“SOULS IN THE TREETOPS:” CHEROKEE WAR, MASCULINITY,

AND COMMUNITY, 1760-1820

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Susan Marie Abram

Certificate of Approval:

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|---|---|
| _____ | _____ |
| Kenneth W. Noe<br>Draughon Professor<br>History | Kathryn Holland Braund, Chair<br>Professor<br>History |
| _____ | _____ |
| Anthony G. Carey<br>Professor<br>History | Hilary E. Wyss<br>Associate Professor<br>English |

_____

George T. Flowers
Dean
Graduate School

# “SOULS IN THE TREETOPS:” CHEROKEE WAR, MASCULINITY, AND COMMUNITY, 1760-1820

Susan Marie Abram

A Dissertation

Submitted to

the Graduate Faculty of

Auburn University

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn University
August 10, 2009

"SOULS IN THE TREETOPS:" CHEROKEE WAR, MASCULINITY,

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Signature of Author

Date of Graduation_____ August 10, 2009_____

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

"SOULS IN THE TREETOPS:" CHEROKEE WAR, MASCULINITY,

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Doctor of Philosophy, August 10, 2009
(M.A., Western Carolina University, 2002)
(B.S., Western Carolina University, 2000)

268 Typed Pages

Directed by Kathryn Holland Braund

This dissertation focuses upon the rapid changes Cherokees underwent during the early national period in American history. They dealt with challenges that presented in a variety of ways but did not always agree upon strategy. Friction often led to dissent and even to voluntary removal. Cherokee men and the communities they served maintained many traditions while making tremendous adjustments in a new geopolitical world. Other scholars have ignored this important period in Cherokee history and its significance to their forced removal in 1838.

This study will explore this seeming contradiction using the lenses of war, masculinity, and community and by tracing the culture of war from 1760 to 1820. The Cherokee acceptance of a new governing structure will demonstrate how their leadership

transformed. Blood law, retribution by members for transgressions against the clan, had been the traditional method for dealing with social disorder. By 1809 this was no longer true. The more centralized National Council appointed warriors as lighthorse regulators to act in the capacity of judge, jury, and executioner. Their main duty was to punish lawless young men, Cherokee and white, who terrorized the area. Acceptable masculine actions now became government and communally sanctioned.

The military structure of the Cherokees continued its transformation during the Red Stick War of 1813-1814. After suppressing a challenge from prophets preaching the return to a traditional lifestyle, Cherokees became American allies and further adapted their military structure. Many aspects of their war culture remained, such as those dealing with passage into manhood, communal support, and military methods. Yet Cherokees fought in organized companies with American military ranks.

Beginning in 1816, two years after the war's end, dissent again occurred. But this time it was Cherokee headmen, veterans of the recent war, who disagreed on how to resist American insistence on more land cessions. Many headmen voluntarily moved their communities west to Indian Territory. This method for dealing with dissention would continue to make the Cherokees vulnerable to the changing federal Indian policy that began to favor removal of all Indians to west of the Mississippi River. In addition, tensions grew between the United States and the Cherokees as veteran headmen demanded federal aid for their disabled warriors and widows from the war. As the young veterans in the east forged a centralized national government, the Cherokees became a divided and vulnerable people.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank her dissertation chair Kathryn Holland Braund and the rest of the advisory committee for their kind and wise guidance, comments, and support. I would also like to acknowledge the various archivists and librarians of the many facilities important in the creation of this dissertation. And last but not least, a heart-felt thanks and outpouring of love to my wonderful and supportive husband, R. Michael Abram, M.D., and to the rest of my family who have always been my joy.

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# Introduction

This study explores the transformation of Cherokee society and leadership during the early national period by using the intertwined lenses of war, masculinity, and military renovations. In the years following the American Revolution, veteran head warriors emerged as the leaders of the developing Cherokee republic. The younger generation, cut off from advancement through warfare, expressed their manhood by flouting the increasingly centralized Cherokee authority and joined lawless marauding gangs that wreaked havoc throughout the backcountry. In response the new ruling body of the Cherokee people, the National Council, established a paramilitary unit, the lighthorse, to control these disorderly young men, as well as to halt white intruders. These tribally sanctioned regulators reflect the extreme changes in Cherokee law enforcement as the leaders abolished clan authority.

Those Cherokee in a position of authority embraced the civilizing policy of the American government. They also rejected all challengers who sought private gain or resisted accommodation. Cherokee leadership removed dissenters by various methods, including the discrediting of prophets or by assassinating political rivals.

The Cherokee decision to go to war in 1813 as American allies against the Red Stick Creeks is a pivotal event in the transformation of their society prior to the removal era. It is also the most blatantly disregarded by scholars of the early republic. In addition

to overlooking the importance of the Creek War of 1813-1814 in this Cherokee transformation, histories of the war provide only scanty coverage of Cherokee actions at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. This study will examine the motivation of Cherokee warriors, who joined the United States military campaign, and the significance they placed on their participation. In addition, this study demonstrates how the Cherokees sought to embrace the American civilization policy by adapting their traditional perception of warrior to meet the expectations and demands of their American allies. By doing so, the Cherokees hoped that their service would stand as a testament to their fidelity and their commitment to the civilization program. Hence this study reveals how their military presence in the Creek War both encouraged and reflected changes in the larger Cherokee society and its leadership.

Cherokees greatly contributed to the American victory in the Red Stick Creek War. Most historians, unfortunately, have belittled or even ignored their involvement as American allies, leaving several important questions unaddressed. This dissertation will thus also examine the motivation of Cherokee warriors, who joined the United States military campaign, and the significance they placed on their participation. What did the Cherokees' military participation represent? Why did individual Cherokee men choose to fight? How did this joint venture with the United States forge future Cherokee leaders? How did this leadership meet its obligations to its veterans and their communities after the war as they fought for their right to exist as a sovereign nation?

R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead note that:

> States have difficulty dealing with peoples without authoritative leaders and with constantly changing group identity and membership. All expanding

> states seek to identify and elevate friendly leaders. They are given titles, emblems, and active political and military support. . . At the same time, however, a leader must exist within the constraints of local social organization. . . . The kind of authority that actually emerges also depends on the prior political organization of the native people and the nature of the contact process.[1]

Accordingly, they argue, war is a primary expression of a relationship between a state presence, in this case the United States, and an "indigenous" group, such as the Cherokees, that can occur as they ally to fight against another tribal group. Ferguson and Whitehead add that such an alliance results when one tribe responds "to their own perceived interests in the changing circumstances" of their geopolitical space, thus "indigenous warfare in proximity to an expanding state is probably related to that intrusion."[2]

Russell Thornton strongly contends that changes in the Cherokee political institution resulted in revitalization efforts by those who felt that acculturation "threatened their own view of Cherokee society" in the nineteenth century. So, notes Thornton, both progressives and conservatives "tended to combine both old and new practices," and thus both "continuity and change" existed. Some view such a situation the process of accommodation.[3]

Other scholars describe the Creek War as an appendage of the War of 1812 with Great Britain. Frank Akers maintains that the American campaign against the Red Sticks was "scarcely more than a series of raids" until the ultimate engagement in March 1814. He focuses on how the war provided support to the founding fathers's "system for

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[1] R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, ed. R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: NM: School of American Research Press, 1992), 13.

[2] Ferguson and Whitehead, *War in the Tribal Zone*, 18, 27.

[3] Russell Thornton, "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees," *Journal of Ethnohistory* 40 (Summer 1993): 376.

national defense," which they painstakingly forged for the young republic. The United States did not rely upon a standing army but upon state and territorial militias. "Down the Coosa" is an accurate account of Andrew Jackson's military thrust that eventually broke the Red Stick resistance at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Akers, however, ignores the role of the Cherokees in effecting this accomplishment.[4]

Like many authors of Cherokee studies, Jonathan Scott Turner does consider the early nineteenth-century Cherokees a "civilized" tribe "well on their way to assimilating to white culture." He contends that the outcome of the war "irrevocably changed" the frontier and thus America's history. His goal, which he successfully accomplishes, is not only to discuss the events from an American perspective but also from a Creek viewpoint. He does not forget the Cherokees in his discussion, but he does so only superficially. He notably fails to recognize Cherokee participation other than to casually append their numbers to Jackson's troops. There is little forthcoming detail except for a slightly better accounting of their more familiar role during the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. In his summary of the value of Cherokee aid to Jackson, Turner cynically states that the "Cherokees did not save the day for Jackson," but he does grudgingly admit that "they did enable Jackson's trap to close completely."[5]

Frank L. Owsley Jr. skillfully weaves the Red Stick War into the larger War of 1812. He emphasizes how the successful war in the southeastern theatre against the Red Sticks and the later critical Gulf Coast battle at New Orleans brought the future president,

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[4] Frank H. Akers Jr., "The Unexpected Challenge: The Creek War of 1813-1814" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1975), 204-40, 247-48. Akers provides a nice bibliography of secondary sources up to 1975 that dealt with the War of 1812 and the Creek War. See Akers, 251-53. They are not listed here because of their emphasis on aspects not related to the Cherokees' involvement. See, also, Akers, 234, for his scant recognition that 500 Cherokees were at Horseshoe Bend with Jackson's army.

[5] Jonathan Scott Turner, "Horseshoe Bend: Epic Battle on the Southern Frontier" (M.A. Thesis, Georgia Southern University, 1996), 1, 71, 74-75, 77, 81-82, 115-19, 138-39.

Andrew Jackson, to America's attention.[6] Owsley's book successfully serves to update and clarify information that classic authors of frontier history, such as Albert James Pickett, J.F.H. Claiborne, and Henry Halbert and Timothy Ball had written approximately eighty years earlier.[7]

Robert S. Cotterill's classic *The Southern Indians* remains one of the best overall treatments of the events that led to the Indian removals of the 1830s. He devotes a specific chapter to the Creek War and summarily discusses the roles of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws in the hostilities. Recognizing that the conflict began as a civil war among Creek factions, the author competently expands upon the skirmishes and battles that culminated at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River. Yet Cotterill also claims that "there are many indications that the full-blood Cherokees were . . . apathetic to the war," particularly referring to warriors[8] It is evident that he did not check Cherokee muster rolls which indisputably disprove this notion. Cotterill also fails to provide any details about specific engagements in which the Cherokees fought other than to casually mention their presence.

Other studies specifically focus on the well-documented Battle of Horseshoe Bend, either barely mentioning the other battles of the Red Stick War or entirely bypassing them. One of the old standards is C. J. Coley's "The Battle of Horseshoe

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[6] Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 1-4.

[7] See also, Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama: And Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period* (Charleston, SC: Walker & James, 1851; reprint, Montgomery, AL: River City Publishing, 2003); John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State: With Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, MS: Power & Barksdale, 1880; reprint, Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1978); and Henry S. Halbert and Timothy H. Ball, *Creek War of 1813 and 1814*, ed. Frank L. Owsley Jr., Southern Historical Publications, no. 15 (Montgomery, AL: White, Woodruff, & Fowler, 1895; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1969).

[8] Robert Spencer Cotterill, *Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 38 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 186-87.

Bend." Written in 1952, this short essay discusses the battle while concentrating on its white heroes, men such as General John Coffee, Ensign Sam Houston, Major Lemuel Montgomery, and, of course, Jackson. Coley claims that, "The battle of Horseshoe Bend is important in the annals of American History because it ended the Creek War. And because of the famous Americans who participated." To his credit, he renders some justice to the Indians by mentioning the famous Shawnee Tecumseh, who journeyed into Creek country seeking allies, and Menawa, a Red Stick leader who survived the famous battle. Unfortunately, Coley misinforms his readers that the gallant frontiersman David Crocket participated in the battle, although he did serve in the war both earlier and later. As for the Cherokees at the battle, he limits their presence to two sentences; they swam the Tallapoosa River for canoes and fired the Red Stick village to create a diversion so Jackson could make his frontal attack.[9]

Sixteen years later, James W. Holland told a similar if more extensive story of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend through an Americentric lens. Calling the Creek War "America's forgotten war," he stresses that the "big story of Horseshoe Bend" forged the career of a future American president, Andrew Jackson. Holland, however, provides more information about the origins of the war and its various conflicts prior to the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, including the actions of the Georgia and Mississippi militias besides those of Jackson's Tennesseans. He acknowledges that the conflict began as a Creek civil war and discusses several important Red Sticks, including Peter McQueen, William Weatherford, Josiah Francis, Menewa, and High Head Jim. His references to any Cherokee contributions during the war are vague and casual, however, and he hardly

[9] C. Jack Coley, "The Battle of Horseshoe Bend," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 14 (January 1952): 129-34.

mentions their role in guarding forts and only occasionally alludes to their presence at some of the military engagements prior to Horseshoe Bend. Holland's treatment of that crucial battle does some justice to the Cherokees, who serve under the white officer, Colonel Gideon Morgan, as he succinctly describes their assault on the rear of the fortified Red Stick encampment and subsequent procurement of prisoners.[10]

A leading biographer of Andrew Jackson, Robert Remini, almost completely ignored the part of the Cherokees in the Red Stick War in his two chapters devoted to the war in *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*. He was oblivious to their role in any battles except at Horseshoe Bend. He ascribed the Cherokee rear guard assault against the Red Sticks as a minor diversion and incorrectly assumed that they attacked under General John Coffee's orders.[11] Almost twenty-five years later Remini provides only a slightly more accurate although sparse depiction. In *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars*, he accurately declares that, "without warning and apparently without specific orders" the Cherokee warriors "gave Jackson the diversion he needed."[12]

In a recent study commissioned by the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Kathryn H. Braund compiled source materials that specifically pertain to the battle and reflect the Creek experience.[13] Though rich in materials concerning the Creek civil war that culminated at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, little of it adds to any discussion of the Cherokees, as this was not its intended purpose.

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[10] James W. Holland, "Andrew Jackson and the Creek War: Victory at the Horseshoe," *Alabama Review* 21 (October 1968): 243, 260-21, 265.

[11] Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire 1767-1821*, 3 vols. (NY: Harper & Row, 1977), 1:214-15.

[12] Remini, *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars* (NY: Viking Penguin, 2001), 76.

[13] Kathryn H. Braund, "Warriors and Society in the Creek War and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend," Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Special History Study, Daviston, AL (2003).

Numerous authors of Cherokee studies also have failed to examine how the Red Stick War played a part in shaping Cherokee history. No study is specifically devoted to it, leaving a void in our understanding of the Cherokees within the larger disciplines of southern and U.S. history. Some authors have incorporated notable discussion within their monographs. For instance, one of the best treatments of the Cherokee role in the war appears in William G. McLoughlin's *Cherokee Renascence*. In this important study he devotes a chapter to the Creek War and provides an outline of Cherokee actions under Jackson during their military alliance with the United States.[14] Yet he merely uses this discussion to springboard into an exploration of the division shortly after the war between those Cherokees who voluntarily emigrated west and the nationalists who stayed behind to resist the growing American sentiment that favored the idea of Indian removal in the nascent Jacksonian Age. According to McLoughlin, this division was between class and race lines—pitting wealthy Cherokee mixed-blood accommodationists against poorer Cherokee traditionalists.

Similarly, Thurman Wilkins takes a sympathetic look at an even later political fracture between leading Cherokee nationalists, Major Ridge and John Ross, during the removal crisis. Major Ridge and his few supporters signed an unauthorized treaty with the United States government in 1835, which ceded all eastern Cherokee land in exchange for land in the western Indian Territory. Principal Chief Ross and the majority of the Cherokee Nation adamantly refused to acknowledge the Treaty Party's illicit actions and legally fought removal all the way through the U.S. Supreme Court. Decidedly sympathetic to the Ridge perspective, Wilkins does pay tribute to Major Ridge

[14] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 186-205.

and other Cherokee warriors in a chapter covering the Creek War.[15] The author acknowledges that both Ridge and Ross served well at this time, which resulted in their firm establishment as Cherokee public servants in the post-war period.

Gary Moulton's seminal study of John Ross's life includes some discussion of his role as adjutant for the Cherokee troops during the Creek War and as a business partner of one of the sons of Cherokee Indian Agent Return Jonathan Meigs. Moulton declares that Ross earned his wealth from the lucrative government contracts that the business procured during the war. He also provides a somewhat more detailed account of the Cherokee role in the war by incorporating their attack against the Red Stick Hillabee towns and Cherokee warrior The Whale's heroic crossing of the Tallapoosa River at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.[16]

Even more complete is the study documenting the Cherokee participation in the Red Stick War that appears in *Jackson's White Plumes* by Charlotte Adams Hood. Published over a decade ago, it received only limited distribution. It concentrates on the Cherokee families who lived in present-day northeastern Alabama, including prominent figures during the Red Stick War such as Richard Brown, John Ross, and Richard Fields. Hood more thoroughly depicts the Cherokees in the various engagements of the war than the others, although she too essentially skims the surface.[17]

In his examination of modern Native American warfare, Tom Holm makes the distinction between Euro-American style warfare and that of American Indians. While

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[15] Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, Civilization of the American Indian, vol. 169, 2nd ed. rvs. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 52-80.

[16] Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 8, 10-12.

[17] Charlotte Adams Hood, *Jackson's White Plumes* (Bay Minette, AL: Lavender Publishing, 1995).

societies of European extraction fought for political and economic gains, Holm persuasively maintains that American Indian groups attach a strong physical and spiritual component to their conduct as avengers in war. This functions to empower and increase tribal identity. Too, besides acting to strengthen communal and tribal solidarity, warfare prepared future political and civil leaders. War deeds and acts of valor provided stepping stones for young males to become accomplished men.[18] As William Broyles Jr. emphasized, warfare provided the "ultimate feeling of liberation and the greatest expression of being a male."[19]

This study also will explore the transformation of Cherokee males into warrior/soldiers allied to the United States, their former enemy. As Holm noted, the "militarization of entire communities . . . brought about new alliances and the appearance of completely new militarized groups among both the indigenous and colonizing peoples."[20] An example of this is the Cherokee reorganization of their war structure to complement that of the United States military. This action represented not assimilation but rather demonstrated a resilience of Cherokee tradition with the innovative versatility to meet the challenges arising from their rapidly changing geopolitical world. Although Cherokee military structure now seemed to mirror that of American troops, the Cherokee warriors and their leadership continued to honor the war traditions of their ancestors. The Cherokee officers represented the ancient "red" war leadership as they concurrently

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[18] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts Wounded Souls: Native American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 9, 21-23.

[19] William Broyles Jr., "Why Men Love War," *The Vietnam Reader*, ed. Walter Capps (NY: Routledge, 1990): 68-81.

[20] Tom Holm, "American Indian Warfare: The Cycle of Conflict and the Militarization of Native North America," *A Companion to American Indian History*, ed. Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Melden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 164.

balanced the diplomatic and martial skills necessary to serve under the command of the U.S. military.

The Cherokee war organization continued its traditional holistic connection with the Cherokee communities. Defense, honor, glory, and masculine expression, all of which could result in elevation in status or rank, remained a vital part of a Cherokee warrior's psychological motivation. As was customary, Cherokee males used the Red Stick War to become men by proving themselves capable warriors and fulfilling their masculine duty by protecting their families, clans, and tribe, while earning the esteem of community and peers.

War leaders also stepped into civil leadership positions at the war's conclusion. Virtually surrounded by an unsympathetic white nation, tribal elders placed their trust in the now veteran warriors and sought their more youthful enthusiastic energy and guidance to now wage a political war to maintain Cherokee sovereignty. This new generation of leaders had not only proven themselves on the battlefield, they had earned the respect of their white officers, having adeptly served as liaisons between the two cultures. Warrior-soldiers became the new embodiment of leadership to represent the Cherokee people, who trusted them to deal with the myriad of crises which presented after the war. That would eventually lead to their unsuccessful attempt to prevent the forced removal. Could they, like one of the sacred formulas that Cherokees recited to protect them from danger, keep the people's souls safely above the treetops? Or would the continued onslaught of white pressure prove too much and their souls would be vulnerable targets for their previous white allies who coveted their land?

In conclusion, this dissertation will amend the lack of knowledge that exists in the history of the Cherokees and the Red Stick War. Hopefully subsequent studies will further augment our knowledge of how the changes in the Cherokee military structure supported the ensuing deliberate passing of the Cherokee civil leadership to a younger generation. These capable warrior-diplomats contributed to shaping the important period of Cherokee history that led to the sustained fight against removal in the 1830s.

In a distinctly ethnohistorical approach, Heidi M. Altman and Thomas N. Belt suggest using a Cherokee lens to evaluate events, which is what this dissertation will do. They craft their argument in a dialogue about the Cherokee worldview of history, or *kanohesgi*. They explain that Cherokee speakers call the process of "examining or reading the past" *agoliye*.[21] In order to understand this process, readers must grasp that Cherokees can and often view the past as a distinctive part of their present. Such a perspective is possible through spiritual connections maintained with ancestors who perpetually exist as a part of a Cherokee's present self.

Equally important, according to Altman and Belt, is the concept that the Cherokee world continually "seeks to balance or compensate between the actions, needs, and desires of individuals and what is necessary for the survival and efflorescence of communities."[22] Hence *agoliye* is a pertinent process to understand when writing about Cherokee history. As this ethnohistoric study will demonstrate, though the severity of the Cherokee removal eclipsed all challenges and traumas to the Cherokee people, the events leading up to this horrible time are integral to it and should not be extricated from it.

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[21] Heidi M. Altman and Thomas N. Belt, "Reading History: Cherokee History through a Cherokee Lens," *Native South* 1 (2008): 93.

[22] Altman and Belt, "Reading History," 95.

Disappointedly, scholars have devoted very little attention to Cherokee actions during this pre-removal era of emergent Cherokee nation building—something that this dissertation will begin to rectify.

This dissertation's chapters revolve around the Cherokee participation in the Red Stick War of 1813-1814. Chapter One explores the traditional war culture of Cherokee warriors and their communities since 1760 by utilizing the holistic ethnohistorical approach. It also considers the myths, legends, and sacred formulas as integral to the understanding of Cherokee masculinity and warfare. Therefore, it will discuss traditional beliefs that laid the foundation for ancient Cherokee military structure.

Chapter Two delves into the changes the Cherokees made within their military structure during an extended conflict with advancing white settlements during the era of the American Revolution. This also reveals the Cherokee practice of withdrawal in cases of dissension between towns or factions. The Chickamauga Cherokee separation from the Upper Towns to create the Five Lower Towns in the 1770s is such an example. Though culturally acceptable, this action resulted in a devastating extended period of war for the entire tribe when Americans did not recognize them as a separate entity. In the third chapter, the focus shifts forward in time to explain the internal and external forces that contributed to the changes within Cherokee society. One important change was the lighthorse. Its regulators supported an increasingly centralized tribal government, which strove to protect its authority in the wake of challenges from young, unruly men who no longer had warfare as a vehicle to pass into manhood. It also examines this change from a cultural standpoint, as keeping the social order was no longer the traditional obligation of the kinsmen of a clan.

The fourth chapter scrutinizes the events leading to the Cherokee decision to go to war against the Red Stick Creeks alongside their past enemies, the Americans. This chapter also discusses the challenges made to the authority of this secular Cherokee governing body by prophets hoping to lead a movement of revitalization of the old ways. This leads to an examination of the Pan-Indian movement led by the Shawnee Tecumseh and his brother Tenswatawa and their journey south to garner support.

Chapter Five elucidates Cherokee warrior participation in the northern theater of the Red Stick War while under the American military leadership of General Andrew Jackson. This chapter encompasses the military engagements that end with the ultimate battle at Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814. It also examines the differences from and the similarities to the traditional conduct of war. This includes the importance of the taking of captives, the masculine actions of warfare, and communal support.

Lastly, Chapter Six follows the Cherokees through the hardships that the war had placed upon them—famine, property destruction, and land cessions. It reveals the transformation of the Cherokee war leader into the Cherokee diplomat as a younger generation of veteran warriors assumes civil leadership. These headmen now must fight a new type of war while facing dissension in their own ranks over the best way to deal with national and communal problems.

The concluding chapter leaves readers in the decade prior to the forced removal of the Cherokees from their eastern homeland to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. The energetic Cherokee leadership, veterans of the Red Stick War, seeks to protect the nation's land base, stop the wave of voluntary emigration west, and advocate

for the care of its wounded veterans—all while waging another battle, a diplomatic one, against forced removal.

## Chapter One

## The Beloved Occupation: Warfare, Gender, and Community

War was the "principal study" or "beloved occupation" of Cherokee men.[1] As John Phillip Reid observed, "warfare to the Cherokees was a business, a grim, dangerous, exciting business so important to their way of life that its mores and values dominated their culture."[2] Indeed, the Cherokee "beloved occupation" was a complex institution with gendered expectations and values that promoted leadership, brotherhood, communal solidarity, and validated gender. Virtually without exception, Cherokee men and women, at one time or another, participated in a culture of warfare as an integral part of their lives, whether as warriors scalping enemies and dancing in celebration or as women expressing feminine power through the ritualistic torture of prisoners. War, with its fundamental role in shaping Cherokee culture over time, was an important historical process through which selective cultural adaptation and identity formation occurred. Historians' historical and ethnographic knowledge of early Cherokee war culture is revealing but at the same time sketchy and vague. Even though the record is incomplete, one thing is certain: warfare was not merely a culture of barbaric violence. Instead warfare was an institution that expressed spiritual power, honor, and communal and clan

[1] William Fyffe to Brother John, 1 February 1761, Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, OK; John Phillip Reid, *Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 186.

[2] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 185.

values.[3] Cherokee warrior culture reflected many of the beliefs, values, and traditions of the society. The towns and tribes throughout the southeast were both perpetrators of and victims of violent actions. Warfare touched the lives of everyone. Cherokee warrior deeds, as well as those entered into by the entire community, represented sacred gendered acts designed to protect the people and the honor of the seven clans.[4] It was a part of the larger Cherokee belief system based on models sanctioned by sacred myths. Most Cherokee men chose to earn and express their manhood through warfare.[5] Brian Kroeber and Bernard L. Fontana argued that the "single factor common to all warfare . . . [is that] the conduct of war is quintessentially a male occupation."[6] It was the most dangerous yet most rapid path to achieve recognition of manhood and to become a worthy community member.

Warfare is not an entity separate from a society's other institutions or its value system. As Anthony C. F. Wallace posited, the process of making war takes on the "psychological attitudes and feelings" of a particular society and not as just an expression

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[3] Greg O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), xxi-xxvii, defines spiritual power as that possessed by "certain animate and inanimate beings" and "for people to gain access to such power, they had to become part of that power" by tapping "into spiritual forces in order to acquire power."

[4] O'Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age*, 27-49, offers a study on "Warriors, Warfare, and Male Power," which discusses how warfare played a powerful role in shaping Choctaw culture and includes some discussion of its sacred connections to masculinity.

[5] Other activities connected to or that expressed war-like actions that allowed Cherokee men to display their masculine competence included stickball and hunting. William Anderson, Anne Rogers, and Jane Brown, eds., John Howard Payne Papers 6 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, in press), 4:75 (transcription taken from John Howard Payne Papers, 4:82, Newberry Library, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Chicago). Hereafter cited as Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," with reference to original microfilm pagination in parenthesis. I want to especially thank the editors of this forthcoming publication for access and permission to use their transcription.

[6] Clifton B. Kroeber and Bernard L. Fontana, *Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origins of War* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 164. Apparently, there was the occasional woman warrior, but this was certainly the exception and not the rule.

of "innate aggression."[7] Cherokee warrior culture reflected many of the beliefs, values, and traditions of the society. The towns and tribes throughout the southeast were both perpetrators of and victims of violent actions. Warfare touched the lives of everyone. Cherokee warrior deeds, as well as those entered into by the entire community, represented sacred gendered acts designed to protect the people and the honor of the seven clans. It was a part of the larger Cherokee belief system based on models sanctioned by sacred myths.

Cherokee society maintained mostly separate masculine and feminine spheres so it has been easy to overlook the role of the community in war and how its corporate behavior contributed to validating Cherokee warrior masculinity. The sacred myth of the first man and woman, Kanati and Selu, established a gendered division of labor.[8] Yet this sacred narrative denotes a much more complex model than just separating female farmers and male hunters in their work roles.

Deeper examination reveals that the shedding or spilling of blood in this story symbolized gendered acts of spiritual power. Kanati's role as male provider lay in his ability to call game animals up from a deep cavern where he slew them, spilling their blood to provide meat for his family. His two sons felt equal to their proficient father and attempted to do the same, but their rashness and lack of experience only led to disaster, the escape of all animals into the forest. Kanati declared that the boys thereafter must

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[7] Kroeber and Fontana, *Massacre on the Gila*, 152, 161.

[8] Selu provided corn and beans, while Kanati provided game for their two sons. One son was naturally born, while the other, the Wild Boy, appeared from some venison blood that Selu washed in the river. Wild Boy, possessing magical powers, instigated many adventures for the two brothers. James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 19th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington: GPO, 1900), 242-48. Mooney recorded this myth from the Cherokee tradition keepers, Swimmer, John Ax, and James Wafford.

hunt and kill to provide for their families. This sacred myth thus ordained Cherokee males as the spillers of blood—takers of life.

Females also shed blood, from their own bodies, an act connected with giving life. Within the story, Selu's sons decided to kill her, believing her a sorceress. Nevertheless, she gave them ritual knowledge to transform the creative power from her shed blood into corn, the Cherokee staff of life.[9] Their spilling of blood and act of killing brought the supernatural force of their father against the boys, but they survived.

This myth also contains several references to war symbolism. Kanati notably unsuccessfully sought to avenge his wife's death.[10] The boys prevailed, proclaiming, "We are great men!"[11] This story ordained that young Cherokee men could kill and still survive spiritual repercussions. Thus the act of spilling blood belonged within the male sphere and was spiritually sanctioned through their sacred myths.[12]

War culture thus possessed a spiritual facet. For the most part, this aspect of warfare and its affects on Cherokee society as depicted in eighteenth and nineteenth-century accounts reveals a partial picture of warrior culture. Though written by outsiders,

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[9] Corn will not grow throughout the year because the youths failed to follow her exact prescription, demonstrating the inappropriateness of males as nurturers of the gardens. Mooney, *Myths*, 245.

[10] Mooney, *Myths*, 245. He sent his allies, the Wolves, to "play ball against" his sons. In Cherokee culture, the Wolf Clan supplied many war chiefs and prominent warriors. Kanati's reference to the ball game, or "Little Brother of War," acknowledged to the Wolves that they were to avenge the spilling of Selu's blood. When the Wolves failed, Kanati arranged another unsuccessful confrontation with a panther, another Cherokee war symbol.

[11] In one instance, Kanati sent them to a tribe of cannibals, but Wild Boy used his magic powers to help them escape. This myth also explains the internal dynamics between the older and younger male generations and the generational division between the Cherokee civil or white government, governed by past warriors, and the war or red government, led by younger more virulent warriors. Just as Kanati was unable to check the youthful recklessness of his sons, often the civil leaders of Cherokee towns, usually the Beloved Men, often retired warriors known for their caution and cool heads, failed to keep the young warriors in check. Mooney, *Myths*, 247.

[12] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 35-36.

such as Indian traders, missionaries, soldiers, and travelers, these records provide a glimpse of individual and communal warfare actions over time. Although some of these accounts may be inaccurate, Cherokee informants have corroborated a great deal.[13] Nevertheless, it is important to remember that not any one account totally expresses the complexities and variations of Cherokee war actions or rituals. Yet the essence of their belief of the importance of war and its gendered responsibilities within their society remains evident.

Cherokee youths grew up seeing many facets of warfare, and their elders easily inculcated them into its secular and sacred ways. Clan relatives often apprenticed a young boy to specialists. His training and esoteric instruction prepared him for success in life. Sometimes, a war priest chose a young man to indoctrinate in the spiritual aspects of war. The process ended with a purifying going-to-water ritual and a sacrifice of deer tongue and corn mush to the sacred fire.[14] The youth now waited for a chance to become a man by protecting the living and honoring the dead.

Geopolitical conflicts between the Cherokees and their neighbors provided ample prospects for Cherokee youths to pass into manhood. One observer noted that "nothing but war-songs and war-dances could please them, during this flattering period of

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[13] Payne used many Cherokee informants to gather his information as did Reverend Butrick, who contributed a great deal to Payne's knowledge. Butrick credited Thomas Smith or Shield Eater, Thomas Nu tsa wi, and Thomas Pridget with providing the vast amount. Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:262 (285).

[14] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:205 (215).Training, usually began around the age of eight or nine and included spiritual quests, rituals, such as sun gazing and fasting, and the transference of esoteric knowledge, especially regarding the use of the divining crystal. This object could foretell the outcome of events related to war and the fates of warriors under a priest's care. See also, Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 3:57-59 (42-46); 4:206-208 (215-16). Any sizzling meat that popped towards the boy indicated a shortened life. If it popped away from the youth, he would live for a long time. The choice of deer tongue and corn mush represented Selu and Kanati, and their Creator, epitomized by the sacred fire. The young man was a product of separate gendered providers. The offering representing both genders was, therefore, respectful and appropriate when asking for spiritual communion through the sacred fire.

becoming great warriors."[15] War rituals began with a call for volunteers by an esteemed warrior of great rank, since there was no centralized government during this time.[16]

Cherokee blood law required that the nearest male clan relation avenge or reconcile the "crying blood" of kin stolen into captivity or killed.[17] Clan honor was at stake, although such acts perpetrated by outsiders also became a communal responsibility. Should the avengers fail, their relative's ghost was doomed to never rest. It would remain nearby, leaving the community vulnerable to sickness or bad luck. This "kindred duty of retaliation," resulted in a cyclic process because there was "no [other] sure method to reconcile their differences," except via this time-honored perpetual process of give-and-take with their enemies.[18]

Ritual preparation began when the leader marched, sang war songs, beat his war drum, and called the men to gather. He sang one mourning song for those who might die in combat and for any community members killed by the enemy.[19] Next, he passionately made his case and invoked the symbol of the white paths, detailing how the enemy had "changed their beloved colour" by spilling the blood of kin, tainting the white path of friendship and peace with red and black, the colors of war.[20]

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[15] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 265.

[16] These fairly small war parties of 20-40 warriors usually gathered to retaliate for an enemy raid. Adair, *History*, 380; Henry Timberlake, *Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake* (London: J. Ridley, 1765; reprint, ed. Samuel Cole Williams, Marietta, GA: Continental Book Company, 1948), 113; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:59 (65). See, also, William H. Gilbert, "The Eastern Cherokees," Bulletin 133, Anthropological Papers, no. 23, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: GPO, 1943), 356-58, for a discussion of the white (peace) and red (war) town governments.

[17] Adair, *History*, 376.

[18] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 168; Adair, *History*, 186.

[19] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 3:61 (46), 4:103 (107), 213 (225), 406 (551).

[20] Red symbolized bravery, success in war, the blood of the enemy, and the clan. Black represented the fearlessness of the warrior and signified death and the Darkening Land in the west where souls went when the body died. James Mooney, *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, 19th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington: GPO, 1900), 342; John P. Brown, *Old*

> Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with *manly* [emphasis mine] cheerful hearts: he assures them . . . so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men.[21]

This call presented an opportunity to procure military titles, for "it is by scalps they get all their war-titles."[22] Thus war was not only a passage for Cherokee males into manhood, but a way to rise in warrior rank and to become great.

As geopolitical threats intensified with European colonization in the mid-eighteenth century, Cherokee councils became more than just town-by-town affairs. Larger, more organized war councils occasionally involved hundreds of men from many towns. Messengers ran from settlement to settlement carrying red sticks or red-painted tobacco to signify a military threat to all. At these relatively rare times, huge numbers of warriors turned out.[23]

The Cherokees held large war deliberations in the central town house. The Great Warrior, *A ska yv stu e qo*, addressed the gathering through his speaker:[24]

> I see you all here. You have turned your feet toward the darkness, . . . but it was not because I wished it. Let us consider however, that if we conquer our enemies it will be because God fights for us; and if we return in safety, it will be because God preserves us. Therefore put you trust in God. The light is his, and He can make it light about you.[25]

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*Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from the Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, 1938), 528.

[21] Adair, *History*, 193.

[22] Ibid., 186.

[23] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 175-77. Reid claims that although the entire nation was on alert, it was highly unusual for more than a geographic region or particular cluster of towns to be in a true state of war for any length of time. Many had different agendas and priorities when it came to martial affairs. He provides examples of large war expeditions of several hundred to a thousand warriors in the eighteenth century, such as the 500 Cherokees at the Battle of Taliwa in 1755 who drove the Creeks from northern Georgia. See also, John Norton, *Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, ed. Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, Publications of the Champlain Society 46 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970), 129.

[24] In Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:n. vi, they translate *A ska yv gv sta e ga* as "great war chief" or "man, who is noble and mighty."

[25] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:67 (70), 217 (226), 399 (535). Reverend Butrick's interpretation of this speech may use his own Christian language and may reflect the changing religious

The war chief had publicly declared at the time of his ritual induction into the office:[26]

> You have now put me in blood up to my knees. . . But if I hear the war whoop in my path, and see our enemies with warlike weapons in their hands, I will fight and subdue them, or die in the conflict. You have made me *A ska yv gv ste qa*, and I shall take care of my young warriors, and never engage in war without sufficient cause.[27]

With this, the war chief became an uncle to the younger warriors, linking his self to them as if by blood. They rushed towards the red war standard in an emotional display of support and began the war dance. Seven of the foremost warriors from each company of men presented their red war clubs before the sacred fire.

The war, or red, officials held prominent places within the male sphere and "were holy" when sanctified for their sacred duties. The foremost of these were the "captain of the host, or high priest for the wars," his "right hand man," who also acted as the Flag carrier or *U ta hi su ti*, and "his speaker." Seven warrior elders served as counsel or *Ka tu gi a ni gv sta* to these three officials. In times of national war, the leaders divided the warriors into four or seven companies, each with its own physician, a leader chosen from each clan (if seven companies), and a speaker entitled "*Hv wo nig v, li*."[28]

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beliefs of his Cherokee informants, many who converted to Christianity. Regardless, a divine connection is evident. In Ibid., 4:379 (533), 400 (539), Payne also recorded that the war priest directed his prayers "to an old person in the east, and an old star for aid" in addition to invoking "upon a very great man to shield them from their enemies."

[26] Gilbert, "Eastern Cherokees," 349-50, relates the ceremony inducting the Great Warrior to office.

[27] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:174-75 (182); 67 (70); 3:17 (12). This nineteenth-century account also has the war chief proclaiming that he will not war against women, children, or old men. Contrarily, earlier historical evidence indicates that this was not always the case but demonstrated changing sensibilities in the conduct of war. The keeper of the red flag of war then raised it atop the council house to announce that the town was in a state of war.

[28] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:184 (192), 101 (105), 109 (112), 170-71 (177-78), 211 (220), and 407-408 (552). This divinely blessed threesome had special abilities, including nocturnal sight, and the ability to fly or dive into the ground, and could also handle hot coals. Furthermore, the enemy could not hide from these men, nor would enemy bullets or arrows wound them. See also, 4:103 (107), 213

The volunteers sequestered themselves from the community and underwent fasting, purging, and going-to-water purification in preparation to fulfill their sacred duty. A portion of the going-to-water ritual involved divination with the *ulunsuti*, or the divining crystal. Crystals came in five sizes, each used for a different divining purpose. The largest they considered holy and reserved for war divination.[29] These divining objects, *tsulvsata*, "impl[y] that light or instruction comes through the stone."[30] At the first gathering of potential volunteers for war expeditions, the war priest conducted a divining session to predict each warrior's fate. If the future held failure for a warrior, the leader honorably discharged this person from martial participation.[31]

The leader and his right-hand man underwent even more rigorous purification than the rest, but all remained celibate during this period. Any sexual contact would ruin the sanctification process and jeopardize the safety and success of all the participating warriors. Thus, they severed contact with women for several days before leaving and upon their return.[32]

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(225). In n. xxix, the editors translate *Ka tv gi a* as "I am listening." For further discussion of the structure of each company, see 4:215 (225).

[29] See James Mooney, "The Cherokee River Cult," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 7 (Spring 1982): 30-36, for further discussion regarding going-to-water rituals involving the river, whose symbolic name was the Long Man (*Yû'nwĭ Gûnahíta*). The men imbibed a drink most likely containing yaupon holly, commonly known as the Black Drink, and induced emesis for purification purposes. Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 74; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 1:48 (57); 4:184 (192), 208-209 (219); 3:55 (42). Priests owned at least one of these crystals and tended to specialize by "looking into" matters relating to hunting, longevity (health, disease, and death), love, and to locate lost people or items. This talisman held the transformed power of the mythic creature *Uktena*, a supernatural, horned, giant rattlesnake with an enormous crystal protruding from its forehead. The Cherokees gained a powerful reward from its slaying when they gained the creature's common crystal scales and its great forehead crystal. Cherokees, who others consult for divining needs today, still use the phrase "look into" or "look into it" when agreeing to help clients.

[30] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:104 (107), 407 (552); 3:56 (42), 71 (53). *Tsulvsata* is the plural form of *ulvsata*, or light shining through. Cherokees called the crystal a man eater because of its dangerous power. Priests underwent special training to handle its power. Only holy men could harness their power or dare to touch one and fed it with the blood from enemy scalps.

[31] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:36-37 (32-36), 216 (226).

