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CHEROKEE:  
THE EUROPEAN  
IMPACT ON THE  
CHEROKEE CULTURE

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**A**t the time of European contact the Cherokees, one of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) in the southeastern United States, claimed an area spanning 124,000 square miles and encompassing what would eventually become eight southern states. The area of Cherokee occupation included North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, and the Cherokees claimed hunting grounds in Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia.

The Cherokee population numbered from sixteen thousand to twenty-two thousand in 1700,<sup>1</sup> and was scattered throughout approximately sixty towns, which dotted the rivers and valleys of the Appalachian Mountains. For the most part the towns were located at the mouths of small creeks where clear water could be obtained. The larger streams or rivers into which the creeks emptied were used for transportation and for fishing. The towns were grouped in clusters, and the inhabitants of these clusters were interdependent, with a loyalty to each other that went above and beyond their loyalty to the greater Cherokee Nation.<sup>2</sup> These divisions and associated interests resulted from four basic factors: (1) geography or topography in which natural barriers such as the mountains separated one area from another; (2) linguistic divisions brought on by three different dialects;<sup>3</sup> (3) international politics—because each region had different neighbors, each had different allies and different enemies; and (4) economic self interest—some areas were near trading posts that were in direct competition with other areas of the nation.

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## *THE CHEROKEE CULTURE*

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According to their traditions Cherokee men spent their time hunting, fishing, erecting public and private buildings, and making tools; women farmed, made clothes and pottery, wove baskets, cooked, and tended the children. Although tradition rigidly divided Cherokee work habits along gender lines, men helped clear fields for the crops and helped with harvesting when necessary, and women helped dress the skins of deer, their most important game animal. Cherokees followed a subsistence economy. They grew only what was needed and killed only what they could eat.

In the eighteenth century, visitors to the Cherokee country often reported that the men were lazy and the women overworked, but the visitors' observations were colored by the season of their journeys. They came to the mountainous habitations of the

Cherokees in warm weather months, when the men's major task—hunting—had been completed and the women's major task—agriculture—was in full swing. The women were not slaves, as many Europeans pictured them, but in fact were extremely important and powerful forces in Cherokee tribal life. The basis of their significance lay in the matrilineal kinship system that the Cherokees and most other southeastern Indians followed.

In the matrilineal system a person traces his or her kinship through the mother's line, or clan.<sup>4</sup> There were seven clans in Cherokee society: Wolf; Deer; Bird; Paint; Long Hair, or Twisters; Blind Savannah; and Holly.<sup>5</sup> A person inherited clan membership through his or her mother, and therefore the most important relatives were the mother, the mother's mother, the mother's brothers and sisters, and the individual's own brothers and sisters. The father belonged to a different clan (the clan of *his* mother). Although usually *informed* of events such as weddings, the father was never *consulted* because he was not in the children's kin group. Male-oriented tasks such as educating a boy in the hunt and deciding when he was old enough to go to war fell to the mother's brother, the maternal uncle, who was the closest male relative in the parental generation.

All seven clans were usually represented in each Cherokee town, and each clan had three major responsibilities: (1) each clan acted as a land-holding unit, assigning garden spots for the extended family; (2) each clan enforced marriage rules, such as which clan a person could marry into and what steps to take in preparing for a marriage; and (3) each clan resolved problems in an orderly fashion. Since the clan provided both protection against and restitution for crime, there was no need for a separate law-enforcement agency.

Perhaps the most important problem the clan was responsible for resolving was murder. Murder within the tribe called for clan revenge. If, for example, a member of the Wolf clan killed a member of the Deer clan, the Deer clan would have the right and the responsibility to kill the murderer. The victim's soul would be doomed to wander the earth and the Cherokee world would be out of balance until his murder was avenged. The murderer would not flee, because if he did the clan member most closely related to him would be killed in his place, nor would the clan of the murderer protect him. When the murderer was killed the anger would be forgotten and harmony would be restored. Although usually called *clan revenge*, this process would more aptly be called *privileged retaliation*. Privileged retaliation was more than just seeking revenge—

it was a way to reestablish balance and harmony and maintain peace within the tribe. Perhaps if European society had practiced privileged retaliation there would have been no such thing as the feuds of the Hatfields and McCoys.

There was no privileged retaliation among different societies, however. If a Cherokee killed a Creek, for instance, whether it was intentional, an accident, or in self-defense, the Creeks would seek vengeance against any and all Cherokees. The whole Cherokee Nation would be held collectively responsible. Incidents such as this often resulted in intertribal war.<sup>6</sup>

Clan kinship was an extremely important part of Cherokee life. Clan membership came before Cherokee citizenship. If you were not a member of a clan then you had no rights and were in the same category as a slave. In the power structure clan membership came first, then the town, and then the society. The governing body of each town was the council. Men and women were equal participants in town council meetings.<sup>7</sup> As one observer put it, "the very lowest of them [thought] himself as great and as high as the rest, and everyone has to be courted for their friendship, with some kind of feeling and made much of."<sup>8</sup> The council meetings were nonconfrontational. Discussion was continued until a consensus could be obtained, or if none was possible, the decision was postponed.<sup>9</sup>

Town chiefs had no real power over individuals. They led their people more than they commanded them. Just as a woman could not be forced into a marriage she did not desire, a warrior could not be forced to go to war. Chiefs were selected for their ability to achieve a consensus. In each town or village there were two distinct governments and thus two different chiefs: a red chief and a white chief. The red chief conducted the town meetings in time of war and the white chief was in charge during peacetime. Usually the red and white governments were mainly divided by age. The white government was mostly composed of the older men and the red government was controlled by the young warriors.

