Ozarks remained one of Oklahoma's last areas of open range into the twentieth century, after most of the Anglo-occupied prairies had been fenced with barbed wire.

The cultural geography of their antebellum cattle industry illustrates the importance of Cherokee environmental perception. Their complex was adapted to an upland forested environment with an abundance of cane-filled streams; as a

result, they never fully exploited the immense grasslands west of the Grand River, which the Texans did after the Civil War. So, an argument can be made in which cultural preference prevailed over economic rationality. The term rationality, though, is a relative one. To antebellum Cherokee stockmen, the flat grasslands west[1] of the Grand River were largely ignored as a cattle producing region until the decade prior to the Civil War, as new ideas and techniques diffused into the region from Texas.

The hesitation of Cherokee herders to fully exploit the Prairie Plains also serves to nullify the adaptationist myth. True, the Cherokees adjusted to the dominant culture of the Euroamericans. But Cherokee culture and that of the northern Europeans evolved in fairly similar environments, producing a surprising number of parallels that facilitated the acculturation process. The Cherokees adopted the European innovation of open range cattle herding, but only on their own terms. Instead of adapting Cherokee culture to accommodate the new innovation, cattle herding was slightly altered to suit their own needs, which ultimately resulted in the failure to expand onto the Prairie Plains. Hence, the upland, forest orientation of Cherokee herding became a maladaptation on the tallgrass prairie.

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[1]To traditional Cherokees, the West was dreaded because it was the direction of "The Twilight Land," where the souls of the dead went. See Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, p. 437.

Neither should the case of the Cherokee cattle industry be explained through environmental determinism. Scholars have identified cattle ranching as a frontier economy and it was no exception among the Cherokees. The adoption of large-scale cattle herding was facilitated through the existing deerskin trade, which early acted as a surrogate for warfare. Such a relationship may be a temptation for Turnerians and social Darwinists, but it is better explained through the thesis of cultural diffusion and blend and geographic proximity to markets.

Those Cherokees who were involved in open range herding continued to move ahead of the settlement frontier out of necessity. The Cherokees did have one comparative economic advantage over white herders that was visible on the extraregional scale: their land was free for grazing even after the white settlement frontier had passed. The problem of expanding population density, however, was not escapable for Cherokee herders, which is visible at the intraregional scale. Within the Cherokee Nations, large scale herding was only feasible in areas where few people lived. This problem spurred Old Settler cattlemen to move west of the Mississippi and later outside of the major settlement core of the Cherokee Ozarks.

Finally, the Cherokee cattle industry represents the spatial manifestation of culture change. Differential acculturation along two lines was apparent in the adoption of

the two herding systems. This divergence of Cherokee culture, which has its origins in the spatial and temporal placement of culture contact, appears in many other facets of Cherokee culture. The Cherokees split very early into groups of "progressives" and "conservatives." Indeed, the same general division that appeared in the removal era continued to persist through the Civil War, dividing the Cherokees along ideological and economic lines. In relation to the practice of cattle herding, this rift, a spatial manifestation of culture change, was shown by the geographical differentiation of large-scale, cattle ranchers and small-scale, mixed-farming cattle raisers in the Cherokee landscape of the past.

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