[32] Adair, *History*, 193, 196; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:36 (32), 68, (74), 40 (37); 104 (107), 397 (533); Alexander Longe, "A Small Postscript of ways and manners of the Indians called

Another sacred connection was the war fire ritual. When the warriors first gathered, the war leader kindled a new fire "to be their guide and helper in the war." The war leader recognized this special fire as the "principal chief," believing that he was merely serving as the war fire's right hand man. The men passed their weapons through the fire's smoke to sanctify them. Too, the priest offered a meat sacrifice to the fire and "prayed for instruction," watching for omens of success.[33] Before leaving on the war trail, the leader placed live coals into a red clay vessel set into a sacred ark. The war fire signified the party's worth. If it went out, the mission was doomed and so aborted. Cessation of the fire represented the withdrawal of divine blessing. Any attempt to continue could only end in disaster.[34]

Only the priest/war leader and his right-hand man could touch the holy chest and its sacred contents.[35] The medicine bundle contained numerous potent objects. Their presence could portend the success of the mission and required that all honor the

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Charikees," 1725, ed. David H. Corkran, *Southern Indian Studies* 21 (October 1969): 44-45. Longe claimed that the preparation and return rituals lasted four days. This really agrees with Adair, who claimed that the three days and nights did not count the day that the call went out. If this partial day is included, the count was four. Four was one of the sacred numbers of the Cherokees with seven being the other. Mooney, *Myths*, 431. Gilbert, "Eastern Cherokees," 355, mentioned that the amount of blood spilled determined the length of time for reintegration—the bloodier the battle, the longer the time necessary for up to twenty-four days.

[33] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:104 (107), 184 (192), 215 (226), 406-407 (551-52), 413 (563). Smoke represented the messenger, which carried prayers to the spirit world and the Upper World. David H. Corkran, "The Sacred Fire of the Cherokees," *Southern Indian Studies* 5 (October 1953): 22, mentioned how "fire bore prayers 'to the great man above."

[34] Longe, "A Small Postscript," 44; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:37 (36), 109 (112), 184 (192); Corkran, "Sacred Fire," 25.

[35] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 3:71 (53); 4:61 (65), 70 (75), 104 (107); Adair, *History*, 194. Only beloved women could construct vessels for the sacred chest; because at their advanced age, the fear of women's blood no longer existed. It was even taboo for women to touch men's weapons or their ball sticks. They moved to the menstrual hut during their moon time to prevent their presence from diminishing male power. Rather than thinking of female power as tainting or contaminating, a European interpretation, scholars should view it as a draining process. Explained through the legend of Stone Coat, the power of menstruating women's blood was so strong that it sucked the male power from the strongest supernatural being in the Cherokee cosmos. Cherokee males respected this show of strength and thereafter feared this aspect of female power.

interdictions associated with their care. If blessed, the warriors could fulfill the sacred mission by following all proscriptions and taboos. James Adair recounted a story about an incident between an outsider and the protector of a Cherokee war ark. Its keeper caught a profane stranger peering at its unwrapped contents and threatened to release an arrow at the curiosity-seeker if he did not retreat.[36] Such irreverence could doom the Cherokee mission, its members disgraced and humiliated or worse.

Many other things could cause the mission's termination. The war leader kept attuned for omens that portended disaster, especially dreams that presaged an ill outcome. Too, he was wary of young, inexperienced males, who might disregard prescribed taboos thereby jeopardizing the party's safety. To ignore signs or to behave inappropriately were direct breaches of the sacred. Any blessings previously bestowed could disappear, and illness, bad luck, or death might await the trespasser. If such indicators predicted doom and required turning away from a fight, this act did not adversely affect the Cherokee vision of masculine honor.[37]

Though omens might curtail a war party, it was not often the case. A war expedition sometimes lasted for weeks or months; the men traveling quickly and lightly.[38] Necessary items in a warrior's personal kit included a mirror for application of war paint, a gun or a bow, a shot pouch or quiver of arrows, knife, tomahawk, war club, and snakebite medicine. They journeyed over trails or down river by canoes in

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[36] Adair, *History*, 195. Also, see p. 502, n. 159, for further explanation of the 1756 Cherokee expedition to Ohio.

[37] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 178. Such actions, however, led some tribal enemies, colonists and, later, Americans to accuse Cherokee warriors of cowardice.

[38] Arlene Fradkin, *Cherokee Folk Zoology: The Animal World of a Native American People, 1700-1838* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 335; Adair, *History*, 77; Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 77-78; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:70-72 (75-78), 404-406 (547-49).

disciplined order. Many recited or sang protection formulas or prayers along the way.[39] These incantations were "to shield one from the ancient dangers of the trail—the enemy in ambuscade, wild beasts, and the unfriendly elements."[40] One such surviving *idi:gawé:sdi*, or formula, reads in part:[41]

> Listen! *Ha!* You have just come to hear, You Provider who rests Above.
> *Ha!* Now You have just come to place my feet upon the Brown Stone.
> *Ha!* Let them be keeping my fine attire out of sight.
> Listen! From the Sunland where You rest, You have just come to hear, Red Man.
> *Ha!* Arise now!
> *Ha!* He has just brought your soul as high as the treetops.[42]

In this prayer, the warrior/traveler invokes sacred assistance to become invisible to enemies. The Cherokees believed in seven levels to heaven or the top of the sky vault. The first level was at the treetops where, if he could place his soul, a warrior was impervious to bullets or arrows. He only became vulnerable if the enemy knew to aim up in the treetops to pierce the out-of-body soul in order to kill its earthly vessel.[43]

Another formula calls on Red Lightning to shield the soul and to diminish the mortal body as an enemy's target:

> Red Lightning!
> *Ha!* You will be holding my soul in Your clenched Hand.
> *Ha!* As high as the Red Treetops.
> *Ha!* My soul will be alive and moving over there.

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[39] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 84-85, 118, recorded that these poplar or pine canoes, thirty or forty feet long and two foot across, could carry fifteen or twenty men each. See also, Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:217 (229). Thomas Jefferson recalled one of the Great Warriors reciting such a protection formula before leaving on a trip to England. Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, June 11, 1812, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams*, ed. Lester J. Cappon, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 2:307.

[40] Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland: Magic of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1967), 43.

[41] The formulas used in this study are from those that already appear in print. Thus, they are dead, which means that the proper ritual would need to occur before they could be viable again.

[42] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 43, 45-46. These Cherokee authors interpret the Brown Stone as a divining stone. The Red Man from the Sunland, or east, represented Thunder, a ritualistic name for Kanati. The Provider was another name for the Great Creator.

[43] Mooney, *Myths*, 240, 394; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:97 (101), 361 (414).

*Ha!* It will be glimmering here below.
*Ha!* My body will become the size of a hair, the size of my shadow![44]

As the Cherokee warrior sought to protect his soul, he might also invoke Thunder's power to defeat his opponent:

*Da:hl(a)! Da:hl(a)! Da:hl(a)! Da:hl(a)!*
Now! Blue Lightning!
You have just come to slap the earth in front of the warring.
Now Thunder has just come to stamp in front of the Seven Clan Districts and the Seven Peoples.
Put their souls down upon the ground![45]

This call to Thunder and Blue Lightning brought an enemy's soul to earth where the Cherokee warrior could destroy it.[46] Some protection charms relate to meeting a rival:

From the White Mountains I originated:
I am a Little Man.
On White Pathways I am making my footprints: the Blue Ones cannot do it.
Let it be raining when they will be making their footprints in the Pathway.
In the very middle of the Pathway their souls have just come to be cut into slices![47]

In this prayer, the references to the color white signify a peaceful relationship between place, self, and others.[48] The rain wipes an enemy's unworthy footprints from the righteous path as their souls are "sliced," a spiritual action which results in the enemy's befuddlement.[49]

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[44] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 133.
[45] Ibid., 134.
[46] The night before a ballgame, women dance and stomp the ground to weaken the rival team. Similarly, warriors call Thunder to "stamp" enemy "souls down upon the ground." Frank G. Speck and Leonard Broom in collaboration with Will West Long, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951; 1983), 60, state that ball dance "analogies are martial and the entire performance corresponds with ancient rites of the war party."
[47] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 44-45.
[48] The White Mountains refer to the south, peace, relief from pain or disease, and longevity. The reference to the Little Man implies borrowing the power of the Little People, mythic beings invoked to help Cherokees in time of need. The Blue Ones signify enemies. Blue and yellow refer to the north, the Frigid Land, and represent despair and defeat.
[49] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 45.

This concept of spiritual warfare included ritual maiming. By disfiguring the physical body, the enemy became degraded and unworthy. This replicated the damage inflicted upon an opponent's soul. Scalping was a direct assault against the "soul of conscious life" that resided at the top of the head.[50] By preventing the enemy from reaching spiritual fulfillment, scalping allowed Cherokee men to prove their worth through martial success.

War paint, or *wodi*, and personal medicine of protection were other items with sacred war power. Cherokee soldiers took great pains to apply war paint before battle. Its most valued ingredient was hematite, the Brown Stone referred to earlier. Cherokees valued *wodi* because "one cannot shoot through stone," and it represented a transformation of an evil force into a positive power. The Cherokees had long ago defeated the evil supernatural Stone Coat, who then surrendered the *wodi* with instructions on how to properly use it to their benefit.[51] The keepers of this powerful medicine, probably members of the Red Paint or Paint Clan, the *Tsalagi Ani-Wodi Yunwiya*, then ritually bound the *wodi* with their own power and that of the four sacred directions and the Upper World.

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[50] John Witthoft, "Cherokee Beliefs Concerning Death," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 8 (Fall 1983): 68-69. Witthoft claimed that this soul was the seat of memory, self-consciousness, and personality. This soul became a ghost upon death. For further information on the history of scalping, see James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 37 (July 1980): 451-72. These scholars agree that "the scalplock possessed ancient religious meanings in most tribes."

[51] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 132. A sacred myth relates the story of a great supernatural wizard-cannibal, Stone Coat, whose skin repelled projectiles. Only the power of seven menstruating women could weaken him enough for the warriors to stake and set him afire. Stone Coat then gave over his songs for power and success in hunting, love, war, and medicine to the Cherokees. After the fire consumed him, the Cherokees found the Brown Stone in his ashes. In both Will West Long and Mooney's version, the people shared the *wodi*. In Mooney's version, the medicine man painted their faces and chests as each prayed for and received divine gifts of success in various endeavors. Long's version claimed that each man picked up a piece of stone and decided how he would excel. See Mooney, *Myths*, 320, and Speck and Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, 16. Also see, Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 340.

A revered painter also prepared the feathers worn by the war party by coloring them red, the color of blood and war. As they steeped in the dye pot containing specific plants, including one named "the Blood," he prayed "for a Divine influence to accompany the feathers" so the enemy's "strength might be taken away, and they rendered unable to fight."[52]

Though all omens might be favorable and powerful spiritual medicine accompanied them, the war party took other precautions to prevent detection. They counted on stealth and the ark's power to keep their mission secret until they were ready to strike. Warriors would even "crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves" to find an enemy.[53] The war party posted four experienced scouts with martial titles, the Raven, Owl, Wolf, and Fox, to prevent ambush and to locate the enemy. All communicated by mimicking the animals whose skins they wore.[54]

By linking themselves to the power of spirit animals, Cherokee warriors kept themselves open to receive communications from the animal kingdom. Bird chirps, especially those of the chickadee, alerted the men that enemies were near. Owls, considered evil omens or harbingers of death, being associated with evil conjuring and shape shifting, were sometimes helpful in warfare. Screech owl hoots heard off to either

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[52] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:258-60 (279-80). This ritual required fasting, praying, and the use of a holy fire and water.

[53] Adair, *History*, 84, 380-81.

[54] The Raven, the expedition's leader, served as point man. The Owl flanked the left side and the Wolf the right, while the Fox acted as rear-action guard. The "Payne Papers" have discrepancies concerning the title of Raven, representing it at various times as the great warrior, a scout, or the war priest's right-hand man. Regardless, it was one of the most prominent titles of rank in the Cherokee military structure. Warriors sometimes attached an eagle, raven, or hawk wing plume feather to their scalplocks. To this feather, they tied the tail feather of either an eagle or mountain hawk, which they had dyed red. These imparted sharp vision and strength to their wearers. Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:110 (112), 379 (463).

flank foretold victory. Cries repeatedly emanating from their front or rear spelled doom, and would turn a war party homeward.[55]

Usually the war party confronted an opposition force within foreign territory. If the element of surprise was lost, they hastily sought the best defensible ground. Parties often challenged one another with belittling insults, reminding each other of previous successful acts against one another and how they intended to avenge previous injuries. Throughout this taunting, each man prepared to fight and quickly applied his war paint. They might also hope to recite one more short, protective *idi:gawé:sdi*, calling on the sons of Kanati and Selu, the Thunder Boys, to shield them.[56]

War priests meanwhile used individual sanctified objects to protect the warriors. One recorded instance included such "congering [*sic*] implements" as medicine pouches filled with sacred war paint. They granted spiritual protection to their wearers, as the war priest/leader reminded the men "that not one of us could be shot for those things Would turn the Balls from us" and to "*fight like men* [emphasis mine] for nothing could hurt us."[57]

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[55] Fradkin, *Cherokee Folk Zoology*, 419; Longe, "Small Postscript," 44-47. Cherokee myths relate various times when the heeded warnings of the chickadee benefited the people. Some stories exposed the tufted titmouse as a liar, so the war party ignored this false prophet. See, also, Mooney, *Myths*, 285-86, 318-19.

[56] This challenge is reminiscent of that between ballplay teams. Ritual preparations, including pre-game dancing, increased the power of the players, while diminishing that of the opponent. Raymond David Fogelson, "The Cherokee Ball Game: A Study in Southeastern Ethnology (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1962): 55; Speck and Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, 58. This transfer of power was present in other aspects of Cherokee culture. For instance, Speck and Broom, in *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, 37, note that the booger dance ridiculed people outside of Cherokee society. By belittling their enemy or an unknown entity, even against the bringer of disease, Cherokees diffused the power of "the other" that might harm them. Fear fed the foreign entity's power, and so warriors consciously avoided any expression of it. Adair, *History*, 381; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 132-33.

[57] Colbey Chew to Henry Bouquet, "Report on Road," August 21, 1758, *Papers of Henry Bouquet: The Forbes Expedition*, ed. Sylvester K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard et al., 5 vols. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951), 2:402.

Other protective supplications called for the aid of supernatural spirits. One called upon the fearsome diamondback rattlesnake to "make a clash in the very middle of my body" to "let them be terrified of me!" In other verses, the warrior summoned the powerful Uketena, the Red Mountain Lion, the Blacksnake, and the Velvettail Rattlesnake to make him dreadful to his enemy.[58]

The warriors attacked the enemy when the war leader sounded the charge on his bone war whistle or gourd trumpet, while the war priest continued communing with the spirit world.[59] In the 1830s, Cherokee, Thomas Smith recalled stories of divine aid which sent hail "as large as a homony [*sic*] mortar" that "destroyed everything in their way" and "supposed that some of the old men have since been able to bring storms to their assistance in war."[60] More likely than not, the war priest, if circumstances allowed, worked with the war party's *ulvnsata*, harnessing the power of the horrific *Uktena*.[61]

The engagement was usually short-lived, as both parties emptied their guns straight away and flew into hand-to-hand combat. As comrades fell, the battle quickly turned to a search-and-rescue operation as the party attempted to keep their casualties from succumbing to the mutilating scalping knife of their enemies or enslavement or torture. At the same time, a push to retrieve the scalps from the heads of any fallen foe dominated the group's actions. They spared no body from mutilation through slashing or dismemberment if they could safely do so. Scalps were the treasured "trophies of

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[58] Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*, 134-36.
[59] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:40 (37), 69 (75), 170 (177).
[60] Ibid., 1:22-23 (26).
[61] Jack F. Kilpatrick and Anna G. Kilpatrick, *Friends of Thunder: Folktales of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Austin, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1964; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 45-46. In 1961, the Cherokee speaker *Yan'sa*, who was born in 1880, told the Kilpatricks the story of how the Cherokees still used the *Uk'tena's* scales to aid them in battle.

honour" that guaranteed war titles. As soon as it was expeditious, they stretched these over a small hoop and painted the interior flesh red.[62]

Not all engagements took place in the wilderness, and not all raids happened in this manner. War parties carefully chose settlements against which to launch surprise hit-and-run attacks, often to obtain prisoners. Cherokee warriors often targeted isolated women and young children working in the communal cornfields or otherwise unprotected and unsuspecting. They usually killed enemy warriors or took them captive for the purpose of humiliation before inflicting a tortuous ritualistic death. Sometimes Cherokees spared captives through either enslavement or adoption. Prisoners would not know their fate until they reached the Cherokee settlements. Community members would help to determine their fate.

Most multiple martial engagements were not part of a larger campaign. Once the party met its mission of vindication, there was no further need to prolong their journey. The leader's responsibility became to return his men to the safety of home for reintegration into society and to claim their honors and exhibit their successful completion of their sacred duty. If losses were high, the war leader returned in disgrace, and the town leaders demoted him. Stripped of his status, the stricken warrior began his path towards manhood once again. If the mission was successful, the company arrived just outside the town with much flourish and bravado, often announcing their presence

[62] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4, 425 (593); Adair, *History*, 183, 214, 382-83, Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 113. War parties buried their slain along the trail home and attempted to disguise the grave to prevent enemy desecration. If death occurred closer to home, they marked the grave with stones. Over the years, passing warriors added stones to the cairn to honor the fallen.

with gunfire and loud cries, while insulting and displaying captives. Notwithstanding this boisterous exhibition, the returning triumphant warriors could not yet enter the town.[63]

Because of their acts of violence and spilling of blood, the war party was careful not to bring any dangerous spiritual vengeance to their community. Remaining at a safe distance, the group once more underwent rituals of purification and sanctification, while following particular taboos.[64] The transformation of power was a serious business. Power existed in many forms, but that unleashed by the spilling of blood was one of the most dangerous. "Tradition," Adair noted, "dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war" and interpreted Cherokee actions of purification as meaning that they felt impure or polluted.[65] Many early observers of Southeastern Indian cultures have correlated this with their own concept of being dirty or tainted.[66] The problem went deeper. Warfare had not ended at the battle site—the act of spilling blood only marked the beginning of spiritual warfare, and the goal became to negate any enemy ghostly or spiritual powers.

Fire and water were vehicles through which to transform the unpredictable and dangerous power of spilled blood. Cherokee beliefs revolved around the constant maneuvering of power—with potential for its use for either good or evil. Cherokee

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[63] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4, 72-73 (78).

[64] Corkran, "Sacred Fire," 25-26. Corkran argued that the war fire "drove away the ghosts that lingered near weapons that had been dipped in enemy blood." The war party underwent four days of fasting, purging, going to water, and passing blooded weapons through the purifying smoke of the war fire.

[65] Adair, *History*, 383.

[66] For a thorough discussion rebuking this ethnocentric concept, see Mary C. Churchill, "The Oppositional Paradigm of Purity versus Pollution in Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians*," *American Quarterly*, Special Issue, "To Hear the Eagles Cry: Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality," pt. II: "Dialogical Relations," ed. Lee Irwin, 20:4 (Summer 1996): 563-93. Churchill concludes that Cherokee beliefs concerning purity and pollution are complementary rather than oppositional. This is consistent with the concept of power transformation.

society, as a rule, attempted to stop any evil abuse of power. If possible, most Cherokees sought to transform power into a positive energy, a light or bright force.[67]

Therefore, it made sense that those warriors who had recently invoked spiritual power in order to spill blood now sought to become "brightened." Power was potentially dangerous and could bring harm to the person or their loved ones. The war leader released this power with the help of the spirits of fire and water so they might rejoin Cherokee society. The war fire, created at the beginning of mission, was an entity to which the war priest offered a thanksgiving sacrifice upon the party's return.[68] With this last action, there was a need to control the war fire—to transform it. Therefore, at the end of the four days of rituals, the head warrior took the war fire to the council house and fed it to the sacred fire, where Ancient Red (the war fire) and Ancient White (the sacred fire) became one.[69] Or one could interpret this action as the ritualistic sacrifice of blood through war when fed to the sacred flames.

The reintegration process took place at the square-ground. Throughout these transformative days, all captives also remained outside the town. The warriors tied their prisoners to the red-painted war pole, which stood in the middle of the square-ground.

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[67] This type of power was associated with the color white. So, for instance, when Cherokees referred to the "bright chain of friendship" in diplomatic matters, they did not use the word "bright" lightly. The color white was associated with the south and represented peace, happiness, health, and longevity. The civil arm of traditional Cherokee town life revolved around the peace government or white seat, the white path, and the sacred fire, Ancient White. During times of peace, the town flew a white banner atop the council house. Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 342, 493-94.

[68] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:74 (79), 408 (553).

[69] Bartram observed the southeastern tribes "venerate fire" and "keep the Eternal Fire in the Great Rotunda, which is guarded by the priests." Kathryn E. Holland Braund and Gregory A. Waselkov, eds., *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 149; Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 359.

The fates of these unfortunate varied—enslavement, adoption, or torture ending in death, usually by fire.[70] The Cherokee community took an active part in this aspect of warfare.

Prisoners became war offerings to the women from their clan's warriors, who had acted on behalf of the clan's honor. Prisoners belonged to their captor until presented to the women or individual Cherokees. Apparently, there was no one method of determining the fate of captives but was often "left to passion, chance, and luck."[71] On occasion, captives filled the void left by a family member held hostage by an enemy. The Cherokee perception of slavery, though, was not yet comparable to that practiced in the European colonies. Since slaves were outside of the clan system, the Cherokees did not perceive them as one of the principal people but an *atsi nahsa'i*, a being without a clan. Some of these slaves led horrid existences, often receiving beatings. Others did not fare too badly, helping the women in the fields and at other chores. Male slaves lost their status as men when relegated to women's work.[72]

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[70] Bartram claimed that the Cherokees no longer used the war or slave posts, Braund and Waselkov, eds., *William Bartram*, 155. He assumed incorrectly. In 1776, Beloved Woman Nancy Ward spared one such prisoner, while leaving a male youth to die from the flames, at Toqua, an Overhill town that Bartram did not visit. See Reid, *Law of Blood*, 187-88 and John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee Up to the First Settlements Therein by the White People in the Year 1768*, Ed. Mary U. Rothrock (1823; reprint, Jackson, TN: Mercer Press, 1959), 278. Payne's informants claimed that the war party carried the red pole along with the ark during their journey, Anderson, "Payne Papers," 4: 37 (36); Adair, *History*, 383-84.

[71] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 130, 153, 189. For multiple examples of various prisoner experiences to support this statement, see Ibid., 187-95.

[72] Alan Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven, MA: Yale University Press, 2002), 338. Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540*-1866 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1979), 12, 14-15, 16. When the southern Indian slave trade was thriving, Cherokees sought captives to sell or exchange with colonial slave traders until the end of the trade in the early 1700s. This trade allowed the Cherokee warrior a material return and an elevated status. This ended after the Yamassee War altered colonial thinking regarding the value of Indian slaves. According to Perdue, *atsi nahsa'i* refers to any animate being owned by a Cherokee. Considered foreigners without privileges or a place within Cherokee society, their function was to work for their keeper, who had graciously allowed them to live. One cannot view this equation with work in the same light as the chattel slave system of the Euro-colonist. At this time, Cherokees did not keep slaves to amass surplus for economic gain.

Occasionally a Cherokee deemed that a slave held potential and offered protection and redemption through adoption. Sometimes an older, well-established warrior took a male prisoner under his wing. These opportunities were rare but did happen. The prisoner could prove himself by killing an enemy of the Cherokee people—he then became a person and a man. Upon returning to the town, the Cherokee warrior and his captive exchanged clothes and became brothers. At other times, warriors stepped in on behalf of a female relation to spare a prisoner's life. With adoption the ex-slave then became a Cherokee and a clansman.[73]

On occasion, a prisoner escaped to a sacred peace town, where no one could spill another's blood. If he ventured outside this refuge, he forfeited his life.[74] This was the exception rather than the rule. In most instances, a captive's life was not valued. Cherokee women who had lost husbands, brothers, and fathers in war, or children, sisters, or mothers stolen or killed in enemy raids, were not often in the mood to demonstrate kindness. They especially abused male slaves, if they allowed them to live at all. Women slaves sometimes married into Cherokee society, but that was not that common. The children produced from these unions were not members of one of the seven Cherokee clans unless adopted. Families did often adopt captive children to fill voids suffered from the loss of kin and raised them as Cherokees.

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[73] Timberlake, in *Memoirs*, 111, remembered that some white slaves accompanied their male Cherokee owners on hunting expeditions. Usually these men were young and considered controllable or redeemable by their captors. Samuel Cole Williams, ed., "Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy," *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928; reprint, Nashville: Blue and Gray Press, 1972), 152; John Frost, ed., "The Captivity of Jane Brown and her Family," *Heroic Women of the West: Comprising Thrilling Examples of Courage, Fortitude, Devotedness, and Self-Sacrifice among the Pioneer Mothers of the Western Country*, Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, 66 (Philadelphia: A. Hart, Late Carey & Hart, 1854; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 138; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 274, 361.

[74] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:59 (65); Adair, *History*, 192-93, 384.

Most captives were not this lucky, and the women sealed their fate by sentencing them to death by "fiery torture."[75] The torture and death by fire of an older enemy warrior was a particularly prized spectacle for the entire community. There was immense satisfaction in the dispensing of such a distinguished foe, a man most likely responsible for the loss of their own relatives throughout the years. After a brutally cruel torture, the captive succumbed, and the women would scalp and mutilate the body.[76]

Deconstruction of the Cherokee woman's role in this disturbing image provides further understanding of their part in such a seemingly barbaric event. A cycle of raiding, loss, and death most likely left the women feeling less than powerful. No clan was immune. Congruent to making prisoners suffer, mourning was probably taking place for those killed during the same encounter that successfully ended with the accumulation of scalps and prisoners. A long and involved mourning process was restrictive, especially for women relatives of the deceased.[77]

The belittling and torture process empowered women through the diminution of that held by the prisoner. This was particularly so if the condemned were a high-ranking warrior, who had contributed to a clan's loss. In making an offering of his bloody flesh to the fire, the women displayed their female power as life-givers by contrarily acting as life-takers. The women destroyed the evil power of their enemy, in much the same way as when the Cherokee women had overpowered the mythic Stone Coat. With the women's potent assistance, all Cherokees became more powerful—the tribe became

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[75] Adair, *History*, 380, 384-85.

[76] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 188. A Cherokee warrior captured and tortured to death by other tribes sang a war song, which involved listing his martial deeds, especially bragging about any havoc he had inflicted upon his captors. Adair's account is much more graphic and laced with interpretations of barbarity. For example, they caked the scalp hair with clay to preserve it from the fire.

[77] Adair, *History*, 166. Only Cherokee women formally mourned men killed in battle.

stronger. Their willingness to participate in this action demonstrated their solidarity with the men, the clans, and the tribe against any enemies who threatened their survival. The harsh treatment of the prisoner was a symbolic retribution for all Cherokees who had suffered at the hands of their rivals.[78]

On occasion, the powerful Beloved Woman granted amnesty to a condemned captive.[79] This respected woman held the only acknowledged title earned by Cherokee females, *Ghi-ga-u*. She could "by the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a wretch condemned by the council, and already tied to the stake," which happened when the Beloved Woman Nancy Ward rescued Mrs. William Bean from a fiery fate in 1776.[80] This account again exemplifies the life-giving power of Cherokee women.

Death was also a part of Cherokee warfare connected to the spiritual. It released the body's four souls, one which could remain behind as a ghost-like entity. Close family

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[78] For an example, see Benjamin Hawkins, *Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*, ed. H. Thomas Foster II (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 63. While visiting the Creek town of Tallauhassee in 1797, the Creek residents showed Hawkins "some stakes to which the Cherokees had been tied in the last war…about 40 years past when taken prisoners" and told him that all but a few women and children "received their doom."

[79] Braund and Waselkov, eds., *William Bartram*, 153. Bartram recorded a popular tale of a War Woman (also called the Pretty Woman or War Woman) who earned her title for valorous actions during battle. This account most likely described Nancy Ward, who fought in the place of her fallen husband, Kingfisher, during the Battle of Taliwa with the Creeks. Evidence does not completely support that these titles, Pretty or War Women and Beloved Women, were interchangeable. Instead, they probably reflect a generational difference in status roles with different performance expectations. Beloved Women were peace-makers and associated with the white state within Cherokee society, while War Women, who accordingly were younger, were in the red state—just the opposite. Nevertheless, writers often interchange the titles, most likely, incorrectly. See, Reid, *Law of Blood*, 187, and Gilbert, "The Eastern Cherokees," 348.

[80] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 94. See n. 56 regarding Mrs. Bean's rescue. See also, Reid, *Law of Blood*, 187-88. Reid expresses a disbelief in the validity of the all-powerful pardoning power of the War Woman. Instead, he posited that Ward saved Bean through convincing persuasion and as a result of the town's respect for her. A young white boy tied to the slave post did meet his death by fire. There is no surviving oral tradition as to why Ward could or would save the woman but was unable or did not try to spare the youth. One must remember that the town's women were the main party who participated in the torturing of prisoners condemned to death. Perhaps, her kindred women granted her one prisoner, and she chose to choose a female, a mother, a life-giver. A short time later, Ward returned Bean to her relatives in the Wautauga settlement in present-day East Tennessee. There is no other indication that women were commonly disposed of in this manner. Most likely, this was a rare instance when a women almost died by fire. Usually, women and young children were more valuable as prisoners.

were likely to become ill or fall into a state of despair because of the lonely ghost calling for company. The priest sought to protect his patrons through sacred ritual associated with handling the deceased and their possessions and protecting the relatives. When the mourners completed the grieving process and subsequent purification, the town accepted them as relieved of any sickness that a lingering ghost might have inflicted.[81]

While some relatives mourned, other Cherokees celebrated the returning warriors. After the four-day waiting period a gallant procession of warriors dressed in their finest and in their war paint entered the sacred square-ground to partake in the festivities.[82] Any male who had not "successfully accompanied their sacred ark" was not allowed to participate because this honor was reserved for real men.[83] The returning victors cut the scalps obtained during the last foray into pieces and distributed them throughout the community.[84] The warriors placed these trophies atop the winter-houses of those killed by enemies. This physical display of satisfied revenge released the lingering souls or ghosts to complete their journey to the Darkening Land. As the men somberly went about this task, the Cherokee women sang "a grateful song of triumph" to the Creator.[85] In this manner, the blood placated both the ghosts and the Cherokee women. They then

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[81] Witthoft, "Cherokee Beliefs Concerning Death," 68-69; Adair, *History*, 390; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:96 (100-101); 3:52-54 (38-40). The Cherokees used cedar wood in purifying ceremonies. Cedar's origin came from a powerful, wicked magician, who they could not kill until a Cherokee warrior cut off his head and hung it in a tree. The enemy's head lived until on the seventh day when all its blood flowed down the trunk of the tree, imparting its powers and color (red-blood) into the wood, explaining why cedar has both white and red streaks. This is another story of the transformation of the abuse of power into something good. See also, Mooney, *Myths*, 421, 426, 547 and "Cherokee River Cult," 31-32.

[82] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 3:53-54 (40); 4:96 (101), 218-19 (229), 408 (553). The time of separation appears to have greatly varied over time. Payne's informants claimed that twenty-four days was the prescribed time before reintegration.

[83] Adair, *History*, 100.

[84] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:400 (537). Payne noted that the warriors had already handed their war plunder over to their female relatives when they first returned.

[85] Adair, *History*, 390.

feasted and danced to express their thanks and happiness in releasing the spirits of their deceased relatives through performance and communal sharing.

This was a time for the warriors to boast and revel in the accolades of the community. The Great Warrior sported bands of otter skin wrapped around his limbs and forehead as emblems of merit and honor.[86] An eagle feather hung from his scalplock as a "badge of distinction," while the War Speaker, *Ska hli lo ski*, and the seven War Councilors wore similar, but smaller, feathers.[87] Each warrior took his turn as the central dancer, reenacting his feats of stealth and bravery, while brandishing his red and black-painted war club. Red symbolized the enemy's blood, while black represented the Cherokee warrior's fearlessness and fortitude in battle. These performances served to "exhibit astonishing feats of military prowess, masculine strength and activity."[88] Adair vividly described the excitement surrounding an honoring ceremony:

> In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody colours are displayed, and most the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations.[89]

The head civil leader, or *Uku*, also the town's religious chief, then congratulated the war chief and his victorious warriors, reminding them that their success had rested with following the proper religious prescriptions. He then praised "their strict observance

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[86] Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:109 (112). Others receiving public recognition and an elevated martial rank wore otter bands on their lower extremities.

[87] Eagles were sacred and powerful beings that ruled over the Upper World. Only the most valiant warriors could wear eagle feathers or carry them while dancing. In fact, there was only one sanctified Eagle Killer, whose sole duty was to collect the bird's feathers while negating or deflecting any possible vengeance from the eagle spirits. Mooney, *Myths,* 283.

[88] Braund and Waselkov, eds., *William Bartram*, 86. See also, Adair, *History*, 390-91; Speck and Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, 63-64.

[89] Adair, *History*, 391.

of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory," and hoped that their brave actions would "encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence [*sic*] of their country."[90]

The eagle-tail dance was another ritual performance related to war. Here Cherokee men moved from exhibitions of war to peace—a transfer from the red state to the white state.[91] This exhibition of male strength and the generosity of peace made quite an impression on visiting dignitaries when about a dozen warriors "painted all over" ran towards them. Dancing and the waving of sacred eagle-tail wands displayed a demonstration of Cherokee solidarity. One eyewitness recalled:

> The headman of the town, led the procession, painted blood-red, except his face, which was half black, holding an old rusty broad-sword in his right hand, and an eagle's tail in his left. . . [He] . . . cut two or three capers, as a signal to the other eagle-tails, who instantly followed his example. This violent exercise . . . lasted about a minute.[92]

Next this head warrior thrust his blade into the ground, just missing the visiting military man's foot, and gave him a sincere welcome. Four of the painted dancers presented again, though this time wearing white paint, while carrying their eagle-tail wands. As they danced, a ritual of pipe-smoking began.[93]

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[90] Adair, *History*, 391; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:339 (353).

[91] One of the best descriptions of this dance is found in Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 14; Anderson, et al., J.P. Evans, "Sketches of Cherokee customs, character, and manners," in "Payne Papers," 6:303-305 (32-35). Evans described an eagle dance performed during the 1830s when men reenacted their war exploits.

[92] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 63. The black and red war paint and the carrying of a European sword, probably a victory trophy, served as evidence of his bravery and symbolized that he could be fearless and powerful as a foe or friend.

[93] Ibid., 64-65. Speck and Broom describe the Eagle Dance as having three movements and involving men and women dancers. The first movement symbolizes victory and the third is in fact the Peace-Pipe Dance. These concluding motions placated the eagle spirits for the use of their feathers. Speck and Broom, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, 40-41. Captain Raymond Demere, the lead delegate from colonial South Carolina to Chota in 1756, described this ritual in similar terms. This excerpt appears in

This performance represented the setting aside of war between equals—real men—for a state of peace and friendship, at least for the time being. The eagle tail feathers represented victory, power, and peace, while the string of beads, probably white in color, represented the offering of peace, acceptance of friendship, honor, and respect. The Great Warrior proclaimed peace with the symbolic burying of the "bloody tommahawke [*sic*]."[94]

Another occasion which warranted the performance of a war dance allowed the warriors within Cherokee society to provide relief to those in need. Timberlake observed this ritual judging it as "among the most laudable of their religious ceremonies" because they performed it with generosity in mind.[95] He explained that the town's headmen determined when the need for aid among its populace had reached a high enough level and called for a public war dance. The performance served as a charitable performance and exhibition of masculinity.

The warriors assembled and each in turn danced a pantomime reminiscent of his first taking of an enemy's scalp. One by one, each man exhibited his stealth and success as a Cherokee man. Once the instrumental accompaniment ceased, the soloist stood with tomahawk in hand and narrated his feat for all to hear and appreciate. He then placed something of value upon a large hide spread on the ground to receive the objects. The

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David H. Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 76.

[94] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 59-60; Fradkin, *Cherokee Folk Zoology*, 394.

[95] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 92.

other men followed this procedure repeatedly until all had performed and contributed to the growing pile of goods.[96]

This gifting ceremony performed several functions. Though participation was voluntary, the community deemed eligible men who did not as selfish individuals.[97] This dance strengthened communal solidarity as Cherokee warriors gave notice that they were committed to their people's welfare. In addition, it served as a vehicle for gaining public recognition and to validate Cherokee manhood. The exhibitions of how they enthusiastically met danger expressed their willingness to sacrifice their lives to uphold the honor of their clan, town, and tribe. Cherokee warriors displayed their commitment through public performance to gain and express status and to allow the community to express their pride in their accomplishments as a people.

Cherokee males used warfare to become men and then to earn various martial titles over the years to become even greater men. The older, experienced warriors held more esteemed ranks and status than younger, less experienced men.[98] Reid contended that "martial glory was not a guarantee of influence or office in town or tribe, war titles were largely honorary, with little political significance." He related this statement to his study of war, "or at least the declaration and commencement of war, [which] was a

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[96] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 93-94. Fogelson contended that public boastfulness was not a cherished Cherokee quality. Thus, he claimed, warriors paid for the privilege to exhibit their male success through providing for the unfortunates of the community. Raymond Fogelson, "Cherokee Notions of Power," *Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams, Studies in Anthropology Series (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 188.

[97] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 64. Reid discussed what he termed the Cherokee value of "unbounded liberty." Since the Cherokees loved liberty above all else, Reid determined that they abhorred coercion in any state. They sought to reach a popular consensus on all issues through the town council. Those who disagreed withdrew instead of causing internal tensions, which had the potential to lead to civil war. This is exactly what Dragging Canoe and the Chickamauga Cherokees did when they withdrew from the Upper Towns to establish the Five Lower Towns during the Revolutionary War era.

[98] Timberlake, *Memoirs*, 95, argued that two classes of military men existed, the warriors of rank and fighting men who had yet to prove themselves through war deeds, such as returning with an enemy's scalp.

matter largely of international law."[99] This argument is not entirely correct or complete. Though he stated that the main reason Cherokee men went to war was for retaliation, he never related these actions in any way as connected to a sacred duty, a sense of honor, or religious beliefs.

Moreover, Reid trivialized the meaning of war titles or ranks regarding their place in town or civil government. Cherokee men earned these titles through their martial accomplishments, and the leaders bestowed these laurels in the public sphere with the approval of the town membership. This communal and tribal acknowledgement of their deeds honored that individual as a respected man, who deserved honor, status, and elevation above other warriors and non-military men.[100]

John Philip Reid noted that the practices associated with warfare were of extreme importance in Cherokee society and had a profound influence on their culture. Though he correctly acknowledged warfare's significance and that "it was a test of manhood," Reid claimed that it was "not a means to social status or political influence."[101] Yet clearly, the opposite is true. The Cherokee "beloved occupation" of war was a complex institution with gendered expectations, spiritual dimensions, and communal values. War made participants of all Cherokees and no community was exempt. Cherokee warriors

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[99] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 153-54.

[100] Timberlake, Memoirs, 55, 94, n. 55; Anderson, et al., "Payne Papers," 4:379 (463). Some examples of war titles were The Slave Catcher, The Mankiller, and The Raven. Examination of early documents or literature reveals these titles generously sprinkled throughout. Timberlake mentioned that The Mankiller was the utmost war title with The Raven, or *Ko lv nu*, being the penultimate. Samuel Cole Williams, who edited Timberlake's memoirs, quoted John G. William DeBrahm that the title of Great Warrior was utmost, The Mankiller second, and The Raven third in rank. The Slave Catcher was evidently the easiest of all ranks to earn. Gilbert, "Eastern Cherokees," 355, claimed that "Killer" was a higher rank than The Raven. Only head men and priests operating within the civil government structure, particularly the elderly Beloved Men, could claim such importance. Most of the Beloved Men and civil officials had once served in the capacity as warriors in their younger days.

[101] Reid, *Law of Blood*, 185.

were "ready always to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood, and life itself, to defend their territory and maintain their rights."[102] The military institution connected Cherokees to the sacred, social, and political dimensions of Cherokee society. The Cherokee military organization was not only a path to manhood but served as an avenue to increased social status and political influence.

[102] Braund and Waselkov, eds., *William Bartram*, 112.

## Chapter Two

### War, Leadership, and Politics: From the Chickamauga Era to the Lighthorse Law

"The whole business of Indian life is war and hunting," British Southern Indian Superintendent John Stuart noted after the end of the Seven Years War.[1] A mere forty years later this statement would no longer be true. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Cherokees faced a realignment of their economy, a reformulated national government, and new conceptions of masculine power after suffering two devastating wars in the southeast. With the decline of the once lucrative Indian deerskin trade, an escalation of white land hunger, and the American expulsion of the British after the Revolutionary War, Cherokee society faced multiple crises that culminated in significant changes involving Cherokee communities, warfare, leadership, and gender. Some of the most transformative events began in 1775, first with the destructive and divisive Cherokee War followed by the Chickamauga War, and then culminated with the reunification of the Lower and Upper Towns of the Cherokee Nation in 1808. The constant warring that took place between 1775 and 1794 began when a faction of Cherokees separated from the powerful Overhill or Upper Towns at the end of the failed Cherokee campaign to assist the British in the American Revolution.

[1] John Stuart, "Of Indians in General," 8 June 1764, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Colonies General, Class 323, vol. 17, folio 255. Class 323 material will hereafter be cited using the following form: CO323/volume number, folio.

This group, led by the minor war chief Dragging Canoe, grew from a tribal dispute over how to deal with white encroachment. These dissenters, the Chickamaugas, waged war against white trans-Appalachia American settlements for nearly twenty years. Many headmen and warriors from other towns throughout Cherokee country sympathized and often joined this resistance group's raids.[2] Eventually, the Chickamauga actions drew the entire nation into the conflict since white militia did not make a distinction between one Cherokee town and another. White punitive expeditions targeted a number of Cherokee towns not merely the Five Lower Towns of the Chickamaugas. This constant warring resulted in a breakdown in civil government, the ceremonial cycle, and other traditional aspects of Cherokee culture. Male validation and status seeking increasingly revolved around war activities. This perpetual state of warfare also acted to disrupt traditional religious observances and individual spiritual practices.[3]

Friction between whites and Cherokees was nothing new but escalated after the Seven Years War although the British government sought to maintain peaceful relations with the Indian tribes. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 called for the establishment of a marked boundary line to separate the Indians from British territory. The Crown designed this line, which would run mostly north to south along the high peaks of the Appalachian

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[2] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 23. The Americans illegally settled west over the 1763 Proclamation Line almost eagerly used any excuse to attack Cherokee towns, even those claiming neutrality. They assassinated several Overhill headmen in 1788 though they were under a flag of truce. This dastardly act resulted in many previously neutral warriors deciding to join in the hostilities against American settlements. For further discussion, see Grace Steele Woodward, *Cherokees*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 65 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, 1976), 108-109.