Not until the eighteenth century was there a national chief who "ruled" the entire society. The national chief did not have as much power over individuals as did the clan, however. A good example of the power of the clan took place during the French and Indian War (1756–1763). In 1759 a Cherokee war party killed some English settlers in Carolina, in retaliation for members of their tribe who had been killed by Virginians. A number of Cherokee chiefs formed a delegation to go to Charleston to maintain peace, but the peace delegation was seized by the English and held hostage. The English then threatened to kill the hostages and launch an expedi-

tion against the Cherokees if the killers were not surrendered.<sup>10</sup> Despite the threat of war against the entire Cherokee Nation, only the clansmen of the murderers could turn them in; no chief could override the clan's authority. The clan refused to turn their men in, and thus began the Cherokee War of 1760–1761.

The Cherokees were opposed to any form of coercion. As one eighteenth-century observer put it, "They [couldn't] be compelled to do any Thing nor oblige[d] them to embrace any party except they Please[d]."<sup>11</sup> They were shocked when they saw European schoolmasters caning their students. If a Cherokee needed to be punished he or she was simply ostracized. Ostracism was one of the major sanctions utilized by the Cherokees to discourage antisocial behavior.<sup>12</sup>

Cherokee harmony was ceremoniously preserved each year with the Green Corn Ceremony. This festival celebrated a fresh beginning. Old wrongs (except murder) were forgiven, bad marriages were dissolved, stored food was discarded, and harmony and order were restored.

Although the Cherokee language did have three different dialects, their common language served as a unifying force. In addition, Cherokees shared a common belief system. At the very core of the Cherokee belief system was the concept of order. This order sought a balance and harmony with nature and other humans, along with subsistence in economic life and equality in social life. Europeans directly or indirectly affected every aspect of these beliefs, changing some and almost destroying others.

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## CULTURE CLASH

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From the very beginning contact between European culture and Cherokee culture had negative results. Indeed, the European impact on Cherokee culture was devastating, pervading the very essence of tribal life. The first adverse contact came shortly after the establishment of Charleston, when South Carolina issued permits for exporting several Seraqui (Cherokee) slaves captured by the Savannah Indians.<sup>13</sup> One of the earliest contacts with Europeans, then, resulted in some Cherokees being captured and deported to the West Indies. The colonists soon followed this incident with an attack on the tribe (some reports claimed the "visit" was to establish trade; others indicated that the colonists were looking for gold, or perhaps for more slaves). A few years later, in 1693, a Cherokee delegation went to Charleston seeking protection

from their enemies who were capturing Cherokees and selling them into slavery.<sup>14</sup>

At this time the South Carolinians sought to establish trade with the Cherokees. The deerskins the Cherokees furnished were especially coveted because they hunted deer in the higher altitudes, so the deerskins were much thicker than those from the coastal plains and neighboring vicinities. Although commerce did begin between the Cherokees and the South Carolinians by the turn of the century, the Cherokees' contribution was insignificant until 1715, when Indian agents made a concerted effort to expand the Cherokee trade.<sup>15</sup>

The establishment of trade between the Cherokees and South Carolinians virtually turned Cherokee culture upside down. Cherokee order began to disappear. The Cherokee concepts of balance, harmony, and equality were enormously affected by the supposedly innocent establishment of trade.

The slaughter of tremendous numbers of deer for the purpose of trade prevented the Cherokees from performing traditional rituals before they killed each deer. This action of killing deer without performing the necessary rituals altered the balance and harmony with nature required by Cherokee beliefs. According to their legend of the origin of disease and medicine, killing a deer without first asking permission through rituals threatened the hunter with crippling rheumatism.<sup>16</sup> Excessive hunting of certain animals skewed the balance with other animals and plants, and further eroded the balance and harmony with nature that the Cherokees had always strived to maintain.

The trade items needed most by the Cherokees were guns. (Although guns became the major hunting weapon, use of the bow and arrow persisted during the prerevolutionary period.)<sup>17</sup> Guns were useful in hunting, but more important, their enemies had guns; without guns the Cherokees were at a decided military disadvantage. The Cherokees found themselves in a Catch-22 situation: If they did not sacrifice their traditional hunting rituals and forget, at least temporarily, their balance and harmony with nature by killing more deer to obtain guns from the colonists, they would either be killed or enslaved by their enemies. When some Cherokee men chose to take this risk rather than increase their hunt to obtain European guns, Charleston responded by offering an enticing reward to the hunter who killed the greatest number of deer.<sup>18</sup>

The guns that the Cherokees received for their deerskins were called *trade guns* and were different from standard guns used by colonists.<sup>19</sup> Because the trade guns were lighter they were preferred

by the Cherokees, but they also had a different size bore, requiring special shot. These guns were cheaply made and broke easily, thus insuring Cherokee dependency on the colonists. Guns facilitated the hunt and, together with the acquisition of horses, rapidly extended the Cherokee hunting range.<sup>20</sup>

Not only were Cherokees killing more deer than they needed, but also some Cherokees who were better hunters than others acquired more guns and trade items. Prior to European influence the Cherokees were buried with their prized possessions or their possessions were burned at their death. This practice was consistent with their belief in equality—it eliminated inheritance. But with European trade some Cherokees occasionally acquired unique guns and other items, and went against tradition by passing these items on to their relatives. As early as the mid-eighteenth century the noted Indian trader James Adair recorded that “the Cherokees of late years, by the reiterated persuasion of the traders, have entirely left off the custom of burying effects with the dead body; the nearest of blood inherits them.”<sup>21</sup> As Cherokee burial rituals were modified, so too was the Cherokee belief in equality eroded.

