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IN JANUARY, 1833, the *Cherokee Phoenix* voiced this aggrieved complaint:

The beautiful and beloved country of the Cherokees is now passing into the occupancy of the Georgians. . . . [Our land] is wedged with settlers, and droves of land hunters, to which the Indians daily cry, and it is literally, "Robery! Robery!"

This crusade on our rights forms a new era in the history of the United States by which the Cherokees are denationalized, treaties destroyed, the legislation of Congress to carry them into effect annulled, and the faith of the republic fled to the western wilds. . . .

The Indian country was indeed "wedged" with white intruders, and no power on earth was in sight to save the Indian nation from a forced westward expatriation.

This tragic turn of events, so devastating to the Cherokees, was expedited by the State of Georgia. Arrogant over successful expulsion of the Creek Indians,² and indignant at manifestations of Cherokee nationalism, the Georgians began to press northward. The discovery of gold on Cherokee-Georgia borders late in 1828 sealed the fate of the Indians. Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina also pressed for Cherokee removal. But Georgia was the moving force in the expulsion of the Cherokee Nation in the 1830's, and the actions of that state will be examined briefly as representative of Indian-removal efforts on the part of Southern whites.

Since 1802 Georgia had hoped for outright federal removal of the Cherokees, but had been disappointed by piecemeal cessions. The Cherokees, meanwhile, seemed intent on settling down; each

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Cherokees of the Old South: A People in
Transition

Henry T. Malone

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evidence of such progress found Georgians the more determined to remove them. Finally in 1827, outraged at the impudence of a Cherokee constitution and a proposed newspaper, the legislature of Georgia issued a resolution to "extend her authority over the Cherokee country if the United States should further refuse to assist her." In the year that followed this expression of firm intent, sentiment for Cherokee removal grew apace.³

On December 20, 1828, a sweeping edict was passed by the state legislature, designed to cancel Cherokee authority and assert Georgia sovereignty over the coveted Indian territory. The act placed the entire Cherokee Nation under Georgia law, and specifically assigned various areas of the Indian country to the frontier counties of Carroll, DeKalb, Gwinnett, Hall, and Habersham. Appropriate sections of the Georgia legal code were to be applied to the new region, and all whites therein were declared subject to these laws. The act voided Indian sovereignty with these words: "All laws, usages, and customs made, established, and in force in the said territory, by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the first of June, 1830, declared null and void." Further it was announced that no Indian could be considered a competent witness in Georgia courts in cases to which white men were parties.⁴

Coincident with the announcement of this legislation came startling news from northeastern Cherokee Georgia. Gold had been found! Although the first strike was probably made in 1828 by a John Witheroods along Duke's Creek in Habersham County, several other locations farther west shortly were made known. By mid-1829, a gold rush was in full swing. The center of the ore-bearing region seemed to be in the eastern part of the Cherokee Nation, a sparsely populated mountainous country. Prospectors poured in and took up claims without regard to Indian ownership. Within a year nearly ten thousand gold-fevered men were crowding this part of the nation. Many were unscrupulous characters of the worst sort, and the region soon became noted for its lawlessness. Cherokees attempting to extract gold were usually thrust out of their mines. Pillaging and fighting made mere existence in the area dangerous for Indians, and many began to shift farther west.⁵

By an earlier law of the Cherokee government, gold or other metals found within Indian borders were to be considered Cherokee national property. Consequently the Council ordered intruders out of the gold country and called upon Indian Agent

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High Montgomery to remove them. Although he responded by obtaining United States troops, the force sent was inadequate and had little effect upon the rapidly deteriorating condition in the mining areas. It was soon apparent that neither red nor white national governments could maintain order. Georgia capitalized on the situation by reiterating its law of 1828 in a new and more inclusive edict issued on December 19, 1829, by the terms of which sovereignty was reasserted over the Cherokee country, and the previous year's decrees restated. But the new law went even farther: no one was to prevent any Indian from enrolling for westward migration; any Indian could sell or cede Indian lands; and a term of four years in the state penitentiary was to be meted out to violators of state rulings.⁶

The presence of United States troops in the Cherokee gold country was humiliating to Georgians, who appealed to Governor Gilmer. He notified Andrew Jackson that recent state legislation made Cherokees subject to Georgia, and asked that federal troops be withdrawn so that he could send in a Georgia force. Jackson, entirely willing to go along with this suggestion, removed the American soldiers.⁷