[3] Woodward, *Cherokees*, 100; Colin G. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*, Cambridge Studies in North American History, ed. Frederick Hoxie and Neal Salisbury (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 62, 288, 290.

mountain chain, to discourage white colonists from encroaching on Indian lands.[4] Unfortunately, American colonists often ignored this boundary line. Southern Indians constantly complained to colonial officials of white intrusions, but usually to no avail.[5]

In 1772 the Watauga Association signed an eight-year lease with some Cherokee headmen yet managed to avoid legal prosecution, although such negotiations with Indians by entities other than the Crown were illegal. By 1774, a group of North Carolinians led by Judge Richard Henderson had settled near the Holston River in direct defiance of the Proclamation.[6] Alarmed Cherokees first sought redress through diplomacy. British Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alexander Cameron wrote to his superior that

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[4] For examples, see Letter to the Lords of Trade from Lt. Governor of Virginia Francis Fauquier, 26 May 1765, Richard Boehm, ed., *British Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5 Files; Part I, Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, microfilm reel 12, frames 278-80 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1981) and Letter to Cherokee Over Hill Town Chiefs from Colonel Andrew Lewis, 8 May 1765, reel 12: frames 282-84; Louis DeVorsey Jr., *Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 40; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "'Like a Stone Wall Never to Be Broke': The British-Indian Boundary Line with the Creek Indians, 1763-1773," in *Britain and the American South: From Colonialism to Rock and Roll*, ed. Joseph P. Ward (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 62-63.

[5] For examples, see Fauquier to Lords, 26 July 1766, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Americas and West Indies, Class 5, vol. 1345, folio 331-33. Class 5 material will hereafter be cited using the following form: CO5/vol. number, folio number. The folio number cited refers to the first page of the letter or document. Proclamation issued by Fauquier to colonists; 31 July 1766, CO5/1345, 336-37. See also, John Blair from Southern Indian Superintendent John Stuart, 7 October 1768, CO5/1347, 683-87; Abstract of a Talk from the Headmen and Great Ruling Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation to John Stuart, 29 July 1769, CO5/1348, 757-58; Colonel Donelson from Little Carpenter, CO5/1350, 873; Abstract of Letter from Alexander Cameron to John Stuart, 10 October 1773, K.G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*, (hereafter cited as *DAR*) 21 vols. (Dublin, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1973), 6:234; Edward J. Cashin, "But Brothers, It is Our Land We Are Talking About:' Winners and Losers in the Georgia Backcountry," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottsville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 242; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 189.

[6] This group of land speculators included such men as Richard Henderson, Charles and James Robertson, and John Sevier. In addition, other individuals, such as Jacob Brown of the Nolichucky settlement, negotiated private leases with some Cherokees. Most of these men came to the East Tennessee region from along the Virginia and North Carolina border. Paul Thomas Vickers, *Chiefs of Nations: First Edition: The Cherokee Nation 1730 to 1839: 109 Years of Political Dialogue and Treaties* (Lincoln, NE: Universe, 2005), 56-57; Max Dixon, *The Wataugans: Tennessee in the Eighteenth Century: A Bicentennial Series*, ed. James C. Kelly and Dan E. Pomeroy (Nashville: Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 5, 13, 16; John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), 263.

the Cherokee leadership had restrained their young men from "the shedding of blood" and had agreed to "some compensation for the rent of the land," but complained that the whites were now denying them access across their own land.[7]

In March 1775, Henderson and his group purchased this land outright from the renowned Cherokee leader Attakullaculla, or Little Carpenter, and other influential elder Cherokee headmen from the Upper Towns. In return, these few headmen received six wagons loaded with trade goods. The parties signed the agreement, known as the Henderson Purchase or the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, at Fort Watauga in present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee. This act became a bone of contention between those Cherokees who signed and those who did not, especially after the white land office opened for business.[8]

Attakullaculla's son, Dragging Canoe, called for warriors to protest against this land deal made by some of their elders. They objected to this cession of 20 million acres of their hunting grounds and resented the proximity of the white settlers. White men numbering several hundred by 1775 not only were hunting competitors, but the presence

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[7] John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West, 1838* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, 1938), 132. Brown, like many early non-academic scholars, did not use citations, though this book remains a classic in the study of early Tennessee history. Readers, however, must realize that Brown most likely exaggerated many incidents to skew sympathies towards the early American settlers.

[8] Extract of Letter from Colonel William Preston to Governor Earl of Dunmore, 23 January 1775, *DAR*, 9: 33; Alden, *John Stuart*, 290-93.Henderson and other soon-to-be famous pioneers, such as Daniel Boone, John Sevier, James Robertson, William Bean, John Carter, and Isaac Shelby, merged and formed the Transylvania Land Company in direct violation of the Proclamation. See Tom Hatley, "From Sycamore Shoals to Chickamauga," *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 216-28; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 189-91; Dixon, *Wataugans*, 5, 13, 16, 28, 30, 31; John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee From Its Earliest Settlement Up to the Year 1796 Including the Boundaries of the State* (n.p.: W.H. Haywood, 1823; reprint, Knoxville, TN: Tenase Company, 1969), 514; J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1996), 177-78.

of their farms pushed the deer further and further away.[9] The younger Cherokee hunter-warriors feared that they could no longer sufficiently provide for their families. Too, the cession cut them off from important trails that crossed the disputed land, fomenting even more volatility and anxiety. At the treaty signing Dragging Canoe refused to place his mark on the treaty and supposedly warned the white negotiators, "you have bought a fair land, but you will find its settlement dark and bloody."[10]

British officials, forced to seek haven in Mobile and Pensacola at the outbreak of the American Revolution, counseled temporary neutrality until Dragging Canoe's supporters could move in unison with British troops in the southern theatre. Cameron reproved the Cherokee headmen who signed the Henderson Purchase. Even from the Virginia capitol of Williamsburg, the Earl of Dunmore cautioned the Cherokees against trusting the Americans and emphasized that, "You may assure yourselves they will never rest satisfied till they have disposed you of all your Country, and driven you out or extirpated you."[11] British officials diligently worked to keep the Cherokees as allies, while at the same time the American rebels attempted to undermine their efforts. The Wataugans supported the American rebellion, hoping that the new United States government would encourage white expansion. They also organized a militia in their

[9] James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast*, Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, no. 58 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 69. This land cession included hunting grounds into present-day Kentucky and eastern and middle Tennessee. One year later, in 1776, the settlers claimed to have approximately 700 riflemen. See also, Dixon, *Wataugans*, 26, 30; Nathaniel J. Sheidley, "Unruly Men: Indians, Settlers, and the Ethos of Frontier Patriarchy in the Upper Tennessee Watershed, 1763-1815" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1999), 17.

[10] Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 3.

[11] Little Carpenter and the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation of Indians from the Earl of Dunmore, 23 March 1775, CO5/1353, 1166.

newly formed Washington District because they feared that Stuart would instigate Indian attacks in the backcountry.[12]

While Cameron and his superior wrote letters to the Wataugans asking them to leave, Dragging Canoe chose to fight for Cherokee land. In 1776 he and his followers committed their efforts to the British Crown. Fourteen representatives from the northern Six Nations, Ottawa, Delaware, and Shawnee, adorned in black war paint, met for a grand council at the Cherokee town of Chota. As they passed a black wampum belt around, Dragging Canoe and Raven of Chilhowee accepted this symbol of war.[13] Henry Stuart, the brother of Superintendent Stuart, was present, having arrived with direly needed ammunition from the gulf coast. He reported that "nothing was now talked of but war." Warriors "were busily employed in preparing spears, clubs, and scalping knives" and "the standard of war was erected; the flagstaff and posts of the townhouse were painted black and red."[14] Even though Stuart cautioned against open warfare, preferring that they await a future coordinated effort, the warriors sang the war song while their elders "sat down dejected and silent."[15]

The Cherokee resistance attacked white settlements located on the Holston, Watauga, and Nolichucky Rivers, and in Carter's Valley, located in present-day east Tennessee. Beloved Woman Nancy Ward, the daughter of Attakullakulla's sister, sent

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[12] John Stuart's Talk [sent] to the Cherokees, 30 August 1776, R. W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History*, 3 vols. (NY: D. Appleton, 1857; reprint, Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1972), 2:159-60; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 191-94; Dixon, *Wataugans*, 36. For a detailed account of the Cherokees in the American Revolution, see James H. O'Donnell III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973) and Hatley, *Dividing Paths*.

[13] Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 143-45, 161; John Stuart from Henry Stuart, 25 August 1776, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 6:200-202; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 194-95; Mary Evelyn Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya: A Brief History of the Cherokees, 1540-1906* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), 83.

[14] John Stuart from Henry Stuart, 25 August 1776, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 12:191, 199, 201.

[15] Ibid., 203.

warnings to the settlers who then gathered into reinforced stations or forts for protection.[16] Though Ward foiled his surprise attacks, Dragging Canoe unleashed copious raids against white settlers living over the legal boundary line.

The American Revolution further fueled hostilities in the southern backcountry. White intruders onto Cherokee lands were mostly sympathetic with the rebellion against British authority. The Wataugans, or Overmountain Men, extensively contributed to the American victory against British forces at King's Mountain. On the other hand, many Cherokee towns launched attacks against American settlers throughout the region.[17] Though some Cherokee towns tried to remain neutral, Dragging Canoe's rhetoric often swayed young warriors, who joined with him to strike at the Americans.

Cherokee raids precipitated retaliatory expeditions. South Carolina sent Andrew Williamson with orders to "cut up every Indian corn-field, and burn every Indian town—and that every Indian taken shall be a slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public."[18] In what is remembered as the Cherokee War of 1776, four American militia expeditions destroyed most of the Lower, Middle, and Valley Cherokee towns. They even penetrated the Cherokee

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[16] For further information, see Pat Alderman, *Nancy Ward—Cherokee Chieftainess: Her Cry was All for Peace*; *Dragging Canoe—Cherokee-Chickamauga War Chief: We Are Not yet Conquered* (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1978), 44-45. The records are silent regarding any friction between these kin. As Beloved Woman, however, Ward's role as a peacekeeper was highly respected.

[17] For further information on this important victory, see J. David Dameron, *King's Mountain: The Defeat of the Loyalists, October 7, 1780*, Battleground America Guides (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003. Francis Salvador to Honorable Chief Justice William Henry Drayton, 19 July 1776, Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History*, 2:26; Thomas Brown to Lord Cornwallis, 17 December 1780, Clinton Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Rachel N. Klein, "Frontier Planters and the American Revolution: The South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1782," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 52.

[18] William H. Drayton to Francis Salvador, 24 July 1776, Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History*, 2: 29; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 203.

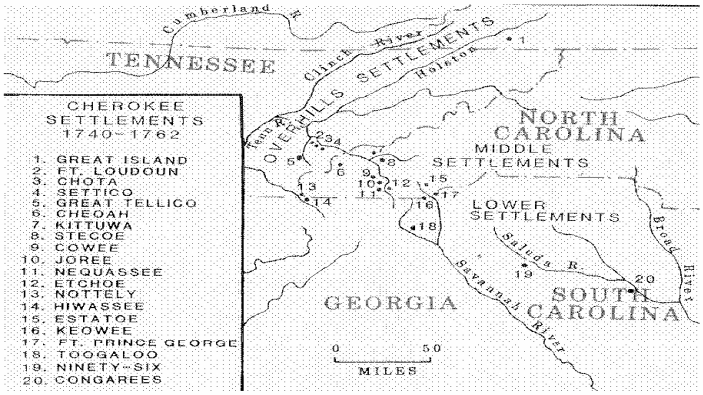


Figure 1. 18th Century Cherokee Settlements. From Harriet J. Kupferer, *Ancient Drums, Other Moccasins: Native American Cultural Adaptation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 218.

Overhill region and systematically burned Great Island, Tellico, Chilhowee, and Settico to the ground, only sparing Chota, which was Nancy Ward's home.[19]

In the wake of this destruction, those who opposed the war moved to end it. The Raven of Chota, Attakullakulla, and the Great Warrior Oconostota sued for peace and signed the Treaty of Long Island of Holston in July 20, 1777. They ceded over five million acres of land. Even so, John Stuart noted that the Cherokees were in a much "distressed situation" and though some had now agreed to remain neutral in the contest between colonies and Crown, he declared that "some, more determined, hold out and say that they never will drop the hatchet until I take it out of their hands.[20] Dragging Canoe led the dissenters, raiding settlements a mere ten miles away from the treaty grounds even as the peace party signed the treaty.[21]

In response to the Holston Treaty, Dragging Canoe and five hundred warriors, along with their families, relocated further down the Tennessee River in the present-day Chattanooga area. There they settled near an old friend, British agent and Scots trader John McDonald, who had married a Cherokee woman.[22] Dubbed "the germ of the evil"

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[19] These included troops led by Griffith Rutherford, Andrew Williams, and William Christian from South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. These punitive expeditions and two years of crop failures forced about 200 destitute Cherokees to seek refuge at Pensacola or among the Creeks. Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America: With Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, UK: John Grant, 1933), 1:369; Andrew Williamson to William H. Drayton, 22 August 1776, Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History*, 2:32; Vickers, *Chiefs of Nations*, 72-74; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 194-97. See also, John Stuart to Lord George Germaine, 23 January 1777, and 6 October 1777, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 14:35, 194-95; David Taitt to Lord George Germaine, 6 August 1779, and Charles Shaw to Germaine, 7 August 1779, *DAR*, 17:181, 184; Calloway, "Chota: Cherokee Beloved Town," in *American Revolution*, 198.

[20] John Stuart to Lord George Germaine, 14 June 1777, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 14:114-15.

[21] James Paul Pate, "The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier (Thesis, University of Mississippi, 1969): 78-82. This cession included all land north of the Nolichucky River, except for the sacred treaty grounds of Long Island.

[22] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 200-201; Pate, "The Chickamauga," 80-81. These families came mostly from the Overhill towns of Great Tellico, Chilhowee, and Toqua. McDonald's grandson, John Ross, would later become the leading figure to fight against Cherokee removal.

by U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox, this group became the Chickamauga.[23] They were a diverse group of Cherokees from various towns and also included in their numbers British loyalists, renegade whites, black slave refugees, and members of other tribes. Their eleven new towns became the staging area for nearly constant raids against backcountry American settlements.

In 1779 American forces led by Evan Shelby and Charles Robertson located and destroyed the Chickamauga towns. Most of the warriors were away, hoping to join loyalist forces in Georgia and to confiscate hides, furs, cattle, horses, and, particularly, ammunition brought up from Pensacola. Since the attack occurred before planting time, some Chickamauga rebuilt, but the majority moved farther south, down the Tennessee River, where they established the Five Lower Towns at or near old Creek village sites.[24] Dragging Canoe's choice was strategic. Located near the Tennessee River's great bend in an area well stocked with game, the mountainous geography helped to make the towns easily defensible and difficult for the enemy to penetrate. In addition, the area was a major trails crossroads that was unknown to their enemy. It allowed them safe access south to trade in Pensacola and northward to some important war paths. Other paths conveniently led towards the Cumberland settlers, who the Chickamauga hoped to push

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[23] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 223-24; Secretary of War Henry Knox to Governor William Blount, 26 November 1792, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Southwest Territory*, in *The Territory South of the Ohio, 1790-1796*, in *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1936), 4:221.

[24] At John Stuart's death, Cameron became British Superintendent to the Cherokees and Creeks, while Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brown served the Choctaws and Chickasaws in that capacity. The Chickamauga moved from the Upper Towns at the Little Tennessee-Hiwassee Rivers area down the Tennessee River and established Nickajack, Running Water, Lookout Mountain Town, Long Island, and Crow Town. Dixon, *Wataugans*, 56; Alexander Cameron to Lord George Germaine, 18 December 1779, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 17:268-70, and Cameron to Germaine, 18 July 1780, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 18:121. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clark, eds., "Description of the Five Cherokee towns, lying northwest of Chatanuga Mountain, to wit:," *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States-Indian Affairs* (hereafter cited as *ASPIA*), 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:264; Blount to Knox, 14 January 1793, Carter, ed., *Southwest Territory*, 4: 227; Woodward, *Cherokees*, 100.

out of the area, as well as to white settlements in southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee.

The American Revolution ended with the signing of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, which acknowledged American control of the trans-Appalachian territory. Nevertheless, Dragging Canoe's resistance efforts intensified and effectively stifled American expansion. The withdrawal of British support, however, resulted in supply shortages throughout the Cherokee territory. The devastation of approximately fifteen Cherokee towns throughout the nation meant that fewer men could afford to volunteer in the armed struggle after 1777. Moreover, disease and death struck the resistance towns in 1783 and resulted in a decrease in birth rates and elevation in infant mortality rates. Population decline, warfare, crop failures, and crop destruction at the hands of enemies depressed the Cherokee economy and interfered with subsistence and ritual activities. In addition, Cherokee crops suffered from pest infestations and droughts, leading to further susceptibility to illnesses, malnutrition, and starvation.[25] Nevertheless, many warriors continued to fight.

Traditionally, Cherokee warriors had gone to war to seek blood for blood, but the Chickamauga resistance had never been about the avenging of lost relatives or placating ghosts. Instead, these Cherokee men, following the ideological rhetoric of Dragging

[25] Hostilities continued on both sides. John Sevier, Joseph Martin, and Arthur Campbell led an expedition against the Upper Towns in 1780. Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928; reprint, Nashville: Blue and Gray Press, 1972), 411; Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Brown to Germaine, 10 March 1780, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 18:55-56; Alderman, *Nancy Ward—Dragging Canoe*, 62; Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 61, 64; Calloway, *American Revolution*, 59; M. Thomas Hatley, "The Three Lives of Keowee: Loss and Recovery in the Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Villages," in *Powhatan's Mantle*, ed. Wood, Waselkov, and Hatley, 228-29, 238.

Canoe, claimed that "their ostensible reason of their going to war, [*was*] that the white people had robbed them of their land."[26] Chickamauga warriors fought for their people's sovereign right to exist upon land they claimed in common. They resisted white encroachment and the threat white culture represented to their own society. And they struggled to protect their families and their way of life. Thus, for them and those Cherokees increasingly sympathetic to their cause, defense of territory began to replace the ideological premise and sacred obligation associated with traditional blood revenge as a rational for war.[27]

As post-war settlers poured into the Cumberland region near present-day Nashville, Tennessee, the Chickamaugas stepped up attacks in that quarter beginning in 1792. Some of the well-known war chiefs included Dragging Canoe's brother Little Owl, Bloody Fellow, John Watts, Hanging Maw, Breath, Doublehead, Little Turkey, and Richard Justice. These veteran warriors led small war parties using hit-and-run tactics, attacking settlers they considered intrusive. Younger men used these opportunities to gain the battle experience necessary to pass into manhood. [28] During the ongoing Chickamauga War, in other words, young men still eagerly awaited their chance to become men through warfare. One who earned his war name during this time was He

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[26] Mr. [John] McKee's Report to Governor Blount, 28 March 1793, "Creeks, Cherokees, and Others," Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1: 444.

[27] This did not occur overnight. The movement away from war as primarily a sacred gendered act slowly began alongside the European powers' thirst for empire. For further discussion, see Theda Perdue, "War," *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 86-108.

[28] Many such young men, who served under seasoned warriors, would later fight in the Red Stick War. These included George Fields, John Walker, The Ridge, and Archie Coody. Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 82; Sheidley, in "Unruly Men," 18, 74, argued that the friction between the young men and the elder Beloved Men, who had made the land deals for goods to distribute to their constituents, was just part of a "politics of masculinity, rooted in sacred thought and the ritual significance of hunting." This, Sheidley noted, backfired and led to the generational rebellion against authority. One should not confuse the "older warriors" or experienced veterans with the Beloved Men, a group usually composed of more aged retired warriors.

Who Slays the Enemy in the Path, or One Who Follows the Ridge, later shortened to The Ridge. Years later, he related to Indian Agent Thomas L. McKenney how as a young man in the 1790s a war priest had made him "dreadful" and filled him with "warlike inclination."[29] The Ridge concluded that the time had arrived to prove that he was a man. To his disappointment the warriors left him, along with an old man, to watch their camp while they attacked a group of white men. This upset him to the point that he "actually wept over the loss of honour he had sustained" and felt "greatly mortified."[30] It would be another two years before The Ridge was able to mollify his grief when he joined a large war party and killed one of the enemy, thereby, becoming a man in Cherokee society and a regular participant in the Chickamauga resistance.[31]

As the resistance continued, aspects of traditional war culture intensified.[32] The Chickamaugas continued to accept war clubs and belts as sacred tokens proclaiming their

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[29] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:370. This account is an autobiographical account provided to McKenney by The Ridge on a visit to Washington, D.C. A prominent war chief/priest had prepared The Ridge as a twelve-year old, including submitting him to going-to-water and scratchings with sharpened wolf bones. He also fed him corn mush and partridge, thus linking him to Selu and Kanati and the power of the Thunder Boys. According to The Ridge, the war priest chose the partridge to signify Thunder because the sound of its wings sounded like thunder in the sky. James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 19th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington: GPO, 1900), 230; Lucy L. Keys, *Wahnenauhi Manuscript: Historical Sketches of the Cherokees: Together with some of their Customs, Traditions, and Superstitions*, ed. Jack Frederick Kilpatrick, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 196, Anthropological Papers, no. 77 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1966), 193. Wahnenauhi, or Lucy Lowrey Hoyt Keys, was the granddaughter of the prominent Cherokee George Lowrey and recorded her remembrances in 1889, depositing them with the Bureau of Ethnology. Cherokee men still underwent scratching with rattlesnake teeth before the ballgame or an expedition when Keys was a child.

[30] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:373.

[31] Ibid., 371-374. The Ridge's narrative describes a number of war raids that he took part in, including an attack on Maryville, a small town near Knoxville. A more dramatized version of The Ridge's early war exploits and life is presented in Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 169, 2nd ed. rvs. (NY: Macmillan Publishing, 1970; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 3-27.

[32] Fred O. Gearing, "Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century," *American Anthropologist* 64, pt. 2 (October 1962), 59. Gearing noted that Cherokee warriors had previously only spent about 10-20 weeks out of a year in a state of war. The Chickamauga resistance movement led to a constant red state that initially upset the traditional state of deference between younger and older men.

military alliances with the Creeks and Shawnees.[33] To maintain morale and the enthusiastic passion that warfare required, actions of masculine expression played out over and over and involved community participation. Warriors, as always, gathered prisoners as well as scalps on raids to the Cumberland settlements. Major David Craig reported to his superior in 1792 that after one such raid:

> The scalps . . . were collected at the Look-out Mountain town . . . and at night a scalp-dance was held, and Richard Justice and the Glass took the scalp of the man and tore it with their hands and teeth, with great ferocity, as did, also, the warriors generally, with all the forms, gestures, exultations, and declaration, of a war-dance. The scalp of the woman and child were not treated in the same manner, because warriors do not exult in the killing of women and children.[34]

Many other reports collaborate that the Cherokees often held such scalp dances during the Chickamauga period.

Captives taken by war parties included black slaves. For example, in 1794 the Brown family was traveling down the Tennessee River headed for the white settlements on the Cumberland. Chickamauga warriors attacked and killed many of the party and then took young Joseph Brown, his mother Jane, some younger siblings, and several family slaves captive.[35] On occasion, warriors sheltered and took prisoners as their brothers. In 1793 the Wolf Clan rescued one captive from the usual fate of fiery torture

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[33] Report of James Carey, one of the interpreters of the United States in the Cherokee nation, to Governor William Blount, 20 March 1793, Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1:438-39.

[34] Report of David Craig to William Blount, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District, made at Knoxville, 15 March 1792, Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1:264-65.

[35] Samuel Mitchell from William C.C. Claiborne, 6 September 1803, Mississippi Territory Journal-Indians Department, 1803-1805, SGB113, folder 1, no. 39, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 102; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 437-38; At a Conference Held on the 7th and 8th November, 1794, at Telico Blockhouse, "Southwestern Tribes," Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1:537; Joseph Brown, Biographical Sketch #2 from notes transcribed by grandson Thomas F. Lindsay, 1859, Joseph Brown Papers (hereafter JBP), microfilm 747, THS, TSLA; John Frost, comp. "The Captivity of Jane Brown and Her Family," in *Heroic Women of the West: Comprising Thrilling Examples of Courage, Fortitude, Devotedness, and Self-Sacrifice among the Pioneer Mothers of the Western Country*, Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, vol. 66 (Philadelphia: A. Hart, Late Carey & Hart, 1854; reprint New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 122-63.

that male captives endured and adopted him into the tribe at the behest of the Chickamauga war chief John Watts.[36]

The community's participative role in prisoner treatment also reflected changes in their part of warfare, particularly in increasing cessation of their traditional torturing of prisoners and then burning them at the war pole. Theda Perdue has argued that "the new motives for war excluded women from the social and spiritual benefits that traditional warfare had brought them."[37] She accurately noted that by this time there was a substantial decrease in prisoner torture and execution. An examination of the 1794 Ore expedition against Running Water and Nickajack reveals one reason for this change of heart.

> At a time when there was a great festival at Turkey Town, and most of the people were gone to that quarter, seven hundred of the Tennessee Militia guided by a worthless Mestif, a renegade from the Cherokees, arrived at and crossed the river undiscovered . . . twenty people of all ages and sexes were killed on the spont [*sic*], and about twelve women and children taken prisoners. . . . [A] small party of warriors collected to pursue them, when the women, whose children had been taken prisoners, entreated them with tears in their eyes, not to follow the enemy, lest they might cause their children to be put to death.[38]

Communal consensus now fostered prisoner-taking for adoption or the purpose of prisoner exchange. Tennesseans had led several retaliatory expeditions and often took

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[36] Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 86, 89; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 365-66, 372, 374, 437-38; Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1:434; Letter from Blount to Knox, 24 January 1793, Carter, ed., *Southwest Territory*, 4: 234-35; Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Lost State of Franklin: History of the Lost State of Franklin*, rvs. ed. (NY: Press of the Pioneers, 1933), 319-20. As a show of good faith, the Cherokees allowed the prisoner Captain Samuel Handley to return home to Knoxville in January 1793, bearing a message to Governor Blount. In addition to the taking of captives, the Cherokees took numerous horses, too. Just between January and October of 1792, raiding parties stole at least 500 horses. They kept them for personal use or exchanged them for trade goods in towns such as Seneca, SC.

[37] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 90.

[38] Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, eds., *Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, Publications of the Champlain Society 46 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970), 39. The part Cherokee renegade, or "Mestif," was Joseph Brown, the white captive, who became an adopted Cherokee and had lived protected among the Chickamaugas before returning to Tennessee.

Cherokee captives.[39] Cherokees were unsure about how white captors would treat their relatives. Mothers became more fearful of the fates of their children at the hands of whites whom they considered dishonorable. Though some abuse of prisoners still occurred, Cherokee communities increasingly became prone to adopt, enslave, or keep captives as bargaining power for enacting prisoner exchanges.

When Dragging Canoe died in 1792, the war-weary Cherokees chose his nephew John Watts as their primary war chief, though dissension among the warriors led to poor military decisions. Watts was not the charismatic leader such as his uncle had been. James Ore's militia forces, guided to the remote locales by Joseph Brown, destroyed Running Water and Nickajack in 1794, so Watts moved the center of the Chickamauga resistance to Willstown in today's northeast Alabama.[40] Making things worse, American forces also defeated northern allies of the Cherokees at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Support for the resistance effort waned as supplies ran low with little hope of replenishment.

Since 1792 Little Turkey and Path Killer, two prominent headmen, had encouraged peace as Cherokee conditions deteriorated. Path Killer even challenged the

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[39] Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 95, 99. The taking of members of the Joseph Brown family and several of their slaves is one of the most well-known accounts of Chickamauga captives. Joseph Brown, Biographical Sketch no. 1 (1852), 19; and Thomas F. Lindsay (grandson compiled this from the notes of his grandfather Joseph Brown, Biographical Sketch no. 2 (1859), 31, JBP, microfilm 747, Tennessee Historical Society (hereafter THS), Tennessee State Library and Archives (hereafter TSLA), Nashville, Tennessee. Also, see Note of Meigs, 1811, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835 (hereafter referred to as CIART), Record Group 75, microfilm M-208, roll 5, National Archives, Washington, D.C., stating that the Cherokees wanted the return of a woman taken from them and sold into slavery. After passing through several hands, her present owner had recently moved from North Carolina to Tennessee near the Cherokees, who wanted her returned to her family.

[40] With the descendency of Chota, Cherokee headmen moved the National Council place to Ustanali in 1789 where Little Turkey became the Cherokee principal chief after the Valley Towns headman, Hanging Maw, died in 1795. For a detailed discussion of his stance on the Chickamauga resistance, see Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 76-77.

powerful war priest Richard Justice, asking him "where they would get ammunition" and wondering if he might "find it for them in caves in the earth." American officials encouraged the Cherokees "to open their ears" that were "nearly stopped . . . with blood." They countered that "the white people had stopped theirs with land."[41]

Though the peace faction grew, hostilities did not immediately cease. In 1793, many young warriors remained out on the war trail and were "emulous of ranking themselves" as great military men by securing more scalps.[42] Ignorant of an attempted truce by Cherokee leaders, this group attacked and killed several white men near the Holston River. White militia forces retaliated by attacking Tellico and killing several surprised warriors.

When The Ridge and four others arrived in Pine Log after their Holston raid, the townspeople did not receive them with the usual celebratory festivities reserved for a war party. Instead, clan relatives of those killed at Tellico wanted to extract their revenge from the war party. Though only seventeen-years old, The Ridge sought to disarm the internal friction by attempting to step into the role of a head warrior and called for the formation of another war party to avenge those killed at Tellico. None of the seasoned warriors answered his plea until:

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[41] Lowrie and Clark, eds., "Report of Craig to Blount quoting Little Turkey," 15 March 1792, and "Mr. McKee's Report to Governor Blount," 28 March 1793, *ASPIA*, 1:264-65 and 1:444, respectively.

[42] Nathaniel Sheidley, "Hunting and the politics of masculinity in Cherokee treaty-making, 1763-75," in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, ed. Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, Critical Histories Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 171. Sheidley noted that generational friction was nothing new, and Cherokees understood it through the sacred myth of the Pleiades, who were originally seven, young and unruly Cherokee males who defied their elders and withdrew to the night sky to become a constellation. See Mooney, *Myths*, 258-59 and William Anderson, Anne Rogers, and Jane Brown, eds., John Howard Payne Papers, 6 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, in press), 1:24-25, (transcription taken from John Howard Payne Papers, vol. 1, Newberry Library, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Chicago). For a slight variant of the myth, see Stansbury Hagar, "Cherokee Star-Lore," in *Boas Anniversary Volume; Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas*, ed. Berthold Laufer and H.A. Andrews (NY: G.E. Stechert & Co., 1906): 358-59.

> One old man alone, a conjurer, who had prophesied that when these young men should return, the war pole would be ornamented with the scalps of their enemies, felt disposed to verify his own prediction by having those bloody trophies paraded upon the war post.[43]

With this prediction fulfilled and with the sanction of this priest, warriors sang war songs and joined The Ridge. Furthermore, one esteemed veteran admonished the community by preaching that they should never spill the blood of another Cherokee.

This newly organized war party attacked a small, fortified group of white settlers at Cavitt's Station. One of the veteran warriors, Doublehead, fought with a frenzied passion and demanded that they take no prisoners, regardless of sex or age. Years later, The Ridge "spoke of this foul deed with abhorrence, and declared that he turned aside and looked another way, unwilling to witness that which he could not prevent."[44]

Nevertheless, hostilities soon ended. Cherokee towns appointed men to represent them in the nascent centralized Cherokee government. Most of the representatives were prominent headmen, but some were younger, poorer men who had made their mark through their recent war deeds.[45] Cherokee resistance against land cessions and encroachments would now continue but not by military means. Cherokee leadership after the war centered on rebuilding communities, maintaining friendly relations with the United States, and keeping order. Many Cherokee war refugees had left the shells of

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[43] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:374-75.

[44] Ibid., 375-76; 398, fn 13. Unbeknown to the war party, apparently one young boy escaped. There were many incidents such as this perpetrated by whites and Indians. Benjamin Hawkins to James McHenry, Secretary of War, 3 December 1796, in *Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*, ed. Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 23. Hawkins recalled Cherokee children fleeing from his presence in 1796. Apparently, they were children of refugees traumatized by white military expeditions against their towns of Keowee and Tugaloo.

[45] For example, Pine Log appointed The Ridge, who was nearly destitute. Some felt that his physical presentation was an insult and wanted to deny him his seat at council. Nevertheless, elder Cherokee statesmen overruled these sentiments by finding him as worthy to serve the people solely based on his war laurels. See McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:376-77, for The Ridge's account of his "ragged appearance."

their war-razed towns and had moved into present-day northern Georgia, northwest Alabama, and near Lookout Mountain in Tennessee.[46] The old Lower Towns of South Carolina and extreme northeast Georgia no longer existed. The Lower Towns now meant the geographic area associated with the former Chickamauga towns. American officials now recognized the swelled Lower Towns and the still powerful Chickamauga leadership as the seat of Cherokee authority and sought to make a lasting peace with them.

The American victory in the revolution and the sound defeat of the Chickamauga resistance had forced the vast number of Cherokees into a struggle for survival. The concentrated towns that had characterized Cherokee society soon gave way to scattered farmsteads. Constant war had left men little time to hunt, an activity that had served as an outlet through which to demonstrate male prowess and a vehicle for attaining status through economic gain. Some men tried to reestablish their hunting livelihood, but the economic boon of the old days had passed.[47]

Throughout this unsettled time the federal government promoted its civilization program, attacking traditional Cherokee gender roles and their trade economy. George Washington's administration sought an American Indian policy to keep the peace, while avoiding expensive wars, and yet find ways to obtain tribal lands.[48] In 1801 Thomas Jefferson's administration appointed Return Jonathan Meigs, a revolutionary hero, as dual Cherokee Indian Agent and Agent to the War Department, whose direct superior was the Secretary of War. Meigs encouraged the women to leave the fields and take up

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[46] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 212, 280.

[47] M. Thomas Hatley, "Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground," in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, & Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 44, 46; Hatley, "Three Lives of Keowee," 228-29, 238.

[48] Calloway, *American Revolution*, 290. Secretary of War Henry Knox dubbed this the "expansion with honor" plan.

spinning and weaving, while he prodded Cherokee men to farm instead of hunting or pursuing their "beloved occupation" of making war.[49] Because farming was traditionally women's work, many Cherokee men sought other ways to express their roles as providers.[50] As private accumulation was no longer supported or possible through hunting or gift-giving, Cherokee men had two options. One was to embrace the civilization policy and develop farmsteads and raise livestock. Or they could raid for quick profit and excitement.

Consequently, many young men turned to cattle-rustling and horse-stealing activities that mimicked war plundering and allowed them to establish and express their manhood. Small gangs of unscrupulous white men and Indians roamed the region, stealing livestock to sell miles away. Lawless individuals and small gangs existed on both sides of the Cherokee-American boundary, in spite of the presence of a small garrison of United States dragoons, whose purpose was to minimize conflict between the Cherokees and nearby white settlements.[51] These "pony clubs" preyed on whites and

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[49] Douglas C. Wilms, "Cherokee Acculturation and Changing Land Use Practices," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 56 (Fall 1978): 336. Wilms's article further discussed how Secretary of War Henry Knox laid the foundation for this agrarian transformation embedded within the 1791 Treaty of Holston as part of American Indian policy. John Stuart to Board of Trade, 9 March 1764, CO323/17, 240, quoted in Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 9; John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, ed. Mary U. Rothrock (Jackson, TN: Mercer Press, 1959), 222.

[50] Claudio Saunt, "'Domestick . . . Quiet being broke': Gender Conflict among the Creek Indians in the Eighteenth Century," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, ed. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 153. Saunt argued that many Creek men were going through the same gender crisis. He contended that many attempted to "redefine their masculinity" by endorsing class divisions and becoming planters or merchants. Also, he claimed that this was the roots of the factionalism which led to the Creek civil war in 1813 when some rejected this as a strategy. For further information on the importance of livestock-raising in creating Creek class divisions, see Richard A. Sattler, "Cowboys and Indians: Creek and Seminole Stock Raising, 1700-1900," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22:3 (1998): 79-99.

[51] These extralegal activities had always been part of the frontier economy and had increased during the revolutionary era. See Abstract of Letter from Alexander Cameron to John Stuart, 10 October 1773, Davies, ed., *DAR*, 6:232-33. Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 25, recognized this phenomenon among the southern

Indians both. These activities presented problems for Cherokee leaders, who were anxious to keep the peace within their communities, protect their own accumulating property, whether obtained illicitly or not, and abide by treaty stipulations that called for an end to depredations.[52]

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planter elite, too. For further discussion on gender identification via cattle rustling and horse thieving, see William G. McLoughlin, "James Vann: Intemperate Patriot, 1768-1809," *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians 1789-1861*, ed. William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 53; and McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 55-56. McLoughlin convincingly argued that horse stealing and related activities replaced war activities for male gender validation when that avenue was no longer available for young men. See also, Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 123-24. Andrew Burstein, "The Formative Frontier: The Early Years of Andrew Jackson," *Yale Review* 91 (January 2003): 17. In tracing Jackson's early years, Burstein noted that "violence begat violence" among young men on the frontier. This premise could apply to both sides of the border, which resulted in frequent Cherokee-white agitation. The 1791 Treaty of Holston provided Cherokees the protection of the United States government. Subsequent treaties secured land cessions in 1798, 1804, 1805, and 1806 but continued to uphold this commitment. For further discussion, see Charles C. Royce, *Cherokee Nation of Indians* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1975), taken from Charles C. Royce, "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* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1887).

[52] Earlier the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell and then the Treaty of Holston in 1791 had addressed the problem of robbery between U.S. citizens, Cherokees, and other residents of Cherokee towns. Treaty stipulations held the Cherokees collectively responsible for delivering any offenders found within Cherokee territory to U.S. officials for punishment. This, by necessity, increased the resolve of Cherokee leaders to enforce order. By 1792 the crisis precipitated by horse-stealing desperadoes in the southern backcountry mutually frustrated territorial, state, and federal governments, and the older, more pacific element of Cherokee leadership. Article IV of the 1794 Treaty of Philadelphia authorized the U.S. to withhold the compensation price for horses deemed stolen by Cherokees from the annuity payment. This became a powerful incentive to stop the lawless forays. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), 2:9-10, 34, 54; Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 43. In 1794 the Georgia War Department Agent claimed that the state's citizens had suffered an estimated loss of $100,000 just from Cherokee horse-rustlers. Agent Meigs noted that the 1797 Philadelphia treaty established the value of a horse at $50, which negotiations raised to $60 in the 1798 Treaty of Tellico. In Meigs to Secretary of War William Eustis, 9 November 1811, CIART, roll 5, he claimed that the amount should be adjusted since "horses on the frontiers & in the Cherokee nation has been so much multiplied that the price of horses has fallen from 50 to 75 $^{pr.}$ cent." One month later, Meigs suggested $40 for an average value, which was $5 more than that proposed by Cherokee leaders. Meigs to Eustis, 12 December 1811, CIART, roll 5. In addition to the treaty stipulation, Section 14 of the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1796 established the process whereby victims could apply for compensation. For further discussion, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 206. See also, Tyler Barrett Howe, "'For the Regulation of our own Civil Affairs': The Broomstown Cherokee Law of 1808 and the Creation of the Cherokee Light Horse Guard," (MA Thesis, Western Carolina University, 2005), 18-19; Blount to Secretary of War Henry Knox, 8 November 1792, Carter, ed., *Southwest Territory*, 4: 210. Stealing and fencing stolen horses became a relatively easy way to make a cash profit or to trade for goods with unscrupulous white traders in far away American settlements. Howe, "For the Regulation of our own Civil Affairs," 21, 23-24; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 373. As the letter of Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, 5 May 1792, Lowrie and Clark, eds., *ASPIA*, 1:265, reflects, horse thefts were commonplace crimes in the

In 1797, the Cherokee council of leading chiefs created its own lighthorse force, with the encouragement of U.S. Indian Agents, Silas Dinsmoor and Benjamin Hawkins. This action represented an important innovation in Cherokee society. It served to establish a government-sanctioned unit of mounted law enforcers to keep the peace, expel white intruders, and curtail horse-stealing and cattle-rustling.[53] By authorizing this paramilitary unit to enforce laws, council leaders placed legitimate armed activity and the punishment of criminal offenders within an institution outside of individual or clan influence. This marked a transition from the traditional war parties led by charismatic war chiefs towards an "Americanized" military structure.

The Cherokee lighthorse answered only to the National Council. At Tellico in 1797, town leaders "appointed some warriors expressly to assist the chiefs in preventing horse stealing, and in carrying their stipulations . . . into effect." Hawkins promised incentives by pledging to reward "to him who exerts himself the most, to prevent horse stealing . . . a premium annually, of a rifle gun, with the name of the person engraved thereon, and a certificate that he is an honest man." He offered such rewards to encourage young men to achieve honorable renown through sanctioned manly behavior, much akin to a warrior seeking status and rank. Hawkins also recommended to Secretary of War James McHenry that the federal government financially assist the Cherokee to

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backcountry. He noted, "This business is carried on by white people and Indians in combination, and as soon as a horse is stolen, he is conveyed through the Indian nation to North or South Carolina, or Georgia, and in a short time, to the principal towns on the sea board, for sale, so as to effectually prevent a recovery."