The marriage of Cherokee women to white traders especially upset societal traditions. The women went to live in their white husbands’ houses instead of following the Cherokee custom of husbands residing in their wives’ houses. Although the Cherokee offspring of these unions inherited their mother’s clan, they also took their father’s name and inherited their father’s material possessions, thus introducing the first real economic inequality into Cherokee society.<sup>22</sup>

Beliefs in equality and the matrilineal system were further eroded as the Cherokees began to acculturate. In September 1808 the Cherokee National Council enacted the first written law of their society. Primarily aimed at formalizing and expanding the Light Horse Guard, a Cherokee police force established in 1797, the law, written in English, enumerated the duties and responsibilities of that group. It stated that the Light Horse Guard was to “give their protection to children as heirs to their father’s property.”<sup>23</sup> At least by the turn of the century, then, the Cherokees had begun to abandon their traditional belief in matrilineal kinship in favor of white patrilineal inheritance. The 1808 law also suggested the abandonment of their belief in clan revenge (this suggestion was spurred by the killing of a Cherokee by a member of the Light Horse Guard in performance of his duties).<sup>24</sup> The existence of the Cherokee police force itself was an indication that the clan system was disintegrating. No longer was the clan able to fulfill its duties.

Although women had traditionally accompanied men on the hunt to help skin and cure the hides, hunting gradually became more exclusively a male occupation. As the hunt accelerated it became more dangerous, and this resulted in less participation by women in the hunt. Although this relieved Cherokee women of much hard work and danger, it also meant their exclusion from one of the most important phases of Cherokee life, which was a major factor in the declining position of women.<sup>25</sup> Because men were the hunters and trade concerned the hunt, women were initially ignored by the traders, which contributed to the decline of the women's influence in Cherokee society. In some respects, however, the trading economy, which contributed to the declining position of women in politics and in the economy, simultaneously reinforced the cultural status of women: "

The removal of men from the villages and towns for long periods tended to preserve the aboriginal pattern of matrilineal land control and matrilineal descent in spite of increasing importance of deer hunting to the community...Women, therefore...served as the thread of cultural continuity from generation to generation and certainly were a powerful force of cultural conservatism."<sup>26</sup>

Europeans introduced new crops, which the Cherokees readily adopted. Among the more important ones were watermelon, sweet potatoes, and peaches, which were evident at least by the mid-eighteenth century. In most cases the Cherokees were selective in their adoption of European culture. For example, Cherokee women did not raise cattle, in part because cattle were viewed as a danger to garden crops, which were in the female domain, but also because cattle were seen as the "deer" of the colonists and thus were viewed as "male" cultured animals. Cherokee women did adopt hogs after mid-century because the hog was neither hunted nor herded, and it was not seen as part of the male domain. The horse, on the other hand, was associated with male pursuits such as hunting and warfare, and its use was adopted quickly by Cherokee males. James Adair noted that by the mid-eighteenth century "almost everyone [had] horses, from one to a dozen."<sup>27</sup> Horses enabled the Cherokees to exploit a far greater hunting range at a more efficient and successful pace than ever before. After mid-century, increased European population together with commercial hunting by the Cherokees seriously depleted the abundant game that once existed on Cherokee land. Adoption of both hogs and chickens helped ease the depletion of the meat supply.

This adoption also gave the women some control over the meat supply, enabling them to maintain a meat supply even when the men were away on extended hunts.<sup>28</sup>

Prior to European contact group hunting was common among the Cherokees, and was usually a seasonal occupation, but the Cherokee hunting process of the eighteenth century gradually became less of a group event. In fact, by the end of the Yamasee War in 1718 the movement was toward smaller hunting parties, and the smaller hunting parties were eventually replaced by individual hunters who were seeking the new commercial rewards associated with colonial fur trade.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, increased warfare, which came as a result of European contact, reduced the Cherokee population, which meant that fewer men were available for hunting. The increased warfare also made the hunting grounds dangerous. As a result, summer and winter hunting declined, especially in the more vulnerable frontier towns, because men were reluctant to leave their families unprotected.<sup>30</sup>

Hunting was no longer an activity performed solely for subsistence. When the Cherokees abandoned the traditional practice of killing only what they needed for food and clothing and started killing for a profit, the entire environment was exploited. Hunting became a year-round activity, with Cherokee men frequently going on long hunting expeditions that depleted the wildlife in the area.<sup>31</sup>

European contact and trade also affected Cherokee clothing, as Cherokee women applied European techniques in clothing manufacture to their native dress. They made short gowns of turkey feathers and tree bark, and petticoats of woven mulberry root bark. Although the Cherokees still used animal skins for clothing, these skins were altered to imitate European dress. For example, the women cut arm holes in deer skins to make them resemble European coats.<sup>32</sup>

European trade eventually made the Cherokees dependent on the colonists. In 1725 the head warrior of Tunissee told Colonel George Chicken, emissary of South Carolina's Governor Henry Middleton, that the Cherokees "could not live without the English trade."<sup>33</sup> Skiagusta, head warrior of Keowee, one of the Lower Cherokee Towns, made a statement lamenting this dependency:

My people...[ cannot]...live independent of the English. *What are we red people?* ...the clothes we wear, we cannot make ourselves. They are made...[for] us. We use...[English] ammunition with which to kill deer. We cannot make our guns. They are made [for] us. Every necessary of life we must have, comes from the white people. <sup>34</sup>

This dependency seriously restricted Cherokee freedom, because any Cherokee action that was viewed unfavorably by the colonists brought the risk of economic coercion in the form of trade embargoes. If the Cherokees were cut off from supplies during a time of war the result would be deadly. By siding with the English in the Yamasee War, the Cherokees made themselves dependent on South Carolina. The Creeks blocked their potential trading paths to Florida, and the Choctaws blocked their paths to New Orleans. The Cherokees lost their freedom of choice when they took the side of the English. The only open trading paths led to Charleston. The South Carolina government realized this, and they were able to use this as leverage to maintain some degree of control over the Cherokees.