On the Cherokee removal question President Jackson was in full sympathy with Georgia. He favored leaving the "poor deluded Cherokees to their fate, and their annihilation." Their condition, he thought, had been brought on by listening to "wicked advisers," who had probably told the Indians that the longer they held out for their rights, "and opposed the views of the government, the greater would be the offers made by the Executive." Then, "all the missionary and speculating tribe would make fortunes out of the United States."⁸

Emboldened by the President's attitude and anxious to possess the Cherokee territory, Georgia took further steps. After United States troops were withdrawn from the gold country, the legislature created a sixty-man "Georgia Guard" and assigned it to the area; eventually this unit extended its jurisdiction to the entire Indian nation. The same act, passed December 22, 1830, provided that no Cherokee governing body could meet except to cede lands, and Indian officials holding any kind of court were to receive four years of hard labor. Finally, the law declared that by March 1, 1830, all whites remaining in the Cherokee Nation must possess a license, which was to be issued only to those taking an oath to uphold the laws of Georgia.⁹

Cherokee hopes for United States interference were dampened

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by the passage of a bill in Congress on May 28, 1830, "to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi." Some consolation was found in the closeness of the vote which in the Senate was 28 to 20 and in the House, 103 to 97, and also in the hue-and-cry over the Removal Bill raised by speakers and writers throughout the country.¹⁰

With Georgia's deadly intentions clear, and federal antipathy to Indian distress also evident, the Cherokee situation in the early 1830's was grim. Established legal processes were voided at a stroke by Georgia law. The missionary program, with its accompanying educational and literary values, was threatened by the act requiring licenses for whites. The missionaries stoutly refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Georgia since they firmly believed that the state had no right to enforce its laws in the Cherokee Nation. Political, social, and economic progress faced a "dead end." All in all, the Cherokees of the early 1830's confronted an almost hopeless situation. The United States Supreme Court was the only remaining recourse. William Wirt of Philadelphia was retained as counsel by the Cherokee Nation, and an issue anxiously sought which would take the Indian question to the Supreme bench.¹¹

In 1830 an opportunity came. A Cherokee Indian named George Tassel was convicted of murder by Hall County Superior Court and sentenced to death. Wirt and his associates appealed the case to the Supreme Court. On December 12, 1830, Georgia was cited to appear in Washington and show cause why a writ of error should not be issued in the Tassel case. Georgia not only ignored the message, but expedited Tassel's execution.¹² This abrupt action indicated a contempt for federal interference which spelled an end to Cherokee hopes for justice.

By the time the writ of error came up on the Supreme Court docket, it had been made a part of a new and stronger appeal. The new case was a request for an injunction against the State of Georgia for numerous violations of Cherokee sovereignty. William Wirt and Winthrop Sargent argued for the Cherokee Nation that it was "a foreign State, not owing allegiance to the United States, nor to any State of this Union, nor to any prince, potentate, or state other than their own." The court was asked to void Georgia's laws in the Indian territory and remove that state's officials from Cherokee lands. Georgia disregarded the Supreme

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Court's summons to attend the hearing; the court's ruling, however, indirectly favored the state's position. Chief Justice John Marshall announced on March 5, 1831, that the Cherokees were a state, but not in the sense meant by the Constitution, and therefore his court had no jurisdiction in the matter.¹³

This decision set Cherokee hopes back another notch. Grimly determined to hang on if possible, the Indian leaders waited for an opportunity to meet Supreme Court jurisdictional requirements. Meanwhile they sought to help their people through the unhappy days at hand. One source of trouble was the President of the United States. Jackson had already implemented the terms of the federal Removal Act by appointing Benjamin F. Curry of Tennessee to serve as "Superintendent of Cherokee Removal from Georgia"; and Curry began to stir up Indian sentiment for emigration.¹⁴

Georgia's order requiring white men to secure licenses and swear allegiance to the state became effective on March 1, 1830. Shortly afterward, officers of the Georgia Guard arrested American Board missionaries Samuel A. Worcester and John Thompson and brought them before the Gwinnett County court on a writ of habeas corpus. The judge released them, however, since the two were utilizing United States funds in their work and were alleged to be agents of that government. Georgia's governor soon clarified this issue. He contacted Washington and established that the missionaries were not federal agents. It was revealed, however, that Worcester was United States Postmaster at New Echota. Gilmer thereupon requested and received Jackson's assurance that the missionary would be discharged from that office. A few weeks later, on May 16, 1831, the Governor ordered Worcester to leave Georgia.¹⁵

