

The question most frequently asked of students of Cherokee culture is what basic book one can read to learn about the Cherokees. With so many published works one would suppose that there would be a one- or two-volume history dealing with the full range of the cultural and historical development of the Cherokees. While we have a number of superb specialized studies, such as this one, some excellent biographies, and several detailed monographs on specific events or issues, no one book can be recommended as a full and balanced treatment of both the traditional and the acculturated Cherokee societies.

970.3 ↘ Marian Starkey's *The Cherokee Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946) is an excellent book that covers only a limited span of Cherokee history, with primary emphasis on the period before removal and the removal controversy itself. Starkey makes excellent use of primary source material, especially church and missionary records. While Grace Steele Woodward entitled her book *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), the text is focused on the history before the treaties ending Cherokee participation in the American Civil War. Written primarily from the John Ross Papers, Woodward's book is about as objective a history of the Cherokees as would be a history of the Vietnam era written from the Lyndon Johnson papers. By contrast, Henry Malone's *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956) is an excellent scholarly work invaluable for learning about the Cherokees before removal. John Brown's *Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokees from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal West, 1838* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, 1938) also is limited to the preremoval time but emphasizes generally neglected figures and events. More recent attempts at popularized histories are Peter Collier's *When Will They Rest: The Cherokee's Long Struggle with America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973); and Irvin M. Peithmann's *Red Men of Fire: A History of the Cherokee Indians* (Springfield, Ill.: Thomas, 1964). Two small early histories were Thomas V. Parker's *The Cherokee Indians* (New York: Grafton Press, 1907) and William R. L. Smith's *The Story of the Cherokees* (Cleveland, Tenn.: Church of God Publishing House, 1928).

Few if any Indian tribes have produced as many native historians as have the Cherokees. Foremost among Cherokee Indian historians is Emmet Starr, whose monumental *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City: Warden Company, 1921) is a primary source for both tribal history and genealogy. Starr gathered and published many important tribal documents and compiled an elaborate chart of Cherokee family relationships. Starr's other Cherokee books include *Early History of the Cherokees, Embracing Aboriginal Customs, Religion, Laws, Folklore, and Civilization* (Claremore, Okla.: Author, 1917) and *Cherokees "West", 1794-1839* (Claremore, Okla.: Author, 1910). The latter is primarily a reprint of Cephas Washburn's *Reminiscences of the Indians*. Regrettably, there is little organization or interpretation in the Starr books, which nonetheless are convenient and important sources for basic data on tribal government, including extensive lists of officeholders. Muriel H. Wright reported that Starr's genealogical tables were important in establishing relationships for Cherokee tribal enrollment, and they remain the indispensable guide in determining family history. A comprehensive index to Starr's genealogy has been prepared by J. J. Hill and issued with a portion of the original history as *Old Cherokee Families* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Foundation, 1968).

Earl Boyd Pierce and Rennard Strickland, *The Cherokee People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), is one of the few volumes in that series by historians who are members of the tribe in question. Pierce is a former tribal attorney. The material he wrote on recent legal judgments and tribal development can be considered a primary source, reflecting the views of a participant in the process.

The long-neglected traditional and ritual aspects of Cherokee history and culture have been examined by the Cherokee husband-and-wife team Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick. Their most important work is their compilations and translations of tribal legends, charms, chants, and incantations. The first of these, *Friends of Thunder: Folktales of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1964), is the most significant

single collection of Cherokee legends since the work of James Mooney. Other related works by the Kilpatricks are *Muskogean Charm Songs Among the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 3, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), *Notebook of a Cherokee Shaman* (Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 6, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), *Run Toward the Nightland: Magic of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1965), and *Walk in Your Soul: Love Incantations of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1965). The Kilpatricks have also compiled, translated, and edited two important books of primary historical documents: *The Shadow of Sequoyah: Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862-1964* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965) and *New Echota Letters: Selections from the Newspaper Cherokee Phoenix, 1828-33* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968).