As the Cherokees became dependent on trade goods their traditional craftwork began to decline. The decline in native craftsmanship may have also contributed to some of the estrangement between generations that was so noticeable among males in the eighteenth century. In the past, Cherokee boys had learned the craft of making tools and weapons from their male elders, but now this important bonding ritual between males from different generations was gone.<sup>35</sup>

Although there was a decline in native-made objects, they never disappeared completely. In fact, native industries were stimulated in some cases. For example, Cherokee basketry was in great demand by Charlestonian merchants. Also, the Cherokees were able to improve some of their crafts with the use of the tools they acquired through trade. The employment of iron tools obtained from the Europeans stimulated farming, canoe making, and house building.<sup>36</sup> European trade items were sometimes incorporated into Cherokee craft: Polychrome hand-painted delft sherds were often used as adornments, glass fragments were used as tools, and wine-glass stems were substituted for quartz divining crystals.<sup>37</sup>

The English colonists affected the settlement patterns of the Cherokee tribe with the establishment of trading posts and factories in Cherokee territory. The Cherokees wanted the convenience of exchanging and buying goods, so they often relocated closer to trading posts. Habitation near a trading post was also considered a good strategic measure, and provided some Indians with protection from enemy tribes in the area.

Location near a trading post could bring prosperity to a tribe. For example, Tugaloo, the Lower Cherokee town where one of the first trading posts was established, became a very wealthy and secure town in the early part of the eighteenth century. Tugaloo was renowned throughout Cherokee territory for its wealth and

economic activity. However, by mid-century Tugaloo and other Lower Towns were weakened by wars, disease, and the threat of attack from the colonists.<sup>38</sup>

Trade with the Europeans led directly to land cessions. The Cherokees were persuaded to cede some of the hunting grounds they did not frequently use. Then the colonists encouraged the Cherokees to obtain goods from traders on credit; these trade debts led to several land cessions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to restricting residential and hunting areas, land cessions changed the Cherokee pattern of thought. Before European contact the Cherokees believed "old equals good equals honor." But in 1774, when the Cherokees, led by Attacullaculla, chose to cede an extensive amount of land to Richard Henderson, young Cherokee warriors under Attacullaculla's son, Dragging Canoe, felt that the old men had sold them out, and the principle of "old equals good equals honor" no longer applied. A schism developed, separating the Cherokee Nation along lines of age and status, with "amiable old men" in the older towns and "violent young men" establishing the Chickamauga towns.<sup>40</sup>

Even Cherokee dances and ceremonies were affected by the Europeans. The Booger Dance was instituted to ward off white people and their evils. The Green Corn Ceremony was influenced by European technology: In the second movement of the ceremonial dance an explosive noise was required to mark the interval between song and dance; in the precontact period this noise was produced by hitting a piece of hot charcoal with a stone club, but after the Cherokees acquired guns through trade they used guns for the explosive noise.<sup>41</sup>

European contact increased the frequency of warfare. Prior to contact Cherokees made war in retaliation or to gain captives to replenish their numbers. When war was waged in retaliation Cherokees usually killed the same number of enemy as their enemy had killed, and then withdrew. Europeans did not understand this concept, and on several occasions they called the Cherokees cowards for retreating in the middle of battle, when in fact the Cherokees were far from cowards—they were merely following their principle of killing the number of enemy equal to their previous losses. Most likely the Cherokees thought the Europeans were crazy because they seemed to want to kill everyone.

Europeans increased the frequency of war by inciting the Cherokees to attack other Indians.<sup>42</sup> On more than one occasion Cherokees raided enemy villages to obtain captives they could

exchange for trade goods.<sup>43</sup> There was one incident in which the Cherokees attacked the Yuchi village of Chestowe under the persuasion of two traders—Alexander Long and Eleazer Wigan—who had a personal grudge against the village.<sup>44</sup> These events helped to cement some of the alliances and foster some of the animosities that dominated Cherokee affairs for the next fifty years.<sup>45</sup> Europeans seemed especially pleased when the Indians were fighting one another. As long as the Indians continued to fight one another, there was no threat of them joining forces to attack the colonists. For example, when the Cherokees sided with the Chickasaws against the French, the French retaliated by inducing other tribes, especially the Creeks, to attack the Cherokees.<sup>46</sup> Another example of Europeans pitching Indians against one another occurred in 1715, when Colonel Maurice Moore persuaded some Cherokees from the Lower Town of Tugaloo to wage war against the Creeks while the English fought the Yamasees. These Cherokees killed sixteen Creek ambassadors in the Tugaloo townhouse, violating the southern Indians' international law, which entitled ambassadors to safe conduct. Although only a few Cherokees were involved in the killings, this incident put the entire Cherokee Nation at war with the Creeks.<sup>47</sup> The killing of the Creek ambassadors embittered the Creeks, and their hatred of the Cherokees fanned the flames of war up to the 1750s.<sup>48</sup>

Cherokee politics were also affected by Europeans. Cherokees normally chose chiefs based on their ability to achieve a consensus among the people. Chiefs did not have the power to force individuals to do anything, and their influence did not extend past the borders of their towns. Europeans introduced a new requirement for Cherokee leadership. When Maurice Moore went to the Lower Towns he asked the Conjuror of Tugaloo, Charitey Haigey, to bring the Cherokee Lower Towns into the Yamasee War on the side of the English colonists. By turning to Charitey Haigey, the English colonists boosted his prestige as a headman, and through him they introduced the new requirement for leadership in the Cherokee Nation—the ability to negotiate with Europeans. Haigey, although spokesman and chief of Tugaloo, had previously had no power over his town except his ability to get the townspeople to reach a consensus of opinion, and certainly he held no power over any of the other Lower Towns. Maurice Moore helped change that. Charitey Haigey was the “first of a new breed of Cherokee leaders who based part of their influence on British favor.”<sup>49</sup>