[53] Cletus F. Fortwendel Jr., "Silas Dinsmoor and the Cherokees: An Examination of One Agent of Change," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 17 (1996): 39; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 44-46. For an example, see Turtle at Home, et al. to James Robertson, 1797, James Robertson Papers, box 2, folder 16, microfilm 801, accession no. 923, TSLA.

enable the employment of four enforcers with "one to have the pay and cloathing of a serjeant, [*sic*] the others that of soldiers."[54]

The Cherokee lighthorse presented an innovative, yet familiar, outlet for young males to demonstrate their masculine prowess. By placing this unit under the direction of the council, Cherokee leaders drastically changed the traditional organization of the Cherokee military structure, which had honored individual deeds. Captain Paris was one such example, "a native . . . authorized and required by the Chiefs of the nation to keep a troop of Horse always in readiness for the purpose of detecting and bringing to punishment all those of their nation who have been, or may be guilty of Murder, Robbery, theift [*sic*] or other outrages against the persons or property of any other natives or any white person who many be authorized to remain with them."[55] Paris had quite the reputation as a righteous and honorable man even among whites.

When the Cherokee National Council codified their laws in 1808, they included those that applied to the lighthorse, whose designated purpose was to protect private property, widows, and orphans.[56] The council paid for their services out of the treaty annuity owed by the federal government. As Cherokee men no longer warred against the United States and service in the community-sanctioned lighthorse became the primary

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[54] Benjamin Hawkins to Secretary of State James McHenry, 4 May 1797, Foster, ed., *Collected Works*, 136. For further discussion of the formation and purposes of the establishment of the Cherokee lighthorse, see Bob L. Blackburn, "From Blood Revenge to the Lighthorsemen: Evolution of Law Enforcement Institutions among the Five Civilized Tribes to 1861," *American Indian Law Review* 8 (1980): 49-63; Carolyn Foreman, "The Light-Horse in the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 34 (Spring 1956): 17-19.

[55] Journal of Three Commissioners from the state of Georgia to the Cherokees, 1 January 1803, Louise Frederick Hays, comp., *Cherokee Indian Letters, Talks, and Treaties, 1786-1838*, WPA project, (1939), pt. 1, 44, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Morrow, Georgia.

[56] For further discussion of this law, see John Lois Dickson, "Judicial History of the Cherokee Nation from 1721 to 1835" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1964; photocopy, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1981), 292-94.

honorable method for achieving status as warriors and to rise in rank. These units strove to maintain order and protect property, taking action against the lawless and frowned-upon "pony clubs" now deemed as inappropriate and dishonorable activities for young Cherokee males.[57]

Using organization similar to that of American troops, state militias, and southern slave patrols, six appointed regulators with a captain, lieutenant, and four privates, each serving for one year, formed a company. This unit, which had sporadically operated since 1797, now consisted of companies of six regulators each, operating in patrol circuits throughout the various geographic districts. The captains of these companies would also act as judges and administer punishment to malefactors. The severity of the crime determined the sentence, often a prescribed number of lashes meted out to the offender. The regulators could administer a maximum penalty of 100 lashes to a captured thief's exposed back. In Cherokee society, as in nearby white neighbors, marks of punishment such as ear cropping, removal of digits, or scars from whipping signified lost status and honor, which translated to a loss of masculinity.[58]

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[57] Blackburn, "From Blood Revenge to the Lighthorsemen," 53. As part of their task, the lighthorse often removed encroaching white settlers from Cherokee land.

[58] Kappler, ed., *Treaties*, 2:3. Captains received an annual salary of $50, while lieutenants earned $40 and privates received $30 per year. This promise of a reliable salary drew young men. This organization, though much smaller, mirrored the military organization established by the Federal Militia Act of 1792. For further discussion, see Jean Martin Flynn, *Militia in Antebellum South Carolina Society* (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1991), 23-26, 65; *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Adopted by the Council at Various Periods* (Tahlequah, OK: Cherokee Nation, 1852; reprint, Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1973), 4; Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System," 108. During the years between the original formation of the lighthorse in 1797 and 1801, Hawkins contributed federal funds for its operation. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 140, noted that, despite Hawkins efforts, this was not the case in the years 1802-1808. Howe, "'For the Regulation of our own Civil Affairs,'" 70-71, made a valid argument that the various regions or districts existed before they were reflected by Cherokee written law. See also, McLoughlin, "Thomas Jefferson and the Beginning of Cherokee Nationalism, 1805-1809," *Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861*, ed. William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 75-76. McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:382; Letter #2592 from Cherokee Leaders of Cowee of the Valley

The lighthorse was one way that the Cherokees adapted to the American civilization policy, while also using it to police their own territory as a sovereign people. Even others recognized this authority, such as the Creek Council who sent "a bunch of rods," declaring, "Brothers, We send you these rods to punish any of our foolish people who may steal from you" and hoped that "[a]fter such punishment they may repent and become good men."[59] The presence of the lighthorse reflected changes in Cherokee political, social, and military institutions. Service as a regulator in the lighthorse now became the most legitimate and honorable mode by which to earn or display male power.[60]

This change did not erase all traditional concepts about blood law, however. Though the records are silent, examination of dialog between Cherokee headmen and government agents reveals that the settling of blood debts between nations still remained important to Cherokee leadership. At an 1801 meeting with commissioners appointed by Jefferson, Doublehead complained that Tennesseans still held Cherokee prisoners, though the Cherokees had returned American captives in good faith. Now Doublehead chided that "we don't forget these debts."[61]

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Towns to Return J. Meigs, 18 February 1811, CIART, roll 5. Justice might not have always been foremost in the minds of the lighthorse guard. Reverend Daniel Butrick witnessed an orderly flogging of a thief but, a short time later, the unit was drunken and disorderly, lashing an innocent man. Apparently, Cherokee leaders deemed this behavior unacceptable because a few days afterwards some Cherokees administered a beating to the captain as a reprimand. See Foreman, "Light-Horse in the Indian Territory," 19, Marion L. Starkey, *Cherokee Nation* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 57-58; and Sheidley, "Unruly Men," 172.

[59] Klinck and Talman, eds., *Journal of Major Norton*, 157.

[60] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 9. Hatley posited that politics, warfare, and hunting were expressions of power that represented Cherokee manhood. The ballgame, known as the" little brother to war," was another legitimate place to earn and display male power.

[61] Chuquilatossue [Doublehead] to Commissioners, 6 September 1801, Foster, ed., *Collected Works*, 382.

> There are two which the whites owe us, killed in Cumberland, and these debts seem to increase, as blood has been spilt lately . . . We wish the State of Tennessee would exert herself night and day, and pay that blood which they owe us. We shall therefore wait for these payments, which we will never forget, and we shall think of these debts night and day.[62]

Nevertheless, the time of sending out war parties to extract such blood payment was past. In 1802 Secretary of War Henry Dearborn authorized Chickasaw Agent Silas Dinsmoor to offer monetary compensation for each Indian murdered by American citizens since the previous treaty. They hoped that such payment would assuage grief and prevent further bloodshed on the borders.[63]

Previously, traditional Cherokee clan law kept social order through clan revenge, a system in which male clan members avenged wrongs perpetrated on kin. In 1808, the National Council abolished clan revenge against those empowered as members of the lighthorse to act as judge, jury, and if necessary, executioner, responsible only to the council.[64]

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[62] Chuquilatossue to Commissioners, 6 September 1801, Foster, ed., *Collected Works*, 382; Rennard Strickland, "From Clan to Court: Development of Cherokee Law," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 31 (Winter 1972): 318.

[63] The United States continued to offer this type of satisfaction until Secretary of War John C. Calhoun stopped the practice in 1820. By this period, compensation had dropped from a maximum of $300 to a minimum of $100 for every Cherokee murdered. Interestingly, the average horse was valued at $50-60 at this time. Sara Gwenyth Parker, "The Transformation of Cherokee Appalachia" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1991; photocopy, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1997), 28-30.

[64] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:378; Rennard Strickland, *Fire and Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 133 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 58; Michelle Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System: The Metamorphosis of Cherokee Law from 1750 to 1840," *American Indian Quarterly* 11 (Spring 1987): 108. Other scholars have suggested that the prompt came from Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian minister working among the Cherokees. For more information on the Cherokee traditional maintenance of social order and the administration of clan justice, see Theda Perdue, "Clan and Court: Another Look at the Early Cherokee Republic," *American Indian Quarterly* 24 (Fall 2000): 562-69; and John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970). For more on the Cherokee lighthorse, see Blackburn, "From Blood Revenge to the Lighthorsemen, 49-63. The Ridge was a strong proponent for the abolition of the blood law. Perhaps this reflected his own experience of almost losing his life to clan members who demanded satisfaction for Cherokee relative killed by whites at Tellico as retaliation for The

Besides the formation of the lighthorse, Cherokee society experienced other important changes. In 1809, the Upper and Lower Towns ended a political struggle for leadership that had gone back to the turmoil of the Chickamauga times. This became possible after the 1807 execution of Doublehead, the primary leader of the Lower Town faction. This renowned Chickamauga warrior had favored public land cessions while privately benefiting from the deals. Without tribal sanction, he and his sister's husband, Tahlonteeskee, made a land cession in the 1805 Treaty of Tellico, though aware of a death penalty for such actions. Lighthorse Captain Bone Polisher unsuccessfully confronted Doublehead in 1807. The Ridge and Alexander Saunders finished what Bone Polisher had begun. Doublehead's clan did not seek revenge, thus verifying that the clans virtually accepted the new tribal central authority even before the law became a written one.[65]

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Ridge's war party's faux paś. Now he took over as commander of a lighthorse unit responsible for making sure that none took blood revenge. McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:379.

[65] McLoughlin, "James Vann," 58-59. A secret article awarded Doublehead a private reserve for his help to the federal government. He leased this land to twenty white croppers, some of whom subleased to others, making a total of thirty-eight legal tenants. A List of Tenants under Doubleheads claim at Muscle Shoals, 25 May, 1809, CIART, roll 4. See also, Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 64-65. Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 107-109, 111; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 374-75, 451-54; J.F.H. Claiborne, *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, the Mississippi Partisan* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1860; microfilm copy, University of Southern Mississippi), 45-49. This account varies somewhat from the account provided by Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 40, but the outcome was the same. After first delivering a blistering verbal assault, Bone Polisher tomahawked Doublehead, who drew a pistol and killed his attacker. Later that evening, ex-Loyalist John Rogers scolded Doublehead, who vehemently retorted that since Rogers was there only by the good graces of the Cherokees and had never sat in council or participated in war parties, he had "no place among the chiefs." In other words, Doublehead challenged Rogers's right to criticize him because in the Cherokee perspective, Rogers was not a real man. In contrast, Doublehead had taken lives and scalps and had even eaten the cooked flesh of two of his esteemed enemies. The execution party shot Doublehead in the jaw and neck. Though profusely bleeding, he escaped, but they tracked him down and finished the job. For further discussion, see McLoughlin, "James Vann," 63; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 120-21; and Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System," 109. There were probably others involved in the actual execution planning, including James Vann and George Saunders. Vann, forced to stay at home by illness, was the leader of the political faction that opposed Doublehead and his supporters. It was not until 1810 that the National Council codified the law "by order of the seven clans" to abolish traditional blood law, which took sanctioned punishment from the clans and gave jurisdiction to the National Council.

This lack of clan action signified a developing centralization of national authority and power. Shortly thereafter, over one thousand Lower Town supporters of Doublehead emigrated west of the Mississippi River. The Upper or Overhill Cherokees, nevertheless, requested that the U.S. government set a boundary between them and the Lower Towns. This sentiment disappeared soon after the emigration of the Doublehead party and paved the way for the political reunification of the towns.[66] This marked the true centralization of the Cherokee government.

The traditional ad hoc body of elderly headmen, the Cherokee National Council, established a thirteen-member National Committee to represent the various geographical districts, ranging from present-day northeast Alabama, north Georgia, east Tennessee, and western North Carolina. This smaller body of younger men existed to conduct the nation's everyday business, although subordinate to the National Council. By admitting these younger men into the executive decision-making process, the council of elders succeeded "to heal the rift in the tribe" that the generational Chickamauga crisis had first precipitated.[67]

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[66] Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System," 108; Mary Young, "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic," *American Quarterly* 33:5 Special Issue: American Culture and the American Frontier (Winter 1981): 51; Rogers, *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, 109-111; Woodward, *Cherokees*, 131; Cynthia Cumfer, "Local Origins of National Indian Policy: Cherokee and Tennessean Ideas about Sovereignty and Nationhood, 1790-1811," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23 (Spring 2003): 31; William G. McLoughlin, "The Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1813," *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians 1789-1861*, eds. William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 53; and McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 117.

[67] V. Richard Persico, Jr., "Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Political Organization," in *Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*, ed. Duane H. King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 98. Too, many members of these governing bodies often served in other prominent positions, such as ambassadors, delegates, and lighthorse judges. Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 50-51. Other southeastern tribes suffered from similar problems and organized lighthorse units. For example, see James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," *Ethnohistory* 42 (Summer 1995): 495-513. See also, McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 156-57; Jill Norgren, *The*

The new Cherokee government turned to addressing its most pressing issue—white encroachment. As new roads opened through the Cherokee country from the surrounding states, the incidences of horse thievery and other robberies also exceedingly multiplied in spite of the patrolling lighthorse.[68] Up to this time, the lighthorse had not been the only force operating in Cherokee territory to keep the peace. The United States government had promised to "exert *all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace*" and to remove white intruders.[69] Yet, Jefferson began to drastically downsize the federal military in 1801, even to the extent of selling the horses of the two companies of dragoons stationed at Southwest Point. White settlers took advantage of the paucity of American troops to build farms on forbidden Cherokee land.[70]

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*Cherokee Cases: Two Landmark Federal Decisions in the Fight for Sovereignty* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 42; McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes*, 1:376.

[68] These actions are analogous to the collection of booty by past, plundering war parties. One such patrol operated from Battle Creek in present-day Jackson County, Alabama. John and George Lowrey or John McIntosh, prominent Cherokee leaders, most likely led this force. Captain George Lowrey led lighthorse regulators in 1808 and 1810. Letter #2360 from James Ore to Return J. Meigs, 12 October 1809, CIART, roll 4; Letter #2673 from John Lowery, et al. to Return J. Meigs, no date, CIART, roll 5; *Indian Advocate*, January 1853, 3. Horses often served as a type of currency when hard specie was scarce. Colonel Return J. Meigs to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, 19 December 1807, CIART, roll 4.

[69] Thomas Jefferson to Henry Knox, 10 August 1791, reprinted in *Niles' Register*, 23 January 1830. For transcriptions and discussions of these treaties, see Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 5-6, 24-42, 50. Fort Southwest Point, near present-day Kingsport, Tennessee, garrisoned some of the Fourth Infantry Regiment and a company of dragoons to protect the Cherokees from white intruders and to deter lawlessness as stipulated in Article II of the 1798 Treaty of Tellico. Luke Henry Banker, "Fort Southwest Point, Tennessee: The Development of a Frontier Post, 1792-1807" (M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1972), 47, 90; Samuel D. Smith, "Military Sites Archaeology in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 59 (Fall 2000): 147. Built in 1797, Southwest Point served as the primary post for federal soldiers in the region and housed the Cherokee Indian Agency between 1801and 1807.

[70] Only one regiment of infantry and two companies of cavalry patrolled the Tennessee and Georgia frontier that bordered Indian lands. The regiment of Light Dragoon remained on active duty until June 1800. Two companies then stayed until March 1802. Francis Paul Prucha, *Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846*, (London: Macmillan Company, 1969), 59-60; Letter [#16] from John Newman, Chief Clerk, Department of War to Meigs, 3 August, 1801, Susan M. Abram, ed., "To Brighten the Chain of Friendship: The Cherokee Indian Agency Records, 1801," (M.A. Thesis, Western Carolina University, 2002), 33; Francis B. Heitman, ed., Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 1:79. For examples, see Dorothy Williams Potter, ed., *Passports of Southeastern*

After the turn of the nineteenth-century, Cherokee lighthorse duty now included warning impinging white settlers off Cherokee lands and burning their improvements to discourage their return.[71] In the spring of 1810 the Cherokee National Council relayed to Meigs their wish to "raise our own people, to remove these intruders" but then tabled the motion, looking to the federal government to meet its treaty obligation.[72] Over the next few months, the Cherokee leadership continued to request that the United States remove unauthorized whites, even asking Meigs to entreat the president to "cause his white children and their property to be kept separate from his red children."[73] The intruders stubbornly avoided permanent removal, even when threatened with arrest. For example, Meigs frustratingly wrote to Secretary of War William Eustis that as he ordered twenty soldiers to control the situation:

> A number of Intruders had returned to that place who had been twice removed off by the Troops, that they have grossly abused [John Lowery and his family], that they shot one of his negros tho' one of his thighs & threataren to drive him & his Brother off their own land & request immediate protection.[74]

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*Pioneers, 1770-1823: Indian, Spanish, Kentucky, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, North and South Carolina* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1982), 331-32. White intruders, removed from the region by Cherokees or U.S. troops, often received temporary passports from the federal Indian agent to return to harvest crops, gather livestock and other personal property from Cherokee lands upon which they had squatted. Patrols sometimes demonstrated sympathy for struggling families by not torching the crops or improvements until after harvest time.

[71] For an example, see Letter #2360 from James Ore to Return J. Meigs, 12 October 1809, CIART, roll 4; List of Intruders on Cherokee Lands removed in April, May & June 1809, 30 June 1809, CIART, roll 4. Meigs miscalculated the number of intruders estimated by the federal government in that calendar quarter. It should read 293 instead of 193. As time went on, the federal government became less willing to burn cabins, fencing, and crops. See, also, "Return J. Meigs to the Acting Secretary of War John Smith," 12 June 1809, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817*, in *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1937), 5:740. Meigs complained that his troops had just marched 425 miles to remove 284 intruder families in fifty-one days.

[72] Kalawaskee to Return J. Meigs, 28 March 1810, CIART, roll 5.

[73] Black Fox, Path Killer, Chulioa, Sour Mush, Turtle at Home, and Toochalar to Meigs, 9 April 1810; Cherokee National Council and signed, also, by the Cherokee Standing Committee to Meigs, 11 April 1810, CIART, roll 5.

[74] Meigs to William Eustis, 13 April 1810, and Meigs to Colonel Robert Purdy, 13 April 1810, CIART, roll 5.

Meigs further noted, "Removing them off has not the effect to discourage them or others from making new attempts at Settlement on Indian lands hoping as they say that the lands will be purchased & that in such case they shall have the preference of purchase."[75] And then there were those white share-croppers, initially hired by Cherokees, "who had permits" that "were never for more than one year at a time," who were "respectable families" who wanted to stay with their improvements.[76] This friction continued over the next few years between the Cherokees and American citizens intruding on Indian land and the federal troops ordered to remove them.[77]

The rapid changes in Cherokee society that began in the Revolution Era had brought unprecedented sources of conflict and levels of destructive violence. The factionalism between the young warrior-hunters and the older, more conservative men only highlighted the subsequent breakdown in traditional Cherokee society. Warriors soon surpassed the older statesmen in status. The younger men increased their political influence and wealth through diplomatic and economic interactions with the nascent American republic. Successful warfare exploits and success in hunting had previously

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[75] Meigs to Colonel Robert Purdy, 13 April 1810, CIART, roll 5. Troops had removed these particular intruders two previous times during the year. This time the unit destroyed forty cabins and their fencing though the intruders escaped capture by hiding in the nearby forest. Meigs claimed that the soldiers were weary and "difficult to restrain . . . from violence" against the intruders after traveling approximately 700 miles performing this futile duty. See Letter from Meigs to Eustis, 10 May 1810, CIART, roll 5.

[76] Meigs to Colonel Alexander Smyth, 4 February 1811, CIART, roll 5.

[77] Meigs sometimes called members of the Cherokee lighthorse to testify about complaints against Cherokees brought by whites living in adjacent states. He considered their testimony credible in making determinations of compensation, unlike the state court systems. For example, see Letter from Meigs to Richard Taylor, 27 February 1811, requesting the testimony of Captain James Foster and four other Cherokee light-horsemen, CIART, roll 5. Other incidents agitated white/Cherokee relations. It was not unheard of for the lighthorse to turn away white enterprisers as they attempted to enter Cherokee territory. The Ridge and thirty mounted Cherokees confronted a wagon party of whites and their black slaves entering the nation to establish an iron works. The party, hired by Colonel Elias Earle, had the proper passports and the permission of the U.S. War Department. Nevertheless, the lighthorse judged that this was not in the best interest of their people and turned the party away, thus fulfilling their pledge to protect the tribe from outside threats. For a full account, see Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 43-44.

connected Cherokee manhood, status, privilege, and respect with sacred obligations to protect the existence and honor of the clans.

In the short span of about twenty-five years, Cherokee men, from warriors to outlaws in "pony clubs" to men serving in lighthorse units, sought to renegotiate their expressions of masculinity and prowess as men. Warrior culture changed in structure as did Cherokee economics and politics. Cherokee society would face even more challenges during what William G. McLoughlin coined as the "new era of revitalization."[78]

[78] McLoughlin, "James Vann," 71; Fred Gearing, "Structural Pose of 18th Century Cherokee Villages," *American Anthropologist*, new series, 60 (December 1958): 1154-55. Gearing posited that Cherokee social structure was composed of four cyclical structural poses within a town. If one accepts his theory of organization, the Chickamauga era greatly disrupted this cycle of activity by its persistent state of war. In itself, this reflects a crisis because war was typically a time "of certain characteristic violations" of their "pervasive moral ideal" and not meant as typical or always acceptable. This opened negotiations within the culture for more change through internal as well as external forces.

## Chapter Three

## Towards the Clouded and Dark Path: The Road to War

The years from 1809 through 1813 proved to be a major turning point for the Cherokee Nation and arguably became what William G. McLoughlin labeled the beginning of the "Cherokee Renascence." This period of renewed "sense of self-determination and national destiny" followed the upheaval of the Chickamauga era, which had resulted in a struggle for Cherokee survival. This led to a new era of rebuilding, in which Cherokees sought to "revitalize their culture by combining old ways with new ones or by finding Cherokee versions of white ways."[1] These adjustments saw an increase in the number of nuclear families, white intermarriage, individual farmsteads, and the alteration of gender roles. Acquisitive materialism and an increasing emphasis on personal property led to the development of a nascent class system and a widening of socioeconomic differences. As Cherokee economic and social life changed, so too Cherokee political leaders sought greater centralized control over tribal affairs to strengthen an emerging national identity. As these profound changes contributed to the

[1] McLoughlin argued that this movement became clear only during the 1820s. This study argues that the previous decade contributed immensely through the leadership of the men involved in the Cherokee military actions. William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), xv-xix, 32, 326. See also, Letter of the National Council to Return J. Meigs, 27 September 1809, CIART, roll 4. After most of Doublehead's supporters voluntarily moved west after his execution, the various regional headmen met in Broom's Town to reunify as one people and one government. Broom's Town, or Frogtown, residents had relocated the town from northwest Georgia to Broom's Valley in present day Cherokee County, Alabama, during the Chickamauga era. Amos J. Wright Jr., *Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 22-23.

reshaping of Cherokee life, tensions and troubles abounded. Trouble with white neighbors coupled with uncertainty as war loomed between the United States and Great Britain challenged Cherokee leadership. Lawlessness from domestic and external origins contributed to an escalating level of anxiety.

With all these pressures, self-proclaimed prophets or dreamers and their believers challenged Cherokee leadership by claiming guidance and empowerment from the spiritual world. The Cherokee prophetic movement, likely influenced by the Shawnee Prophet and Tecumseh, presented an opposing strategy for dealing with the sweeping changes initiated through contact with Americans. The Cherokees had a decision to make. Thus this chapter explores the developing alliance between the older headmen and a rising, influential group of younger men in deciding the tribal future as they discounted prophetic challengers who called for the turning away from any American accommodation. Consequently "real" men, or the protectors of Cherokee society, experienced an increase in their power. Once again, the discourse came to center around Cherokee men and war and which side they would join.

Changes and challenges became analogous and tightly interwoven. Cherokee land settlement patterns reflected the vast changes that occurred after the end of the Chickamauga armed resistance. Town communities still existed, although their physical structure transformed. The devastations of war forced the Cherokee population to scatter up and down the waterways, using distance to decrease population density as a strategy for survival. In addition, land cessions forced groups of Cherokees to abandon forty

towns and relocate within the shrinking Cherokee territory.[2] Often families resettled two or three times, seeking refuge with kin who suffered from their own shortage of resources. In 1804, 1807, and again beginning in 1811, the Cherokees suffered starving times because of stressed resources from droughts and poor harvests. In answer to pleas for assistance, the federal agent for the Cherokees, Return J. Meigs, traded food for more Cherokee land or deducted the price of corn for their relief from tribal annuities.[3]

Nevertheless, farmsteads continued to spring up throughout the Cherokee country and livestock ownership flourished. As long as one neighbor did not infringe on another and allowed a green area between properties where cattle and other livestock could free range, a Cherokee could use as much communal land as one wished. These farmsteads,

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[2] McLoughlin, "Cherokee Anomie, 1794-1810: New Roles for Red Men, Red Women, and Black Slaves," in *Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861*, ed. William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 8. See Charles C. Royce, *Cherokee Nation of Indians* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1975), taken from Charles C. Royce, "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* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1887), 3, for a list of tracts of land ceded in the treaties of 1798, 1804, 1805, and 1806. In the last decade of the 1700s, seven battles with Indian groups culminated in ten treaties with land cessions to the United States. During the first decade of the 1800s, thirty such treaties occurred without any military coercion, reflecting the change in United States Indian policy to that of expansion with honor. George Washington's administration deemed it much too costly to conduct military expeditions and used diplomatic negotiations and bribery to obtain land from Indian groups. Reginald Horsman, "American Indian Policy in the Old Northwest, 1783-1812," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 18 (January 1961): 37; Terry L. Anderson and Fred S. McChesney, "The Political Economy of Indian Wars," in *The Other Side of the Frontier: Economic Explorations into Native American History*, ed. Linda Barrington, American and European Economic History Series (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 215; Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, 17 April 1791, *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford, 12 vols. (NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-05), 1:242-43.

[3] Turtle at Home and John Boggs to Return J. Meigs, 15 June 1811, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835, Record Group 75, microfilm M-208, roll 5, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as CIART); "Memorandum of Corn Received of William Hicks," 6 March 1811, CIART, roll 5. Meigs saw to it that 268 bushels of corn were delivered to eighty Cherokee families in the towns of "Chilhowe, telaysy, Cytico, Chota, tellico, Big telico, [and] Cheoe." See also a request for aid for thirty-eight more families in the Lower Town region, John Lowry, George Lowry, Robert McLamore, John Fox, Eight Killer, Crow Mocker, Six Killer, and Onatays to Meigs, 24 March 1811, CIART, roll 5 and Chief Black Fox at Creek Path to Meigs, 21 June 1811, CIART, roll 5. See too, McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 179, and "Cherokee Anomie," 8-9.

for the most part, remained tied to specific communities with each led by a recognized chief or town leader.[4]

By 1809 a federal census revealed that most of approximately 128 Cherokee communities contained farmsteads with some chickens, swine, sheep, black cattle, and horses. Throughout the Cherokee Nation were three saw mills, thirteen grist mills, three saltpeter works, and two powder mills, along with five schools, all connected by several hundreds of miles of roads with ferries at key river crossings. At Cherokee homesteads, the agent counted 429 looms, 1,572 spinning wheels, 567 plows, and 583 African American slaves. The Cherokee population consisted of 12,395 people of which almost one-half were males. White men married to Cherokee women numbered 113 with the total number of whites who the government sanctioned to live with the Cherokees was 341. One estimate suggests that 15 percent of the tribal population lived in the Lower Towns, 28 percent in the Upper Towns north of Chickamauga, and 27 percent in the lands now part of the state of Georgia. Approximately 30 percent of the Cherokee population resided in the more impoverished Valley Town region, which claimed only five slaves or less than 1 percent of the total human chattel count among the Cherokees at the time.[5]

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[4] Wilma Dunaway, "Rethinking Cherokee Acculturation: Agrarian Capitalism and Women's Resistance to the Cult of Domesticity, 1800-1838," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21:1 (1979), 161, 181; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 169.

[5] William G. McLoughlin, "Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1813," in *Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861*, ed. William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 117-18; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 170-73; McLoughlin, "Experiment in Cherokee Citizenship, 1817-1829," in *Cherokee Ghost* Dance, 225-27; E. Raymond Evans, "Highways to Progress: Nineteenth Century Roads in the Cherokee Nation," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 2 (Fall 1977): 394-400; Meigs to Secretary of War William Eustis, 5 February 1811, CIART, roll, 5; Captain James McDonald, Highwassee Commander, 26 April 1811, CIART, roll 5. The Cherokees never had enough plows, looms, spinning wheels, and mattocks to fill their needs. For instance, in a letter from John Finley to Meigs, 19 June 1811, CIART, roll 5, he reports that the Cherokees in the Tellico area requested that a white man make looms and plows for them.

By 1810, the Upper, Valley, and Mountain Towns realized that the federal government believed them to be "at least twenty years behind the lower town . . . Indians" yet had mostly ignored them.[6] The United States government had favored the former Chickamauga Lower Towns when distributing agricultural implements and annuities in return for the support of headmen such as Doublehead, who had accepted bribes to cede Cherokee land and to gather support for those cessions. The other regional headmen objected to this lack of attention. To somewhat rectify the inequities, Meigs attempted to set aside some tools for those from the more distant Upper, Valley, and Mountain Towns who were willing to make the long trip to the Cherokee Agency to receive them. Thus, despite the fact that the Cherokees had politically reunified in 1809, social and economic gaps increasingly existed between the Cherokee regions.

Though Cherokee territory had never been completely "off limits" to whites, Cherokee leaders and the federal agent intensified their efforts to control the number of those who did reside within Cherokee borders, hoping to keep out potential troublemakers. Further complicating this control was the fact that many white men took Cherokee wives; such intermarriage had been a long-standing practice among the

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Between seven families, they had only one old plow to share. See also, Black Fox to Meigs, 21 June 1811, CIART, roll 5.Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 48. The census taker only separately enumerated the Valley and Mountain Towns, where he counted 1,750 males out of a total of 3,648 Cherokees in the region. In addition, this area accounted for only approximately 17 percent of the spinning wheels and 16 percent of the total looms in the nation. Even worse, these seventy families only owned forty plows, or less than 1 percent of the total in the nation, between them. As previously mentioned, these figures reflect the favoritism that the Indian Agency had shown towards the Lower Town headmen in the distribution of the implements of the civilization program.

[6] Letter #2161 from George Barber Davis to Return J. Meigs, 17 October 1808, CIART, roll 4. Nevertheless, even the Valley Towns by 1808 could claim 70 looms and 271 spinning wheels. See Letter #2161 from B. Davis to Return J. Meigs, 17 October 1808, CIART, roll 4; Letter #2093 from Return J. Meigs to Henry Dearborn, 11 July 1808, CIART, roll 4; Meigs to Eustis, 15 December 1810, CIART, roll 5. See also Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, eds., *Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, Publications of the Champlain Society 46 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970), 146.

Cherokees. Cherokees recognized the men as Cherokee countrymen, who became virtual Cherokee citizens by virtue of their marriages. Cherokees considered the children of these unions as Cherokee citizens due to the traditional matrilineal clan structure of Cherokee society. By the turn of the nineteenth century, many Cherokee warriors possessed white surnames, having adopted the naming practices of their white fathers. Some spoke the English language, but most were illiterate. Regardless of their white paternity, Cherokee society accepted these bicultural Cherokees and their white fathers as legitimate citizens.[7]

This was not the case with whites whom the Cherokees deemed outsiders. As land use practices changed, Cherokee men became increasingly agreeable to cultivation and herding. Federal Indian policy encouraged men to take up the plow, while women were to sit at the spinning wheel instead of conducting the bulk of the farming activities. Many Cherokee men found this change in lifestyle profitable but demeaning, so they hired white sharecroppers. Too, the Indian agent, often at the request of Cherokee headmen, would permit certain necessary skilled craftsmen, such as blacksmiths or millers, to work and live within the Cherokee boundary by issuing licenses and monitoring their actions to make sure they practiced the proper decorum expected of a visitor. This quickly became a problem as more sharecroppers decided to establish their own farms and hired laborers left their positions to try their luck at farming. Many

[7] Francis Paul Prucha, ed., "Trade and Intercourse Act of March 30, 1802," *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 1990), 17-21; Letter from the Cherokee National Council to Meigs, 5 May 1811, CIART, roll 5; Letter from Meigs to Eustis, 10 May 1811, CIART, roll 5. The Cherokees did request that certain white mechanics, such as millers and blacksmiths, ferrymen, and some teachers remain amongst them as long as they were of good character. For further discussion of Cherokee identity, see Theda Perdue, *"'Mixed Blood' Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*," Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, no. 45 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003).

whites whom the Cherokees had originally invited to reside amongst them now simply chose to illegally squat on Cherokee land, hoping that their presence would encourage the U.S. to seek more land cessions to accommodate them.[8]

Illegal squatters, however, were not the only problem that the Cherokees faced during this intense time. Adding to the general suspicion and unrest surging in the American backcountry, lawlessness intensified after a period of three relatively calm years as young men, both white and Indian, once again began to raid and plunder.[9] As civil war brewed among the Creeks, Cherokee headmen sought to again control and guide the actions of their young men. Once again they looked to those young regulators of the lighthorse to enforce order. Most of the young men who now served on the Cherokee National Committee either were or had been active as regulators in the lighthorse. Now they, along with the more cautious elders on the Cherokee National Council, had to forge a course of action regarding the upcoming wars, while at the same time trying to keep the peace with U.S. citizens. The probability of a new war between Great Britain and the United States led federal, state, and local authorities to fear that the Cherokees might enter into a military alliance with Great Britain or join the pan-Indian movement led by the Shawnee Tecumseh and his brother Tenswatawa against white expansion, political

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[8] "Petition of Sundry Indians at Tuckegee to Meigs," 15 February 1814, CIART, roll 6. For examples, see Return J. Meigs to Cherokee Chiefs Convened in Council," 27 March 1810, and 10 May 1810, Meigs to Secretary of War William Eustis, roll 5; also, see Meigs to John Hall, 12 February 1814, CIART, roll 6. Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (NY: Peter Smith, 1941; reprint, Carnegie Institution of Washington, no. 430), 2:634. Gray noted that between 1801 and 1841 Congress passed eighteen special preemption acts to recognize squatters in public domain. White citizens, seeking cheap land, were well aware of the American government's tendency to seek accommodations for those who illegally settled on Indian lands. For further discussion, see Robert S. Cotterill, "National Land System in the South: 1803-1812," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 16 (March 1930): 495-506.

[9] The frequent loss of land due to treaty cessions most likely contributed to this rising friction between the Americans and raiding young men.

influence, and acculturation. As white fear grew that the Cherokees might become embroiled in a civil war like the Creeks over economic, political, religious, and social differences, Cherokee leaders sought ways to demonstrate their proof of alliance and peaceful intentions. Shortly after a revitalization movement led by prophets failed, Cherokee leadership decided to join the coalition of national Creeks and U.S. forces to put down the Creek Red Stick rebellion. Cherokees hoped that their military commitment might end the suspicions, avert hostilities, and ease tensions between them and their white neighbors and lead to a stable, long-lasting relationship with the federal government.

An examination of the Cherokee prophetic movement is in order at this juncture. Revitalization movements had intensified among many eastern tribes, especially those located in the north. Cherokee prophetic messengers emerged in 1811, about the same time that the famed Shawnee Ghost Dance or Dance of the Lakes movement spread southward. Because of the participation of some Creeks in this pan-movement, many scholars have closely associated the Red Stick or Creek War of 1813-1814 as part of Tecumseh and Tenswatawa's campaign against acculturation and white encroachment that became part of the larger War of 1812. Gregory Dowd, however, makes a strong argument that the Shawnee nativist movement was merely another episode in a process that had been going on since before the Seven Years War. Dowd posited that this extensive movement's purpose was to push tribal boundaries, shape Indian identity, and conceive a strategy of resistance against white expansion.[10] One must understand that

[10] McLoughlin, "Ghost Dance Movements: Some Thoughts on Definition Based on Cherokee History," *Ethnohistory* 37 (Winter 1990): 27. The Shawnee message emerged from a vision experienced by Tecumseh's brother Tenswatawa, also known as The Prophet. He claimed that an "imminent,

"for nativists, acceptable changes were to come about through traditionally sanctioned means."[11] In other words, Native American cultures were not stagnant or unchanging, and never have been. Various groups within tribes maneuvered for the right to negotiate and determine how or if they would integrate selective changes within their own society.

Of course, military, diplomatic, and kinship alliances had existed for some time between some of the Shawnee, Creek, and Cherokee peoples. The recent Chickamauga resistance had included participants from all three groups.[12] After 1800, the Creeks maintained a closer relationship with the northward tribes than they did the Cherokees, yet the southern tribes were far from ignorant of the Pan-Indian confederacy that Tecumseh was promoting. In late summer of 1811, the charismatic leader journeyed south to garner support for the movement. It was on this expedition that the famed prophet Seekaboo accompanied Tecumseh south but remained with the Creeks to become a valuable, skilled orator and religious leader among the Red Stick faction. They soon

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cataclysmic destruction of the whites, the restoration of the dwindling game, and a return to . . . precontact life" would occur. Many followers sought to revive their old ways by shunning white culture and consumer goods. For a detailed treatment of Tecumseh and Tenswatawa, see, Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 109th ser. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 129, 139-47; Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period* (Charleston, SC: Walker and James, 1851; reprint, Montgomery, AL: River City Publishing, 2003), 511-15; Susan K. Barnard and Grace M. Schwartzman, "Tecumseh and the Creek Indian War of 1813-1814 in North Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 83 (Fall 1998): 491-95. For information on the War of 1812, consult Donald R. Hickey, *War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Harry L. Coles, *War of 1812*, Chicago History of American Civilization Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Marcus Cunliffe, *The Nation Takes Shape, 1789-1837*, Chicago History of American Civilization Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 57-62, and John R. Elting, *Amateurs, To Arms! A Military History of the War of 1812*, Major Battles and Campaigns Series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1991, 1995). See also George C. Chalou, "Red Pawns go to War: British-American Indian Relations, 1810-1815," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1971; photocopy, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 2005) and Douglas R. Hurt, *Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 315-44.

[11] Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 129.

[12] For further discussion of this long relationship, see Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Cherokees in the Ohio Country," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3 (Winter 1978): 95-102; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 144-45.

rebelled against the leadership of the Creek National Council because of their close ties to the United States.[13]

Among the Cherokees, with the pressures to acculturate and the growing, surrounding white population, new self-proclaimed Cherokee prophets began to deliver millenarian forecasts. They preached that unless people returned to the traditional ways of their ancestors and gave up acculturated white ways, the Great Spirit would punish them and destroy those who did not heed the warnings. A Cherokee man, Charley or Tsali, and two women from Coosawatee experienced a vision. They attended a "great medicine dance" and "talk in Oostanaula" on February 7, 1811 to warn Cherokees to stop cultivating like white men. They should all return to growing "Indian corn and pound it according to your ancestors' ways," using a traditional wood *kanona*, or corn pounder, because "the mother of the nation has left you, because all her bones are being broken through the milling." In addition, they warned the people to revert to a traditional lifestyle and seek the return of the sacred "old 'beloved Towns'" that had been lost through land cessions. Furthermore, these prophetic messengers scolded that "your mother is not pleased that you punish each other severely. Yes, you whip until blood flows," intimating that the role of the Cherokee lighthorse was blasphemous to the

[13] For further discussion of Cherokees who resided among the northern Shawnee, see Gregory Evans Dowd, "Thinking and Believing: Nativism and Unity in the Ages of Pontiac and Tecumseh," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2000), 396. For a first-hand account of Tecumseh's visit to Tuckabatchee, see Samuel Dale, *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, The Mississippi Partisan*, ed. John Francis Claiborne (NY: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1860), microfilm, University of Southern Mississippi, 50-62. See also, Letter from Colonel Benjamin Hawkins to Big Warrior, Little Prince, and other Chiefs, 16 June 1814, "Creek, Wyandot, and others," *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States-Indian Affairs*(hereafter referred to as *ASPIA*), ed. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Claire Clark, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:845; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 146-47; Gregory A. Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 77-80; Theron A. Nunez Jr., "Creek Nativism and the Creek War of 1813-1814," *Ethnohistory* 5 (Winter 1958): 1-17.

ancient blood law of the seven clans. The visionaries ended by admonishing, "If you now make it known and there is someone who does not believe it, know that things will not go well for him." Furthermore, Tsali relayed that a violent hailstorm would destroy whites and those following white ways, while those who followed the Cherokee way would survive. He convinced many listeners that they must seek haven in the mountains, leaving behind all their material possessions reflecting white influence, including their orchards, beehives, and slaves, because the "Great Spirit was angry, and had withdrawn his protection" for those who did not belief.[14]

No one at this meeting rose to challenge this message except The Ridge, a warrior, lighthorseman, and National Committeeman, who stated, "My friends, the talk you have heard is not good. It would lead us to war with the United States, and we should suffer."[15] Upon challenging the prophet's credibility, enraged supporters of the visionary attacked The Ridge, who barely escaped major injury, though they managed to stab one of his friends who jumped to his aid. In the end, while this prophecy gained

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[14] James Wafford's account to James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 19th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington: GPO, 1900), 88. In his later years, Wafford, or Worn-Out Blanket, served like a tribal historian. He was born in the old Cherokee Nation region of north Georgia in 1806. For further information on Wafford, see George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, ed. Michael Macdonald Mooney (1841; reprint, NY: Gramercy Books, 1975), 368. Diary entry, 10 February 1811, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, 1805-1813*, ed. Rowena McClinton, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 1:411-12 (hereafter referred to as *Springplace Diaries*). For further discussion, see William G. McLoughlin, "New Angles of Vision on the Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly* 5 (November 1979): 317-19, 324-26; McLoughlin, "Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1813," 27, 111-51, and *Cherokee Renascence*, 179-85; and Michelene E. Pesantubee, "When the Earth Shakes: The Cherokee Prophecies of 1811-12," *American Indian Quarterly* 17 (Summer 1993): 301; Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 169, 2nd ed. rvs. (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1970; Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 58-59.