A recent account of the development of the Cherokee legal system is Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). This work traces both acculturation and survival in the context of the traditional and modernizing Cherokee society. The writer has regularly joined with Jack Gregory, also a Cherokee, to write or edit other Cherokee works, including *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829-1833* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967). This team with the distinguished Cherokee sculptor Willard Stone, have also written *Cherokee Spirit Tales: Tribal Folklore, Legend and Myth* (Fayetteville, Ark.: Indian Heritage Association, 1969). In the limited edition it is perhaps the rarest of modern Cherokee books. *Indian Dilemma: The Cherokee Trail of Tears and the Jacksonian Removal Crisis*, by Rennard Strickland and William M. Strickland, is in preparation, to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press in The Civilization of the American Indian Series.

A convenient place to begin a comprehensive study of the Cherokees is in the excellent Smithsonian publications. The first of these is Charles C. Royce's *The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of*

Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Fifth Annual Report, 1883-84, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1887). It should be read in conjunction with Royce's *Indian Land Cession in the United States* (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1896-97, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889). Equally important is James Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokees* (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1897-98, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900). A rare view of traditional Cherokee culture is found in another of Mooney's efforts, published as Frans M. Olbrechts (ed.), *The Swimmer Manuscripts: Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medical Prescriptions* (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 99, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932). And more recently there is considerable comparative linguistic and cultural material in William N. Fenton and John Gulick (eds.), *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture* (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961). A more general study of the Woodland tribes of the Old South is James R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946). William H. Gilbert, Jr., studied the Cherokees who were not removed from the South in *The Eastern Cherokees* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943). Finally there is James C. Pilling's *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Language* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1888). Cherokee scholars look forward to the forthcoming publication by the Smithsonian of the encyclopedic *Handbook of North American Indians*, which will contain extensive materials on the Cherokees, as well as other tribes.

Early in any study of Cherokee history one must turn to the work of Grant Foreman and his wife, Carolyn Thomas Foreman. As attorney for the Dawes Commission, Foreman was an important figure in the history of all the Five Civilized Tribes. His books are monumental. They are based upon meticulous study of massive numbers of primary documents. In a real sense Foreman was the first scientific

historian of the Cherokees. And yet Foreman's ultimate significance may rest upon his own presentation of a particular view of Indian history, upon his role as the quasi-official historian of the settlement and allotment forces.

All of us are to some extent the products of our own times and places, and one must remember that the Foremans were dedicated Republicans, unionists, acculturationists, and, most of all, advocates of Indian land allotment, statehood, and agricultural-commercial-industrial development of the Indian lands. One must understand that in order to appreciate Foreman's treatment of a number of issues. Foreman's most important works bearing on Cherokee history include *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), and *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936). Carolyn Foreman's *Indians Abroad, 1493-1938* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943) and *Park Hill* (Muskogee, Okla.: Star Printery, 1948) explore unique aspects of Indian history. The Foremans devoted a significant portion of their time and fortune to gathering and editing primary source material, much of which is now available for research at the Thomas Gilcrease Institute, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in Oklahoma City.

The event of Cherokee history most explored in the literature is removal and the infamous "Trail of Tears." Though more than forty-five years have passed since its first publication, Foreman's *Indian Removal* remains one of the most precise and detailed histories of the removal process. Two recent popular histories have examined the era.

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focuses on the Cherokee experience. Dale Van Every earlier covered much of the removal ground in *Disinherited: The Last Birthright of the American Indian* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966).

Some of the primary sources relating to removal are presented in Allen Guttman and Louis Filler (eds.), *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or Dishonor?* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1962), and in Allen Guttman (ed.), *State's Rights and Indian Removal* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1965). *The Cherokee Phoenix* (New Echota, Cherokee Nation, Ga., 1829-34) contains the most articulate presentation of the Cherokee position, while the standard reference on the Georgia attitude is Wilson Lumpkin's *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1907). Congressional debates were reprinted in *Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for the Removal of the Indians* (Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1830), and the details of the actual allotment are found in James F. Smith (comp.), *The Cherokee Land Lottery* (New York: Hayes & Brothers, 1838). The famous Supreme Court decision is found in Richard Peters (ed.), *The Case of the Cherokee Nation Against Georgia* (Philadelphia: J. Grigg, 1831).