Now determined to make an example of the white clergymen who were believed by many Georgians to be advisers and instigators of Indian resistance, the state's officials moved into action. On May 28, 1831, the commander of the Georgia Guard announced a ten-day period during which all white missionaries were to leave the state, on pain of imprisonment. At the expiration of that time, eleven missionaries who refused to take oaths of allegiance to Georgia were taken into custody, treated with some brutality, and remanded for trial in the September term of Gwinnett Superior Court.¹⁶

Some indication of the tension existing in Cherokee Georgia

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during this period may be gained from a study of the *Cherokee Phoenix* during the months of July and August, 1831. The leading editorial in the issue of July 12 discussed the second arrest of John Thompson, stating that he was confined in chains and suffered other indignities prior to being released. The affair reflected discredit on the honor of the State of Georgia, observed Elias Boudinot. Criticism of the offending state was much stronger in letters of Thompson and James I. Trott, published in the same issue. These letters described the imprisonment procedure and castigated the Georgia Guard and the officials of the state as well. Apparently the Georgia force objected to this criticism, for the following issue carried an editorial in which Boudinot maintained stoutly that as far as he knew the *Cherokee Phoenix* had published no "falsehoods." If, however, error had crept into his newspaper, he wanted to hear about it from "some reputable person," for, he continued, "it is far from our wish to injure any set of men, among whom we take the liberty to include the Georgia Guard."¹⁷

The following week, Boudinot recapitulated the entire affair of missionary arrests and scored Georgia's "vindictiveness." In the editor's view, Georgia's sole object in requiring the oath of allegiance was to get the missionaries out of the country. As for the Georgia Guard, the editor repeated a rumor that the unit had been ordered to "inflict corporeal punishment on such females as may be guilty of insulting them. . . . We think first, it is very undignified for a female to exercise it [an insult] under any circumstances; and second, it is equally undignified, for any gentleman to inflict a corporeal punishment on a female."¹⁸

The answer of the Georgia Guard to the newspaper articles was swift. Elias Boudinot was hailed before the organization's commanding officer, Colonel C. H. Nelson, who reprimanded the editor and threatened him with whipping. In an account printed in the *Cherokee Phoenix* on August 12, 1831, Boudinot stated:

The Col. observed to us that there [had] been a great deal of lies, & abusive libelous articles published in the Phoenix. These slanders have been directed against the State of Georgia and the Georgia Guard. Heretofore they [the Guard] had exercised forbearance toward us. . . . [but] we must now look out. He also observed that as they could not prosecute us for libel, the only way that we could be punished would be to deal with us in their individual capacity, to tie us to a tree and give us a sound whipping. . . .

We are not aware of having slandered Georgia and the Guard, and

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if we have, we think of it by flagellating to be our object.¹⁹

The Cherokee and various Georgians. Cherokee removal were published in certain class in Georgia no wish "to shock Georgia, nor to interfere with these letters will be eager for the Indian VILL, 19th July, 1831

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Colonel Nelson that he summoned and reprimanded communication for not, Nelson suspected the brains behind thought the editor ignorant sort of a write the editorial

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if we have, we think it a very poor way indeed to convince the world of it by flagellating us. . . . Truth *has* been our object and truth *shall* be our object.¹⁸

The Cherokee editor was receiving other threats, too, from various Georgians who objected to material he published on Cherokee removal and the state's actions. Three protesting letters were published in August, 1831, as typical of the feeling of "a certain class in Georgia," although Boudinot stated that he had no wish "to shock the feelings of the honest and worthy people of Georgia, nor to intimate in the least that the spirit exhibited in these letters will be approved generally by even those who are eager for the Indian lands." One of the letters headed "GAINSVILL, 19th July, 1831," read:

Dr Sir In looking over the last Cherokee Phoenix I noticed the remarks you made in that paper concerning the Georgia Guard &c. and about the President &c. Now you d--d little frog eater and worsp [wasp] destroyer . . . you favor a negro more than a d--d Indian. The treatment you and your countrymen are receiving is in payment of your d--d rascally treatment you have treated the whitemen when you had the power to do so . . . you d--d mountain rainger and wolf eater. . . . Your with indifference RALPH SCRUGGS²⁰

Another of the letters dated July 7, 1831, was properly described by Boudinot as "significant." Under the sentence "You can answer this if you wish," there was drawn a figure hanging from a rope. On the four sides of the drawing were these sentiments: "Hang the Traitor," "Cut his Throat," "Death to the Rebell," and "Shoot him."²¹