[15] Diary entry, 10 February 1811, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:412, Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America: With Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, UK: John Grant, 1933; reprint, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972), 1:388. See also James Mooney's account, as told to him by the James Wafford, who was about ten years old during these events, in *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 14th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington: GPO, 1896; reprint., NY: Dover Publications, New Publications, 1973), 676-77.

some believers in the Oostanaula area, the Mountain and Valley Towns of the Middle Settlements region did not accept the message.[16] Nevertheless, the Cherokee James Wafford, a young boy living along Valley River, vividly recalled:

> [T]he troops of pilgrims with their packs on their backs, fleeing from the lower country to escape the wrath to come. Many of them stopped at the house of his stepfather . . . who took the opportunity to endeavor to persuade them to turn back, telling them that their hopes and fears alike were groundless. Some listened to him and returned to their homes but others went on and climbed the mountain where they waited until the appointed day arrived only to find themselves disappointed.[17]

Eventually, the opinions of Cherokee leaders, such as Charles Hicks, would dominate and calm the fears of the Cherokee populace.

The famous New Madrid earthquake and associated tremors before and after, along with a solar eclipse, seemed to mark the beginning of the end for those who acknowledged the vision and contributed to the escalation of the movement's fervor.[18] Some Cherokees even feared that the earth, which was "very old," would break apart. They blamed the tremors on conjurors or wondered if a great *Uktena*, the mythic horned snake, had "crawled under their house."[19] Much conjecture about the continued ferocity of the earthquakes over the next few months took place, and it was reported that "fear and

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[16] This fact is significant because the Middle Settlements had the largest population of traditional Cherokees living there.

[17] Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion,* 676-77.

[18] Though the epicenters for these three violent earthquakes with a magnitude-8 were near New Madrid, Missouri, the entire central Mississippi Valley area experienced the effects with some damage even noted along the South Carolina coast and in Washington, D.C. The first major quake occurred on 16 December 1811. Eugene Schweig, Joan Gomberg, and James W. Hendley II, "Reducing Earthquake Losses Throughout the United States: The Mississippi Valley-'Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On,'" U.S. Geological Survey Fact Sheet-168-95 (1995) 2 March 1998. http://quake.usgs.gov/prepare/factsheets/NewMadrid (accessed 20 March 2008).

[19] Diary entries, 10 February 1811, 17 December 1811, and 9 February 1812, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:412, 460-61, 469-70. The Moravian mission reported the first shocks from the earthquakes on December 15, 1811. Throughout the region, people reported darkened spring water and large, new sinkholes, some as deep as twenty feet and with a circumference of 120 feet.

horror has spread throughout the nation."[20] Many Cherokees journeyed to the Moravian Mission to hear the Christian explanation for this unusual and prolonged event. Shoe Boots and Big Bear made this trip in February 1812 and provided the missionaries a detailed account of another Cherokee's vision and its connection to the earthquakes.

The missionaries recorded what they described as a "cock-and-bull story" as follows:

> [A]n Indian sat in his house deep in thought and his children lay sick in front of the fire. . . A tall *man* . . . walked in . . . [and] carried a small child on his arm . . . that was God. "I cannot tell you now if God will soon destroy the earth or not. God is, however, not satisfied that the Indians have sold so much land to the white people."[21]

The Cherokee went on to explain how God wanted whites ejected from Tugalo, the "*first* place that God created" because He had placed the "*first* fire" there for the Cherokees.[22] Only after whites returned the sacred town to the Cherokees, God said, would there be peace.

Other exhortations warned Cherokees of further cataclysmic events. Laughing Molly sought out the advice of the missionaries when more rumors spread in March 1812 that in June at the time of a lunar eclipse "hailstones as big as 'hominy blocks'" would destroy all cattle, followed a short time later by the destruction of the earth. Supposedly, the only way to survive and not "be carried away" was to get rid of all white clothing and goods so that "a *new* earth would arise in the spring." By early 1812 Agent Meigs

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[20] Diary entry, 23 February 1821, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:475.
[21] Ibid., 17 February 1812, 1:474.
[22] Ibid.

reported that some Cherokees were trying to "appease the Anger of the great Spirit" through "religious dances of ancient origin" and by going to water.[23]

The Cherokee National Council met in April 1812 with a discussion of the prophecies on the agenda. At the behest of Meigs, the Moravian Brother Gambold spoke hoping to diffuse the sense of panic the visions and rumors had initiated and to "calm the spirits of the Indians as much as possible." Meigs and Gambold left feeling assuaged when the prominent headman Sour Mush relayed that "he was not angry at all with the white people, but with his own people's misbehavior and recklessness."[24]

Because the cataclysmic events never occurred and the vision was false, the main prophet Tsali's support melted away. In contrast, the prophets circulating amongst the northern tribes and the Creeks retained many believers. An armed dissident Creek faction, the Red Sticks, rebelled against the Big Warrior and other members of the wealthy Creek National Council, whom they felt acted only to enrich their own elite group. This pitted the Creek government's authorized warriors under William McIntosh, acting as law menders or lighthorse regulators, against many traditional leading warriors who were accepting of the spiritual dogma of Tecumseh's movement. Unlike the Creek leadership, The Ridge and other prominent warrior/headmen had successfully and without bloodshed nullified Tsali's vision and led to an overwhelming consensus among the people. The end result was a decision-making governing process that was distinctly

[23] Diary entries, 1 March 1812 and 8 March 1812, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:477-78; Return J. Meigs, "Some Reflections on Cherokee concerns, manners, state, etc.,"19 March 1812, CIART, reel 5.

[24] Diary entry, 8 April 1812, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:487.

secular and accepted by the vast majority of Cherokees.[25] The respected elderly headmen and the rising class of young warrior/leaders joined together to carry public opinion against prophets claiming divine guidance. This is what Raymond Fogelson would deem an "epitomizing event"—this failed Ghost Dance movement would act as a catalyst for change rather than signify it.[26]

Joel Martin noted that the vast majority of Cherokees refused to be "drawn into a prophetic movement led by charismatic leaders and shaped by eschatological rhetoric."[27] Martin agreed with Duane Champagne's observation that the organization of Cherokee government and its leadership had successfully severed the institution from religious ideology and clan rule. This, they claim, allowed for successful unification of class interests throughout the nation. Michelene E. Pesantubee posited that the Cherokee prophecies of this time represented both nativist and restorationist characteristics that failed because they lacked a central, unifying component.[28]

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[25] The murders of whites on the frontier by some of these Creeks resulted in Creek Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins insisting that the Creek National Council bring the perpetrators to justice. Big Warrior and the council authorized the law menders to execute those deemed instigators. Some of the executions took place within the square ground of a white or peace town, further fueling the subsequent retributive strikes against members of the Creek Council and their supporters who sanctioned the lawmenders, resulting in a civil war. For further information, see Benjamin W. Griffith Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford: Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 80-88, and Claudio Saunt, *New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 250-52. For more on this new government process and comparisons between tribal governments in the southeast, see Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

[26] Raymond Fogelson, "Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents," *Ethnohistory* 36 (Spring 1989):143.

[27] Joel W. Martin, "Visions of Revitalization in the Eastern Woodlands: Can a Middle-Aged Theory Stretch to Embrace the First Cherokee Converts?" in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, ed. Michael E. Harkin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 70.

[28] Martin, "Vision of Revitalization," 70; Champagne**,** *Social Order and Political Change*, 86; Pesantubee, "When the Earth Shakes," 314.

Looking still deeper, the renowned warrior The Ridge's successful challenge to these proclaimed prophetic messengers indicates a continuity of events that gave credence to the power and influence of young, virile, manly warriors over unproven conjurer-prophets.[29] As Martin posited, the Cherokees were "already involved in an impressive and systemic revitalization movement" and had been negotiating this through the crisis and changes that had taken place since the Chickamauga era.[30] With the centralization of government function, warriors/headmen now acted to protect the interests of the larger Cherokee community and not just their own town or region. This republican action that transcended class differences represents a tribal communitism or mass movement to protect cultural identity and sovereignty.[31] Paradoxically one must not forget that town headmen still felt responsible for their townspeople's welfare, while, at the same time, their own kinship relationships in their community remained viable.[32] Thus the management of localized internal affairs remained mostly autonomous from the nation's business.

Resultant actions taken by the Cherokees at the time of the Cherokee Ghost Dance movement reveal that traditionalists and progressives had many of the same objectives. While those who adhered even for a short time to the prophecies sought removal of white acculturation and influence, the progressives sought to restrict and control the white presence living among them. Whether or not the Cherokee National Council and headmen gave credence to the visions, this was a time of renewed efforts to

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[29] McLoughlin, "New Angles of Vision on the Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement," 335.

[30] Martin, "Vision of Revitalization," 71.

[31] Jace Weaver**,** *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), xiii, 6. Weaver explains that communitism is a blending of "community" and "activism."

[32] Duane Champagne, "Symbolic Structure and Political Change in Cherokee Society," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 8 (Fall 1983), 90-91.

limit white residents on Cherokee land, sometimes with the headmen asking for federal assistance.[33]

Further troubles stirred in the southeast. By October 1811, rumors among white settlers spread and added to the general fear of an outbreak of Indian hostilities. Frontier Americans responded by speaking about the probability of an Indian war in the southeast. In the Mississippi Territory town of Huntsville, John Brahan, Receiving Officer for the Cherokee Indian Agency, wrote to Meigs that, "It is rumored that the Creeks are preparing for war against us, if true they must be a blind people, and will no doubt prove their own destruction."[34] Elevating strife between white settlers on the frontier and Indian tribes further aggravated rising apprehensions. Increased incidents of robberies and murders did nothing to appease the increasing anxiety that Great Britain might encourage Indian peoples to rise against the United States. As episodes of violence and thievery continued between the Cherokees and their white neighbors, some Tennessean citizens even threatened Cherokees with war, inciting quarrels as a "pretext for driving the Indians off their lands."[35] It became more difficult for Cherokees to recover stolen

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[33] For more on this concept that explains these responses to rapid changes in Cherokee society, see Russell Thornton, "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees," *Ethnohistory* 40 (Summer 1993): 359-83. Thornton convincingly argues that both parties sought to combine traditional and new practices, and so in actuality, both promoted continuity and change. McLoughlin, "Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1813," 122-23.

[34] Captain John Brahan to Meigs, 1 October 1811, CIART, roll 5; Major John Finley, Tellico Garrison, to Meigs, 18 June 1811, CIART, roll, 5.

[35] For examples, see Judge David Campbell to Meigs, 8 October 1811, and List of Claims of Citizens of the United States & of Cherokees, for Indemnification for damages suffered by them respectively, by Meigs, Arariah Davids, and George C. White, examiners, to Eustis, 25 August 1811; Charles Williams to Meigs, 7 December 1811; John Lowry to Meigs, 26 March 1812; Meigs to Eustis, 6 April 1812; and John Lowry to Meigs, 6 October 1812, CIART, roll 5. See also John Lowry from seven white men from Franklin County, Tennessee, 30 January 1813, and Meigs to Armstrong, 30 July 1813, CIART, roll 6; and David Dickson to Governor David B. Mitchell, 2 August 1813, *Cherokee Letters, Talks, and Treaties, 1786-1838*, pt. 1 (Atlanta: Department of Archives and History of Georgia, n.d.), 150.

property from whites than vice versa because white courts did not honor Indian testimony.[36]

While the Cherokee lighthorse struggled to maintain a semblance of control, they often did not have the cooperation of white citizens. Complicating circumstances, some Cherokee citizens began to take matters into their own hands. One argument over the ownership of a black slave and her children brought threats of clan retribution. More and more often, American and Cherokee citizens clashed over the legal ownership of slaves. In one instance, a federal soldier involved in the recovery of slaves claimed and held by a Cherokee reported that "the Indians came to the Ferry . . . painted and determined to take the property by force."[37] Another incident sorely tested the Cherokees when a white man killed a Cherokee man, who was peaceably traveling downriver with his family. The headmen in the area reported to Meigs that it had been almost impossible to "restrain a Brother of the murdered Cherokee from seeking . . . Satisfaction by Killing some white man . . . a debt due them."[38] In yet another instance, Meigs feared that a quarrel would "very near to involve the Cherokees & the white people in Shedding Blood profusely &

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[36] Talk from Richard Brown, a Cherokee Chief, to Meigs, 21 June 1811, CIART, roll 5; John Lowry to Meigs, 3 July 1811 and Turtle-at-home, John Lowry, and John Bogs to Meigs, 6 July 1811, CIART, roll 5. See also, Kaluwaskee (Charles Hicks) to Meigs, 25 October 1811, CIART, roll 5. For another example of Cherokee-white friction which demonstrates how events that occurred long in the past remained festering problems, see Note from Meigs, 1811, stating that during the Cherokee War, white militia had captured a Cherokee woman and sold her into slavery. Cherokee leaders found out that she and her present owner had moved close to the Cherokee nation and demanded her return, along with her children she had since had. For further information, see Narrative of Nancy, an Indian Woman, 2 June 1812, CIART, roll 5.

[37] John Montgomery to Meigs, Jackson County, Georgia, 11 June 1811, CIART, roll 5. Usually in such an instance, the agent upheld the U.S. citizens's claim until the matter could be settled after evidence was presented before an appointed panel of upstanding white citizens who would here evidence brought by both parties. These situations often encompassed debt settlements, some of which became complex when a party issued notes on slaves as collateral for loans or in lieu of purchases. If one party died, often multiple note-holders would step forward to claim property from the deceased's estate.

[38] Meigs to Eustis, 31 July 1811, CIART, roll 5.

of involving the innocent on each side in distress."[39] He sent his concerns to his Cherokee "Friends & Brothers" stating:

> It must not be in the power of a few bad men on each side to involve the U. States & the Cherokees in shed[d]ing blood—if such men are suffered to do these things with impunity it is easy to see the event—The U. States & the Cherokees must hold each other by the hand & <u>all will be well</u>. Some people are suspicious that the English & Spaniards have been endeavoring to persuade the Cherokees to take up arms against the U. States. . . The English left you in distress after you had generously shed your own blood in their defence [*sic*]. If ever they should attempt to draw you off from your connection with the U. States you ought to say to them you deceived us once & shall not do it a second time.[40]

The Cherokee National Committee, which conducted the nation's affairs in this volatile atmosphere, informed Meigs of its newly appointed membership, on 18 November 1811. The group was composed predominately of younger headmen, including Charles Hicks, The Ridge, Seekickee, John McIntosh, John Walker, John Lowry, George Lowry, John McLamore, Duck, Wasausee, Sour Mush, and Chulioa. John Ross served as the thirteenth member of the committee and its clerk. Most of these men, while relatively young, had served their people for many years as warriors, headmen, lighthorse regulators, and Cherokee representatives to the Cherokee Indian Agency. The committee, which answered only to the "old Chiefs" of the Cherokee National Council, dealt with the nation's everyday business, collected the annuity, and would soon become instrumental in determining the Cherokee course of action in the time of war soon to come.[41]

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[39] Campbell to Meigs, 8 October 1811, CIART, roll 5.
[40] Meigs to the Cherokee Chiefs, 22 April 1811, CIART, roll 5.
[41] Cherokee National Committee to Meigs, 18 November 1811, CIART, roll 5.

Meigs reported to the Secretary of War that some Cherokee leaders had recently relayed to him their experience at the Creek Council at Tuckabachee where a delegation of Shawnee had spoken in September and warned the Cherokees:

> Brother, there are two paths. One is light & clear. The other is covered over with clouds. If you take the light clear path you may be safe. If you take the dark path you may lose your lands. . . Keep your land, the lands we have now are not so good as those we had formerly.[42]

Meigs concluded by stating, "If there should be war the Indians will all wish to have a hand in it." A few days later he reported that a young Cherokee chief had offered to raise "a body of Cherokee warriors . . . against the Indians now in arms on the Wabash" though the elder council members choose not to condone any action at the time. The Cherokee agent suggested to Secretary of War Eustis that "if our Country should be hard pressed by the English, it may be expedient to accept the service of some of these people for like all other Indians they are as instable as water & from a love of war they might join our enemies rather than be only idle spectators." He also expressed some degree of uncertainty about whether the Cherokees would side with the United States. Even if they tried to remain neutral, Meigs feared that some young men would join the opposite side anyway because "they have no control over their young men & this is always their excuse."[43]

In April, Meigs applied to the Cherokee National Council at Oostanaula to suppress an outbreak of horse stealing that had arisen after a relatively quiet three-year period. He feared that these lawless actions might result in "quarrels," vigilante groups,

[42] Meigs to Eustis, 4 December 1811, CIART, roll 5.
[43] Meigs to Eustis, 17 December 1811, CIART, roll 5.

or end in the "shed[d]ing of blood."[44] During this same council, Meigs reported, Cherokee committeemen John Walker, The Ridge, and one of the Lowry brothers,

> [T]hree young Chiefs-men of property & activity of their own accord & motion came into the Council and observed that there would be a war between the U. States & the English & that they thought it would be for the advantage of their nation to offer their aid on our side & that they wished each to raise a number of young men & offer their services on the terms of pay & emoluments of our military corps.[45]

Nevertheless, the Cherokee National Council determined at this time that they should not "interfere in the wars of white people, and should prepare the minds of their young people to be neighborly and friendly" and relayed this declaration of neutrality to the council held by the Lower Creeks.[46] The chiefs did acknowledge, however, that "the rumors of war which surrounded us would soon be verified, and if the Indians joined Great Britain . . . they would lose every foot of land; and if they joined the United States . . . they would get no land, but would secure the friendship of the United States forever."[47]

Before the United States declared war on Great Britain, and prior to hostilities erupting in the Creek Nation, Meigs wrote the Secretary of War "that in case of war with the English…the Cherokees would be ruthless & would act a part on one side or the other; I mean their young men." He then expressed his belief that the Cherokees "might

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[44] Meigs to the Cherokee National Council, 27 April 1812, CIART, roll 5. See also John Lowry to Meigs, 6 October 1812, CIART, roll 5, requesting that the Cherokee Agent assist "an honest young man he also is one of our lighthorse company whose horse was stolen by a white man." The accused was in jail in Knoxville on other charges, but the Cherokee man had no legal recourse for his claim other than to have the federal agent speak in his behalf. Meigs and his appointed commissioners of whites would hear Cherokee testimony for consideration at the Indian Agency. This white panel would then determine which Cherokee testimony to believe by judging whether they were men of good character or not. These depositions helped Meigs to determine his course of action in U.S. civil affairs in which Cherokees had a stake.

[45] Meigs to Eustis, 8 May 1812, CIART, roll 5 and Lowrie and Clark, ed., "Hostile Movements," *ASPIA*, 1:809; Charlotte Adams Hood, *Jackson's White Plumes* (Bay Minette, AL: Lavender Publishing, 1995), 22.

[46] Benjamin Hawkins to Eustis, 11 May 1812, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 1:809.

[47] Hawkins to Eustis, 11 May 1812, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 1:809.

render valuable service in an active campaign," which would stand for a "pledge of the fidelity of the nation" to the United States. He added that Cherokee warriors might serve as cavalrymen because of the "remarkable ease with which they ride & manage their horses." At the same time, Meigs conveyed anxious sentiments, writing that though many Cherokees "would be proud to be invited to join our Army" he would "detest the idea of employing Indians" and felt that they might need to be "restrained from acts of barbarty." Ending on a seemingly more positive note, the Cherokee Indian Agent expressed to Secretary Eustis that the Cherokees were impressionable enough that "they are like blank stationary on which may be written anything" and "have prejudices against the Northern Indians . . . [and] against the lower Creeks."[48]

By early summer of 1812, Cherokee leaders actively sought to prove their commitment to friendship, peace, and order by having the lighthorse deliver to Meigs a white man suspected of robbery unharmed as "convincing proof . . . of our disposition to Suppress villainy in Our Country."[49] In June, the activities of their Creek neighbors to the south became alarming. Reports of Creek war parties murdering whites on the frontier resulted in placing the nearby federal military garrisons at Hiwassee, Southwest Point, Fort Hampton, and Tellico on alert. The Cherokee headmen postponed a trip to meet with Meigs for fear of leaving their homes unguarded against possible Creek depredations.[50] By September 1812, the factionalism in the Creek Nation had escalated. The Cherokees received a "talk" from the Creek headman Bark stating, "I have killed

[48] Meigs to Eustis, 8 May 1812, CIART, roll 5.

[49] Path Killer, Toochala, Chuleowa, John Lowry, John McLemore, Kanchestaheskee, Duck, Dick Justice, Wills Elders, and John Boggs, 11 June 1812, CIART, roll 5.

[50] Captains George Washington Sevier and James McDonald to Meigs, 15 June 1812; and Path Killer, Duck, Bute [Boot], and Tailor to Meigs, 23 June 1812, CIART, roll 5. The Choctaw also feared they would become targets of Red Stick war parties. See Jack D. Elliott Jr., "Plymouth Fort and the Creek War: A Mystery Solved," *Journal of Mississippi History* 62 (Winter 2000): 344.

nine of my wild men & one woman. . . who had taken the talks & advice of the prophet[']s people" and had murdered some whites and taken Mrs. Crawley captive, who lived on the Duck River in Tennessee.[51]

Creek Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins insisted that the Creek National Council bring those responsible for the deaths of the Americans to justice according to treaty stipulations and clashes between Creek factions led to a civil war. Violence exploded between the Creek National Council, which adhered to Washington's support and influence, and the Red Sticks. Many of the latter also supported a revitalization movement and considered their violent actions as sacred acts sanctioned by holy prophets living among them, such as Josiah Francis and High-Head Jim.[52]

When the Creek National Council, led by Big Warrior, executed Little Warrior and those responsible for the white murders, the Red Sticks retaliated. Claudio Saunt claims that here the Creek Red Stick sense of justice and Tecumseh's plan for a war against white Americans began converging. They attacked those Creeks sympathetic to the United States and those who had economically or politically benefited from that relationship. This was a direct challenge of the council's usurping of authority from clan blood law.[53] Red Sticks drove off and killed livestock, burned homes, captured African American slaves, and even killed some of the Creek elites whom they now considered

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[51] Talk to the Cherokees from Bark, a Creek Chief, September 1812, CIART, roll 5; Extract from Letter from William Henry, St. Stephen's, Mississippi Territory to John J. Henry, William County, Tennessee, 26 June 1812, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 1:809, and "Depredations," 11 January 1813, *ASPIA*, 1:814; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 515; Extract of a Letter from Hawkins to Eustis, 7 September 1812, *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, 33 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 12. Hawkins claimed that the Creek Council had executed eight who were responsible for the Tennessee murders and had "cropped and whipped for theft" seven others.

[52] Douglas Barber, "Council Government and the Genesis of the Creek War," *Alabama Review* 38 (July 1985): 173-74; Griffith, *McIntosh and Weatherford*, 86, 88.

[53] Saunt, *New Order of* Things, 252, 259-62.

their enemies.[54] Panic and fear spread across the southeast as white settlers, government officials, and the Cherokees feared that a full-blown war would surge across the Cherokee-Creek boundary.

Cherokee headmen John Walker and John Lowry again proposed raising "each a body of young Cherokees" to join the war against the British early in February 1813. Meigs noted that "there seems to be almost a rage or passion pervading this territory and it has caught the Indians." However, even Meigs feared somewhat for the safety of the Cherokees against the passions of near-by land hungry whites, stating that "The Cherokees have few friends on the frontiers, they have no ability to defend themselves."[55] Tensions were so high side of the Tennessee River that Sergeant John Finley, stationed between the Cherokees in the Battle Creek area and their white neighbors on the north of Tellico Blockhouse, commented that "if Militia was station[d] on the frontiers that this would rather provoke a war than keep peace."[56] With terror and rage deepening among their white neighbors against Indians in general, perhaps the Cherokee leadership hoped to channel their young men's masculine activities into sanctioned civil or military work to avoid more conflict with white citizens. Perhaps they hoped that an alliance would soothe tensions and forge future peaceful relations. The council appointed John Lowry to "assist our Rising Generation to try [and] raise them in honest & good behavior."[57] The headmen, many of them fairly young themselves,

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[54] Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 88-90; George Stiggins, *Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions, and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians*, ed. Virginia Pounds Brown (Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Public Library Press, 1989), 95-96.

[55] Meigs to Eustis, 4 February 1813, and Meigs to Eustis, 17 January 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[56] John Finley to Meigs, 9 February 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[57] John Lowry to Franklin County, Tennessee, Militia Colonel Metcalf, 1 February 1813, CIART, roll 6. See also letter from Franklin County, Tennessee, Militia to John Lowry, 20 January 1813; Meigs to

realized that there were both white and Cherokee offenders. Lowry's duties included reporting to the lighthorse any agitators in need of punishment in hopes of keeping peace on their side of the boundary line. Indeed, lighthorseman James Brown "armed and Equiped himself in a very warlike manner" to join his company though "he was apprehensive of a conflict or skirmish in which he might fall."[58] At about this same time, two Cherokee headmen representing the Cherokee National Council, Toochalar and Chulioa, asked Meigs to publish a letter in the newspaper in hopes of soothing enmity between some Cherokee and Franklin County, Tennessee, residents.[59]

Farther south, the constant festering of tensions among Creeks came to a head in the seething heat of July, 1813. Red Sticks attacked national Creeks at Hatchechubbau and Tuckabatchee, burning homes and destroying corn fields and livestock.[60] A Creek messenger, Tallasee Fixico, notified Hawkins that the national Creeks had "sent to the Cherokees for aid" and a few days later the Georgia governor noted that "the Cherokees have promised assistance."[61] Creek headman Cusseta Micco next notified Hawkins that some towns which had "took the Prophet's talk, have since thrown it away," especially when the Cherokees admonished those undecided not to join the Red Sticks and to "take care we do not frighten your children."[62]

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John Lowry, 31 January 1813; Meigs to Colonel Metcalf and Captain Cowan, 31 January 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[58] Thomas Coulter to Blount, 21 January 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[59] Letter to the Citizens of the United States, particularly to the good people living in the states of Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi Territory from To-Cha Lee and Chullioa, *Nile's Weekly Register*, 10 April 1813.

[60] John W. Cottier and Gregory A. Waselkov, "First Creek War: Twilight of Annihilation," *Clearings in the Thicket: An Alabama Humanities Reader*, ed. Jerry E. Brown (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 27.

[61] Message from the Creek National Council to Hawkins, 5 July 1813, Lowrie and Clark, ed., "Creeks, Wyandots, and others," *ASPIA*, 1:847; and Governor Pinckney to Hawkins, 9 July 1813, *ASPIA*, 1:848.

[62] Cussetah Micco to Hawkins, 10 July 1813, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 1:849.

On July 23, Cherokee principle chief Path Killer had several head men from the Creek Path area to write to Meigs of the "rebellion in the Creek Nation" and that the Red Sticks were "endeavouring to brake [*sic*] the chain of friendship between the U.S. & that Nation."[63] They further relayed that the national Creeks had sought assistance against possible attacks by the Red Sticks on Coweta and Cusseta. They warned Meigs that, in their estimation, their situation was dire:

> It appears that the situation of our villages on the borders of the Creek Nation is not altogether safe, as we have been advised by the Big Warrior & his friendly Chiefs, to furnish ourselves with guns. To be guarded against the rebellious Creeks, that they should be suppressed, in case an attempt to invade our Country. A number of Creeks of the Natchez tribe have come to Turkey's Town for refuge from the merciless rebels their friendly disposition towards the US. Appears to be usually firm, their number consists of nearly 200 men besides their women & Children. We hope the White People will not think that we have suffered those Indians to come amongst us with any hostile intentions towards them, as they are part of those who have suffered their friends & relations to spill their blood in giving satisfaction to the US. For the murder which was committed on the Ohio.[64]

The Cherokees added that they had also written to the Chickasaws, who were to then inform the Choctaws, to watch for recruiting Red Stick prophets amongst them and to execute them immediately.

It became obvious that the Red Sticks were not in the least intimidated. They destroyed the neutral town of Kialijee in present-day east-central Alabama, attacked residents who had refused to join their cause, and slaughtered the town's livestock.[65] Even more significant, a military encounter occurred between white militia and a party of Red Sticks at Burnt Corn Creek in present-day south Alabama, on July 27, 1813. The

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[63] Kanchestaneskee, Wassasee, Richard Brown, and Bear Meat to Meigs, 23 July 1813, Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842, GALILEO Digital Library of Georgia, doc. PAO214, from Penelope Johnson Allen Collection, MS 2033, box 1, folder 71, Hoskins Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville (hereafter cited as GALILEO).

[64] Kanchestaneskee, Wassasee, Brown, and Bear Meat to Meigs, 23 July 1813, GALILEO, doc. PAO214.

[65] Hawkins to Armstrong, 28 July 1813, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 1:850.

militia ambushed a Red Stick supply caravan toting flour, corn, and ammunition from Pensacola. This particular action became the first military skirmish between the Red Sticks and white troops in the Red Stick, or Creek War, of 1813-1814.[66]

News about this encounter traveled fast. From Chickamauga Town, young Cherokee committeeman John Ross informed Meigs that he had just returned from a council at Creek Path where the chiefs had discussed the "rebellion [that] has taken place in the Creek Nation" and that a Creek "civil war amongst themselves have taken place." He stressed the seriousness of the situation and suggested that the U.S. send military assistance to the Big Warrior and his party of national Creeks or, Ross warned, "[T]hey will be conquered from the superior force of the rebels."[67]

Meigs sent a letter to the newly-appointed Secretary of War John Armstrong in early August 1813 relating a communication between Big Warrior and Benjamin Hawkins. Apparently because of the constant threat of attack on Coweta near the Chattahootchee River, many Creeks had sought refuge among the Cherokee towns near the Creek-Cherokee boundary. Cherokee headman Richard Brown and approximately 200 Cherokee warriors had helped to repulse the Red Sticks and led 200 Creek refugees to safety in Brown's Valley or Thompson's Valley, now the present-day Red Hill, Alabama. In addition, the Chinaby, the Creek headman of thirty or forty families from Natchee Town, sought refuge at Turkey Town, the Cherokee Principal Chief Path Killer's

[66] For more details, though from only the white perspective, see Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 522-25. For a more even-handed account, see Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 100-101. See also, Stiggins, *Creek History*, 98-103 and Griffith, *McIntosh and Weatherford*, 95-97.

[67] John Ross to Meigs, 30 July 1813, John Ross Papers, MS 557.F37, Williams Research Center, New Orleans, LA (hereafter cited as WRC).

home on the Coosa River.[68] Meigs feared that these act of kindness might embroil the Cherokee into a war because of the "suspicion of the white people on the frontier" against all Indians. He went on to express:

> It may be asked what interest have the Cherokees in this war? I answer they owe the United States more than they are able to repay. The United States have saved the Cherokee Nation from perdition. They have raised them up from a state of hunters to Herdsmen, Cultivators, and manufacturers. While under the English they learned nothing usefull. They acquired nothing from the English but vices which paced their own in the light of comparative barbarity. They then left them confined in their savage customs and manners and without a single stipulation for their preservation. The United States then took them by the hand and made them happy compared with their former condition. There is no doubt the insurgent Creeks are acting in concert with the English throu the northern Indians, every disaster on our side is magnified and stated to the Southern tribes, who for want of proper information are liable to be deceived and acted on by the events of the moment.[69]

Meigs next suggested that the United States employ 600-800 Cherokees arranged in companies of approximately 100 men each under four Cherokee officers each. These Cherokee companies then would make two battalions, each led by a white major with any other officers also to be white men. He hoped that he could "endeavor to make it agreeable to the young Cherokee Offices [*sic*] who will bring forward their young men for the Campaign."[70] It was his opinion that "by taking a respectable number . . . into the service, the fidelity of the whole nation will be secured and they will render a service they justly owe to the United States." Meigs also relayed to his superior that "since the

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[68] Richard T. Bell, *Blount County: Glimpses from the Past* (n.p.: Junior Blount County Historical Society, 1965), 25; Henry Lester Gibbs, "Social and Economic Conditions in Marshall County" (Master's thesis, Auburn University, 1941): 1. Charles Hicks to Meigs, 31 July 1813, CIART, roll 6. This group descended from one of the remnant groups of Natchez that the Creeks accepted after the French pushed them from their homeland.

[69] Meigs to Secretary of War John Armstrong, 6 August, 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[70] Meigs to General John Cocke, 30 September 1813, John Cocke Papers, Correspondence, Small Collections, Folder 8, V-J-3, MS ac. no. 67-71, TSLA.

removal of the troops," to the northern front, "the Cherokees feel themselves unsafe."[71] Though Meigs suggested that two companies might patrol the 250 mile Cherokee northern border against the new press of intruders taking advantage of the U.S. military's preoccupation with the war with Great Britain no action was taken.

Farther south, Mississippi Territory citizens began to organize for retaliatory attacks after their militia's pre-emptive strike at Burnt Corn Creek against the Red Sticks supply caravan.[72] Unfortunately, when the assault came, the troops stationed within the walls of the hastily constructed stockade around the property of Creek countryman Samuel Mims, generally known as Fort Mims, were careless and ill prepared. The Red Sticks attacked on August 30, 1813, killing most of the soldiers and civilian occupants, which included a large number of men, women, and children of Creek-white ancestry.[73] Gregory Waselkov's recent study on this event convincingly contends that Fort Mims became a symbol (or rationalization) for American expansion and "an ever-present reminder in the public mind of mythologized Indian savagery and [their] obstinate rejections of civilized benevolence."[74] The white reaction from this decisive and brutal massacre became so severe that according to Frank Owsley Jr., it "alone destroyed all possibility of good relations with the whites." The memory of Fort Mims became the

[71] Meigs to Armstrong, 6 August, 1813, CIART, roll 6; Stiggins, *Creek History*, 107-14.

[72] Colonel Joseph Carson, Mount Vernon Cantonment, to Brigadier General Ferdinand L. Claiborne, 29 July 1813, and Carson, Fort Madison, to Claiborne, 6 September 1813, Joseph Carson Carr Papers, MS ac. no. 879, TSLA.

[73] Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 111-38, provides the most complete and accurate account of the Fort Mims attack to date. See also, Karl Davis, "'Remember Fort Mims:' Reinterpreting the Origins of the Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (Winter 2002), 611-36; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 530-37; Griffith , *McIntosh and Weatherford*, 100-11, *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), 16 October 1813, and Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 173.

[74] Waselkov, *Conquering Spirit*, 212.

battle cry slogan that led to the almost "universal demand for the removal of all southern Indians" and immediate demands for vengeance spread throughout the southeast.[75]

After the Red Stick destruction of Fort Mims, the Cherokee council chose The Ridge to escort the visiting elite Creek William McIntosh safely back to his home at Coweta.[76] During The Ridge's stay at this *talwa* or town, the Creek National Council gave The Ridge "a *talk*, together with a piece of tobacco, tied with a string of various coloured beads" to deliver on their behalf to the Cherokee Council at Oostanaula to request Cherokee aid in quelling the Red Stick rebellion.[77] When the Cherokee council first deliberated on whether or not to join the Americans, the council elders had hoped to remain neutral. But The Ridge called for volunteers in the charismatic style of traditional war chiefs. Thus the warrior's call to arms swayed the council, which reversed its initial pacific position. In addition, there had been a report of a Red Stick war party that had killed a Cherokee woman near the town of Etowah, located near present-day Cartersville in north Georgia.[78] After seeking consultation with a conjurer, Cherokees successfully

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[75] Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of NewOrleans 1812-1815* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 189. For a contemporary account that was circulated throughout the nation, see "Creek Indians," *Nile's Weekly Register*, 2 October 1813, 77-78, and "Indian Warfare," Reprint of letter from Judge Harry Toulmin to the *Raleigh Register*, *Nile's Weekly Register*, 6 October 1813, 105-107. See also Benson John Lossing, "War with the Creek Indians (War of 1812)," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 28, no. 167 (April 1864): 604-605.

[76] Violence between the Creek dissidents and nationalists broke out into a bloody civil war in early 1813. Red Sticks objected to the Creek National Council's acceptance of American influence and the war began in earnest when the council ordered the execution of Little Warrior and others for participating in violence against white settlers. For further details, see Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 156-57. One of McIntosh's wives, most likely Susanna, was an English-speaking Cherokee, and most likely this kinship tie made his presence in Cherokee council acceptable. See Richard Blount Journal Entry, 17-26 July 1826, Richard Blount Papers, Georgia-Alabama Boundary Commission, 1826, LPR 96, Box 2-1-4, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama ; Andrew K. Frank, "Rise and Fall of William McIntosh: Authority and Identity on the Early American Frontier," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86 (Spring 2002): 35.

[77] For The Ridge's account, see McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes*, 1:390.

[78] James Wafford's account to James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 89.

tracked the Red Stick perpetrators and killed them, making this the first blood they shed in their war against the Red Stick Creeks.[79]

In September 1813, the Cherokee National Council officially offered assistance to U.S. troops and the national Creeks against the Red Sticks. Meigs wrote to Governor Mitchell of Georgia that "there appears an enthusiasm to turn out which I did not think proper to repress."[80] A few weeks earlier, Mitchell had received another report that the Cherokees in council had "professed the greatest friendship to the white People and said if the president wanted their services they were ready at anytime."[81]

The Cherokees had navigated through an intense period of change to make a decision that they believed would positively affect their future as a sovereign and separate people. The young warriors, entrepreneurs, regulators, and patriots of the young Cherokee Nation, especially those who sat on the Cherokee National Committee, had powerfully influenced the decision of the elder headmen of the Cherokee National Council to go to war against the Red Sticks. Their influence had grown during this debate and their actions as protectors of their people remained tied to the traditions of warriors—of men. The Cherokees were once again in a state of war and employed in their beloved occupation as men.

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[79] Unfortunately, either Wafford did not know or report, or Mooney did not record, whether the avenging war party was composed of clan relatives or lighthorse troops.

[80] Meigs to Governor Mitchell, 17 September 1813, *Cherokee Letters, Talks, and Treaties*, 144.

[81] David Dickson to Mitchell, 2 August 1813, *Cherokee Letters, Talks, and Treaties*, 150.

## Chapter Four

## Cherokees in the Creek War: A Band of Brothers

By July 1813 civil war had erupted among the Creeks, southern neighbors of the Cherokees. A disaffected faction labeled as the Red Sticks opposed the increasing American influence in the Creek National Council and their usurpation of clan authority. Although the Cherokees had often considered the Creeks as enemies, many had fought together as allies during the Chickamauga War. Both nations could claim children who had both a Cherokee and Creek parent, especially in the towns that bordered their common boundary. Cherokee leaders feared that these hostilities threatened their own citizens living near the Creek border. Some Creek families sought and received refuge in nearby Cherokee towns but this act of kindness left Cherokees feeling vulnerable to Red Stick attacks.[1] Due to the persuasive encouragement of the older, seasoned warriors in their thirties and forties, the elder Cherokee leaders finally opted to join the national Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the United States to put down the Creek rebellion.[2]

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[1] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 257; Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogee's Struggle for a New World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991), 135-36 and 150. Alarm escalated more than the actual isolated skirmishes that occurred. For examples, see Assistant Deputy Quartermaster for East Tennessee Major James Baxter to Return Jonathan Meigs, 20 March 1814, and Charles Hicks to Meigs, 21 March 1814, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835, Record Group 75, microfilm M-208, roll 6, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as CIART); and Diary entry, 6 November 1813, *Movavian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, 1805-18130* (hereafter cited as *Springplace Diaries*), ed. Rowena McClinton, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 1:546.

[2] The Creek War of 1813-1814 was part of the larger War of 1812, which ended with the defeat of British forces at New Orleans in January 1815. See Henry S. Halbert and Timothy H. Ball, *Creek War of*

The war would serve to solidify the role of these military leaders and strengthen their influence. Forty-six year old Charles Hicks relayed to the Cherokee Council the formal call to war message received by Cherokee Indian Agent Return J. Meigs from Brigadier General James White of Knoxville on September 26, 1813. [3] Prominent headman John Walker, whose son had married the daughter of Meigs, replied for the Cherokee Council that the Cherokees might supply 500 to 700 men, and avowed, "You have taken us by the hand and from your examples our situation has gradually become better and better and I now most sincerely invoke the Great Spirit to keep bright the bonds of friendship by which we are united, and to lead us to victory and Glory."[4] Walker received the rank of first major on October 7, 1813, and began preparing for war by sending his men to gather military intelligence for Meigs.[5] Other Cherokees began to leave their homes to muster into the service of the United States under Andrew Jackson, commander of the volunteer Tennessee troops.

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*1813 and 1814*, ed. Frank L. Owsley Jr., Southern Historical Publications, no. 15 (Montgomery, AL: White, Woodruff, & Fowler, 1895; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1969); Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981); Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 109th series, no. 4, 1991 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 185-90.

[3] Diary entry, 15 September 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:558-59. Hicks began his illustrious service to the Cherokees as an interpreter for the Cherokee Agency. John Walker often assisted him. See Samuel Cole Williams, ed., "Extract from the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Thomas Schweiniz," *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, TN: Wautauga Press, 1928), 9.