Neglected sources of Cherokee tribal tradition, akin to oral history in some respects, are novels by Cherokees written from common experience. Many of these focus on removal and the Trail of Tears. Typical are books like Dave Thornton, *America's First Big Parade* (Little Rock, Ark.: Central Printing Co., 1932); Denton R. Bedford, *Tsali* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1972); and Ada Loomis Barry, *Yunini's Story of the Trail of Tears* (London: Fudge & Co., Ltd., 1932). John Oskison, a Cherokee, used tribal themes in a number of his novels, as did John Rollin Ridge in his poetry.

Cherokee history is an integral part of more general studies of Indians in the Old South. A significant and impressive new study is Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976). Perhaps the most familiar is R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954). A standard

historical treatment is Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1959). Chapman J. Milling's *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940) devotes considerable space to Cherokee issues, as does Douglas L. Right's *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1947). Colonial administration is explored in John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontiers: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944), and Wilbur R. Jacobs (ed.), *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmond Atkins Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1954). Two final general southern Indian histories are Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg Lewis, *Tribes That Slumber: Indians of the Tennessee Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1966), and Jesse Burt and Robert B. Ferguson, *Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973). The Eastern Cherokees living in the contemporary South are the subject of John Gulick, *Cherokees at the Crossroads* (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1973).

The aboriginal Cherokees and the Cherokees of the early-contact period have received considerably less attention than their removal-era kinsmen. While there are still fewer precontact or traditional Cherokee studies, those that are available are of remarkably high quality. The classic work is that of Frederick O. Gearing, especially his *Priests and Warriors: Social Structure for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Memoir 93, vol. 64, no. 5, part 2, October 1962). Equally important are the detailed documentary histories of David H. Corkran, whose major work on the Cherokees is *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962). John Phillip Reid's *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) is a major

analytical interpretation of the development and change in eighteenth-century Cherokee society.

A body of archaeological literature is throwing new light on the earliest Cherokees. See, for example, Roy S. Dickens, Jr., *Cherokee Prehistory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), and Bennie C. Keel, *Cherokee Archaeology* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976). The pioneer studies in this field, such as Cyrus Thomas, *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times* (New York: N. D. C. Hodges, 1890), and Mark R. Harrington, *Cherokees and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1922), should be read primarily for earlier conceptions of the Cherokees rather than as valid scientific interpretations.

A picture of transitional and survival aspects of tribal culture is found in studies of Cherokee rituals, arts, and crafts. The most comprehensive work dealing with the eastern branch of the tribe is Rodney L. Leftwich, *Arts and Crafts of the Cherokees* (Cullowhee, N.C.: Land-of-Shy Press, 1970). The Cherokee Arts and Crafts Center at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, regularly publishes descriptive catalogues. The Cherokee basket is the subject of Frank G. Speck, *Decorative Art and Basketry of the Cherokees* (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1920). Two crafts are discussed in Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Cherokee Weaving and Basketry* (Muskogee, Okla.: Star Printery, 1948). The most important study of Cherokee ceremony is Frank G. Speck and Leonard Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951). A seminal modern essay is Janet Campbell and Archie Sams, "The Primal Fire Lingers," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. LIII (1975-76), 463.

Cherokee history has often been written through the lives of tribal leaders and those associated with the Cherokee people. The greatest of all Cherokees, the mixed-breed creator of their syllabary, Sequoyah, has been the subject of more than a dozen biographies. These range from the early George Foster, *Se-Quo-Yah: The American Cadmus and Modern Moses* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1885), through Grant Foreman's compilation of documents called simply

Sequoyah (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), to the highly controversial revisionist Traveler Bird, *Tell Them They Lie* (Los Angeles: Westernlore, 1971), and the poetic Jack F. Kilpatrick, *Sequoyah of Earth and Intellect* (Austin, Texas: Encino Press, 1965). Despite all of this research we still have significant unanswered questions about Sequoyah.

We need a major new biography of Chief John Ross, who is the subject of an early published dissertation by Rachael Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wis.: Collegiate Press, George Banta Publishing Company, 1914). Gary Moulton is currently compiling the Ross papers for publication. By contrast, there is extensive treatment of the Ridge-Boudinot-Watie faction in such books as Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970). There are also three individual studies: Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton (eds.), *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939); Ralph H. Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), and Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1959).