Colonel Nelson became so dissatisfied with Boudinot's conduct that he summoned the editor before the Georgia Guard again, and reprimanded him for allowing his sheet to be a medium of communication for disgruntled missionaries. According to Boudinot, Nelson suspected that Worcester or another missionary was the brains behind the *Cherokee Phoenix*, since the Colonel thought the editor to be "peaceable, passive, inoffensive and an ignorant sort of a man, and as not possessing sufficient talents to write the editorial articles in the Phoenix."²²

The eleven missionaries were found guilty of violating Georgia laws on September 15, 1831, and sentenced to four years of hard labor. Nine of them promptly accepted Georgia's offer of a pardon in exchange for an oath of allegiance. Worcester and

Elizur Butler remained in the penitentiary, while Cherokee advocates petitioned the Supreme Court for justice.²³

The case of *Worcester versus Georgia* was heard in the court at Washington in February, 1832. To the great joy of the Cherokee Indians and their supporters, the court ruled that the State of Georgia was in error. John Marshall announced that only the United States government could legislate for Indians, and that any state laws attempting to do so were null and void. Georgia was ordered to release Worcester and Butler from the penitentiary.²⁴

Cherokee reaction was instantaneous and enthusiastic. At last it seemed that down-trodden Indians could overcome the humiliation of the past three years and re-assert their national sovereignty. A number of leading Cherokees, including Elias Boudinot, were in Washington during the Worcester hearing, attending court sessions and seeking additional aid. The Cherokee editor wrote his brother, Stand Watie, about the decision:

It is glorious news. The laws of the State are declared by the highest judicial tribunal in the Country null and void. It is a great triumph on the part of the Cherokees so far as the question of their rights were concerned. The question is forever settled as to who is right and who is wrong, and the controversy is exactly where it ought to be, and where we have all along been desirous it should be. . . .

Expectation has for the last few days been upon tiptoe—fears and hopes alternately took possession of our minds until two or three hours ago. . . . I will take it upon myself to say that this decision of the Court will now have a most powerful effect on public opinion. It creates a new era on the Indian question.²⁵

But the court's emphatic statement of "who is right and who is wrong" failed to vouchsafe the right so defined. To the disappointment of Cherokee Indians and their supporters throughout the country, the State of Georgia defied John Marshall. Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler were kept in custody and the state legislature continued to pass laws tyrannizing the Cherokees. On November 6, 1832, Governor Wilson Lumpkin told the General Assembly that he would resist to the utmost the Supreme Court's effort to "prostrate" Georgia sovereignty. Much encouragement for Georgia came from the nation's chief executive, who seemed willing to let Marshall enforce his own ruling. Jackson told friends that the decision was part of an effort of his enemies to

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embarrass him during an election year. He urged Lumpkin and other Georgians to continue with their anti-Cherokee activities, with a warning that it would be wise to avoid doing anything which might fall within the Supreme Court's jurisdiction.²⁶

Although grateful for this advice, Georgia hardly needed the encouragement. Under authority of a law dated December 21, 1831, state authorities had established white government in the Indian country by creating a "Cherokee County," comprised of "all the lands lying west of the Chattahoochee River and north of the Carroll County line, within the limits of Georgia," including the Indian areas previously assigned to five counties.²⁷ Local officials were elected by Georgians already in the Cherokee area, and their administration sought to replace the legal structure of the Cherokee republic.

With Georgians clamoring for Indian lands and the gold rush booming, the state's next step was to announce a gigantic lottery in which Cherokee County would be raffled off in individual lots. Enabling legislation for this distribution had been passed in 1830, and surveyors were ready to issue maps. Drawings for "gold lots" and "land lots" of 40 and 160 acres were available to all white adult males in Georgia who had lived in the state for at least four years. Certain others were privileged as well, including physically handicapped persons, veterans and their widows or descendants, and soldiers. No one who had previously won land in the Creek Lottery was eligible. The Cherokee Lottery occurred in 1832, and during that year Cherokee County was subdivided into ten smaller counties: Cass, Cherokee, Cobb, Floyd, Forsyth, Gilmer, Lumpkin, Murray, Paulding, and Walker.²⁸

The rush of thousands of whites into Cherokee territory to secure newly won land lots heightened the turmoil and confusion among the Indians. Some Georgians found empty cabins whose owners had already been persuaded to emigrate. Others arrived at their new lands to find them occupied, and forcibly ejected the Cherokee occupants. In most cases, however, the newcomers waited until the Indians could be removed from the region by treaty or other means. The distraught condition of the Cherokee Nation was further troubled by the inevitable clashes of red and white gangs. Embittered and disillusioned, the Indians still hoped for relief from their sufferings.²⁹