[4] Brigadier General James White to John Walker, 26 September 1813, CIART, roll 6; Copy of Answer from Walker to White attached. See also, James Franklin Corn, *Red Clay and Rattlesnake Springs: A History of the Cherokee Indians of Bradley County, Tennessee* (Cleveland, TN: James Franklin Corn, 1959), 37.

[5] John Walker to Return J. Meigs, 5 October 1813, CIART, roll 6; Muster Rolls and Pay Rolls of Colonel Morgan's Regiment of Cherokee Indians, October 7, 1813 to April 11, 1814, (hereafter cited as Cherokee Muster Rolls) Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as RG 94, AGO).

Cherokee men answered the call to war in various ways. Thirty-two year old First Lieutenant Ridge, assigned to Captain Alexander Saunders's (Sanders) company, stopped by Springplace Mission to announce that he and John Dougharty were leaving for war. Captain Hicks sought Holy Communion from the missionaries at Springplace as his preparation for going to war.[6] The missionaries there reported that Second Corporal Tyger (Tiger) wondered whether he would return or find his grave in Creek country but nevertheless spoke excitedly "about towns burning."[7] The intoxicated and emotional "old chief Sour Mush" enlisted as a private and tearfully cried that "it mattered little if he lost his life" though he would avenge his son's death if he were killed in action.[8] Some of the Cherokee slave women confided to the Moravians that they "feared that they might never see their husbands again" because many male slaves would accompany their Cherokee masters to war.[9]

Cherokee warriors mustered into service for a period of three months beginning on October 7, 1813. This included the thirty-nine year old Cherokee countryman, David

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[6] Diary entry, 24 September 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1, 560. Pvt. John or Jack Dougherty served under Capt. Richard Taylor. Saunder's company consisted of 72 men of which 65 percent were mounted. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Rowena McClinton Ruff, "To Ascertain the Mind and Circumstances of the Cherokee Nation: Springplace, Georgia, 1805-1821," (MA Thesis, Western Carolina University, 1992), 80. The missionaries denied Hicks's request at this time, and he agreed that he was "not worthy of this mercy." He would not receive this sacrament until June 1814. Hicks led 70 men from October 7, 1813, through January 6, 1814, of which 60 percent were mounted.

[7] Diary entry, 12 July 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:546. Tyger served under Capt. Hicks from October 7, 1813, through January 6, 1814, as a cavalryman. He reenlisted for a second tour from January 27 through April 11 under either Capt. John McIntosh or Capt. John Brown. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

[8] Diary entry, 16 October 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:563. One of Sour Mush's sons was The Fish, who served under Capt. Shoe Boots in 1814. Diary entry, 1 February 1818, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:204. Pvt. Sour Mush served under Capt. George Fields and then Capt. James Brown during the first campaign, October 7, 1813, through January 6, 1814. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

[9] Diary entry, 7 November 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:568. This author could not further confirm that slaves accompanied their Cherokee masters, but it seems logical since this had been a common practice of slaveholding men who went to war during the prior colonial and revolutionary periods.

McNair, who led a special spy or scout unit composed of seventeen mounted volunteers from the different companies.[10] Each company included a first and second lieutenant, an ensign, a first, second, third, and fourth sergeant, and a first, second, third, and fourth corporal. To avoid any misidentification with the enemy, Jackson ordered that "our freinds [*sic*] shall wear white plumes in their hair, or Deer's tails."[11]

Individually, many past and present lighthorse regulators entered military service in the Red Stick War as men of rank or soon earned promotions. For instance, thirty-four year old Private James Foster, a lighthorse captain in 1812, became captain of his own company of Cherokee men in January 1814.[12] Thus, the lighthorse served as somewhat of a transitional mechanism, helping to provide leadership through experience.

Insisting that a white officer lead the Cherokees, Meigs knew that the Cherokees trusted Gideon Morgan. Thus he appointed the thirty-nine year old Morgan, Walker's white son-in-law, to become the general in charge of the Cherokee regiment of approximately 600 men divided into seven companies, the traditional number. Meigs understood that he was well-liked and respected by those Cherokees acquainted with him. They considered Morgan a Cherokee countryman, having married a Cherokee woman and settled on Cherokee land.[13]

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[10] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. The *Springplace Diaries* make numerous mentions of Cherokees stopping on the way to and from their posts. For example, McNair and thirty year old Pvt. Walter Adair (Black Watt) stopped to eat breakfast there on their way to war. Adair, a member of the Deer Clan, served in Capt. McLemore's company. Diary entry, 22 October 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:565.

[11] Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, 7 October 1813, John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 7 vols., Papers of the Department of Historical Resource, no. 371 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 1:328.

[12] Foster first served as a mounted private under Capt. James Brown, October 7, 1813, to January 6, 1814. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

[13] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. "Reports of S.S. Broadus, 1907 and 1911," folder in Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Files (hereafter cited as HOBE), Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Daviston, Alabama. According to a 1914 interview with his daughter, Morgan's birthday was 6

Jackson insisted that Principal Chief Path Killer receive a commission as colonel even though his age kept him from field duty. Prominent Cherokee headmen such as Richard Brown likewise received the rank of colonel, while John Lowry became a lieutenant colonel.[14] Other officers included Captains Charles Hicks, John McLemore or Oosqualhoka, James Brown, Alexander Saunders, Richard Taylor, Sekekee, and the Natchez-Creek Sullockow. Twenty-three year old John Ross, or Gu'wisguwi, later to become Principal Chief, mustered into service as a 2nd lieutenant under Captain Sekekee but soon became adjutant for the entire Cherokee Regiment.[15]

Earlier in May 1812, Meigs had expressed confidence in the trustworthiness of Cherokees as allies. Yet as late as July 1813 as he called on "[t]he young Cherokees [to] immediately arm," Meigs was not entirely comfortable with the notion. He feared the repercussions from neighboring whites, noting that it was the "sincere wish of many, very many of the people of this state [Tennessee], that they [the Cherokees] should be against us [because] they recollect former times; and they long for an opportunity to avenge former barbarities."[16]

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August 1775. He married Betsy Lowry, a granddaughter of the infamous Governor of Tennessee and Indian fighter, John Sevier, and sister of the prominent Cherokee headmen George and John Lowry. Earlier, Morgan had served as adjutant to Col. Samuel Wear (Weir; Ware) in the Tennessee Mounted Infantry. See Letter to Genevieve M.W. Mulligan, 20 April 1911, Gideon Morgan, no. 20884, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, Old War Invalid Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as OWIF). Meigs to Unknown Person, 4 February 1813, CIART, roll 6. Because Cherokee society was matrilineal, his children were Cherokees in every aspect, though he was white. Meigs became acquainted with Morgan when he received a federal permit which allowed him to reside in Cherokee territory for the purpose of leasing and working a saltpetre cave.

[14] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Brown and Lowry were the headmen from the Cherokee communities of Brown's Town and Battle Creek in today's northeast Alabama.

[15] Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 11.

[16] Reported in the *Carthage Gazette*, 8 October 1813, from the *Nashville Whig*. Moulton, *John Ross*, 10; Meigs to Secretary of War John Armstrong, 30 July 30 1813, CIART, roll 6.

Meigs would not be the only American to have misgivings about the value or loyalty of Cherokee allies. Yet he determined that "the Cherokees would be of great value" and lobbied and received equal pay for comparable rank for enlisted Cherokees.[17] Unbeknownst to the Cherokees, Meigs believed that this gesture let them "feel themselves under control," though in reality he felt that the government must "keep them dependent." He surmised, therefore, that this act would "flatter their pride to be considered in some degree on a footing with our troops." Though he supported their service, Meigs felt that the Cherokees owed their current welfare and even their very existence to the United States, it having taken "them by the hand & made them human beings."[18] Like Meigs, many Jeffersonian Republicans believed that Native Americans depended upon the federal Indian policy's Civilization Plan to "save" the Indians from themselves.

The Cherokees never heard these negative sentiments or questions of their loyalty in any official capacity. In fact, Jackson indicated to Path Killer and Hicks that he was "more & more pleased with your diligence and attention."[19] As a large group of Cherokees mustered into service at the Cherokee Agency on 29 October 1813, Meigs addressed the gathering, saying, "We are a band of Brothers in this war acting in a common cause."[20] Meigs reminding them that the "perfidious Creeks having refused the benevolent measures of the United States to lead their minds to sentiments of civilization

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[17] Meigs to Armstrong, 30 October 1813, Southeastern Native American Documents, GALILEO Digital Library of Georgia, doc. PA0032, from Penelope Johnson Allen Papers, Hoskins Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1-2 (hereafter cited as GALILEO).

[18] Meigs to Armstrong, 30 October 1813, and 30 July 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[19] Major General Andrew Jackson to Path Killer and Charles Hicks, 23 October 1813, Harold D. Moser, et al., ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson, 1770-1845: A Microfilm Supplement*, 39 reels (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986), reel 3, March 20, 1813-December 31, 1813, folder 1, no. 4299.

[20] Meigs to the Cherokee Troops, 30 October 1813, Cherokee Nation Papers, microfilm reel 49, Division of Manuscripts Collection, Item 24, Box 6, Folder 1, item 10.

have at length spurned the hand that held out to them the greatest favors." He cautioned them against committing "acts of barbarity with circumstances of brutality, & cruelty," while inviting them to join the "young warriors from Georgia & Tennessee to chastise these enemies of the human race." He added, "Brothers, I flatter myself that in the just & necessary war now commencing against the hostile Creeks, your Battalions will be considered as a respectable part of the army according to their numbers." The Cherokee warriors would unite with "your white Brothers" and "be a band of Brothers," Meigs exhorted, and, "such men may be killed: but cannot be conquered."[21]

Meigs believed that association with American soldiers would act as a "school of instruction" to "elevate & raise up your minds to sentiments unknown to barbarous nations" because "even in war we never lose sight of humanity." He then emphatically pledged that the troops not demonstrate hostile actions to women, children, elders, or the infirmed, demanding that "they always spare the unresisting prisoner."[22]

Next, Meigs encouraged the warriors to act valiantly and as a unit, asking them to fight without thoughts of personal ambitions, while promising honors and recognition to those who served unselfishly. He hoped that the Cherokee warriors would reject traditional values that stressed individual actions in battle to achieve status elevation for the more republican virtues of selflessness and unified action for the greater good. Meigs ended his speech by encouraging the warriors to perform their duty and reminded them

[21] An address to the Cherokees who are arming to co-operate with the American troops against the hostile Creeks from Meigs, 29 October 1813, GALILEO, Cherokee Collection, box 3, folder 1, doc. CH057, 2.

[22] Ibid.

that "those who shall distinguish themselves will not be neglected."[23] Throughout the war, officers under whom the Cherokees served would often praise the loyalty, commitment, and bravery of their charges.

General James White, part of General John Cocke's eastern Tennessee army, erected Fort Armstrong or "Camp Coocey," on the Coosa River above Turkey Town and near the present Alabama-Georgia border in October 1813.[24] Jackson hoped that this military presence would discourage Red Stick incursions against Cherokee towns and provide some security to Cherokee families whose traditional defenders were leaving to become part of his army. This fortification also served as a place for the 4th Regiment, West Tennessee Militia Infantry, to build boats for the transportation of supplies down the Coosa into Creek territory.[25] Jackson had contractors constantly looking for provisions for the troops especially after gleaning what he could from the area's Cherokees. Wagons transported supplies gathered at Camp Ross, today's Chattanooga, to Fort Armstrong. At various times, Cherokees garrisoned the fort along with some of White's men.[26]

Intelligence gathered by the Creek interpreter Chulio soon indicated that a considerable force of Red Sticks had gathered near Ten Islands on the Coosa River while

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[23] Address to the Cherokee troops, 29 October 1813, GALILEO, Cherokee Collection, box 3, folder 1, doc. CH057, 3.

[24] Mary Hardin McCown, ed., "'J. Hartsell Memora': Journal of a Tennessee Captain in the War of 1812," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publication* 11 (1939): 102.

[25] Tom Kanon, "Regimental Histories of Tennessee Units During the War of 1812," TSLA, http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/history/military/1812reg.htm (accessed 10 February 2007). The Moravians also recorded the presence of East Tennessee soldiers, who were building boats on the Conasauga River. Diary entry, 20 March 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:12.

[26] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. In between the two terms of three-month enlistments, Capt. Charles Hicks and sixty-five warriors enlisted to guard the fort from January 11 to February 10, 1814. Twenty-six had served under Hicks during their first tour of duty, while thirty-nine were new recruits. Only 15% had horses; the rest were foot soldiers.

others were about forty miles south of Tuckabatchee. Another group was at Oakchoi Town, not far from Turkey Town near the Creek-Cherokee border.[27] There the enemy had erected "forts made of brush with earth thrown over them" but suffered from a paucity of provisions, having destroyed livestock throughout the Creek Nation.[28] The following day, Walker received an urgent message from Path Killer to bring warriors to the aid of Turkey Town, which supposedly was the next military target of the Red Sticks. Two hundred Cherokee men, along with some national or allied Creeks, arrived after a forced march, but an attack never came.[29]

The Cherokees remained in a state of alert, however, fearing a Red Stick attack at any time. Scouts indicated that they had found signs of twenty-eight Red Stick camp fires not far from Turkey Town.[30] Jackson attempted to assuage their anxiety by boldly stating, "The hostile Creeks will never attack you before they have a brush with me; & that brush I think will put them out of the humors of fighting again for a considerable time."[31]

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[27] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Jackson personally oversaw the mustering in of Pvt. Chulio, who was Path Killer's aid. He served as a private under Capt. James Brown for his first tour of duty. During his second tour, Chulio earned a promotion to 1st Lt. under Capt. Frog.

[28] Narrative from Chulio, Creek Interpreter, 10 October 1813, CIART, roll 6. Gregory A. Waselkov and Brian M. Wood, in "Creek War of 1813-1814: Effect on Creek Society and Settlement Patterns," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 32 (June 1986): 9, noted that, besides these kind of quickly fortified positions, the Red Sticks built three new regional towns with more elaborate defensive arrangements: Eccanachaca or Holy Ground, Tohopeka or Horseshoe Bend, and another near Autosee on the Lower Tallapoosa.

[29] Walker to Meigs, 15 October 1813, CIART, roll 6; Diary entry, 15 October 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:563. Path Killer died in 1828, and his grave is located in Centre, Alabama. Will I. Martin, "Horizons and Festivals of Cherokee County, Alabama," in *Bits & Pieces of the Heritage*, ed. Estell S. Smith (Centre, Alabama: Coosa Printing, 1976), 45. See also, Colonel Morgan's Declaration, 7 February 1834, Gideon Morgan, no. 20844, OWIF. Defenders of the stockade had apparently panicked when some of Major John Coffee's cavalry had arrived shooting their guns into the air.

[30] John Reid Memoir/Journal Entry, 9 October 1813, John Reid Memoir/Journal, MS AC 72-180, TSLA.

[31] Jackson to Path Killer and Hicks, 23 October 1813, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 3, folder 1, no. 4299.

Beginning in October, Path Killer and Jackson sent groups of scouts or spies to reconnoiter the enemy's positions.[32] Even before receiving his commission as a colonel, Richard Brown, who lived about twenty-five miles from Ditto's Landing on the Tennessee River, and around twenty of his men served as "pilots and spies." Jackson believed "that much dependence can be placed on this man and his party."[33] Colonel Coffee also sent Major John H. Gibson and David Crockett to lead a scouting party. The group separated with orders to meet at a rendezvous point. Crockett's party arranged for the Cherokee Jack Thompson to guide them further. In the tradition of Cherokee war scouts, Thompson was to "holler like an owl" when he came near their camp. After the other party did not show, Crockett made his way to Radcliff's place, where lived a white man married to a Creek woman. Radcliff informed him of "painted warriors" crossing the Coosa River and heading towards Fort Strother.[34] Coffee doubled the guard after the major, who had just returned, confirmed Crockett's report.

Coffee and approximately 700 Tennessee cavalrymen from the 2nd Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Riflemen, along with some Cherokee warriors, searched for hostile towns down the Black Warrior River for ten days in early October 1813. It was from this

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[32] Jackson to Path Killer, 23 October 1813, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 3, folder 1, no. 4299; John Reid to Maj. William B. Lewis, 24 October 1813, TSH, microfilm 678, reel 5, box 9, L48 ½, TSLA; Jackson to Coffee, 9 October 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:329. The Cherokee George Fields acted as a pilot and interpreter for Tennessee's Capt. John Gordon's company of spies during this time. See Affidavit from George Fields at Madison County, Alabama, 26 May 1826, George Fields, no. 25121, OWIF.

[33] Jackson to Coffee, 9 October 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:330.

[34] David Crockett, *Autobiography of David Crockett* (originally printed as *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee*, 1834; reprint, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), 54. Stanley J. Folmsbee and Anna Grace Catron, "Early Career of David Crockett," in *Houston and Crockett: Heroes of Tennessee and Texas: An Anthology*, ed. Herbert L. Harper (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1986), 138-40.

area that a Mrs. Crawley, a captive taken at the Duck River massacre, had escaped.[35] Melton, a Cherokee guide, led them to three towns, where Coffee confiscated 300 bushels of direly needed corn before setting the abandoned structures ablaze except for some at the confluence of the Sipsey and Mulberry Forks. Late in the month, Colonel Robert Dyer with 200 Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Gunmen attacked Littafuchee on Canoe Creek, taking twenty-nine prisoners after destroying the town.[36]

The Creek William McIntosh arrived at the Cherokee town of Hightower with the news that the Red Sticks were preparing for an assault.[37] About twenty Cherokees under Major John Walker had assembled and already wearing the "distinguishing badges of white feathers and deer tails."[38] As Jackson's army reached Turkey Town, these

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[35] John Reid and John Henry Eaton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson: Major General in the Service of the United States Comprising a History of the War in the South, from the commencement of the Creek Campaign to the Termination of Hostilities before New Orleans*, ed. Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., Southern Historical Publication 19 (Philadelphia: M. Carey & Son, 1817; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1974), 37. Coffee had a long standing relationship with Andrew Jackson. In the early 1800s he and Jackson's partnership in the mercantile business failed. Later, Coffee married a niece of Jackson's wife Rachel. Coffee was one of the few men whom Jackson trusted with his life and honor. For a discussion on Coffee's military career, see Aaron M. Boom, "John Coffee, Citizen Soldier," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 22 (September 1963): 223-37. For short descriptions of the Tennessee regiments, see Kanon, "Regimental Histories," TSLA, http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/history/military/1812reg.htm (accessed 10 February 2007). The Duck River incident, mentioned in the previous chapter, was one of the events most commonly used by Tennesseans for going to war against the Red Sticks. See Extract from Letter from William Henry, St. Stephen's, Mississippi Territory to John J. Henry, William County, Tennessee, 26 June 1812, Lowrie and Clark, ed., *ASPIA*, 809, 814; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 515; and Extract of a Letter from Hawkins to Eustis, 7 September 1812, Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives*, 33 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 12.

[36] Coffee to His Wife, 24 October 1813, John H. DeWitt, ed., "Letter of General John Coffee to His Wife, 1813-1815, with Introduction and Notes," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 2 (December 1916): 275; Arthur S. Colyar, *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson: Soldier—Statesman—President*, vol. 1 (Nashville, TN: Press of Marshall & Bruce, 1904), 1; Coffee to Jackson, 22 October 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:334-35; Walker to Meigs, 5 November 1813, CIART, roll 6; Richard Breckenbridge, a traveler from Mississippi in 1816, in John Martin Dombhart, *History of Walker County: Its Towns and Its Peoples* (Thornton, AR: Cayce Publishing, 1937), 14; Reid and Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 48.

[37] George Mayfield to Jackson, 2 November 1813, "Forts," in Public Information Subject Files—Alabamians at War, War of 1812 and First Creek War, SG0013378, Alabama Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as ADAH), Montgomery.

[38] John Lowry from Jackson, 7 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:342; Colyar, *Life and Times of Jackson*, 5; James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 19th Annual Report,

Cherokee warriors joined them. Jackson had captured two Creeks who told him of the Red Sticks gathering at Tallushatchee, some twenty-five miles south of Turkey Town. Jackson decided it was time to make a preemptive strike.

On the morning of November 3, Jackson dispatched Coffee, now a brigadier general, and his 900 men to encircle the hostile party. Coffee later reported that as the prophets were "beating their drums," Red Stick warriors met [Coffee's] advance with neat violence" and "fought as desperately as ever man did upon [the] Earth."[39] Nevertheless, the engagement ended in the defeat of the Red Sticks. Coffee claimed that bows and arrows "form a very principal part of the enemy's arms for warfare, every man having a bow with a bundle of arrows which is used after the first fire of the guns, until a leisure time for loading offers."[40] Cherokee Colonel Richard Brown and seventeen of his men participated "with great bravery in the action."[41] Crockett later recounted, "We . . . shot them like dogs."[42] Together the troops razed the town's cabins, burning alive those who had sought refuge inside. All total, the Red Sticks lost 186 with eighty-four

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Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute (Washington, GPO, 1900), 90. Thurman Wilkins, in *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, Civilization of the American Indian, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 109, mentioned that the Cherokee warriors wore two white feathers and a squirrel's tail.

[39] Coffee to Jackson, 3 November 1813, Williams Research Center, New Orleans; Crockett, *Autobiography of David Crockett*, 60; Coffee to Jackson, 4 November 1813, John Coffee Papers, "A Sketch of General John Coffee," 11 October 1897, Tennessee Historical Society (hereafter THS), AC no. 38, Tennessee State Library and Archives (hereafter TSLA), Nashville, Tennessee; Alexander Donelson to Capt. John Donelson, 5 November 1813, THS, microfilm 678, reel 3, box 4, doc. 72, TSLA. See also Bensen John Lossing, "War with Creek Indians,"in Scenes in the War of 1812 series, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 28:167 (April 1864): 605-606.

[40] Coffee to Jackson, 4 November 1813, John Coffee Papers, "A Sketch of General John Coffee," 11 October 1897, THS, AC. no. 38, TSLA.

[41] Jackson to Tennessee Governor Willie Blount, 4 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:341. Records indicate that the seventeen were possibly Capt. McNair's men. However, the records of 2nd Corp. Buffalo with Calf, under Capt. George Fields, note that he fought at this battle. It is therefore inconclusive how many total Cherokees were at Tallushatchee. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

[42] Crockett, *Autobiography of David Crockett*, 61; Folmsbee and Catron, "Early Career of David Crockett," 138-40; James Atkins Shackford, ed., *David Crockett: The Man, the Legend* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956, 1986; Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1994), 117.

prisoners taken, whom the Americans sent to Colonel Leroy Pope in Huntsville. Pope then sent thirty-three of these prisoners to Nashville for incarceration. Jackson's men also seized about fifty enemy guns in the course of the battle.[43]

The vast number of the Cherokee Regiment under Morgan arrived too late to participate in the fighting. They did, however, gather twenty wounded Red Sticks and took them to Turkey Town. Jackson informed Lowry that the government might demand their return as well the horses and saddles the warriors had confiscated after the battle. The next day soldiers swept the area looking for any food to add to their scanty provisions. Apparently some found and ravenously ate potatoes that had actually baked in the very fires that had consumed the trapped Red Sticks.[44] Walker reported that he and his fellow warriors did participate in the destruction of the Red Sticks, recalling that their "situation looked dismal to see, Women & Children slaughtered with their fathers."[45] The troops left the dead enemy bodies to the dogs.

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[43] John Reid Memoir/Journal Entry, 1 November 1813, and 7 November 1813, TSLA; Col. Leroy Pope from Jackson, 4 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:341; Colyar, *Life and Times of Jackson*, 11. Jackson sent wounded prisoners to Gen. White's surgeon and, when they were able, on to either Huntsville or Nashville. Four imprisoned warriors died while jailed. Certificate of Thomas J. Read, 21 September 1814, and Deposition of Thomas J. Read, 24 September 1814, MSS 557 F68, Williams Research Center, New Orleans. See also, Letter from Edward D. Hobbs to District Judge John McNairy, 24 September 1814, MSS 557 F69, Williams Research Center, New Orleans; McCown, ed., "Hartsell Memora," 103.

[44] John Reid Memoir/Journal Entry, 7 November 1813, TSLA; John Lowry from Jackson, 7 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:342; Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 91; Crockett, *Autobiography of David Crockett*, 61.

[45] Walker to Meigs, 5 November 1813, CIART, roll 6; Reid and Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 50-51. It was after this engagement that Jackson claimed the Creek infant Lyncoya, whose mother was killed during the battle. He sent him first to Huntsville and then on to his wife Rachel in Nashville. Jackson sent another Creek boy, Charley, to Rachel's nephew Andrew Jackson Donelson. Another white family also adopted a Creek child, who had received wounds in the encounter, but he later ran away. Jackson to Col. W. Moore, 15 November 1833, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 5:225; Jackson to wife Rachel, 12 March 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:478; and Herbert J. Doherty Jr., *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), 6.

From Ten Islands, where Jackson established Fort Strother to serve as a base of operations and supply depot, the group next moved towards the besieged Lashley's Fort. There 160 national Creek men and their families from the town of Talladega about thirty miles further to the south had sought refuge. The Creek nationals Seelatee and Daniel Lashley (Leslie) had sent messengers to the Cherokees asking for their assistance.[46] On November 9, the troops once again attempted to encircle the Red Sticks, who "were all painted as red as scarlet, and were just as naked as they were born."[47] Jackson's troops of 1200 infantry and 800 cavalrymen met the enemy and killed approximately 290. Several Cherokees received wounds, including Captain George Fields, who took a gunshot to his right chest, which lodged near his spine. The need to care for the wounded, compounded by a shortage of rations, and an absence of forage for the horses forced the group to retreat.[48]

Though the Cherokees were part of Jackson's larger army, it remained common for them to act individually or in small groups without specific orders. As in earlier times, if no chance to add to their feats as successful martial Cherokee men presented itself, they made their own opportunities. Captain Jacob Hartsell, assigned to the Second Regiment stationed at Fort Armstrong, recorded in his journal that on November 15,

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[46] A common practice in the Old Southwest frontier period, communities often constructed fortified stations for protection. For a discussion of some of these structures, see Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War of 1813-1814: Effects of Creek Society and Settlement Pattern," in *Culture Change on the Creek Indian Frontier: Final Report to the National Science Foundation*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1985):133. Gov. Willie Blount from Jackson, 15 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:348; Mayfield to Jackson, 2 November 1813, "Forts," SG0013378, ADAH.

[47] Crockett, *Autobiography*, 63.

[48] Reid and Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 53-55; Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO; George Fields, no. 25091, OWIF. For further accounts on the Battles of Tallushatchee and Talladega, see Ephraim Foster to his father R. C. Foster, 29 January 1814, Ephraim Hubbard Foster Papers, MS AC. no. 79-26, V-L-5, box 11-4, TSLA; and Lossing, "War with Creek Indians," 605-607.

"Cherokees brought in Six prisoners . . . from the Seeder [Cedar] townes," located on a small tributary of the Coosa River in present-day Talladega County, Alabama. Four days later, Colonel Richard Brown met with Jackson to discuss these prisoners and relayed that Generals White and Cocke had told him to dispense of them as he saw fit. Brown informed Jackson that his men had "shot and Tomahocked in a crewel maner [*sic*]" two captives before scalping and killing them. In fact, one of the enemy warriors suffered through three scalpings "cause the[y] said he kil[l]ed three white men in his time."[49] Though some prisoners escaped, the Cherokees adamantly insisted on claiming the remaining three.

Due to their heavy losses at Tallushatchee and Talladega, the Red Sticks from the Creek Hillabee towns sued for peace, and Jackson accepted. Tragically, the Cherokee companies under Hicks, James Brown, McNair, and Saunders, acting on orders from Cocke and White, were not aware of the Hillabee surrender. They became the prime aggressors against this unsuspecting group.[50] The Cherokees, along with some of General White's troops, marched from Fort Armstrong on November 12. They engaged the surprised Hillabee Red Sticks on November 18 and the Cherokees killed over sixty warriors and took 250 women and children captive "without the loss of [Cherokee]

[49] McCown, ed., "Hartsell Memora," 104, 107. This was at the future site of Fort Williams, built in March 1814.

[50] Morgan to Meigs, 23 November 1813, CIART, roll 6, and Gideon Morgan Papers, MS AC 78-31, TSLA; Reid and Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 71; Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*, 66-67. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. There is not enough evidence to solidly confirm or deny that Capts. George Field, John McLemore, Richard Taylor, or Sekekee's men participated. Brown's company consisted of 84 men with 87 percent mounted. He had been a Vann supporter against Doublehead and served as Vann's estate executor. *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:458. William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 115.

Blood."[51] Slowed by a continuous rain, a shortage of forage for their horses, and cumbersome prisoners, they finally arrived back on November 22.[52]

Jackson's official position on the Hillabee massacre reveals no outrage, although one of his early biographers, James Parton, contradicted this notion. Robert V. Remini, a leading biographer of Jackson strongly argues that, "Despite Parton's statement, the extant documentary evidence does not support it."[53] The statements of others who participated also do not reflect a sense of remorse over the circumstances of this perceived victory. Colonel Morgan expressed pride in his Cherokee charges:

> It affords me no inconsiderable degree of pleasure to have it in my power to inform you that this achievement accept but one instance of a Creek killed by the whites, belongs intirely [*sic*] to the Cherokees. This ought not, nor can it reflect any disgrace on the whites, as it was owing intirely [*sic*] to the rapidity of our movements that the honor belongs to the Cherokees.[54]

Morgan further vented his sentiments that his men had proven their worth as soldiers:

> Will not shame redden the face & silence mute the tongue of those who have pretended to doubt the attachment of the Cherokees to our Country. They must now, if they continue to murmur, advance their real views, a thirst for their property and their lives.[55]

White heartily agreed the Cherokees "gave undeniable evidence that they merit the employ of their government."[56] Jackson, who was dealing with troop sickness and an epidemic of desertions, later noted that "Mr. Ross and a Cherokee who were there, tell

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[51] For example, see John and Anna Gambold to Meigs, 21 April 1814, CIART, roll 6. These missionaries noted that the Cherokee warrior Woodpecker returned "from Service against the Creek Nation, whence he brought 2 young Women & a Boy, . . . & [they] appear pleased with their Situation." See also Lossing, "War with Creek Indians," 608-609. Cocke to Jackson, 27 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:361, contradicts this, stating that they sent prisoners to the Hiwassee Garrison.

[52] Brig. Gen. James White to Maj. Gen. John Cocke, 24 November 1813, reprinted in the *Weekly Register*, 25 December 1813, 283.

[53] Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars* (NY: Viking Press, 2001), 68-69.

[54] Morgan to Meigs, 23 November 1813, Gideon Morgan Papers, MS AC no. 78-31, TSLA.

[55] Ibid.

[56] White to Cocke, 24 November 1813, reprinted in the *Weekly Register*, 25 December, 1813, 283.

me there was only one gun fired by the enemy."[57] Morgan, who proudly boasted that the Cherokees acted with the utmost "cool, deliberate bravery," especially touted forty-seven year old Lieutenant Colonel John Lowry's bravery when "six of the enemy fell beneath his sword."[58] He gave additional accolades to Captain McNair and his scouts and concluded, "In fact, should I attempt to do justice to each person, it would be the shortest method to furnish the muster roll of the Regiment."[59]

Three Cherokee officers, Major John Walker, Captain Saunders, and Lieutenant Ridge, missed the action due to their orders to mount an elevation to prevent any escapees. Not to be left out of the action, Walker led them with a few others to a nearby town six miles away, killed three Red Sticks, and captured forty women and children. When the warriors "dispersed in pursuit of plunder," eighteen armed Red Sticks confronted Walker, who on his own convinced them to surrender.[60]

On November 21, Cherokees captured a Red Stick scout and turned him over to Jackson, who then returned the captive to them "to punish In the[i]r one [own, *sic*] way."[61] Perhaps representing the absent town community, which had traditionally

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[57] *Carthage Gazette*, 18 December 1813; Samuel Baines to wife Christiana, 25 November 1813, SPR 542, ADAH.

[58] Morgan to Meigs, 23 November 1813, Morgan Papers, MS AC no. 78-31, TSLA.

[59] Ibid. McNair's company sometimes acted along with Captain William Russell's scouts/spies from 4 October 1813 to 4 April 1814. See "William Russell," in "Soldiers," Public Information Subject Files—Alabamians at War, War of 1812 and First Creek War, SG0013378, folder 19, ADAH. According to "Old Times," 27 January 1877, *Cherokee Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 1, Book One 1 May 1845—27 June 1877, from microfilm copies in Oklahoma Historical Society's Collection, ed. Dorothy Tincup Maulden (Tulsa: Oklahoma Yesterday Publications, 1991), 153, McNair was a Cherokee countryman, originally a carpenter from Virginia, who married Joseph Vann's older sister. Supposedly, Vann and McNair introduced fine breeding stock into the Cherokee Nation. See also the character reference in Remarks on the Testimony Taken of Disputed Country to John Coffee, 30 December 1829, Cherokee Collection, THS, mf #815, reel 4, box 3, folder 6, TSLA. Other companies may have participated, but the evidence cannot confirm this. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

[60] Morgan to Meigs, 23 November 1813, Morgan Papers, MS AC no. 78-31, TSLA; Moulten, *John Ross*, 11.

[61] McCown, ed., "Hartsell Memora," 110.

ritually tortured prisoners, the Cherokee warriors cut the clubbed extension of his hair off and then struck his head with their tomahawks. They next scalped him, stripped him, placed a rope around his neck, and then stabbed him to death. Before the enemy warrior died, the Cherokee warriors paraded him before the "Shee Coocys [Coosa women] and Children" until "all the women cryed and made Everey kind of noise."[62] The warriors soon escorted the captive women and children to their new families in Cherokee territory, who would determine whether to adopt or enslave them. By December 13, one of these warrior escorts, Tyger, had arrived home safely with his two prisoners, a woman and her young son.[63] This proud Creek woman, now a slave, ran away in March of 1814 after presenting problems for her owner, Tyger's wife. Believing that she had benevolently provided food and shelter to the Creek woman and her child, the Cherokee woman became enraged, claiming that the Creek slave was "ungrateful" and troublesome because she refused to prepare the family's meals as ordered.[64] The woman barely escaped only because Hicks narrowly convinced the irate Tyger not to pursue and kill her. For safe-keeping, the army escorted the 27 male captives to the Hiwassee Garrison prison, a stone-lined cellar beneath the Cherokee Agency double-log house.[65]

In addition to Jackson's Tennessee and Cherokee troops, soldiers from Georgia and Mississippi Territory were also at work against the Red Sticks through the end of 1813. Georgia troops led by General John Floyd successfully attacked Autosee on

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[62] McCown, ed., "Hartsell Memora," 110.

[63] Diary entry, 13 December 1813, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:569. The Moravians termed Tyger or Big Tiger a traditionalist and a conjurer, who often wore silver arm bracelets or bands. See McClinton Ruff, "To Ascertain the Mind and Circumstances of the Cherokee Nation," 69, fn. 21.

[64] Diary entry, 18 April 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:16.

[65] McCown, ed., "Hartsell Memora," 110. Pinckney authorized Jackson to move the prisoners to the settlements if their safety became an issue. Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney to Jackson, 23 March 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 9, January 1, 1814 – August 11, 1814; Allen, "Creek War," MSS Chattanooga Public Library (1935), TSLA, 393, 395.

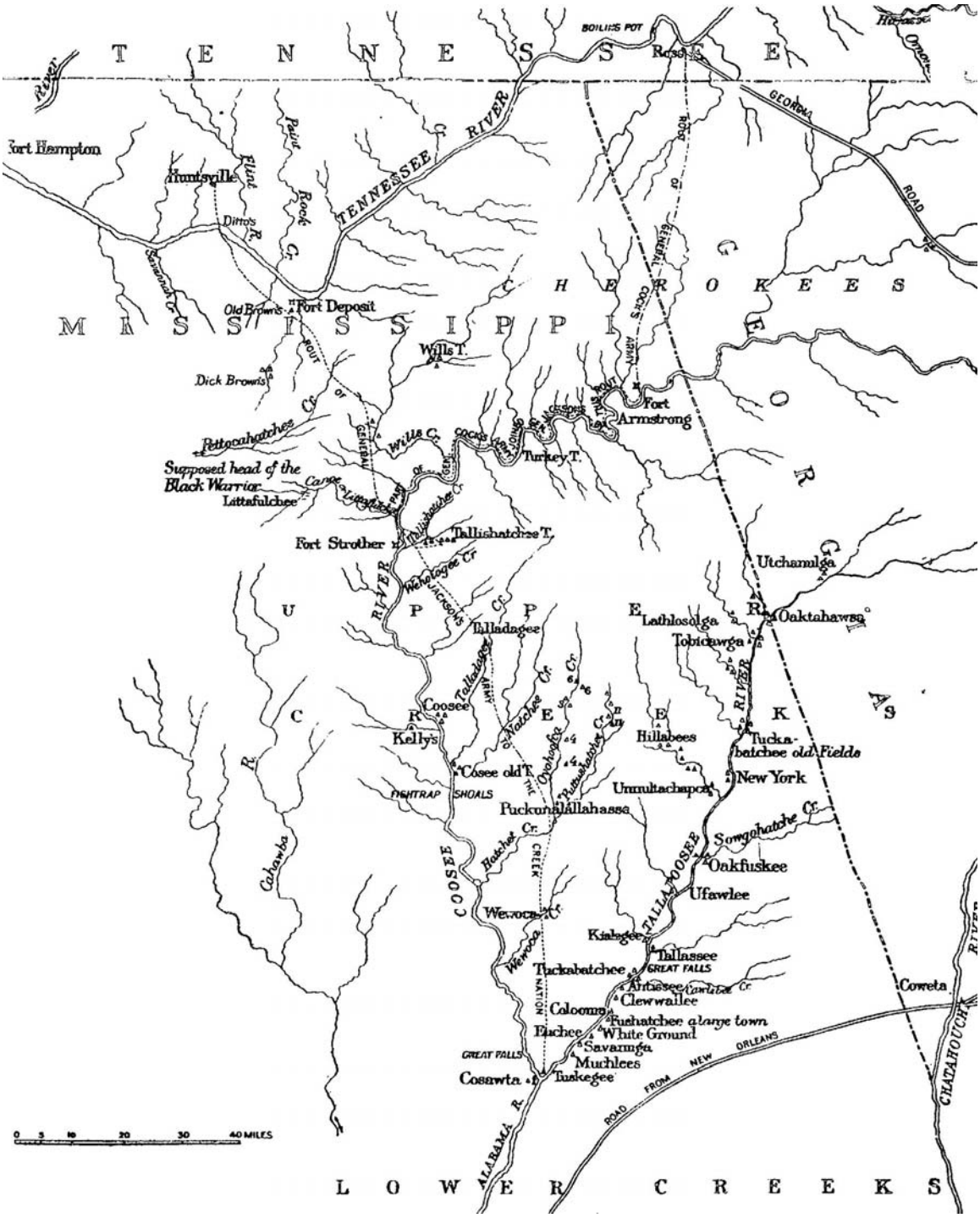


Figure 2. Part of the Melish Map of 1814, covering the seat of war between the Creek Indians and the Americans in 1813-14. From *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 73, Plate 8.

November 29 but then returned to Georgia. On December 16 and 17, 1813, Floyd's troops destroyed the hastily abandoned Red Stick towns of Nuyaka (New York) and Mad Dog's Village near a great bend of the Tallapoosa River. Reconnaissance revealed that a large body of the enemy occupied the opposite side of the river, but the troops retreated because recent downpours had so swollen the river and for want of provisions. Other towns they "contemplated burning, Tookabatchie, Tallahassee, & Immookfau," escaped damage.[66] Floyd, along with Creek forces under William McIntosh, again took the field in January 1814, but the Red Sticks forced his retreat at the Battle of Calabee. Troops from the Mississippi Territory under General Ferdinand Claiborne, aided by 150 Choctaws, hit the heart of the Red Stick movement by successfully destroying Holy Ground or Eccanachaca on December 23, 1813. Once again short troop enlistments and supply shortages forced the Americans to retreat from Creek country.[67]

Determinedly, Jackson sought to gather supplies and men for a late winter campaign. Beginning in October at Lookout Mountain Town in present-day northwest Georgia, Lieutenant Colonel Lowry's men had suffered from the bitterness of a cold fall

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[66] Maj. Gen. David Adams to Georgia Gov. Peter Early, 24 December 1813, *Georgia Military Affairs*, 4 January 1814-9 October 1819, 4 vols. (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Archives and History, 1940), 4:317, 320. For a discussion of the founding of Tohopeka by Abeka Creeks from six nearby towns, see Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War of 1813-1814," 9. For further discussion of Georgia troop movements in the Red Stick War, see Susan K. Barnard and Grace M. Schwartman, "Tecumseh and the Creek Indian War of 1813-1814 in North Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82 (Fall 1998): 489-506; Hugh M. Thomason, "Governor Peter Early and the Creek Indian Frontier, 1813-1815," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 45 (September 1961): 225-32.

[67] John Sugden, "Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The Closing Phase," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Jan 1982): 279; Benjamin W. Griffith Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford: Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 133-38. See also, Lossing, "War with Creek Indians," 609-611, and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*, 54-57. Extract of a letter from J.M. Willcox to his father, fifteen days before he was massacred, 1 January 1814, in "A Narrative of the Life and Death of Lieut. J.M. Willcox," in *Garland Library of Narratives of the North American Indian Captives*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, 111 vols. (1816; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 33:5-6. For information on the Choctaw role in the Red Stick War, see Henry Sale Halbert Papers, LPR 147, box 4, folder 11, ADAH, 75-110; J.F.H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory, and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens*, (1880; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 327-30.

and asked Meigs to procure blankets and coats. Meigs was forced to draw $3,362 from public funds to arm the Cherokees and provide some winter clothing "to enable them to take the field to co-operate with the American troops against the Common enemy," as well as for the purchase of paper, ink powder, quills, gun flints, and tobacco for their use.[68] Jackson strained Cherokee resources by insisting on commandeering all available meat, corn, and meal from them in order to provision his army. That left little to supply Cherokee family needs throughout the rest of the winter.