The standard biography of the great missionary to the Cherokees is Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger: A Life of Samuel Austin Worcester* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), which should be read in conjunction with such books as Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlight to the Cherokees: The Brainerd Mission* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1931), Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace: Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation* (Guthrie, Okla.: Co-operative Publishing Co., 1940), and O. B. Campbell, *Mission to the Cherokees: The Story of Dwight Mission* (Oklahoma City: Metro Press, 1973). Other standard biographies are Mary Whatley Clarke, *Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1920-33*

(Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967); and Mrs. William Potter Ross (ed.), *The Life and Times of Hon. William P. Ross* (Fort Smith, Ark.: Private Printing, 1893). Other biographies include works on such tribal leaders as Nancy Ward, W. W. Keeler, Narcissa Owen, Ned Christie, Will Rogers, Robert L. Owen, Redbird Harris, Elias C. Boudinot, and even Zeke Proctor and Cherokee Bill. Portraits as well as biographical sketches of early Cherokee leaders are found in Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of Indian Tribes of North America* (3 vols., Philadelphia: D. Rice and Company, 1865). A number of Cherokee biographies are included in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1937). A pleasant, impressionistic view can be gained from Emma L. Fundabank, *Southeastern Indians: Life Portraits, a Catalogue of Pictures, 1564-1860* (Luverne, Ala.: Author, 1958).

Specialized monographs are available on topics covering almost all phases of Cherokee history. For example, those interested in the American Civil War have Annie Heloise Abel's three books *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), and *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925). Recently published studies of the Civil War include a collection of essays in LeRoy H. Fischer (comp.), *The Civil War Era in Indian Territory* (Los Angeles: L. L. Morrison, 1974) and M. T. Bailey, *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Study of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1972). Other accounts of this era include Wiley Britton's *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1922) and his *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863* (Chicago: Cushing, Thomas & Co., 1882).

Earlier events are the subject of such books as James H. O'Donnell III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973). Two books about Cherokee law are Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), and John

Phillip Reid's *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970). Important recent studies of the closing of the tribal era are William Savage, *The Cherokee Strip Livestock Association: Federal Regulation and the Cattleman's Last Frontier* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973), and H. Craig Miner, *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976). The end of the nations of the old Indian Territory and the poststatehood fate of the Five Civilized Tribes is explored in Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Convention* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1953) and in Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1940).

The so-called outlaw days and Hanging Judge Parker are the subjects of Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland (eds.), *Hell on the Border: He Hanged Eighty-Eight Men* (Muskogee, Okla.: Indian Heritage Association, 1971), Glenn Shirley, *Law West of Fort Smith: A History of Frontier Justice in the Indian Territory, 1834-1896* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957); Homer Croy, *He Hanged Them High: An Authentic Account of the Fanatical Judge Who Hanged Eighty-eight Men* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1952); Fred Harrington, *Hanging Judge* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1951); and C. H. McKennon, *Iron Men: A Saga of the Deputy United States Marshals Who Rode the Indian Territory* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1967).

The serious student of Cherokee history must become familiar with various government publications. Most important is Charles J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), which has been reprinted by the Government Printing Office along with other numbers in the Kappler series and with a supplement. Also available in photographic reproduction is *The New American State Papers* (13 vols., Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1972). And there is, of course, James D. Richardson (comp.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896-99). Five categories of federal documents, including the reports of the

commissioners of Indian Affairs, congressional debates on Indian affairs, laws and ordinances, treaties, and judicial decisions, are found in Wilcomb Washburn (ed.), *The American Indian and the United States* (4 vols., New York: Random House, 1973). A very convenient collection of important Indian documents, including excerpts from a number of key Cherokee documents is Francis Paul Prucha (ed.), *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975). The definitive treatment of Indian law is Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941). It has been reprinted by the University of New Mexico Press and is being revised by a consortium of legal scholars under the sponsorship of the American Indian Law Center of the School of Law, University of New Mexico. A generally available compilation of federal regulations is *Laws Relating to the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, 1890 to 1914* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915). Finally there is Clarence E. Carter (comp. and ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934-59), especially the papers of Arkansas Territory, which include a large number of Cherokee items.