The Cherokee government was of little assistance. Its small police forces were powerless to bring order. Within the National

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Council and Committee the specter of factionalism loomed ominously. Federal and state agents, anxious to persuade prominent Indians that a removal treaty was the only sensible solution, encouraged the growing split in native ranks. Meanwhile discouraged missionaries saw their own establishments subject to confiscation by the "fortunate drawers," and faced the perplexing problem of continuing a Christian evangelization in the midst of terror and despair. The experiences of two are typical. Worcester and Butler (now pardoned after taking Georgia's oath, following the Supreme Court incident) were under orders to leave Cherokee Georgia as soon as practicable. The American Board told them not to surrender mission property without exercising every legal right — although the Board admitted that it was "heartily tired of this trouble with law, courts, & political men."³⁰

Butler's mission establishment at Haweis was obtained by Georgians in January, 1834. In the same month Worcester was advised by his superiors to release his house at New Echota: "You had better get along as well as you can, if you are driven from your house, till next fall, & then cross the Mississippi."³¹ In February Worcester received this message:

It becomes my duty to give you notice to evacuate the lot of land No. 125, in the 14th District, of the third section, and to give the house now occupied by you up to Col. William Harden, or whoever he may put forward, to take possession of the same and that you may have ample time to prepare for the same, I will allow you until the 28th day of this month to do the same. Given under my hand this 16th day of February 1834.

William E. Springer
Agent for the Cherokees, in Georgia³²

By 1835 some Indians came to the realization that the troubles with Georgia would end only with removal, and that a treaty under the best possible terms was necessary. Notable among leaders adopting this view were Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Stand Watie. On March 10, 1835, John Ridge reported to his father and others from Washington that he had succeeded in getting "a treaty made to be sent home for the ratification of the people. It is very liberal in its terms — an equal measure is given to all. The poor Indian enjoys the same rights as the rich — there is no distinction. We are allowed to enjoy

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our lands in the West."³³ At the same time that Ridge and associates were in Washington, however, a delegation under the personal leadership of Chief John Ross was also seeking federal assistance. In successive visits to the American capital, Ross had steadfastly refused to consider any negotiations leading to a relinquishment of Cherokee territory east of the Mississippi. When he learned of the John Ridge treaty he and his delegation advanced a counter-proposal, suggesting that an allowance of \$20,000,000 be paid the Cherokee Nation for the cession of its lands, and that an indefinite number of claims be paid also. Subsequently Ross pared this demand down to whatever figure might be considered reasonable by the United States Senate. On March 6, 1835, the Principal Chief was advised that the Senate's opinion was that the Cherokees should be paid not more than \$5,000,000. Ross in disgust suspended treaty discussions.³⁴

In the meantime John Ridge had returned to the Cherokee country with his treaty. Accompanying him was a New York clergyman named John F. Schermerhorn, appointed by President Jackson to negotiate the removal. Ridge's treaty was presented to the Cherokee Council at Red Clay (on the Tennessee-Georgia border) in October, 1835. Its most important provisions gave \$3,250,000 to the Cherokees for their eastern lands; \$150,000 for depredate claims (including Creek War losses); restated a guarantee to 13,000,000 acres of western territory granted in treaties of 1828 and 1833 to previously emigrated Cherokees; and gave an additional 800,000 acres in that same region to those going west. The opposition of John Ross's faction proved too formidable for the Ridge party at Red Clay, and the Cherokee Council rejected the proposed treaty. Even John Ridge and Elias Boudinot turned against Schermerhorn and voted refusal, although that agent raised his offer to the full \$5,000,000 suggested by the United States Senate.³⁵

During the Red Clay negotiations Schermerhorn called on the Cherokee Council to meet again at New Echota the following December, for further treaty conferences. The Red Clay Council, however, authorized John Ross to conclude the best possible treaty. Realizing that Schermerhorn had no additional terms to offer, Ross proceeded to Washington to resume negotiations there.³⁶

During John Ross's absence his Cherokee republic in the South fell apart. Meeting in December with Schermerhorn, a small

group of about three hundred Cherokees signed "The Treaty of New Echota." In the list of signatories were Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Stand Watie. With several amendments, which were approved by the Cherokee signers, the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate and announced as law by the President on May 23, 1836. By the terms of this document, the Cherokee Nation ceded its eastern territories and released all claims for damages, for the sum of \$5,000,000; it received in exchange guarantees to the western lands then partly occupied by Cherokees West, with the further stipulation that it should never become a part of another state or territory without Cherokee consent. The United States agreed to remove the Indians across the Mississippi, and to grant them a year's subsistence thereafter.³⁷