On at least two occasions Europeans interfered with the political process by actually appointing Indian leaders. The first of these

occasions occurred in 1721 when thirty-seven Cherokee headmen visited Charleston to complain about trade. In an effort to organize trade among the Cherokees the first royal governor of South Carolina, Francis Nicholson, appointed one of the Lower Town chiefs—Wrosetasatow, also known as Outassatah—“Governor,” or “Chief Commander” of the Cherokee trade with South Carolina.<sup>50</sup> In November of 1723 a speech was sent to Governor Nicholson by Outassatah, who styled himself “King of the Lower Cherokees,” and by Kureeroskee, who styled himself “Lord Chancellor,” clearly illustrating the influence of the English colonists. These titles brought competition among Cherokees. After Governor Nicholson gave Outassatah his title, another Cherokee by the name of Konotiskee challenged Outassatah’s position. Konotiskee claimed that the speech delivered by Outassatah was not “true talk.” He also tried to persuade other Cherokees that he should be made king, and promised to travel to Charleston after Outassatah left.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps the best example of Europeans directly appointing Indian leaders is that of an eccentric Scotsman, Alexander Cuming, who entered Cherokee territory in the spring of 1730. Cuming visited Moytoy, Chief of Tellico in the Overhill Towns of Tennessee, and proclaimed him “Emperor of all the Cherokees,” a title Cherokees would later vie for, especially the chief of Chota.<sup>52</sup> This competition among Cherokees upset the entire political organization and increased factionalism among tribal members. Later, Cuming persuaded seven Cherokees to accompany him to England. Among the Cherokees who accompanied Cuming was Attacullaculla, or Little Carpenter.<sup>53</sup> The trip to England gave Little Carpenter added prestige, and started his career as perhaps the greatest eighteenth-century Cherokee leader.

European contact decimated the Cherokee population: Only a small percentage of Cherokee deaths came as a result of war; most deaths were the result of disease. Early Native Americans suffered their share of ailments before the arrival of Columbus, including tuberculosis, parasitism, and dysentery, but Indians had never known Old World diseases such as smallpox, measles, and diphtheria. What had been minor illnesses in Europe turned into killer plagues in the New World. Europeans had been exposed to these illnesses for centuries and had built up an immunity against them, but Cherokees and other Native Americans had no such immunity. There is evidence of at least five different smallpox epidemics among the Cherokees in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—from 1697 to 1698, from 1738 to 1739, from 1759 to 1760, in 1780, and in 1783.<sup>54</sup> Certainly the most devastating of these epi-

demics was the one that lasted from 1738 to 1739, during which approximately seven to ten thousand Cherokees, about one-half of the total population, died. Cherokees tried traditional methods of purification—sitting in sweathouses and then plunging into icy streams. This practice only added to the number who died.<sup>55</sup> Those who survived smallpox were horrified by their disfigurement, and often killed themselves rather than live in disgrace.

The 1738–1739 epidemic also had important consequences other than population losses. Towns were relocated because the Cherokees believed the English colonists had brought the disease deliberately.<sup>56</sup> Many of the Lower Towns, especially those on the Chatoga, Tugaloo, and Chattahoochee Rivers, which were closest to the English, were abandoned. The epidemic had a detrimental effect on Cherokee culture, because the elderly were among the most susceptible to this disease, and their unexpected deaths caused the loss of oral traditions. In addition, the epidemic upset Cherokee religious beliefs by undermining the power of the medicine men.<sup>57</sup> Traditionally, in times of illness Cherokees turned to their medicine men, whose successes were no doubt aided by the tremendous faith the Cherokees had in these individuals,<sup>58</sup> but the medicine men were unable to cure smallpox.

In 1785 the federal government pretended to be concerned with improving relations—by assimilating the red and white cultures—and launched a “civilization policy.” The policy sought to transform Cherokee hunters into farmers, and was ultimately another way of arranging more land cessions from the Cherokees. If the Cherokees gave up hunting and spent their days in the fields, the vast Cherokee hunting areas would become surplus lands that the Cherokee would be willing to exchange for funds to support agriculture, education, and other “civilized” pursuits. As Ronald Satz so aptly stated, “Civilizing the Indian for their assimilation never took precedence over pushing them outside of the white settlement; it merely justified it.”<sup>59</sup>

The “civilization policy” initiated almost total reorganization of the spiritual, social, and psychological world of the Cherokees. Even gender values changed. Unlike European women, Cherokee women had always been politically powerful. They had an equal voice in council meetings and were quite influential, due in part to the matrilineal kinship system. In the Cherokee legend of Kanati and Selu, Kanati, the man, was the hunter and Selu, the woman, provided the crops. This legend provided the basis for what became a well-defined division of labor along gender lines.<sup>60</sup>

By the end of the American Revolution, however, the once

plentiful game in the Cherokee hunting grounds had diminished substantially, which changed the gender-based division of labor in the Cherokee villages.<sup>61</sup> In an attempt to become “civilized” in order to preserve their land, Cherokee men adopted farming and women turned to spinning and weaving. Therefore, women were gradually relegated to an inferior status, with no right to vote and with little control over family and land. This subordinate position of women was confirmed and popularized in the Cherokee Constitution of 1827.

By adopting white culture, the Cherokees hoped to gain the respect of the whites, which the Cherokees hoped would make them more capable of resisting U.S. demand for land cessions. For the Cherokees, then, acculturation was partly a defensive mechanism to prevent the further loss of land and extinction of their culture, the very goals whites hoped to achieve with acculturation. Consequently, the Cherokees, more than any other Native American tribe, embraced the tenets of the “civilization policy” and led the way by establishing schools and written laws. Intrigued and challenged by European written communication, Sequoyah, a Cherokee who was illiterate by white standards, invented a syllabary that enabled Cherokees to read and write in their own language. The Cherokees established *The Phoenix*, a national newspaper printed in both English and Cherokee. The syllabary of Sequoyah, besides being a tool of acculturation, was a powerful instrument of cultural retention, enabling the Cherokees to record culture that had formerly been dependent on oral transmission.<sup>62</sup>

European presence affected tribal government as well. By the early nineteenth century Cherokee political organization had become a combination of traditional elements and newer forms adopted in response to white contact. While some of the newer forms of government were directly borrowed from Europeans, most of the structure was composed of traditional forms of government that had been changed to meet new challenges. The Cherokees changed their political organization in order to create a system that the colonists could understand.<sup>63</sup>