Reports by and to the Indian Claims Commission are a generally neglected source of raw data for historical interpretation; see *Indian Claims Commission Decisions* (Boulder, Colo.: Native American Rights Fund, Reprint of Typescripts, n.d.), with index by tribe. Briefs filed before the commission are also important because many of them contain reprints of documents and materials not generally available. The researcher should also consult reports prepared with expert testimony, such as Charles H. Fairbanks and John H. Gaff, *Cherokee and Creek Indians* (Garland American Indian Ethnohistory Series, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974). The Library of American Indian Affairs, published by Clearwater Publishing Company (New York), includes microfilms of *Decisions of the Indian Claims Commission, Expert Testimony Before the Indian Claims Commission, Transcripts of Oral Expert Testimony Before the Indian Claims Commission, Legal Briefs Before the Indian Claims Commission, General*

Accounting Office Reports on Offsets, and Legislative History of the Indian Claims Commission Act. Clearwater has also published hard-copy indexes to much of this material.

One of the most important documents for the study of the Cherokees is Commission and Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, *The Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906); for the Cherokees see pages 239 to 502. To make much sense of the rolls requires the later, published alphabetical listing of enrollees found in *Index to the Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907), pages 238 to 496.

The definitive published source for Cherokee map materials is John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (2d ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976). This should be supplemented by George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), and the earlier Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933 o.p.). An important pioneer work is Henry Gannett, *Gazeteer of Indian Territory* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1905). A major source of ideas and bibliography on land and the American Indian is Imre Sutton, *Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1975). There are sufficient census and other historical data for the kind of intensive study that has been made of other tribes in such works as Mary Elizabeth Young, *Redskins, Ruffshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961). Important work of this nature is being done by Douglas D. Wilms; see his "Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1830-1838" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, 1973).

Putting together the story of the Cherokees is like working with a giant and complex picture puzzle from which more than half of the pieces are missing and another quarter or so are hidden or fading. As Neil H. Alford, Jr., noted in his Foreword to *Fire and the Spirits*:

... the history of the American Indian in the area of English occupation suffers from the lack of a highly organized and dedicated group of teachers and chroniclers such as the Jesuit missionaries in Central and South America. There was no Manuel de Nobrega and no José de Anchieta in the Carolinas. There was no Bartolomé de las Casas to plead the cause of the aborigine at the English Court. The scholar who now seeks to explore the institutions of any Indian tribe or nation within the area of English occupation must deal with bits and pieces of evidence.

The early story of the Cherokees must be reconstructed through many and diverse accounts. Early traders and travelers among the Cherokees had varied and bizarre viewpoints. For example, James Adair's *The History of the American Indian* (London: Private Printing for E. C. Dilly, 1775) is colored by the author's theory of the Cherokees and other southeastern Indians as members of the lost tribes. In contrast, Henry Timberlake, in *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London: Printed for the Author, 1765), had a more political viewpoint, as did John Stuart, in *A Sketch of the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians* (Little Rock, Ark.: Woodruff and Pew, 1837). The naturalist-scientist outlook provided a framework for the widely read travel accounts of William Bartram, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogules, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws, 1791* (ed. by Francis Harper, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), and Thomas Nuttall, *A Journey of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines* (ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905).

Cephas Washburn, *Reminiscences of the Indians* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee on Publications, 1869), recalls Cherokee history through the experiences of a missionary, while Ethan Allen Hitchcock's *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (ed. by Grant Foreman, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1930) is a quasi-official view. Students of American literature are familiar with Washington Irving's accounts of his journeys, especially his *A Tour of the Prairies* (ed. by John Francis McDermott, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,

1956) and *Western Journals of Washington Irving* (ed. by John Francis McDermott, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944). A good guide to the extensive travel publications is Thomas D. Clark (ed.), *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography* (3 vols., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). A major overview is provided by J. Ralph Randolph, *British Travelers Among the Southern Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