During the next three years John Ross and his Cherokee followers, and many white friends as well, set up a mighty complaint over the "fraudulent" treaty, the signing of which by a minority had violated every previous principle of Cherokee land cessions. But these protests were futile. Federal enrolling agents began to round up Cherokees for westward emigration, and appraisers commenced valuing Indian property. General John E. Wool and a force of United States soldiers were stationed in the ceded country with instructions to maintain order in the event of a Cherokee uprising. The Cherokees themselves were for the most part disappointed and confused by the new turn of events, and under the continued leadership of John Ross made little effort to get ready for a large-scale migration. A few went west in small bands, including the Ridge-Boudinot-Watie group, where they joined with the "Old Settlers West" in a party which was to offer further opposition to John Ross after 1838.³⁸

Effective removal of the majority of Cherokees to the western country did not begin until late in 1838; such was the power of John Ross's leadership, coupled with the confusion of state, federal, and Indian agencies operating simultaneously in the Cherokee Nation. For a time it appeared that favorable action might occur in Washington, so intensely was the Cherokee removal question debated. Ross and his friends were there on numerous occasions, presenting memorials and petitions to Congress and interviewing prominent people. But in the spring of 1838 the President ordered General Winfield Scott to the Cherokee Nation to supervise an enforced removal. Many Indians thereupon sub-

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mitted, and by mid-summer the total number removed since 1835 exceeded six thousand. Finally John Ross gave in. By authority of a Cherokee Council resolution, he suggested to General Scott that the Cherokee Nation assume the task of rounding up and dispatching the remaining Indians, at an estimated cost of \$65.88 per person. This request was granted, and final Cherokee removal began in late December, 1838.³⁹

The story of the Cherokees in the 1830's is a tragic one, featuring an uneven struggle between an ineffectual red minority and a powerful and determined white majority. In the inevitable defeat, the Cherokees lost lives, property, and territory. Their enforced westward trek in 1838-39 cost them nearly one-third of the population. Small wonder that it came to be known as the "Trail of Tears."⁴⁰ Left behind, hidden in the mountains, were a thousand of their countrymen whose eventual destination was to be a small reservation in western North Carolina. Also abandoned in Georgia were the remnants of a once-promising nation — houses, cabins, farms, ferries, schoolhouses, and here and there an occasional fragment of Sequoyan print.

The relics left by departing Cherokees are forceful reminders of the curious red-white amalgam which by 1830 was their peculiar culture. After centuries of gradual progress in a primitive state, the Indian was confronted with the white man as a disturbing influence. His menace brought Cherokees into closer relations with each other, put them into a diplomatic cross-fire, and exposed them to death and destruction. The peaceful ways of the trader and the traveller were temporarily reassuring; but as the Cherokee Indian began to absorb the white man's culture, fresh warfare in the late eighteenth century suddenly restored the tomahawk and the "rifle gun" to tragic importance.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw Cherokees and white men entering into a new relationship. With comparative peace assured for the frontier, overtures from a benevolent government in Washington and encouraging suggestions from white friends and half-breeds combined to beckon the Cherokees down the alluring road called "the white man's path." For a third of a century these Southern red men moved steadily toward the culture of the white men about them. Indians of initiative and energy improved their farms, and some became country gentlemen. A few built up thriving mercantile businesses, while others profited from ferries, toll-gates, and public-houses. Young mixed-

Cherokees of the Old South

blood progressives acquired power in the Cherokee government and became champions of a state patterned on that of the white men. Missionaries flocked in to bring Christianity and schooling.

In the midst of these developments Sequoyah introduced his syllabary, which became the most dynamic force in the social progress of his people. Within a decade thousands of Cherokees had utilized this valuable invention for their cultural improvement. A stimulated Indian government formed a constitutional republic, and, with missionary help, created a nationalistic press and newspaper. Cherokee journalists produced thousands of pages of bilingual print to hasten the enlightenment of their eager countrymen.

But by the 1830's the high tide of Eastern Cherokee social development was ebbing. At a moment of great promise for Indians moving impressively toward the white man's way of life, the white man himself obstructed that progress by thrusting the Cherokees out of their native lands. Expelled to a wild country, Cherokees faced harsh problems of reconstruction. Perhaps their best implements in this new crisis were the memories of remarkable progress in their eastern homelands.

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