In the early part of the eighteenth century the Cherokee town was the basic political unit, and there was no formal political organization beyond the town level. Within each town a council handled all political affairs, making decisions concerning relationships with other towns, other tribes, and Europeans. The council also dealt with internal policies regarding public buildings, communal agriculture, and public ceremonies. (Disputes between individuals and all cases of personal injury or property damage were, of

course, affairs of the clan, not the town.) Various problems were discussed in council meetings until a consensus was reached. The Cherokees emphasized harmony and avoidance of conflict. If a conflict became unavoidable, a Cherokee was expected to withdraw emotionally and, if possible, physically.<sup>64</sup>

Although each Cherokee town acted independently of the others, to the point of having conflicting foreign policies, Europeans tended to treat the Cherokee tribe as a single political entity. Actions by one Cherokee town or even by a Cherokee individual often brought European reprisals against all Cherokees. Gradually, the Cherokees realized the need for centralization of power, and they organized a national tribal council modeled after the town council. However, the national council was unable to control the attacks on whites by groups of Cherokee warriors. This can be seen in incidents that occurred during the American Revolution, when the majority of Cherokees sought peace with the whites but the Chickamauga Cherokees continued to fight the whites (and did so until 1794). When the Chickamaugans attacked, whites retaliated without any regard as to which Cherokees they attacked. As a result, peaceful Cherokees often suffered the consequences of the actions of the Chickamauga. To heal the schism between the Chickamauga and the rest of the Cherokees a number of influential young warriors were eventually invited to join the national council.<sup>65</sup>

While the role of the original central tribal authority had been to deal with foreign affairs, internal matters had been left to the various towns.<sup>66</sup> But the establishment of a new national council saw the creation of laws that governed internal affairs. These early laws regulated horse stealing and inheritance, and abolished blood revenge, which was normally the domain of the town and the clan. The trend toward centralization of the Cherokee political system culminated in 1828 with the adoption of a constitution.<sup>67</sup> This constitution established a separation of powers and a bicameral legislature—all modeled after the government of the white colonists. The Cherokees were striving to deal with the colonists and win their praise, in hopes of saving remaining tribal land.

Acculturation and the appearance of missionaries made the factionalism and competition that existed among the various Cherokee villages even stronger. Many Cherokees disagreed with the attempt to imitate the whites even though the cause—to preserve their remaining land—was noble. Conversion to Christianity meant an unqualified rejection of all that was Indian and total assimilation to white values and behavior. Missionaries openly ridiculed traditional Cherokee beliefs. School children were forbid-

den to attend traditional ceremonies and were told that their parents and grandparents were wicked for practicing traditional Cherokee medicine.<sup>68</sup> Robert Berkhofer noted that the success of the missionaries sharply divided the traditionalists and the Christian Indians. In 1825 some newly converted Cherokees burned down the town council house, claiming it was “the Devil’s meeting-house.” In retaliation some traditionalists threatened to burn down the mission school, and shortly afterward the headmen of the town asked the missionaries to leave.<sup>69</sup> In the early nineteenth century traditionalists held several Ghost Dances in an attempt to get Cherokees to stop and think about what they were doing. They wanted Cherokees to return to the old ways and follow tradition.

One other area in which the Europeans influenced the Cherokees was in the slavery system. Before they were exposed to the white plantation slavery system, Cherokees held their captives in a unique position. Enemy captives could be put to death by the Cherokees, adopted by a clan and given full rights just like any other Cherokee, or simply hold the precarious position of being a captive. Because they were outside the kinship system their lives were in constant danger. Slaves performed no real function in the Cherokee economy because the division of labor was according to gender, and the Cherokees had a subsistence economy, so they didn’t need to improve the economy by producing more food. In fact, every year at the Green Corn Ceremony Cherokees burned all of their previous years’ surplus.<sup>70</sup> However, with the advancement of the “civilization policy,” black plantation-style slavery was introduced into Cherokee society. Plantation-style slavery, in turn, brought a series of laws controlling the activities of slaves, reflecting Cherokee adoption of white racial attitudes.<sup>71</sup>

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## CONCLUSION

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The ways in which Europeans affected the Cherokees are endless. They influenced Cherokee politics and society and threatened the entire tribal belief system. European influence brought dramatic changes in population size, settlement patterns, and men’s and women’s traditional roles. Although some European influences were positive, such as showing the Cherokees that their culture could be preserved in written form, most were negative. Much is lost forever, but the Cherokees survive. Today there are more than two hundred thousand Cherokees—over ten times the number

during the “removal” period in the 1830s when the Cherokees were forced to move to land west of the Mississippi. But the legacy of removal is still present today—the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina are constant reminders of that grim period.

Today the Cherokees are increasingly taking control of their own destiny and becoming less dependent upon federal and state governments. Following the example of other Indian tribes, the Eastern Band recently secured the right to establish gambling on their reservation in western North Carolina. Much of the Eastern Band economy has been based on tourist trade during the summer months. It is hoped that this new enterprise will provide more year-round jobs for the tribe.

The Cherokees are in the midst of a major cultural revival. Cherokee arts and crafts are flourishing once again. Cherokee culture and traditions are being taught in elementary schools, high schools, and college classrooms, and the Cherokee language is being relearned by young and old alike.<sup>72</sup> In some areas, church services are conducted in Cherokee. IBM has created a typewriter script ball in the Sequoyah syllabary, and a computer program is being developed for the Cherokee language. Durbin Feeling, a Cherokee who is a language specialist, has published a Cherokee–English dictionary that will facilitate the learning of the Cherokee language. The revitalization of the Cherokee people is testament to their determination to recapture and preserve forever the culture of the Ani-Yunwiya—the Real People.