Mastery of the Cherokee language has always been a difficult task for those not reared in a Cherokee-speaking family. In recent years there has been a revival of interest in learning the language. The publication of *Beginning Cherokee*, by Ruth Bradley Holmes and Betty Sharp Smith (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), has made available a systematic lesson-by-lesson approach to the study of Cherokee as a living language. Also available is a complete cassette program, "Conversational Cherokee," on six reels of Phonotape Cassettes (Tahlequah, Okla.: Cherokee Bilingual Education Program, n.d.). Two new Cherokee dictionaries have been published, and a number of Cherokee language books are being reprinted. The dictionaries are Durbin Feeling, *Cherokee-English Dictionary* (ed. by William Pulte, Agnes Cowen, and Dictionary Committee, Tahlequah, Okla.: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, 1975), and J. T. Alexander, *A Dictionary of the Cherokee Indian Language* (Sperry, Okla.: Private Printing, 1971). The official Cherokee Nation publication is recommended. Two bilingual booklets designed to train Cherokee speakers are Watt Spade and Willard Walker, *Cherokee Stories* (Tahlequah, Okla.: Northeastern State College Press, 1966), and Willard Walker, *Cherokee Primer* (Tahlequah, Okla.: Northeastern State College Press, 1965). Among the publications now available in the Cherokee language are *Cherokee Hymns* (Fayetteville, Ark.: Indian Heritage Association, reprint, 1967), *New Testament* (New York: American Bible Society, reprint of 1860 translation), and Dennis Cooper (ed.), *Cherokee Almanac* (Muskogee, Okla.: Author Reprint of Park Hill Press Original, n.d.).

As the Bibliography of this book indicates, a major source of historical materials on the Cherokees is the massive archives of the federal government. Since Wardell's time, access to this resource has

been eased considerably by microfilm publication by the National Archives. There are several series, the most valuable being U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Cherokee Agency, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-80 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, National Archives and Record Service, General Services Administration, 1959. Microfilm, 48 reels, National Archives Microfilm Publishers, microcopy no. 234, roll no. 71-118).

There are literally millions of pages of government publications concerned with Cherokee history. Almost every volume in the Congressional Serial Set contains documentation vital to an understanding of the tribe. For a good overview of these materials and other government sources see Harry Rees, "Basic Bibliography for Native American Law," *Law Library Journal*, Vol. 69 (1976), 78, and Rennard Strickland, "Sources of American Indian Law," *Law Library Journal*, Vol. 67 (1974), 494. An indispensable starting point for this research is Steven L. Johnson, *A Guide to American Indian Documents in the Congressional Serial Set, 1817-1899* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, Inc., 1976). One must also be prepared to study the publications of various administrative and judicial agencies.

For the Cherokees there is one resource that is not readily available for most other Indian tribes. The Cherokee Nation was a prolific publisher and chronicler. The two tribal newspapers, the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the *Cherokee Advocate*, are invaluable, as are other tribal documents, such as the published laws, constitutions, and regulations; the annual messages of the chiefs; and the reports of tribal instrumentalities. In recent years a number of tribal codes and constitutions have been reprinted or microfilmed. See, for example, the hardcover *Constitutions and Laws of the American Indian Tribes* republished by Scholarly Researchers in three series. Also, from KTO Microform, there is available a microfilm project of items listed in Lester Hargrett, *A Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of American Indians* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977). To these one must add various Cherokee publications of the mission press, such as almanacs, Testaments, Bibles, hymnals, and temperance tracts.

Cherokee Indians are the subjects of an almost unbelievable range

of contemporary booklets, pamphlets, leaflets, and other ephemeral and fugitive publications of varying quality. Most are of limited value to the serious student of Cherokee history. There are cookbooks, medicine and herb-cure formulas, family records, county and local histories, collections of stories and myths, guides to cemeteries, memoirs, political tracts, and Indian tribal newspapers of the official and underground sort. Typical of these books and booklets are collections of Cherokee myths, including T. L. Ballenger, *Around Tahlequah Council Fires* (Muskogee, Okla.: Motter Bookbinding Co., 1935); Corydon Bell, *John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove: A Collection of Cherokee Indian Legends* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1955); Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland (eds.), *American Indian Spirit Tales* (Muskogee, Okla.: Indian Heritage Association, 1974); Traveller Bird, *The Path to Snowbird Mountain: Cherokee Legends* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972); and Forest C. Wade, *Cry of the Eagle: History and Legend of the Cherokee Indians and Their Buried Treasures* (Cumplings, Ga.: Author, 1969). Myth and contemporary life are interwoven in Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Adventures of an Indian Boy* (Muskogee, Okla.: Indian Heritage Association, 1972).