Many Cherokee men had answered the call to arms but owned no guns. Some of the Cherokee military leaders now requested that Meigs provide ammunition or authorize the newly promoted Major Ridge to supply some at the government's expense.[69] On January 14, 1814, Jackson authorized Adjutant General Robert Searcey to provide forty-five Cherokee warriors "destined to accompany the Commanding Gen.[l] from this place, on an excursion against the hostile creeks, fifteen rounds of powder and thirty pounds of lead."[70] They also sought the agent's approval for a gunsmith at Tellico because he could aid them "to stand with our white brothers against the enemys [*sic*] of the Unighted [*sic*] states . . . as many . . . [are] going from this quarter as volunteers who intend to join general jaxon [*sic*]."[71] In addition, the men complained that some of their warriors had

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[68] Bill of exchange relating to supplies to Cherokee warriors from Meigs to Armstrong, December 1813, CIART, roll 6; Receipt of Timothy Meigs for goods given the Cherokee, 31 March 1814, GALILEO, Doc. PA0216, Penelope Johnson Allen Papers, Mss. 2033, box 1, folder 75, doc. PA0216, Hoskins Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN; Jackson to Path Killer and Hicks, 23 October 1813, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 3, folder 1, no. 4299.

[69] John Lowry to Meigs, 27 October 1813, and Big Halfbreed, Ri[d]ge, Birdseye, Oald [*sic*] Wakeygiskee to Meigs, 16 January 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[70] General Order from Jackson to Adjutant Gen. Robert Searcey, 14 January 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LOC). Other Cherokee leaders arrived with their men and also requested clothing, arms, and ammunition. See Chuleowa to Jackson, 31 January 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 8, December 23, 1813 – February 11, 1814.

[71] Petition of Sundry Indians [including Willioe, John Acorn, Thomas Maw, Corn Tassle, and John Nettle] at Tuskegee to Meigs, 15 February 1814, CIART, roll 6.

not received any clothing and requested forty-five blankets and enough homespun to fashion fifteen hunting shirts and handkerchiefs with the cost deducted from the tribal annuity.[72]

While the Cherokees and their families felt the hardships of war at their back doors, at Bell's Tavern the cream of Jackson's military officers and the town's leading men toasted those fighting in the Red Stick campaign. Eventually and perhaps as an afterthought, Major Gibson raised his glass to "Col. Richard Brown, commander of the Cherokees—a brave and patriotic officer—he has fought with us, and is not forgotten at our feast."[73] Brown, along other Cherokee leaders, might have been flattered had they not had more pressing concerns dealing with their starving families at home.

Needy Cherokee families at Brown's Village soon after received two boats filled with corn from Meigs for their relief, while other Cherokee families near Sauta applied for aid because they were "on the point of starving for the want of corn . . . and are intirely [*sic*] destitute of Bread."[74] As a "consequence of the Troops having consumed all their corn when on their way to fort Strother," approximately forty families had to relocate.[75] One of the Cherokee Ross brothers begged for government aid, lamenting that "Humanity speaks loudly in favour of those distressed Cherokees who has resided on the road or within reach of the Army."[76] Others applied to Meigs for the same reason, reminding him that "all our young Warriers [*sic*] is Starting of[f] to War with Generall

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[72] Big Halfbreed, Ri[d]ge, Birdseye, Oald [*sic*] Wakeygiskee to Meigs, 16 January 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[73] *Nashville Whig*, 22 February 1814.

[74] Richard Brown to Meigs, 18 February 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[75] Riley to Meigs, 20 February 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[76] Daniel Ross to Meigs, 3 March 1814, CIART, roll 6.

Jackson Armey [*sic*] and our Women and Children will be in Great Suffering."[77] Cocke confirmed this noting, "Cattle are scarce among the Cherokees" and that he would "despair of getting a considerable number from them."[78]

The warriors had become so "destitute of warm cloathing [*sic*]," that Morgan sought 200 blankets for his men before they left for the March expeditions into Red Stick territory.[79] Jackson, however, had other ideas and asked Morgan to save the government the expense of provisioning the Cherokees, hoping they could instead get their supplies and thirty days of rations from Lewis Ross in Chattanooga.[80] By early March Jackson would lack meat rations and the possibility of securing any more from the Cherokees was out of the question, having thoroughly exhausted their resources.

Jackson constantly experienced difficulty in maintaining troops and sufficient provisions, factors that plagued the Americans throughout the war. Short militia enlistments and incompetent contractors resulted in the "hit and run" tactics of the Americans almost from start to finish. Faced with this paucity of provisions, Jackson sent Coffee and his cavalry away to Huntsville to find forage for their horses.

Insisting that they had fulfilled their terms of enlistment and facing the cold and hunger of remaining in the field, the vast majority of East Tennessee militiamen left Jackson. They proceeded to destroy Cherokee property and terrorize Cherokee families

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[77] Duck and Whooping Boy to Meigs, 4 March 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[78] Cocke to Jackson, 27 November 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:361. See also Cocke to Jackson, 3 December 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:368, where he complains that his efforts to purchase hogs and cattle from Cherokees were falling short, and Jackson to Cocke, 15 December 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:395, ordering him to gather all the Cherokee corn that he can procure for the horses.

[79] Morgan to Meigs, 11 February 1814, GALILEO, Doc. MP017, Morgan Papers, box 10, folder VA, doc. tl017, TSLA, 1-2; Jackson to Pinckney, 2 March 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

[80] Jackson to Morgan, 21 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

along their way home. Soldiers stole horses, clothing and personal items, burned fences, and slaughtered livestock, often under threat of gun or knifepoint.[81] The white troops apparently were not the only threat to the Cherokee home front. Jackson informed Lowry to treat those Creeks, "who have lately come into your nation, & whom you suspect to be unfriendly & acting as spies" with all dispatch, even putting them to death if deemed necessary.[82]

Throughout late winter, many Cherokee warriors nonetheless remained active with Fort Armstrong as their base of operations. Though Jackson furloughed many Cherokees home, most chose to stay close in the Wills Valley area. One Cherokee detachment worked with Lieutenant Colonel William Snodgrass's Second Regiment East Tennessee Volunteer Militia from mid January into February at Fort Armstrong to secure supply and communication lines. Sixty-six Cherokees under Captain Charles Hicks, along with some national Creeks and about twenty white Mississippi Territory soldiers, garrisoned the fort, having enlisted for another month. Indian runners worried that "after escaping the danger from their Enemies they will probably be destroyed by their friends" as they attempted to deliver dispatches.[83] From the Creek Agency on the Flint River,

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[81] Path Killer to John Strother, 28 December 1813, CIART, roll 6.

[82] Jackson to Col. John Lowry, 8 January 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

[83] Kanon, "Regimental Histories, http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/history/military/1812reg.htm (accessed 10 February 2007). Cherokees often served as runners to deliver important dispatches throughout the war. Some received blankets or cloth as payment for their services. See Receipt of Timothy Meigs for goods given the Cherokee, 31 March 1814, GALILEO, Doc. PA0216, Penelope Johnson Allen Papers, MSS 2033, box 1, folder 75, doc. PA0216, Hoskins Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN. See also, Colyar, *Life and Times of Jackson*, 3; Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Twenty-seven men remained with Hicks after their first tour of duty ended on January 6, 1814, and 39 Cherokee warriors arrived as new enlistees.

Agent Benjamin Hawkins thus devised that all such messengers, including any Cherokees, "shall give *Two Whoops*" as a signal for admittance into forts.[84]

Fort Armstrong was no more than a hastily constructed "small fort built of poles which a strong man could pull up."[85] Nevertheless, the Cherokees had established a square ground with four structures that opened in the front where the "chiefs set agreeable to Rank, [and] in these houses are deposted [*sic*] their relics, & scalps."[86] Nearby, they built a functional traditional council house. Also during this time, approximately fifteen men remained on guard near Path Killer's residence in Turkey Town. Some of these warrior/soldiers had fought at the recent Battles of Tallushatchee and New York and so were seasoned veterans.[87]

Anticipating an active campaign, the Cherokees now sent for the warriors from the Valley Towns.[88] The Ridge reminded Meigs that the Cherokee warriors were still committed to "gow [*sic*] with our oalder [*sic*] brothers the whites like a band of brothers."[89] Cherokees began to set out for Fort Armstrong to await Morgan's arrival. While Jackson prepared to mount a new offensive, Lt. Col. John Lowry and a few of his men returned from a twenty-day scouting mission and reported that they had killed two

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[84] Pinckney to Jackson, 2 December 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:364.

[85] Edmund Shackelford to Frances Shackelford, 26 November 1813, Society for Georgia Archaeology, MSS 4911, Macon, GA.

[86] E. Shackelford to F. Shackelford, 26 November 1813, Society for Georgia Archaeology, MSS 4911, Macon, GA.

[87] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. These fifteen men consisted of Cherokee and Creek-Natchez men, all of whom served as privates from January 6 through February 6, 1814. They, like their counterparts at Fort Armstrong, performed guard, courier, and scouting duties.

[88] Because of a delay in receiving the message, the Valley Town/Mountain Warriors did not arrive at the designated date. Yonah Equah or Big Bear to Meigs, 5 March 1814, CIART, roll 6. This group left on January 23 and thus arrived too late to take part in the Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopco. For a familiar account of the battle, see Lossing, "War with Creek Indians," 612-13. See also, Jackson to wife Rachel, 28 January 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:444-47.

[89] Big Halfbreed, Ri[d]ge, Birdseye, Oald [*sic*] Wakeygiskee to Meigs, 16 January 1814, CIART, roll 6.

Red Stick spies and "took one Negro" spy sent from the Eufala towns.[90] Morgan attempted to hold the Cherokees under Lowry in check until the next campaign, including 1st Major John Walker, newly promoted 2nd Major James Brown and 4th Major Ridge, and some recently promoted captains, such as Shoe Boots.[91] Meigs hoped that the 500 expected Cherokees troops could organize into regular Corps by:

> concilliat[ing] the veiws [*sic*] of the three prominent characters R. Brown, Lowry, & Walker. They are all men of equal merit; they have military pride & self respect. Either of them would be willing to stand on equal ground with each other, but neither would be willing to be out ranked by either. . . These three characters will all expect the rank of Field Officers & will well deserve it in commanding their men. . . it will give them influence amongst their own people . . . [and] give them the latitude of considering themselves as our Allies. They now behave well they are proud to bear arms & to act in the field with their White Brothers & there can be no doubt of their fidelity but they must be intirely [*sic*] guided by our Councils.[92]

The seasoned, more experienced, Cherokee military men led enthusiastic younger Cherokees, many between the ages of fifteen to twenty-five years old, youths who were quite willing to consent to serve under men whom they knew, respected, and trusted. This hierarchy replicated that of the traditional war party structure. The middle-aged veterans had always held higher ranks in the Cherokee military structure. When these veterans became too old for active participation in war, they traditionally still continued to wield power and influence as headmen of their communities or in positions of authority in the National Council.

Three such older warriors, Lowry, James Brown, and Ridge, agreed to meet Morgan at Fort Armstrong on January 20, 1814. From there, Morgan informed Meigs that several Cherokees were "determined to an excurtion [*sic*] into the Creek nation" and

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[90] John Lowry to Meigs, 5 January 1814, CIART, roll 6.
[91] Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.
[92] Meigs to Jackson, 11 February 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 8.

though he beseeched them to wait, "nothing Could Remove their Stubborn determination."[93] One group still at Fort Strother chased a small Red Stick raiding party, which had stolen slaves from a nearby Creek town.[94] Walker and his men did not join Morgan, who left for Ross's in hopes of procuring more desperately needed blankets. Most opted to stay in the vicinity of their own homes and "depend on their Guns for Subsistence" before it was time to leave for Fort Strother.[95]

On January 18, sixty-five Cherokees, along with a greater number of national Creeks, rendezvoused with Jackson's men at Talladega, anticipating a push south to infiltrate the heart of Red Stick territory. Jackson hoped to find them amassed in one place and confront them there. After three days travel, the military expedition came within twelve miles of Emuckfau Creek and camped for the night at an abandoned Hillabee town on Enotachopco Creek. At daybreak on January 24, the Red Sticks attacked but were repulsed after heavy fighting. Jackson later reported, "The enemy was completely routed at every point, and the friendly indians joining the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with great slaughter."[96] Cocke reported:

> The Cherokees distinguished themselves & some of the friendly Creek have done well. Col. Rich. Brown [and] Capt. John Thompson fought bravely and the son of the old Path Killer known by the name of the Bear Meat, with ten of his companions fought by my side in the last engagement and it is nothing more than justice due them for me to say that they rendered essencial [*sic*] service, among them that were near me.[97]

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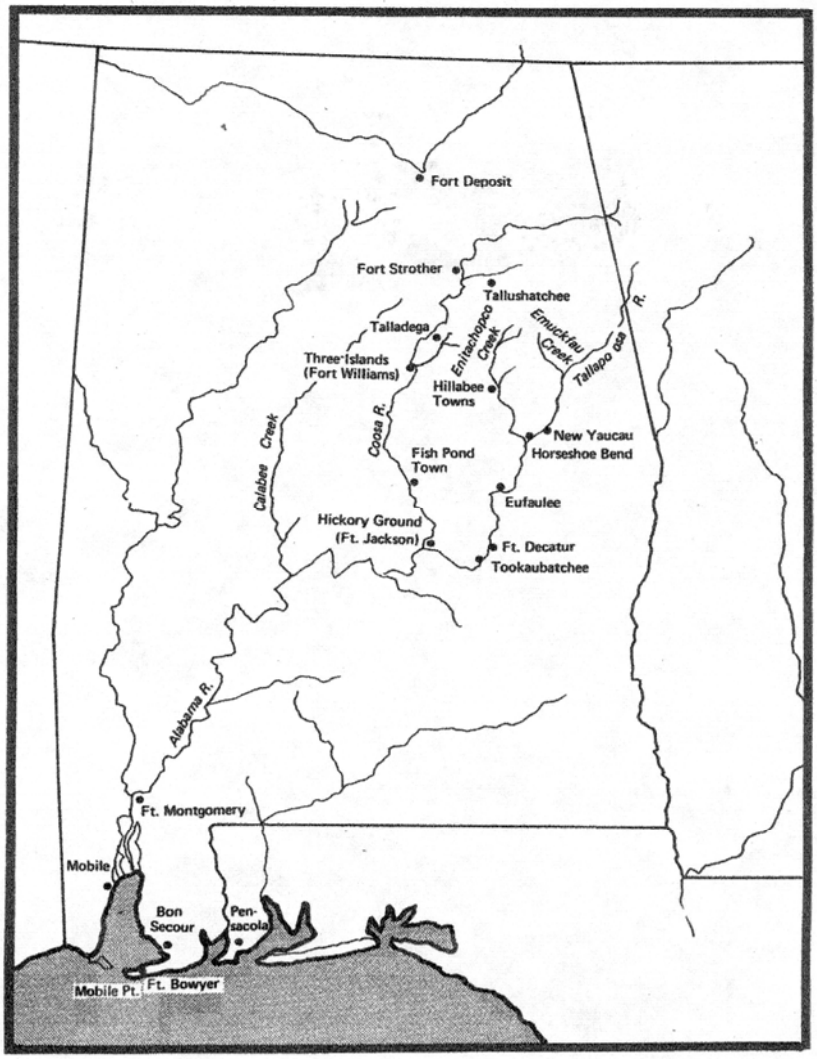
[93] Morgan to Meigs, 4 February 1814, GALILEO, Doc. MP018, Morgan Papers, box 10, folder n/a, doc. tl018, TSLA, 1; Morgan to Jackson, 5 February 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 8.

[94] Jackson to Carroll, 28 January 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:472.

[95] Morgan to Jackson, 9 February 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson* reel 8.

[96] Jackson to Pinckney, 29 January 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:448.

[97] John[?]Cocke to Gov. Early, 28 January 1814, GALILEO, Doc. TCC131, Telamon Cuyler Collection, box 77, folder 30, doc. 2, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries. Bear Meat served as a mounted ensign under Capt. James Brown from October 7, 1813, through January 6, 1814 and fought at Tallushatchee. He served as a private at Path Killer's fort from January 6




Jackson's operations

Figure 3. From Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans 1812-1815* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 74.

through February 6, 1814. During his third tour of duty, Bear Meat served as a mounted private under Capt. John Brown from January 27 through April 11. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

The forward scouts soon afterwards located, just as Jackson had anticipated, a large body of Red Sticks. They reported that "the enemy were fortified by a high log wall extending across the Tallapoosa River."[98] Because of the barricade's formidability and the large Red Stick numbers, Jackson determined that Coffee and the Indian force could not attack at that time and ordered a retreat to secure some provisions, bury the dead, and care for the wounded, which included Cherokee 3rd Corporal John Looney, who had been severely shot through his left shoulder and scapula.[99]

The Red Sticks launched another assault at Emuckfaw Creek. Jackson "ordered 200 of the friendly Indians to fall in upon the right flank of the enemy" to aid Coffee, who was only supported by about fifty-four men. Col. William Carroll and this group, led by the Creek head warrior Jim Fife, struck "with a galling and destructive fire."[100] Jackson believed he had put the Red Sticks on the run. Yet again, the lack of sufficient provisions forced him to retreat towards Fort Strother.[101]

Soon reinforced, the enemy made another direct assault on the troops as they retreated across Enotachopco Creek and almost succeeded in cutting off Jackson's rear guard and the artillery. This group of new recruits panicked until some of Coffee's hardened veterans and artillerymen rallied and successfully repulsed the onslaught. One of Coffee's men, Richard Call, later recalled:

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[98] Entry from Journal of Governor Richard K. Call, "Lake Jackson, August 5, 1861," Fla 921 Call, DBCN ACI-9781, M82-4, 82, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee (hereafter cited as Call Papers).

[99] Jackson noted that the Indians who joined him at Talladega had not drawn any rations and were really in need. Jackson to Pinckney, 29 January 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:450-51. See also, John Looney, no. 25231, OWIF. Looney received a promotion to 4th Sgt. after his first tour of duty under Capt. Fields and had transferred to John MClemore's Company for his second tour that began January 27, 1814.

[100] Jackson to Pinckney, 29 January 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:450.

[101] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 72-73.

> At this critical moment, when the bravest passed, and delayed, the desperate charge on the hidden foe, Colonel Dick Brown, was seen, out of gun shot of the ambuscade, with his little band of mounted Cherokees, around him, whom he addressed vehemently, in a language they alone understood, but of which a practical interpretation was immediately given. Mounted on a fleet horse, of the hardy Indian breed, he dashed alone towards the Cane Break [*sic*], turned suddenly at a right angle and passed rapidly near and parallel with the hidden foe, drawing their fire as he went, and whenever the curling snake arise from the thicket, a mounted Cherokee dispatched the defenseless warrior, before he could reload his rifle.[102]

In February Jackson's intelligence indicated that the Red Sticks were collecting in the river bend near Emuckfau, a tributary of the Tallapoosa, and sending out scavenging parties to find provisions.[103] This represented an opportunity for Jackson to kill "the hot bed of the war party," while at the same time he feared that they "may endeavor to destroy some of the friendly Cherokees."[104] He ordered the Cherokees under Colonel Richard Brown to "scour the country" for any hostiles between the Hightower and Tallapoosa Rivers.[105] They were also to act in conjunction with Jackson's cavalry between the Black Warrior and Cahaba Rivers and then proceed up the Coosa to Fort Strother at Ten Islands. Their orders were to "kill and destroy all warriors . . . burn all houses & villages & take all women & children prisoners" so as to eradicate any rear threat to Jackson's army and to eliminate all whom "might disturb your people or mine after I march from this place." In addition, he directed the Cherokees to confiscate provisions and "capture all negroes found on your rout[e]."[106]

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[102] Entry from Journal of Governor Richard K. Call, Call Papers, 84-85.

[103] Later they would identify this collection point as the Red Stick stronghold refuge of Tohopeka at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River.

[104] Jackson to Pinckney, 11 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

[105] Jackson to Maj. William McIntosh, 17 February 1814, and Jackson to Col. Robert Dyer, 23 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

[106] Jackson to Col. John Brown, 17 February 1814, and Jackson to Col. Richard Brown, 18 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC. At this time, Jackson also sent his thanks

Jackson's directive, however, resulted in a messy situation. Colonel Lowry and Majors Ridge, Walker, and Saunders had seized forty-six slaves from the wealthy Creek countryman Robert Grierson (Grayson) as White's men escorted the Creek refugees to the Cherokee towns. The Cherokees claimed that these slaves actually belonged to the Hillabee Red Stick leader Bill Scott, who had died at the Battle of Talladega. Grierson claimed that Scott's slaves fulfilled a debt and appealed to Jackson to return his property, while the Cherokees filed a counter claim through Meigs, claiming their warrior rights to confiscate prisoners.[107]

At the end of February, Red Sticks raided Sour Mush's town in the Cherokee Hightower area at present-day Rome, Georgia, and took two women and children captive. At this same time, they killed two other Cherokees and burnt Avery Vann's place just sixteen miles above Fort Armstrong and thirty-five miles below Hightower. This concerned Hicks, who consulted with his previous 1st Lieutenant Big Cabbin (Cabbin Smith) and 2nd Lieutenant Old Broom as to the expediency of sending warriors to patrol the area.[108]

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back with the empty bucket that Mrs. Brown had sent him full of butter with regrets that he could not reciprocate while in the field.

[107] Robert Grierson, a retired deerskin trader, became wealthy trading slaves, cattle, and horses, and was a successful early cotton planter. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 57 (November 1991): 627; Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period* (1851; reprint, Montgomery, AL: River City Publishing, 2003), 520; Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 15-17; Jackson to Path Killer, Lowry, The Ridge, and Alexander Saunders, 18 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC; Meigs to Grierson, 9 March 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[108] Journal Entry, 30 July 1826, Richard A. Blount Papers, LPR 95, box 2, folder 2, Georgia-Alabama Commission Journal, 26 July–7 August 1826 (1826), ADAH, 112-13. Ave Vann served as a Pvt. in McNair's company of spies from October 7, 1813, to January 6, 1814 and from January 27 to April 11, 1814. Hicks to Meigs, 21 March 1814, CIART, roll 6; Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Big Cabbin served under Hicks for two tours of duty—October 7, 1813 to January 6, 1814, and January 11 to February 10, 1814. Old Broom was Charles Hicks's maternal grandfather and only enlisted for the first tour of duty. Hicks had hoped that Jackson might consider these patrols as part of his army, but there is no evidence that

The Cherokees continued to operate within Jackson's military circle, providing valuable and varied services. Jackson heavily depended upon Cherokee mounted warriors as guides and translators. As the vast number of Jackson's men left for home or deserted, the "public stores and mag[a]zines were deserted and a protection obliged to be obtained for them . . . from the friendly Cherokees" at Fort Strother.[109] After reinforcements arrived on January 31, he released the Cherokees from guarding Fort Armstrong.[110] The Cherokees "were permitted to Return to their Respective homes" for a short furlough to conserve precious provisions but expected by February 20.[111] Richard Brown informed Jackson that though "we now want to rest a little" his men "must prepare for makeing [*sic*] corn for our familys [*sic*].[112] Captain Richard Taylor and his men, however, never left the field but remained on reconnaissance duty. Major Walker and many of his men left Fort Armstrong on February 16 to march to Chinnabee's town near Talladega to await further orders. Meanwhile, Cherokee Captain James Foster and about eighty Cherokee warriors encamped near Turkey Town.[113] Colonel Lowry, with about seventy or eighty men, including Ridge and Saunders, anticipated meeting up with

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this happened. See Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians: And Their Legends and Folk Lore*, ed. Dorothy Tincup Mauldin (Muskogee, OK: Oklahoma Yesterday Publications, 1979; Special Ed., Muskogee, OK: Hoffman Printing, 1984), 599.

[109] Jackson to Capt. Eli Hammond, 15 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, Letters and Orders, vol. F, LOC, 5.

[110] Jackson to Col. William Snodgrass, 2 February 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. A-E, reel 61, LOC.

[111] Morgan to Meigs, 4 February 1814, GALILEO, Doc. MP018, Morgan Papers, box 10, folder n/a, doc. tl018, TSLA, 2; Morgan to Jackson, 22 February 1814, ALS, DLC (9).

[112] Richard Brown to Jackson, 2 February 1814, Moser, ed., *Papers of Andrew Jackson*, reel 8.

[113] Richard Taylor was born c. 1790 at Southwest Point. His father was a major in the British Army. "Pen and Ink Sketches," 6 August 1879, *Cherokee Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 1, Book Two 4 July 1877—3 March 1880, from microfilm copies in Oklahoma Historical Society's Collection, ed. Dorothy Tincup Maulden (Tulsa: Oklahoma Yesterday Publications, 1991), 141-42. This is most likely where Capt. Sullockow's forty mounted Natchez-Creek men were stationed, serving from October 7, 1813, to April 11, 1814. This unit was part of the Cherokee Regiment. Foster had earned a promotion, previously serving as a private under Capt. James Brown. When Brown received his promotion as 2nd Maj., Foster became a captain over a company of eighty-three warriors of which 70 percent were foot soldiers. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

Foster. Demonstrating a persistent belief in the power of traditional war medicine, James Brown and his group of about 100 men arrived after their anticipated or expected date of February 20 because they insisted on first stopping at Wills Town "where Resides a Celebrated Conjurer whoom [*sic*] the Cherokees were determined to consult" prior to battle to conclude that the signs were favorable.[114] This was very likely the now very elderly war chief Richard Justice (The Just), who had been extremely prominent during the Chickamauga era.[115]

Morgan notified Jackson that the Cherokee Regiment's organization had split into several smaller parties. The colonel had hoped to make a disciplined march into Jackson's camp. As before, most furloughed companies had warriors who opted to stay in Wills Valley in small groups like the old traditional war parties, each its own entity, rather than return home. Morgan thus was not sure of the total number but estimated that the Cherokees could field a force of about 500 though many were poorly armed.

At Chickamauga on March 2, 1814, Cherokee Adjutant John Ross received his marching orders from Morgan to rendezvous at Fort Armstrong. From there the Cherokees would head for Fort Strother. He announced that, much like the war leaders of the past, "all those who wish to signalize themselves by fighting & taking revenge for the blood of the innocent will now step forward."[116] Colonel John Williams and the U.S.

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[114] Morgan to Jackson, 22 February 1814, CIART, roll 6. Brown had been part of the Vann party against Doublehead in 1806. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 115.

[115] Penelope Johnson Allen, "History of the Cherokee Indians," MSS Chattanooga Public Library (1935), TSLA, 63-64, 521, 525-26. From Lookout Mountain Town, Justice had served as a Chickamauga war priest at least since 1792. See also, "Long Ago," 28 February 1877, *Cherokee Advocate*, 162; and Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clark, eds., "Report of David Craig to Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District William Blount, 15 March 1792, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States-Indian Affairs* (hereafter cited as *ASPIA*) 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:265.

[116] John Ross to Meigs, 2 March 1814, CIART, roll 6; Moulton, *John Ross*, 11.

39th Regiment oversaw the transfer of provisions down the Coosa from Fort Armstrong for the anticipated excursion into Red Stick territory.[117] Fort Williams would serve as a stepping off place for Jackson's next invasion of enemy territory. This time Jackson was sure he had adequate troops and provisions.

The most significant action in the Creek War was the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, March 27, 1814. Jackson's invasion aimed at the heart of Red Stick power centered at the Red Stick encampment of Tohopeka, a defensive refuge probably established after the previous fall harvest.[118] The fortified area encompassed approximately 100 acres with the dwellings and numerous beached, dug-out canoes near the lower end of the horseshoe-shaped peninsula, which the Creek called *Litobixbee Choco* or the Horse's Flat Foot. At its neck, the Red Sticks had erected a log barrier that was "five to eight feet high of large pine logs fitted in with greater skill & strength."[119] This configuration

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[117] Leota Driver Maiden, "Colonel John Williams," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications* 30 (1958): 23.

[118] Some of the most familiar literature regarding this battle are James W. Holland, "Andrew Jackson and the Creek War: Victory at the Horseshoe," *Alabama Review* 21 (October 1968); 243-75; W.H. Brantley Jr., *Battle of Horseshoe Bend in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, March 27-1814* (s.l.: Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association, 1955); Thomas Kanon, "'A Slow, Laborious Slaughter': The Battle of Horseshoe Bend," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1999): 2-15; Lossing, "War with Creek Indians," 614-15; Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire 1767-1821* (NY: Harper & Row, 1977), 207-16. For a recent study offering a detailed examination of the battle, see Kathryn H. Braund, "Warriors and Society in the Creek War and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend," MSS Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Special History Study, HOBE (2003). See also, Charles H. Fairbanks, "Excavations at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama," *Florida Anthropologist* 15 (June 1962): 48-49. Numerous articles and books cover this battle, which propelled Andrew Jackson to the presidency. For discussion focusing on Jackson and the action of his troops, see Finley McIlwaine, "The Horseshoe," *Tennessee Valley Historical Review* 2 (Fall 1973): 2-11; C. Jack Coley, "Battle of Horseshoe Bend," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 14 (January 1952): 129-34; Marcus J. Wright, "Battle of Tohopeka, or Horse-Shoe: General Andrew Jackson's Original Report," *Magazine of American History* 19 (1888): 45-49; Holland, "Andrew Jackson and the Creek War," 243-75; Letter from Lt. Alexander McCulloch to his wife Frances, 1 April 1813 [1814], Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

[119] Reid to his wife Betsy, 1 April 1814, *Papers of John Reid* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1934), 425. See also, Roy S. Dickens Jr., *Archaeological Investigations at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Alabama*, Special Publications No. 3, Alabama Archaeological Society (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1979), 48; Gregory A. Waselkov, "A Reinterpretation of the Creek Indian Barricade at Horseshoe Bend," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 32 (1986): 94-107 and George C.

allowed them to lay down a deadly crossfire through portholes if frontally attacked. The defenders used the felled brush and timber left from the barrier's construction as defensive shelters for warriors behind the front line. The Red Sticks had also excavated some of the Tallapoosa's steeper banks to enlarge an area with an overhang as emergency shelters.[120] A hill rose fairly steeply from the living area towards the neck of the horseshoe. Its elevation rose especially high on its right side. The prophets chose this hillock as the refuge's ceremonial area.

Jackson reached the Tallapoosa River and strategically placed his men around the entire peninsula. General Coffee's regiment, consisting of 700 mounted men along with 500 Cherokees and 100 national Creeks, crossed the river about two and one-half miles below Tohopeka and spread out to prevent any Red Sticks from escaping.[121]

By ten o'clock the morning of March 27, Jackson, leader of the Tennessee militia and the 39th U.S. Infantry, began firing two pieces of artillery set on a rise about 200 yards to the front and left of the barricade. Continuous cannonading against the massive log barrier bore no visible results. The effectiveness of the Red Stick frontal defenses made it suicidal to send men into a frontal assault.

Coffee later reported that:

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Mackenzie, *The Indian Breastwork in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend: Its Size, Location, and Construction* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 1969).

[120] A scuba-diving team was unable to locate any physical evidence of these caves or overhanging embankments in 1973. "Interpretive Prospectus-Current Folder," 19th item, HOBE files.

[121] Report from Coffee to Jackson, 1 April 1814, reprinted in *Niles Weekly* Register, 30 April 1814, 148 and *Carthage Gazette*, 23 April 1814; DeWitt, ed., "Letters of John Coffee," 283; Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO. Muster records confirm that 632 Cherokee warriors were enlisted at this time. Once again, these men served in seven companies with some volunteering for McNair's unit of twenty-four spies. Of this number, only 38 percent were mounted. There is nothing concrete to indicate that a part of this 632 did not participate in these battles, but all official sources quote 500. It is very likely that those unfit for duty (previously wounded or currently sick) or assigned to guard duty at the various forts can account for the discrepancy.

> The Indians with me immediately rushed forward with great impetuosity to the river bank—my line was halted and put in order of battle, expecting an attack on our rear from Oakfuskee village, which lay down the river about eight miles below us. The firing . . . became general and heavy, which animated our Indians, and seeing about one hundred of the warriors and all the squaws and children of the enemy running about among the huts of the village . . . they could no longer remain silent spectators, while some kept up a fire across the river . . . to prevent the enemy's approach to the bank, others plunged into the water and swam the river for canoes that lay at the other shore in considerable numbers, and brought them over, in which crafts a number of them embarked, and landed on the bend with the enemy.[122]

Pvt. The Whale (Tuq-qua, Tucfo, or Tuck Wah), "a very large man" about thirty-seven years old, served under Captain Rain Crow. His son-in-law, 2nd Corporal Charles Reese, served under Captain John Brown. They and one other Cherokee warrior swam the river, which was at "full water stage," returned with canoes, and ferried their comrades back across to the village.[123] On his way across, The Whale took a gunshot to his shoulder. His comrades secured two canoes and ferried those and The Whale back across the river. Other Cherokees, including Pvt. Joseph Vann under Captain Brown and Major Ridge, used these to secure other canoes and crossed in large numbers. They then

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[122] Report from Coffee to Jackson, 1 April 1814, reprinted in *Niles Weekly* Register, 30 April 1814, 148.

[123] Henry S. Halbert, "Restoration of a rifle to a Cherokee Warrior," Henry Sale Halbert Papers, LPR 147, box 7, folder 24, ADAH. There has been much conjecture about the third anonymous swimmer. In 1914, S.S. Broadus, a prominent Alabama banker, traveled to Oklahoma to find descendents of the warriors who fought at Horseshoe Bend for the upcoming centennial commemoration. There he interviewed Gideon Morgan's daughter, Cherokee America Rogers, and Charles Reese's grandson, Henry Dobson Reese. They expressed pride in their ancestor's participation in the war, recalling family stories of the dramatic feat. Morgan thought her father named one of the Baldridge brothers, Dick or John, as the third companion. (John, who raised fine horned cattle, later signed the 1827 Cherokee Constitution.) Reese indicated that The Whale was his grandfather's uncle instead of father-in-law and that the idea to swim the river for canoes was his grandfather's. "Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary in 1914," *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 26, 1911, and "Reports of S.S. Broadus, 1907 and 1911," HOBE; See also, "Bounty Application for Whale," HOBE files, Bounty Land Files, War of 1812, #1298, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "Long Ago," *Cherokee Advocate*, 28 February 1877, 163; Calvin Jones, "Account of the Cherokee Schools, communicated by Gen. Calvin Jones, of Raleigh to the editor of the Register," *American Monthly Magazine* (December 1813): 117-24. Reproduced in Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842, GALILEO Digital Library of Georgia Database. For a discussion of the battle weather conditions, see Braund, "Warriors and Society," 12. Reese's sister married Oowatie (The Ancient), Major Ridge's brother. See Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 451.

attacked the village and set some structures afire, engaging the enemy's rear.[124] The Whale later wrote:

> By this exploit our Warriors were enabled to cross the river and obtain other canoes by which they succeeded in carrying over a force strong enough to attack the Enemy in the rear. And by keeping up a hot fire soon dislodged them from their breast works. They were then pursued and engaged in personal inco[u]nter [*sic*] until the victory was gained."[125]

This unplanned, but successful, rear assault meant that Red Sticks from the front line had to rush away, leaving the front more exposed to an attempt to breach the log defenses. Morgan rode to inform Colonel Lemuel Montgomery of the 39th of the events and upon returning found that approximately 200 Cherokees were engaging the enemy on the peninsula. Morgan, Walker, and thirty other Cherokees hurried across and, along with their fellow warriors, took possession of the high ground by fighting mostly in hand-to-hand combat. Morgan, who soon received a severe head wound over his right eye from which "he danced like a partridge," later recalled:

> We were warmly assailed on every quarter, except our rear, where we only kept open by the dint of hard fighting. The Cherokees were continually crossing, and our number increased in about the proportion in which the Creeks were diminished, who laid prostrate in every quarter—their numbers were vastly superior to ours, but were occupied in maintaining their breast-work, which they appeared determined never to surrender.[126]

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[124] John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation of Indians, in Answer to Inquiries from a Friend (Washington, D.C., 1836), 22 in GALILEO; Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America: With Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1836), Cherokee Nation Papers, box 177, folder 7729, 1:218; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 192-93.

[125] The Whale to Gov. P.M. Butler, 18 February 1843, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Cherokee Agency, 1843, M-234, Roll 87, reprinted in Brad Agnew, "The Whale's Rifle," in "Notes and Documents," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 56 (Winter 1978-1979): 472-73.

[126] Report from Colonel Gideon Morgan to Blount, 1 April 1814, reprinted in *Niles Weekly* Register, 30 April 1814, 149, and *Clarion*, 12 April 1814; Confederate Soldier, "Our Correspondence," Interview with Captain James Campbell, 10 September 1861, *Daily Dispatch*, 16 September 1861 (Richmond, VA).

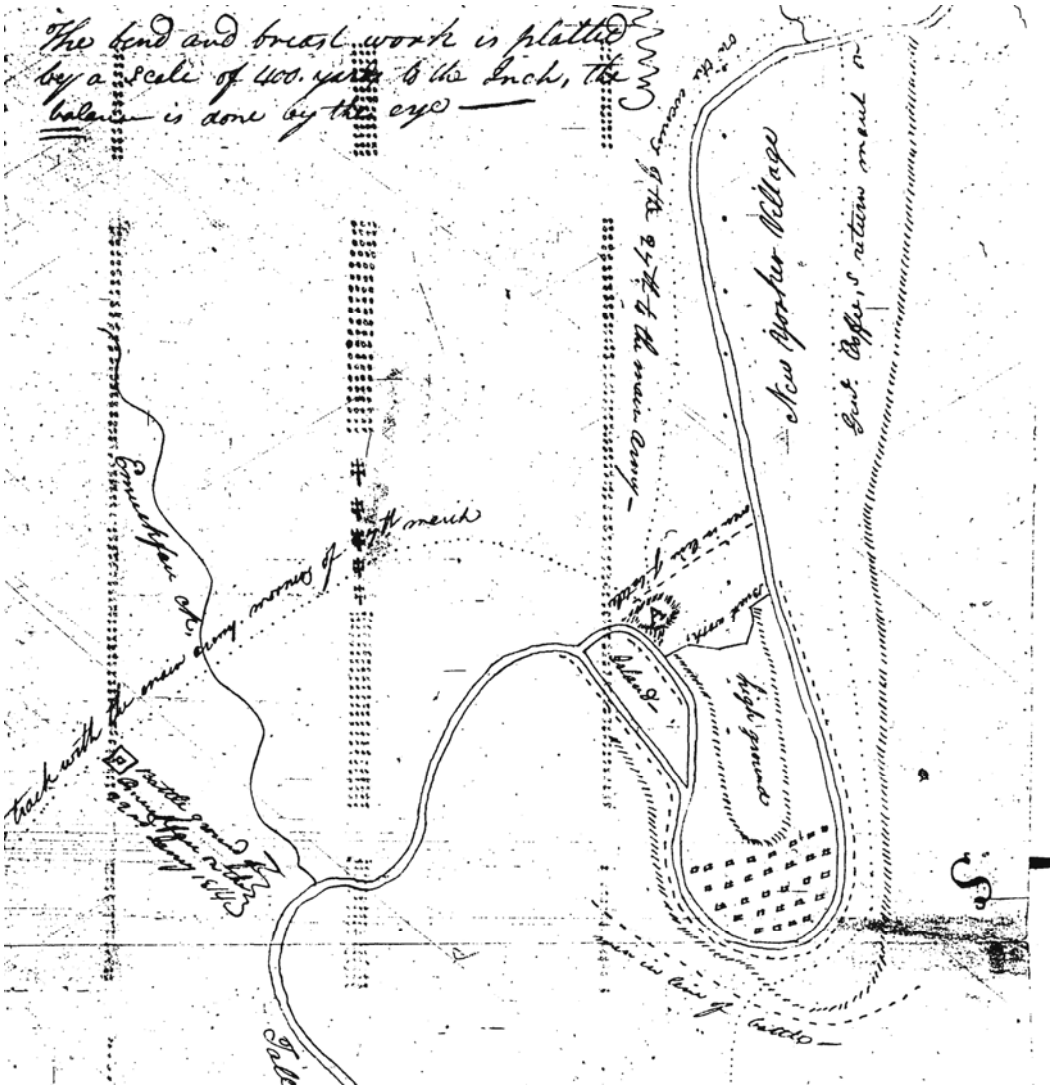


Figure 4. John Cheatham, Battle Map [of Horshoe Bend], March 27, 1814. President William H. Harrison Papers, microfilm 380, reel 2, TSLA.

The unexpected action by the Cherokees gave Jackson an opportunity to storm the barricade. In doing so, Ensign Sam Houston, an adopted Cherokee serving in the 39th U.S. Infantry that day, received an arrow to the thigh.[127] With this simultaneous assault to the front and rear, the Red Sticks fought desperately but to no avail. According to one soldier, "the Tallapoosa might truly be called a River of blood for the water was so stained . . . it could not be used" because of the massive numbers of Red Sticks killed while attempting to escape by swimming the river or crossing on felled trees where "they would drop like turtles into the water" when shot.[128] A later account noted that Major Ridge "was the first to leap into the river in pursuit of the fugitives," where supposedly "six Creek warriors . . . fell by his hand."[129] Much close combat ensued. James McKenney, who interviewed Ridge much later, reported:

> As he attempted to plunge his sword in one of these, the Creek closed with him, and a severe contest ensued. Two of the most athletic of their race were struggling in the water for life or death, each endeavouring [*sic*] to drown the other. Ridge, forgetting his own knife, seized one which his antagonist wore, and stabbed him; but the wound was not fatal, and the Creek still fought with an equal chance of success, when he was stabbed with a spear by one of Ridge's friends.[130]

One injured Red Stick warrior managed to reach the opposite side of the Tallapoosa but a Cherokee quickly captured him and brought him before Coffee. He

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[127] Marquis James, *Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* (NY: Blue Ribbon Books, 1929; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 20, 34, 150; Clifford Hopewell, *Sam Houston: Man of Destiny* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1987), 14, 27, 111. Houston later married Tiana or Diana Rogers, the daughter of the ex-British loyalist and Cherokee countryman John Rogers and half-sister to James and John Rogers, Cherokees who served at Horseshoe Bend.