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## NOTES

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1. See Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 21; and Peter H. Wood, “The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685–1790,” in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 63.
2. John Philip Reid, *Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), pp. 11–12.
3. The three linguistic divisions were as follows: Elodi for the Lower Cherokee of South Carolina and Georgia; Kituwah for the Middle Cherokee of western North Carolina (the dialect of the present-day Eastern Band of Cherokees); and Adali for the Upper and

- Valley Cherokee of western North Carolina and Tennessee (the dialect of the Snowbird and Oklahoma Cherokees).
4. For one of the best detailed descriptions of the matrilineal system, see Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976).
  5. The names of three of the Cherokee clans—Long Hair, Blind Savannah, and Holly—cannot be translated with any accuracy. For a different translation of these clan names see Mary Evelyn Rogers, *A Brief History of the Cherokees: 1540–1906* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), p. xiii.; and Emmet Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees: Embracing Aboriginal Customs, Religion, Laws, Folk Lore, and Civilization* (Oklahoma City: Printers Publishing Company, 1917), p. 9. According to Emmet Starr, originally there were six clans. When the Cherokees found a baby girl under a holly bush, they took her in and adopted her. When she grew up she married and had a large family, and in order to classify her descendants the Holly clan was created.
  6. Reid, *Law of Blood*, pp. 153–161.
  7. When the Cherokees visited Charleston and the colonial assembly they were shocked by the absence of women.
  8. William L. McDowell, ed., *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754–1765* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives, 1970), pp. 392–393.
  9. Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 281.
  10. The Cherokees were retaliating for members of their tribe who had been killed by some Virginians. When restitution was not made, the Cherokees sought the restoration of balance by killing an equal number of Carolina whites. For the complete story see David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740–1762* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 142–178.
  11. McDowell, *Colonial Records of South Carolina, 1754-1765*, pp. 392–393.
  12. Reid, *Law of Blood*, p. 241.
  13. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), p. 40; William S. Willis, “Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians, 1710–1760” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1955), p. 18.
  14. Charles M. Hudson, “The Genesis of Georgia’s Indians,” in Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding, eds., *Forty Years of Diversity: Essays on Colonial Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), p. 40. The enslavement of Indians declined after the

Yamasee War (1715–1716), not for humanitarian reasons but because the Indian population had decreased and the trade in Indian slaves became less profitable. Also, perhaps because of vulnerability to disease, Indian slaves never brought as high a price as African slaves. In addition, Indians could escape and return home, whereas African slaves had no place to run.

15. Gary C. Goodwin, *The Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775* (Department of Geography Research Paper no. 181, University of Chicago, 1977), p. 95.

Historians often suggest that the Cherokees were a vital part of the trade with South Carolina by 1700, and were thus substantial contributors to the export business of Charleston in 1707 when Charleston reportedly exported 120,000 skins. However, in 1708 the South Carolina governor wrote to the Board of Proprietors, "The Cherokees are lazy and only average hunters, making trade with the tribe inconsiderable." Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 1264, fol. 152. Hereafter cited as PRO CO.

In 1717, 31 Cherokees brought in over 950 deerskins, while a second of 5 trading districts reported 770 deerskins. William. L. McDowell, ed., *Journal of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade 20, September 1710–1729, August 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives, 1955), pp. 186, 222.

16. James Mooney, *Historical Sketch of the Cherokees* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1975), p. 83.
17. Willis, "Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians"; Goodwin, *The Cherokees in Transition*, p. 142. The cost of a gun in 1716 was thirty-five skins, but by 1718 the cost had dropped to sixteen skins. See McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade*, pp. 89, 269.
18. Willis, "Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians," pp. 97–98.
19. By 1708 these "trade guns" were traded throughout the southeast, and in 1757 Edmund Atkin described the guns as the "cheapest guns, costing only ten shillings each." Willis, "Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians," pp. 82–83.

The Indians preferred rifled guns, which were more accurate in time of war, but the colonists did not want the Indians to have equal firepower. Rifles also made larger holes in deerskins, so traders were forbidden to sell rifle-barreled guns. McDowell, *Colonial Records of South Carolina, 1754–1765*, p. 296; Katherine E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p. 122.

20. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 142.
21. Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Adair's History of the American Indians* (New York: Promontory Press, 1986), p. 187.

22. Theda Perdue, *The Cherokee* (New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), p. 30.
23. Rennard Strickland, *Fire and Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 58. Other evidence of the adoption of white patrilineal inheritance can be seen in the will of Young Wolf, who divides his estate among his children. Payne Buttrick Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago.
24. Strickland, *Fire and Spirits*, p. 58.
25. PRO CO, Class 5, vol. 377, fol. 3; Willis, "Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians," p. 99; John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 349.  
Francis Jennings argues that the absence of men made it harder on the women while the men were gone, and the women had the prospect of more work when the men returned. Francis Jennings, *The Founders of America* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1993), p. 203.
26. Carol I. Mason, "Eighteenth-Century Culture Change among the Lower Creeks," *Florida Anthropologist* 16 (1963): 73.
27. Williams, *Adair's History*, p. 242.
28. Daniel Lay, "Foods and Feeding Habits of White-Tailed Deer," *White-Tailed Deer in the Southern Forest Habitat: Proceedings of a Symposium at Nacogdoches, Texas, March 25-26, 1969* (Nacogdoches, TX: USDA, in cooperation with the Forest Game Committee of the Southeastern Section of the Wildlife Society and the School of Forestry, Stephen A. Austin University, 1969), pp. 8-9. While bear, beaver, fox, and raccoon populations suffered, deer herds completely disappeared from some areas. Part of the problem was the territorial nature of the white-tailed deer. When their food sources disappeared the deer did not move to other ranges; they starved or were hunted out.
29. Robert D. Neuman, "The Acceptance of European Domestic Animals by the Eighteenth Century Cherokee," *Tennessee Anthropologist* IV (Spring 1979): 104. Neuman views the Cherokees' acceptance of cattle as marking the conversion from agricultural and hunting subsistence to full-time farming.
30. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 142.
31. "Grant to James Glen (13 May 1752)," in William L. McDowell, ed., *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1958), p. 262; Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 142; and Willis, "Colonial Conflict and the Cherokee Indians," p. 97. In 1752 Ludovick Grant reported that the "[Cherokee] frontier towns...[were] not capable now in

time of...general war to hunt to purchase ammunition, & merely to defend themselves from their enemies."

32. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, pp. 144–145.
33. "Journal of George Chicken," in PRO CO Class 5, vol. 12, fol. 21. Printed versions of Chicken's journal can be found in Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country: 1540–1800* (Johnson City: Wataugua Press, 1928); and Newton D. Meerness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916).
34. McDowell, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1750–1754*, pp. 453. Emphasis by the author.
35. Mason, "Eighteenth-Century Culture Change," p. 68. The absence of this learning situation also contributed to loss of respect for elders.
36. Willis, "Colonial Conflict," p. 275; M. Thomas Hatley, "Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground," in Robert D. Mitchell, ed., *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), p. 49; and M. Thomas Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 33.
37. Michael Anthony Harmon, *Eighteenth Century Lower Cherokee Adaptation and Use of European Material Culture* (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1986), pp. 45–46, 49, 69, 72.
38. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, pp. 115–116.
39. William L. Anderson, ed., *Cherokee Removal: Before and After* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), p. xv.
40. Fred Gearing, "Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the Eighteenth Century," *American Anthropologist* 64 (October, 1962): 60–61, 103–104. The most extensive account of the Chickamauga Cherokees can be found in J. P. Pate, "The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., Mississippi State University, 1969). The pressures of commercial hunting, the long periods spent in hunting camps, the ready supplies of rum, and the influence of lawless traders combined to further erode respect for traditional authority. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, p. 131.
41. Frank G. Speck and Leonard Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 47; Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 143.
42. Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), p. 23.

43. Alexander Moore, ed., *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), p. 13.  
     In 1717 the Cherokees sold twenty-one Indian slaves to traders. McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners of Indian Trade*, p. 186.
44. Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, pp. 23–24.
45. John Phillip Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet: Law, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Cherokee Nation during the Early Years of European Contact* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 27.
46. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 101.
47. Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet*, p. 70.
48. Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet*, p. 73.
49. Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet*, p. 62.
50. Duane King, ed., *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), is mistaken when he states (p. xi) that Nicholson made the Chief “Emperor of the Cherokees.” A committee of both houses of the colonial assembly recommended that since “Outassatah, King of the Lower Cherokees, being recommended to His Excellency at his first arrival, by the chief men and the deputies of the said Lower Nation, as the fittest person to be commissioned by His Excellency, to be Governor or Chief Commander of the said Nation [concerning trade], that the Cherokees be told that this government will look upon him as such.” So Outassatah only received the title of Governor of trade, and that was at the recommendation of other Cherokee headmen. See PRO CO Class 5, vol. 359, fol. 115–116.
51. PRO CO Class 5, vol. 359, fol. 115–116.
52. Originally South Carolina did not recognize the emperorship. However, fearing the influence of Christian Priber in establishing a centralized Cherokee state, and needing Cherokee assistance in King George’s War, South Carolina issued a commission to Moytoy as Emperor in 1738. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier*, pp. 15–16.
53. “Journal of Alexander Cuming,” in Williams, *Early Travels*, pp. 115–143.
54. Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History*, pp. 21–23, 28–34; Peter Wood, “The Impact of Smallpox on the Native Population of the Eighteenth Century South,” *New York State Journal of Medicine* 87 (January 1987): 30–36.
55. William G. DeBrahm, who built Fort Loudoun in Cherokee coun-

- try in Tennessee, believed that if the Cherokees “had not left off bathing...by their own notions, or by the advice of the Europeans” who were trading or garrisoned among them, the whole Cherokee Nation would have been wiped out in 1759–1760. Louis De Vorsey, Jr., *DeBrahm’s Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), p. 107.
56. The first use of biological warfare was evident in America during the French and Indian War, when a couple infected with smallpox were purposely put in a storehouse with blankets to be given to the Indians. This practice continued during the eighteenth century as an official policy of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. See Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), pp. 78–79.
  57. Williams, *Adair’s History of the American Indians*, pp. 244–247.
  58. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition*, p. 107.
  59. Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), p. 2.
  60. For the Kanati and Selu legend, see James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees: Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897–1898* (1900; reprint, Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 242–250.
  61. M. Thomas Hatley, “The Three Lives of Keowee: Loss and Recovery in Eighteenth Century Cherokee Villages,” in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 242–243. By mid-century Creek deerskins came to be preferred over Cherokee deerskins, and by the end of the eighteenth century the British industrial revolution, with its production of cheap cloth, caused deerskins to be in much less demand.
  62. Raymond Fogelson, “Change, Persistence, and Accommodation in Cherokee Medico-Magical Beliefs,” in William N. Fenton and John Gulick, eds., *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture* (Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180, 1961), p. 216.
  63. V. Richard Persico, “Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Political Organization,” in Duane King, ed., *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), p. 92.
  64. Persico, “Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Political Organization,” pp. 92–94.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–98.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 106. The end of warfare and the adoption of plow agriculture resulted in a more scattered population, which weakened the town councils and paved the way for more complete centralized government.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–108.
68. William G. McLoughlin, “Who Civilized the Cherokees?” *Journal of Cherokee Studies* XIII (1988): 67.
69. William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries: 1789–1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 202–205.
70. For an excellent description of the position of captives before the development of plantation slavery, see Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), pp. 3–49.
71. Theda Perdue, “Cherokee Planters: The Development of Plantation Slavery before Removal,” in Duane King, ed., *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), pp. 116–117.
72. In 1993 the state of Oklahoma began introducing Indian languages into the public schools.

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