Revived concern is being shown in Cherokee family history and genealogy. Emmett Starr's famous *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* has been reissued by the Indian Heritage Association (Muskogee, Okla., 1967) edited and with a new introduction by Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland. An entirely new book, George M. Bell, *Genealogy of "Old" and "New" Cherokee Indian Families* (Bartlesville, Okla.: Author, 1972), has been published, and two series of related materials are being issued. The first of these is composed of Cherokee books by James M. Carselowey, including such titles as *Cherokee Pioneers* (Adair, Okla.: Author, 1961) and *Cherokee Old Timers* (Adair, Okla.: Author, 1972). The other multivolume series is James W. Tyner and Alice Tyner Timmons, *Our People and Where They Rest* (Norman: n.p., various dates). There are other kinds of local-history books, typified by John F. Corn's *Red Clay and Rattlesnake Springs* (Cleveland, Tenn.: Private Printing, 1959).

For the serious student of Cherokee history there are important bibliographic sources, although there is no published book-length bibliography. For a number of years J. J. Hill was engaged in gathering material for a "complete Cherokee bibliography," but it has not yet appeared. A comprehensive general Indian work is George Peter Murdock (ed.), *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (4th ed., New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1976). Another major effort is Dwight Smith (ed.), *Indians of the United States and Canada: A Bibliography* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: American Bibliographical Center, Clio Press, 1974). The standard work is Frederick Dockstader (comp.), *The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations* (2 vols., New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973-74). The following works of Lester Hargrett are standard bibliographical compilations of great value to the study of the Cherokees: *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), *A Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indian* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), and *The Gilcrease-Hargrett Catalogue of Imprints* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972). And there is Carolyn Thomas Foreman's *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), which is especially valuable on newspaper publications. The standard western and trans-Mississippi bibliographies, such as Jesse L. Rader, *South of Forty, from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande: A Bibliography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), should be consulted. Finally, the published card catalogues of the great research libraries, such as Yale, the Denver Public Library, and the Huntington Library, are invaluable. For the Cherokees the following are especially helpful: Newberry Library, *Dictionary Catalog of the Edward E. Ayer Collection of Americana and American Indians in the Newberry Library* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1961), and U.S. Department of the Interior, *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1966).

The more sophisticated student of Cherokee history will need to examine the primary manuscript materials gathered in major archives.

A convenient initial guide is Angie Debo, "Major Indian Record Collections in Oklahoma," in Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka (eds.), *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1976), 112-18. The four major collections are at the University of Tulsa; the Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma; the University of Oklahoma, Norman; and the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. The Cherokee Historical Society, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, has begun to amass archival materials, such as the official papers of Chief W. W. Keeler.

The bequest of the John W. Shleppey Collection to the University of Tulsa brought to Oklahoma perhaps the largest collection of Cherokee imprints in one place. Earlier the university had acquired the Worcester-Robertson family papers, commonly known as the Alice Robertson Collection, of 2,713 calendared letters and 2,500 other items. Among the 6,000 to 7,000 items in the Shleppey Collection are manuscripts on important, neglected phases of Cherokee history, such as the Kee-too-wah minutes, in Cherokee, for the years 1859 to 1870. Other holdings of the University of Tulsa touching on Cherokee history include the Shaw, Tenney, McIntosh, and Lindsey collections.

The magnitude of the Indian archives of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute can hardly be imagined. Among the more significant manuscripts are the John Ross papers, which cover the entire time during which Ross was chief. To these must be added the accumulation of various Grant Foreman typescripts and photostats. The Gilcrease Collection is broad and eclectic, with spectacular items, such as copies of Sequoyah's alphabet written in his own hand.

The various collections of the University of Oklahoma are basic to any Cherokee study. The cornerstone of these archives is the collection of more than 2,000 items in the Watie-Ridge-Boudinot family papers. Another strength is the collection of chiefs' papers. The Western History Collections contain one of the best Indian photographic archives in the world. The multivolume Work Projects Administration project Indian and Pioneer Papers can be found at the University of Oklahoma, as well as at the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The mass of official Cherokee tribal papers, including census re-

ports, court decisions, tribal prison records, the journals of the legislative assemblies, and almost all tribal operations, is on loan to the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Some of the Foreman typescripts and archives are also at the Oklahoma Historical Society, as are other Cherokee manuscripts and tribal imprints. The newspaper collection includes the most complete run of the *Cherokee Advocate*.

Other important and archival locations of Cherokee items are as follows: John Howard Payne papers in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; mission papers in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Northeastern Oklahoma State University (formerly Cherokee Seminary), Tahlequah, Oklahoma; Five Civilized Tribes Museum, Muskogee, Oklahoma; Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia; Georgia Historical Commission, Atlanta, Georgia; University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina; and South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

To know the Cherokees fully, one must be prepared to visit historic sites. Near Tahlequah, for example, is the old National Capitol, the Supreme Court Building, the National Prison, the Hunter, or Murrell, Home, the former Cherokee Female Seminary Building at Northeastern Oklahoma State University, and the re-created Cherokee village, theater, and historical center at Tsa-La-Gi. There is significant restoration at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, as well as at a number of outlying courthouses. Cherokee stomp grounds and ball-play yards can also be seen along with the old Cherokee West capital area at Tahlontuskee and mission grounds. In Georgia there has been significant rebuilding at New Echota, including the courthouse, the print shop of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, and a number of houses in the area, such as the Vann Mansion. The old Five Tribes Agency in Muskogee is now a museum. Finally, the Eastern Cherokee Reservation is an exciting place, and those interested in learning more about tribal culture are warmly welcomed.

A final and often neglected source of understanding is Cherokee artifacts and paintings. For a discussion of the use of these resources see John C. Ewers, "Artifacts and Pictures as Documents in the History of Indian-White Relations," in Smith and Kvasnicka (eds.), *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox*. Particularly valuable are the ethnographically accurate paintings of the major Cherokee artist Cecil Dick and the Creek-Cherokee artist Joan Hill. Works of other artists and tribal artifacts can be seen at the Philbrook Art Center and the Thomas Gilcrease Institute, in Tulsa; the Cherokee Historical Society, in Tahlequah; the Five Tribes Museum, in Muskogee; and Wolaroc Museum, outside Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

In conclusion, one must return to the statement that thousands of works and millions of pages have been written about the Cherokees. The search behind the Cherokee myth will not be an easy one. The mythical Cherokee looms too large to die easily. These pages serve only to introduce the bibliography of the Cherokee people. Space limitations prohibit mention of hundreds of excellent articles and essays and thousands of primary sources. The future of the pursuit of Cherokee history depends upon fresh interpretation and a willingness to explore long-neglected aspects of traditional and evolving Cherokee culture. The work of Morris Wardell should serve as an inspiration, a springboard from which to launch the quest for the true historical Cherokee.

PREFACE

During the nineteenth century the Cherokee Nation of Indians was compelled to treat with the young, vigorous, and rapidly expanding United States. This empire building state refused to be denied its wishes; opposition gave way at the cost of compromise or destruction. If the Cherokee Indians at any time proved to be an obstruction it was but a matter of years until the land they inhabited was a scene of desolation. Much of the time the Nation was divided into factions whose members were frequently driven to deeds of violence; a united front necessary for protection was often lacking and the Nation was ever a victim of those demanding treaties, agreements, and land cessions.

The United States effectively broke the ranks of the Cherokee Nation in 1817 when the first removal treaty was made. Thereafter it was a struggle between the Indians, striving to maintain their homes and the privilege of self-government, and the United States—or its citizens—seeking to dislodge them.

This book is an attempt to portray that period of history of the Cherokee Nation from the thirties of the past century to the termination of tribal government and the emergence of the State of Oklahoma. The three quarters of a century were filled with complexities—both domestic and those arising from Federal relations. Domestic problems, for a score of years preceding the Civil War, demanded the attention of the Nation's most capable men. When those problems were brought near solution the Indians were forced into that struggle between the states which was no quarrel of their own. Those years of destruction left hundreds of families homeless, with orphans and widows in great numbers scattered over both the Nation and surrounding areas.

Political, social, cultural, and economic reconstruction followed; post-war complications became intensified and in some instances insurmountable. Intrusion of other peoples and constantly increasing