[128] McCulloch to Francis, 1 April 1813, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; Confederate Soldier, "Our Correspondence," 10 September 1861, *Daily Dispatch*, 16 September 1861.

[129] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America*, Cherokee Nation Papers, box 177, folder 7729, mf. reel 50, 219.

[130] McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America*, Cherokee Nation Papers, box 177, folder 7729, mf. reel 50, 219.

failed to cooperate even when "a tomahawk was raised in a threatening manner."[131] With his previous wound bound, Houston led a group of men to smoke out Red Sticks hidden among the fallen brush and received gunshot wounds to his right arm and shoulder.[132] Close fighting ended with the coming darkness of night.[133]

The next morning, sixteen Red Sticks who had entrenched themselves under the embankment overhang met their end when the troops caved in the weak dirt roofs of their hideout. The soldiers accomplished this by digging "a ditch about three feet deep" and by driving in pine stakes at intervals and so "succeeded in splitting off the entire mass of earth forming the shelving bluff," which "completely buried them alive."[134] Jackson's men counted 557 nose tips severed from the fallen enemy.[135] They estimated that another 250 to 300 went to their watery graves when shot trying to cross the Tallapoosa.

Some of Jackson's men flayed dead Red Stick bodies to fashion straps of human leather into bridle reins as trophies.[136] Jackson sent a Red Stick bow and quiver set home to his son as a memento, while dispatching trophies of cloth cut from the bodies of fallen

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[131] Confederate Soldier, "Our Correspondence," 10 September 1861, *Daily Dispatch*, 16 September 1861.

[132] Kanon, "A Slow, Laborious Slaughter," 10; Sam Houston, *Autobiography of Sam Houston: Compiled from his Writings and Letters*, ed. Donald Day and Harry Herbert Ullom (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954); James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, vol. 1 (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967), 519.

[133] Braund, "Warriors and Society," 13, states, "The night was relatively dark, with a waxing crescent moon of 39 percent illumination" after the sun set at 6 p.m. Data collected from the U.S. Naval Observatory, Astronomical Applications Department http://aa.usno.navy.mil/.

[134] Henry S. Halbert, ed., Draper Manuscripts, Tecumseh Papers, Series YY, vol. 10, reel 119, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. Halbert obtained this account second-handed from W.S. Wilbanks, who knew many of the veterans of the war. See also, John Harris, *A Review of the Battle of the Horse Shoe, and of the Facts Relating to the Killing of Sixteen Indians on the Morning after the Battle by the Orders of Gen. Andrew Jackson*, (n.p.: 1928), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and Braund, "Warriors and Society," 4-5, 28-30.

[135] Halbert and Ball, *Creek War*, 277.

[136] Kanon, "A Slow, Laborious Slaughter," 14, fn. 23; Halbert, "Horse Shoe Incidents," Draper Manuscripts, Tecumseh Papers, Series YY, vol. 10, reel 119; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War*, 276-77.

enemy warriors to women in Tennessee. All in all, American forces slew approximately 800 Red Sticks and took about 500 women and children prisoners.[137] Coffee later wrote to Houston that Jackson took a few male prisoners:

> Into safekeeping and [to] have them guarded and protect[ed] from his friendly warriors who (agreeably to the Indian mode of warfare) would put them to torture and to death by way of retaliation for their own friends lost in action."[138]

In addition, troops freed at least one Cherokee woman held captive by the Red Sticks.[139]

Shortly after the cessation of fighting, the popular warrior Captain Shoe Boots, or Crowing Cock (Rooster; Dasigiyagi) from Hightower, failed to rejoin his men. His comrades thought him killed. Just as his friends deplored that the old cock would crow no more and were recounting his past brave deeds, Shoe Boots suddenly appeared crowing loudly. His men "bore the old warrior off, with shouts of triumph and exaltation."[140] Cherokees as late as the end of the nineteenth century still recalled stories about Shoe Boots:

> He was so strong that it was said he could throw a corn mortar over a house, and with his magic power could clear a river at one jump. His war medicine was an uktena scale and a very large turtle shell which he got from the Shawano. In the Creek war he put this scale into water and bathed his body with the water, and also burned a piece of the turtle shell and drew a black line around his men with the coal, and he was never wounded and never had a man killed.[141]

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[137] Jackson to wife Rachel, 1 April 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:493; Halbert and Ball, *Creek War*, 276-77. For a more extended account, see C. Jack Coley, "The Battle of Horseshoe Bend," 129-34; Brantley, "Battle of Horseshoe Bend in Tallapoosa County;" and Holland, "Andrew Jackson and the Creek War, 283.

[138] Coffee to Samuel Houston, 25 April 1828, THS, MS AC 38, Dyas Collection, Coffee Papers, TSLA.

[139] Jackson to QM Maj. James Baxter, 1 April 1814, Jackson Papers, series 3, vol. 18, doc. 1596, LOC.

[140] This story as recorded by John Howard Payne appeared in its entirety in Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 81-82; John Howard Payne Papers, Ayers Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, 2:55-56, eds. William Anderson, Anne Rogers, and Jane Brown (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).

[141] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, 394. This account was not quite accurate. Two men in Shoe Boots's company of seventy-two died at Horseshoe Bend. Cherokee Muster Rolls, RG 94, AGO.

After the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Shoe Boots' men believed him invincible.[142] Fifteen Cherokees, however, had lost their lives on the battlefield, while thirty-six received wounds, many severe, during the feverish hostilities that spanned the first few hours of the engagement. Three warriors died shortly afterwards directly related to their injuries.[143] Captains Speers, McLemore, Foster, and John Brown's companies received the most casualties, followed by those led by Rain Crow, McIntosh, and finally Shoe Boots, who lost only two men and no wounded.[144] Another indicator of the intensity of the fighting is evident by noting that Speers and Brown's men lost the greatest number of horses, guns, hatchets, knives, and even clothing during the battle. Some horses expired during or shortly after the fighting due to battle wounds, while some died on the journey home, perhaps due to the lack of proper forage.

These losses, however, did not dampen the victory celebrations that occurred around Cherokee country. Near a federal boat-building fort recently erected across from the old Creek town of Standing Peach Tree, at present-day Atlanta, Cherokee warriors participated in a traditional victory dance, flaunting "eighteen enemy scalps fastened to

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[142] In addition, the Moravians noted that the men "expressed a great desire again to go to war." Diary Entry, 11 November 1814, *Movavian Springplace Mission*, ed. McClinton, 2:42.

[143] Jackson to Blount, 31 March 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:492; John Ross, "Report of the killed and wounded," Ayers MSS 781, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; "Casualty Report," in Gary E. Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross,*2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 1:20-21; Penelope Johnson Allen, "The Creek War," MSS Chattanooga Public Library (1935), TSLA, 138. Though the Cherokees probably had their own doctors, Dr. James Cosby from Rhea County, Tennessee, cared for many of the wounded Cherokees at Fort Armstrong.

[144] Muster Rolls and Pay Rolls of Colonel Morgan's Regiment of Cherokee Indians, October 7, 1813 to April 11, 1814, (hereafter cited as Cherokee Muster Rolls) Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration , Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as RG 94, AGO).

their poles."[145] Though the Cherokee warriors had organized in new ways, many aspects of traditional Cherokee warfare had remained.

The Red Stick War had virtually ended with the cumulative death of 1900 warriors, which accounted for approximately 40 percent of the able-bodied male population of the Creeks. Many Creek women and children prisoners found new homes and remained among their Cherokee captors. The Americans and their Indian allies had killed greater than three times their own losses, further reflected in the evidence that the U.S. forces destroyed approximately forty-eight Red Stick towns with another twelve left totally abandoned, leaving about 8,200 Creek refugees homeless and hungry.[146]

A few months later, Meigs relayed:

> Gentlemen of rank and character who were present at the decisive Battle at the Horseshoe have told me that the daring intrepid & preserving bravery of the Cherokee warriors probably saved the loss of 1000 white men: for the Creeks fought with a desperation [*sic*], & would not accept of or give quarter. The Cherokee warriors opposed ferocity to ferocity & completed the destruction of the greatest savages on the continent. . . The Cherokees have distinguished themselves in every action in this barbarous war & according to their number have destroyed more of the enemy than any other part of the Army. They have lost a considerable number of their best warriors & many families has to regret the

[145] Gilmer, *Sketches of the First Settlers,* 198-99. See also, "Georgia Forts: The Fort at Standing Peachtree," *Georgia Magazine* 10 (December 1966-January 1967), 21-23, and Grace M. Schwartzman and Susan K. Barnard, "A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796-1826," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (Winter 1991): 703. Either here or at some other celebration of the Cherokee victory, a woman relative of Inâlĭ or Black Fox still living in 1889 had apparently "carried a scalp in the scalp dance in the Creek war 75 years before." See Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 315.

[146] Frank H. Akers Jr., "The Unexpected Challenge: The Creek War of 1813-1814" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1975): 241. Michael Green, in *Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Removal and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 42, estimated that approximately 15 percent of the total Creek population, or about 3000 warriors, lost their lives during the war. Affidavit of Switzler Lowrey, 10 January 1878, Charles Reece, no. 13828, RG 15, OWIF. The practice of taking in captives was not unusual among whites and native peoples along the frontier borders. For examples, see Christina Nicole Snyder, "Captives of the Dark and Bloody Ground: Identity, Race, and Power in the Contested American South" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 2007), 180-83. See also, Waselkov and Wood, "Creek War of 1813-1814," 10; Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*, 71.

> loss of their friends who they love with as much affection as we have for our relations. It has made among them widows and Orphans, and they deserve well of the United States.[147]

Williams reported that "had it not been for the enterprise of the Cherokees in crossing the river . . . nearly his whole regiment would have been cut to pieces."[148] One of Jackson's surgeons later exclaimed that "that gallant band who having procured the enimies [*sic*] canoes by swimming across the river . . . by which fortunate coincidence no doubt many invaluable lives were saved by bringing to a more speedy crisis the deadly conflict."[149]

Yet while there were probably many victory celebrations held throughout the Cherokee Nation, many towns and families would soon mourn Cherokee warriors who died in the war. The Cherokees also continued to suffer from the hardships that the war had brought. The east wing of Jackson's army under General Cocke had devastated the Cherokee countryside, both in a sanctioned manner such as through the impressments of supplies, and maliciously, as with the damages inflicted by the passage of troops through Cherokee territory. Issues, such as war reparations and boundary settlements, had to be resolved. In addition, as part of the military establishment at the termination of hostilities, Cherokee leadership did not expect the federal government to abandon disabled Cherokee veterans or widows and dependants of those warriors who died in service to the United States. The war resulted in a plethora of concerns that would require Cherokee leaders to continue to closely interact and negotiate with their neighbor and ally. The elder councilmen continued to trust and rely upon the community headmen and military leaders to protect the membership and interests of the Cherokee Nation.

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[147] Meigs to Secretary of War, 4 June 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[148] "Cherokee Warriors: Extract of a Letter from Hiwasie," *Niles Weekly Register*, 19 April 1817, 122.

[149] Certification of Dr. A. McGhee, 20 February 1834, Gideon Morgan, no. 20844, OWIF.

Though these Cherokees remained optimistic about their future relationship with the United States, their band of brothers, there would be no real peace as they would begin a new battle to receive the respect they deserved as “real men,” leading a proud people who firmly identified themselves as a distinct nation.

# Chapter Five

## Post-War Challenges: Cherokee Conflict and Community Crisis

The end of the Creek War brought a host of challenges to the Cherokee communities. In addition to the hardships caused by the loss of Cherokee warriors and the need to care for those wounded, they faced troubles on the home front due to the destruction of property by marauders during and immediately after the war. In order to secure their boundaries, the Cherokees agreed to two treaties in 1817 and 1819 which resulted in the loss of considerable territory. The nascent Cherokee Nation, led by the energetic and skilled war leaders, sought to strengthen its authority in order to deal with these pressing problems but often came into direct conflict with traditional values that stressed town autonomy and community and clan responsibility. When the early cessions proved to be a temporary solution to their problems, the Cherokee people, disillusioned and divided, saw the rise of political factions as various communal leaders, previous commanders-in-arms, and their supporters sought ways to deal with postwar challenges. Unlike the earlier Chickamauga split, which was a generational fissure, these new divisions were ideological and regional, and related to the new problems confronting the Cherokees—how to resist the continued demand for their land and to define the proper role of Cherokee leadership. This chapter will explore the immediate effects of the Red Stick War on the Cherokee home front as Cherokee towns and the national leadership sought to deal with encroachment, the needs faced by their people in the postwar years,

rising American demands for Cherokee land, and growing factionalism as traditional approaches failed to remedy these overwhelming problems.

The period of war had been a difficult time for the Cherokee Nation and their southern white neighbors. Though cotton production decreased during the Red Stick War, it rapidly recovered. In 1815 southern planters reaped 208,986 bales. Five years later, the total reached 334,378.[1] Much of this was possible due to the Indian land cessions at the conclusion of the Red Stick War. Not only did the Creeks cede twenty million acres, but also Washington forced land cessions from their allies, the Chickasaws and Cherokees. Part of the acreage gained directly resulted from the boundary negotiations that the Cherokees finally and reluctantly agreed upon. Too, between 1801 and 1841, the federal government enacted eighteen special acts to recognize and legalize the presence of squatters on public land. White southerners and westerners living in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Tennessee, in particular, pressured their governments to protect their improvements that they deemed righteous merely through their act of occupancy.[2]

During the turmoil of the Red Stick War, many whites had taken advantage of the absence of both federal and Cherokee law enforcers. As battles waged in Creek territory, the headman of the Valley Towns, Yonah Equah or Big Bear, pleaded to Cherokee Indian Agent Return J. Meigs for help and asked him to appoint a subagent to their region.[3]

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[1] Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (NY: Peter Smith, 1941; reprint, Carnegie Institution of Washington, no. 430), 2:1026, table 40.

[2] Gray, *History of Agriculture*, 2:634.

[3] Treaties and the Trade and Intercourse Acts stipulated that it was the U.S. government's responsibility to keep white intruders off Cherokee land. See "Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts," in *Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Southeast*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, Columbia Guide to American Indian History and Culture Series (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 179; and Charles C. Royce, *Cherokee Nation of Indians* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1975), 30. Also see

General Thomas Love, a prominent western North Carolina planter from Haywood County, had suggested that Big Bear contact Cherokee Indian Agent Return J. Meigs for relief, "seeing the way we have been imposed [upon] . . . by the whites," especially since these intrusions had intensified since the beginning of the war.[4] From the nearby Oconoluftee settlement, government employee John Fergus informed Meigs, "There are whites in the nation who wish them [to remain] in a state of ignorance in order to make profit ther[e]by" and recommended that these be expelled."[5] Meigs recognized that "the Cherokees have suffered much . . . by the depredations of unprincipled white men" and that "[t]here appears to have been a remarkable degree of hostile feeling between the frontier Settlers towards the Indians."[6]

The constant irritation from intrusions continued after the war. In 1815, Meigs even requested that U.S. Attorney of the Mississippi Territory Louis Winston use civil law enforcers to remove intruders from Cherokee land because their own lighthorse could not handle the huge numbers.[7] In addition, the veteran Cherokee leaders feared that any bloodshed of American citizens that might precipitate another war with themselves facing the wrath of the United States this time. As federal troops left to fight the Seminole War in the Gulf south, many U.S. citizens from neighboring states took advantage of their

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Francis Paul Prucha, ed., "Trade and Intercourse Act of March 30, 1802," *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 17-21 and Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., "Intercourse Act March 30, 1802," *American Indians and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (NY: Random House, 1973), 3:2154-63.

[4] Yonah Equah or Big Bear to Cherokee Indian Agent Return J. Meigs, 6 March 1814, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835, Record Group 75, microfilm M-208, roll 6, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as CIART).

[5] John Fergus to Meigs, 6 March 1814, CIART, roll 6. The Oconoluftee settlement became the backbone for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, who remains in North Carolina today on the Qualla Boundary.

[6] "Claims of Indians," n.d., CIART, roll 6.

[7] Meigs to Attorney for the United States in Madison County, Mississippi Territory Louis Winston, 12 January 1815, CIART, roll 6.

absence to move herds of horses and black cattle onto prime Cherokee range. In addition, many more soon occupied abandoned "old plantations" of some Cherokee families who voluntarily moved west.[8]

Besides the increasing pressure inflicted by white squatters, the Cherokee home front experienced exacerbated hardships directly resulting from the Red Stick War, not only due to the trauma experienced because of felled warriors but also from the destruction wrought by some of the Tennessee troops. Some American troops proved to be even more destructive to the Cherokee home front than squatters or outlaws. As able-bodied Cherokee men marched off to war, they left many Cherokee homes vulnerable. Women, children, and elders, in particular, suffered the brunt of abuse from prowling deserters and militia traversing through the Cherokee countryside. Official reports detailed material losses but only hint at the terror that marauding parties of men inflicted.

One of the most telling unofficial stories reflects such an incident. The respectable Cherokee family, the Browns, lived in Wills Valley, part of present-day northeast Alabama. While the men of the family served as officers in the Cherokee Regiment, some American soldiers pillaged their homestead. The Brown's young fourteen-year old daughter Catharine later confided to missionaries that "she fled from her home in the wild forest, to preserve her character unsullied" since she feared the motives of these men.[9] This report only hints at the terror this young girl must have experienced as she ran away to protect herself from probable rape. Given the number of

[8] John Lowry to Meigs, 13 December 1815, CIART, roll 6.

[9] Rufus Anderson, *Memoir of Catharine Brown: A Christian Indian of the Cherokee Nation* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1831), 9, 14; For further discussion , see Theda Perdue, "Catharine Brown: Cherokee Convert to Christianity," *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 79; and Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 170.

official reports regarding undisciplined troops and the destruction of property, it is logical to conclude that this incident was not a singular occurrence.

Short militia enlistments and critical provision shortages had resulted in many movements of American men passing back and forth through Cherokee territory. Some of the East Tennessee troops destroyed Cherokee property and terrorized Cherokee families along their way, stealing horses and slaves, burning fences, slaughtering hogs and cattle, and threatening families with physical violence as they plundered personal items from Cherokee homes. Most of this undisciplined behavior came from Cocke's East Tennessee troops; some while traveling through Wills Valley, while the rest passed through on the east side of Lookout Mountain.[10] On December 28, 1813 Principal Chief Path Killer formally complained to Cocke that the soldiers—their supposed allies—were creating havoc for Cherokee citizens while passing through to their own homes. Even General Andrew Jackson even sympathetically noted, "Is it not cruel that the *whooping boy*, who fought bravely at Talishatchey & got wounded at the Battle of Tulladega, should be plundered, by the east Tennessee troops, whilst confined with his wounds."[11] Jackson expressed his anxiety to Tennessee Governor Willie Blount, noting that these actions against the "friendlies" might cause them to withdraw their support. Or worse, he added, the Cherokees might just join the Red Sticks, and then the frontier would be

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[10] Path Killer to John Strother, 28 December 1813, CIART, roll 6; Penelope Johnson Allen, "Creek War," Mss. Chattanooga Public Library, Tennessee State Library and Archives (hereafter cited as TSLA), Nashville, Tennessee (1935), 140, 471; National Council to John Lowry, John Walker, Major Ridge, Richard Taylor, Ross and Cheucunsenee, 10 and 11 January 1816, Gary E. Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross, 1840-1866*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 1:23.

[11] General Andrew Jackson to John Cocke, 28 December 1813, John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Papers of the Department of Historical Resource, no. 371 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 1:414-15. Pvt. Whooping Boy served under Captain George Fields from October 7 through January 6. Cherokee Muster Rolls, National Archives, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as RG 94, AGO).

"drenched in blood" because of their infuriation over the treachery of their supposed brothers-in-arms.[12] Despite this abuse, the Cherokee leadership had continued to support the United States, confident that the federal government would render justice. In the next few months though, many Cherokee veterans would return to their honorable duties as regulators to suppress the continuing trend of thievery and disorder.[13]

After the war, Cherokee warriors mustered out of service and began to return to their respective homes. A great number of warriors traveled past the Moravian mission, and the missionaries recorded that though they "came from the land of the Creeks in a half starved state" they shared tales of "deeds of valor" as their spirits remained high.[14] Captain Crowing Cock, or Shoe Boots, "expressed a great desire again to go to war. . . [T]he Indians believed him invincible."[15] The Mouse, shot through the left chest during the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, proudly showed his scars to the Moravian missionaries and continued to wear the "jacket that had been shot through" as a badge of honor.[16] Cherokee oral tradition grew with new tales of warrior valor. For example, as late as 1849, Cherokees proudly relayed to a white traveler through the eastern mountains the tales of Major Ridge, who had "acted a conspicuous part in the battle of the Horse-Shoe, in the Creek war."[17]

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[12] Jackson to Governor Willie Blount, 29 December 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:419.

[13] Diary entry, 26 July 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 1:148. See, also, Diary entries, 28 November 1818, 2:219; 24 August 1821, 2:12; 15 October 1822, 2:11, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton. Tiger, Elijah Hicks, James Foster, Little Broom, and George Hicks continued to serve as regulators.

[14] Diary entry, 5 April 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:14.

[15] Diary entry, 11 November 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:154.

[16] Diary entry, 28 May 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:17; The Mouse, no. 20883, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, Old War Invalid Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as OWIF).

[17] Charles Lanman, *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains* (NY: George P. Putnam, 1849), 114.

On May 5, 1814, less than six weeks after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Meigs sent a request on the Cherokees's behalf to the Secretary of War requesting "indemnity for losses suffered by the wanton maraudings & depredations" suffered at the hands of the Tennessee troops. Cherokee merchant Daniel Ross, the brother to Adjutant John Ross and Sgt. Major Lewis Ross, implored to Agent Meigs, "Humanity speaks loudly in favour of those destroyed Cherokees who has resided on the road or within the reach of the Army," as he begged assistance for those who now found themselves "in starving conditions." [18] Many Cherokee families went hungry that spring and on into a bleak and scanty harvest season. Some frustrated Cherokee officers had already directly addressed complaints to militia officers, who merely replied that "their men felt themselves unfettered by the laws & that they could not restrain them." An incensed Meigs further retorted that the "Cherokee warriors have faught [*sic*] and bled freely and according to their numbers have lost more men than any part of the army," and thus had earned the justice due them.[19]

It was not only the Cherokees who suffered losses at the hands of the Tennessee soldiers. Cherokee slave owner Daniel Ross made a claim to Meigs for indemnity on behalf of one of his black slave women, Junnoe. , She complained that the troops had taken more than two dozen hogs and a heifer, valued at $67, during the course of the war.[20] Meigs specially noted for the Secretary of War's benefit that "numbers of

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[18] Daniel Ross to Meigs, 3 March 1814, CIART, roll 6.

[19] Meigs to Secretary of War John Armstrong, 5 May 1814, Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842, GALILEO Digital Library of Georgia (hereafter cited as GALILEO), doc. PAO033, Penelope Johnson Allen Collection (hereafter cited as Allen Collection), Hoskins Special Collections Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

[20] Updated accounts transmitted to the Agency, 3 May 1814, claim no. 76, United States Office of Indian Affairs, Special Files, #104, 1807-1904(hereafter cited as OIASF), microfilm roll 17, frame 114, Washington, D.C., NARA.

Cherokees and white men in the Cherokee country allows their black people to own hogs, cattle, and horses and they maintain themselves out of their stocks-and work five days for their masters."[21]

It was still two full years before Meigs wrote to Secretary of War William Crawford to inform him of his meeting with the Cherokees to distribute their hard earned and desperately needed pay for military services rendered in 1813 and 1814, which amounted to $55,423.[22] The government had also delayed treaty annuity payments during the conduct of the war. It was not until November of 1815 that the Cherokees received the back monies owed them, which they used to fund their government operations and necessary trips to the federal seat of government in Washington City.[23] In addition, the agent was to pay approved spoliation claims for those Cherokees who had suffered property loss and damage at the hands of American troops during the conflict.

Meigs was notably distraught and irritated. The Nashville *Clarion* had recently challenged the Cherokees, declaring, "Who ever heard of the spoliations?" and "What services hav[e] the Cherokees Rendered in the war!"[24] An annoyed and insulted Meigs riposted:

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[21] Updated accounts, 3 May 1814, claim no. 76, OIASF, roll 17, frame 113.

[22] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 197.

[23] The Cherokee Nation received $9,000 for 1813 and $9,000 for 1814. See Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin, eds., Statement of the annuities due, paid, and delivered the different Indian tribes from 3d March, 1811, to 3d March, 1815, *American State Papers, Documents, Legislature and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1834), 2:29.

[24] Meigs to Secretary of War William Crawford, 10 August 1816, CIART, roll 7. This statement may reflect the conjecture of some about why the Cherokees chose to remain out of the U.S. attempt to quell the Seminoles, whom many refugee Red Sticks reinforced after moving south after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend crushed their major military force.

> Thousands witnessed both, that in nearly all the Battles with the Creeks the Cherokees rendered the most efficient service & at the expense of the lives of many fine men whose wives, & Children & Brothers & sisters are now mourning their fall.[25]

The following spring some other newspapers came forth and graciously refuted the allegation that the Cherokees had not played a critical role as allies to American troops. The *Niles Weekly Register* quoted the *National Intelligencer*:

> The Cherokee warriors suffered considerably, as well as the American troops. A regular regiment, commanded by col. Williams, lost a number of men . . . [and he] assured me, that had it not been for the enterprise of the Cherokees in crossing the river . . . nearly his whole regiment would have been cut to pieces.[26]

Yet as late as 1827 Major Walker, who had "acted the part of a Hero" and "brought into the field more strength and acted with more firmness than any other," was still frustratingly trying to recover slaves stolen by Tennessee troops from Cherokee families in his community.[27] The pleas of these officers on behalf of their men and their families seemed to fall on deaf ears.

Slaves—both African American and Creek—also proved to be an issue of contention in the immediate postwar period. During the war, some Cherokees took Creeks captive and made them slaves. During the November 1813 attack on the Hillabee Red Sticks, the Cherokees under East Tennessee General James White had taken 250 Creek women and children captives into Cherokee territory, where many stayed after the war.[28] After the battle at Horseshoe Bend, one American officer wrote, "the [C]herokees had carried off most of the prisoners and had picked them over leaving none but the most

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[25] Meigs to Crawford, 10 August 1816, CIART, roll 7.

[26] "Cherokee Warriors," *Niles' Weekly Register*, 19 April 1817, 122.

[27] Gideon Morgan to Meigs, 27 February 1827, no. 1342, OIASF, roll 25. This included three slaves belonging to The Broom and two owned by George Fields.

[28] For example, see John and Anna Gambold to Meigs, 20 April 1814, CIART, roll 6. These missionaries noted that the Cherokee warrior, Woodpecker, returned "from Service against the Creek Nation, whence he brought 2 young Women & a Boy,…& [they] appear pleased with their Situation."

indifferent behind."[29] Some Cherokee warriors actually sold two young Creek males for $20 each to some white soldiers. The nationalist Creek Jim Fife informed the officer in charge of escorting the remaining prisoners to Huntsville of this act and he was able to recover the young men from a probable life sentence of slavery.

There remained at least 300 Creek women and children captives scattered throughout the Cherokee Nation in the spring of 1815.[30] Meigs explained that "a great part of these I believe have made an election to remain where they are—their husband, Brothers, all having been Killed in the war they wish many of them not to return." As of that May, Meigs still held thirty Red Stick warriors in confinement at Hiwassee Garrison. He explained to the Secretary of War that they were "exceedingly anxious to be returned to their nation" but recommended that a federal guard accompany them through Cherokee territory. This, he explained, was because "An Indian never forgets revenge--many of the Cherokees are yet in mourning for their relations Killed in the Creek war."[31] For instance, the missionaries noted that Onai, the wife of Gunrod, was still actively mourning two of her sons who died as a result of the war.[32]

In the decade leading to 1820, the Cherokees would increase the numbers of their slaves from a mere 113 in 1810 to 1,277. One can probably attribute some of this increase in chattel to the capture of some black slaves as well as Creek women and

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[29] David Smith to Jackson, 4 April 1814, *Correspondence*, ed. Bassett, 1:495. See also, Meigs to Secretary of War James Monroe, 4 March 1815, and Meigs to Monroe, 2 May 1815, CIART, roll 6.

[30] Meigs to Monroe, 4 March 1815, CIART, roll 6.

[31] Meigs to Monroe, 2 May 1815, CIART, roll 6.

[32] Diary entry, 19 May 1814, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:19. Private The Crawler, a member of the Bird Clan, died of a respiratory infection shortly after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. This mounted warrior had received a wound and most likely developed pneumonia as a complication. He served two terms of duty; first under McNair and second under McLemore.

children during the war and their subsequent use "as slaves and servants."[33] In contrast, during the same period Cherokee cattle and horse numbers did not increase by much. In 1810, Cherokee cattle numbered 19,500 in comparison to 22,000 ten years later. Cherokee horse ownership increased only by 1,500, from 6,100 in 1810 to 7,600 in 1820. These figures reflect their heavy loss of livestock from provisioning the army in addition to the wanton actions by some of the American troops.[34]

Taking captive slaves was a long tradition among southeastern Indians, and in earlier wars, Cherokees had taken Indian as well and white and black captives. One incident at the end of the war not only highlights the historic practice of slave-taking by Cherokee warriors, but also illustrates the general lack of law and order in the Cherokee nation as a marauding militia subjected them to harassment and intimidation. This incident also highlights the continued animosity held by their white neighbors towards the Cherokees. At the war's end, Tennessee militiaman Joseph Brown, once a captive of the Chickamaugas, found out that a Cherokee named Coyeetoyhee still held one of his family's African American slaves and her increase.[35] The slaves remained in Cherokee hands because, as part of the general peace, the 1798 Treaty of Tellico stated, "All

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[33] David M. Wishart, "Could the Cherokee Have Survived in the Southeast?," *Other Side of the Frontier: Economic Explorations into Native American History*, ed. Linda Barrington (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 167; Smith to Jackson, 4 April 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Bassett, 1:395.

[34] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 194. Hog numbers faired much better because of their quick reproductive capabilities and their ability to forage for themselves over a large wooded range during harsh times.

[35] Statement of Coyeetoyhee to Meigs, 25 January 1814, OIASF, roll 17, frames 70-71; and Toochala and The Glass to Meigs, 22 January 1814, OIASP, roll 17, frames 74-75. Sarah, the slave, was pregnant at the time of her capture by the Cherokees. For further discussion on Joseph Brown's ordeal, see Christina Nicole Snyder, "Captives of the Dark and Bloody Ground: Identity, Race, and Power in the Contested American South" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2007), 157-60.

depredations prior to the beginning of these negotiations to be forgotten."[36] That had earlier prevented Brown from seeking redress.

Now over two decades later, Brown and eight of his militia brothers hunted down Coyeetoyhee to recover the Brown family's slaves. Brown confiscated the slave Sarah, her children, and grandchildren, and told Coyeetoyhee, "I will take them to the white settlement & hold them until it shall be legally determined whether I can hold them or not."[37] Brown consoled Coyeetoyhee that he was only taking them to Fort Hampton to have a valuation placed upon the disputed chattel. Coyeetoyhee, not convinced that Brown was merely seeking monetary compensation, attempted to negotiate in hopes of keeping one or two young males. Brown refused to separate the children from their mothers even though most of the children's fathers were Cherokees. He then scolded Coyeetoyhee for killing his father and leaving his heirs impoverished, and he threatened to kill him to settle the debt.[38] Coyeetoyhee argued that the treaty stipulations exempted and spared him from any vengeful actions, and Brown relented, claiming himself a Christian. He smugly took his slaves back gloating, "I had got them from the very fellow that done the mischief."[39]

Not quite finished, on his way out of the fort Brown requested yet another "talk" with Coyeetoyhee. They sat down, and Brown proceeded:

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[36] "Treaty of October 2, 1778," Article IX in *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, 62, quoted in Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 47.

[37] Statement of Coyeetoyhee to Meigs, 25 January 1814, OIASP, roll 17, frame 70.

[38] Joseph Brown, "Biographical Sketch, #1," Joseph Brown Papers, 1772-1965 (hereafter cited as JBP), Tennessee Historical Society (hereafter cited as THS), microfilm #744, folder 1, Tennessee State Library and Archives (hereafter cited as TSLA) (1859), 19.

[39] Thomas F. Lindsay from grandfather Joseph Brown's notes, "Biographical Sketch, #2," JBP, THS, mf#744, folder 1, TSLA (1859).

> You are the man that caused my father to be murdered & my brothers & careed [*sic*] my mother & small sisters & little brother to be taken Captive & took the negroes for yourself & you are the very man that drag[g]ed me out . . . to kill me. . . . It is now twenty-five years & . . . you have had the negroe[s] & the Children as your slaves & they have worked for you . . . You made mean orphan & reduced me to poverty when I would have begun life in the fist sircle [*sic*] of society if it had not been for you.[40]

This family biographical account of Brown, compiled from his own notes, reveals that perhaps Coyeetoyhee had been in more danger of losing his life than was immediately apparent. Some years later Brown recalled, "Many of my neighbours & also the soldiers that ware [*sic*] near said kill him—he ought to die."[41] Instead Brown once again chose to leave any vengeance to the Lord of his religion.

With the end of the Red Stick War, Andrew Jackson crafted the terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson on August 9, 1814. The Creek Nation surrendered more than 20 million acres to pay for the costs of the war.[42] Astoundingly, Jackson also insisted on land cessions from his former allies in the war, the Chickasaws and Cherokees. Complicating matters, an old dispute over land claimed by both the Creeks and Cherokees arose. And by 1815 it became apparent that there would be trouble with the United States and the Creeks over the Cherokee-Creek boundary line. The United States had earlier, in 1811, expressed some urgency in demarcating exact boundaries between the major southeastern tribes. The war had interrupted this endeavor and the issue lay

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[40] Thomas F. Lindsay from grandfather Joseph Brown's notes, "Biographical Sketch, #2," JBP, THS, mf#744, folder 1, TSLA (1859).

[41] Lindsay, "Biographical Sketch, #2," TSLA. This is not the end of the story, however. Examination of the records reveals that Coyeetoyhee went to Meigs for compensation for his loss. One can determine some sympathy on the federal agent's part as he noted that the federal treaty upheld Coyeetoyhee's claim of ownership. Nevertheless, Meigs also sympathized with Brown and his claim to his father's estate. Instead of valuating seven slaves at the going rate of $300 per adult, Meigs listed Coyeetoyhee's claim for a total of only $200. "Claims of Indians," Cherokee Collection, THS, mf #815, reel 4, box 4, folder 5, TSLA.

[42] Grace M. Schwartzman and Susan K. Barnard, "A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796-1826," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (Winter 1991): 704.

dormant until it became extremely critical to determine the exact extent of tribal land cessions after the Treaty of Fort Jackson.[43] The shared boundary lines of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws became an issue of contention between the tribes as each vied for what they commonly claimed as rightfully their own.[44]

The Creeks and Cherokees claimed common land in the Chickamauga region of the Lower Cherokee Towns. According to the testimony of a respected seventy-one year old headman The Glass, the Augusta Council had met in 1783 to establish a boundary between the two tribes. The Creeks then had agreed that Cherokee land would extend southward to Standing Peach Tree on the Chattahoochee River.[45]

In January 1816, Principal Chief Path Killer appointed "six of our Chiefs," men of rank or distinction during the war, to meet with President James Madison to take him "*by the hand* & express to him the satisfaction we feel in being successfully carried through the late war in which our nation have had the honor to participate with our white Brothers."[46] As military men seeking justice from the American commander-in-chief, Path Killer hoped that the positions as veteran warriors and their familiarity with the American military would count for something. Continuing, the aged Path Killer recommended that the delegation to Washington City address "a just settlement of the boundary line between our nation & our younger Brothers the Creeks" and a cession of

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[43] Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 77-78.

[44] Robert S. Cotterill's *Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954) still remains the most complete study on this issue.

[45] Narrative of Tauquittee or Glass to Meigs through interpreter James Rogers, 21 December 1815, CIART, roll 6; Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 23.

[46] Path Killer to John Lowrey, John Walker, Major Ridge, Richard Taylor, Ross and Cheucunsenee, 10 {and 11} January 1816, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:22; Path Killer (Na-na-ha-tee-nee) to Cherokee Delegation to Washington, 17 January 1815, Cherokee Nation Papers (hereafter cited as CNP), microfilm edition, roll 49, Record Group 2, Personal Papers, Typescripts, box 175, folder 7394, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Oklahoma.

the remaining Cherokee land within South Carolina. They were also to complain about the increased intrusions of whites onto Cherokee lands and to suggest the federal establishment of an iron works and blacksmith shops for "the repairing of our army."[47] In addition, the delegation was to seek pensions for their men, who were now invalids due to their war injuries, and reparations for damages to Cherokee property by American soldiers.

The land issue was the highest priority of the delegation. In a letter to the Secretary of War George Graham on March 4, 1816 these ex-military men noted that prior to the Creeks signing the Treaty of Fort Jackson on August 14, 1814 the Cherokees had met with the Creeks on August 8 and had mutually agreed on a Cherokee-Creek boundary. Yet before its finalization scheduled for the following day the Creeks begged the Cherokees to "postpone the business to a future day," which then never came.[48] These Cherokee veterans later found out that the Creeks denied the very existence of this discussion. Nevertheless, the Cherokee delegation expressed its confidence in fair treatment by the U.S. government:

> We ask no more. We consider ourselves as a part of the great family of the Republic of the U. States, and we are ready at any time to sacrifice our lives, our property & every thing sacred to us, in its cause whenever circumstances may require it.[49]

When Colonel John Lowry, whom Path Killer appointed Speaker, and his delegation met with Madison almost two years after the end of the Red Stick War, they

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[47] Path Killer to J. Lowrey, Walker, Ridge, Taylor, Ross and Cheucunsenee, 10 [and 11] January 1816, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:22-23; Path Killer to Cherokee Delegation, 17 January 1815, CNP, roll 49, RG 2, Personal Papers, Typescripts, box 175, folder 7394.

[48] J. Lowrey, Walker, Ridge, Taylor, Ross, and Cheucunsenee, 4 March 1816, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:24-25.

[49] J. Lowrey, Walker, Ridge, Taylor, Ross, and Cheucunsenee, 4 March 1816, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:25.

demanded reparations for the "spoliations committed on the property of our people in that part of our country where the armies marched in carrying on the war against the Creeks," noting that region would not recover for at least a period of seven years if then.[50] Meigs's best estimate of authentic claims totaled $22,863, though Lowry mentioned that it the unsubstantiated but probably credible claims could actually double that figure. The delegation also requested that disabled Cherokee veterans and war widows receive pensions. Madison authorized Meigs to appoint a board to hear claims. Not trusting the average Cherokee, the board required the testimonies of Cherokee officers, whom they considered reputable.[51] This distrust slowed the settlement process and reflected the growing American uneasiness with Indians in general.

While in Washington, these Cherokee war leaders negotiated two treaties that the Senate ratified on April 8, 1816. The first specifically ceded the final vestiges of Cherokee land within the boundaries of South Carolina for $5,000.[52] General Jackson fumed over the second treaty, which left the Cherokees with 2.2 million acres that he insisted belonged to the Creeks and should be part of their cession to the United States. This treaty reinforced the claims and boundary laid out in an early federal treaty with the Cherokees in 1806. An intertribal council met at Turkey Town in the early summer of 1816 and again later that fall to work out the boundary lines between the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws. The Creeks and Cherokees "agreed to make a joint

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[50] Path Killer to J. Lowrey, Walker, Ridge, Taylor, Ross and Cheucunsenee, 10 [and 11] January 1816, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:23.

[51] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 196; Grace Steele Woodward, *Cherokees*, Civilization of the American Indian, no. 65 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, 1976), 134. For a complete description of Meigs's method for determining acceptance of spoliation claims, see, Meigs to Crawford, November 30, 1815, CIART, roll 6, and Meigs to Crawford, July 23, 1816, CIART, roll 7.

[52] Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 77-78, 204-205; Cotterill, *Southern Indians*, 196.

stock of their lands, with the privilege of each nation to settle where they pleased."[53] The Chickasaws and Cherokees still disputed their common boundary.

These treaties did little to stop the growing flow of eager white settlers who were convinced that Jackson would prevail in his wishes to include the Cherokee land in the Creek cession. His close friend, General John Coffee, had already surveyed the land, and both men expected to pay a "preemption price of $2 per acre," about $18 less than its value.[54] Both were well aware that the more American ex-soldiers that settled prior to the conclusion of negotiations the better for their cause. It was expensive and difficult for federal troops to remove the white citizens of the United States from Cherokee land, and state officials were especially eager to listening to the pleadings of their constituency.[55]

Cherokee morale in the worst hit areas, the old Lower Town region, became increasingly dismal. To be sure, Cherokee veterans and their families had felt the brunt of rough treatment from the U.S. troops during the war. As William McLoughlin so adeptly states, "It was now possible for the War Department to threaten the Cherokees . . . with the withdrawal of federal protection—to leave them to the mercy of the ruthless frontier citizens— . . . to compel them to agree to any treaty put before them."[56] Many of the affected began to seriously consider moving west, especially since they no longer considered armed resistance an option against the powerful United States.

Jackson seemed to sense this sentiment as he adamantly refused to accept the treaty lines demarcated in 1806. He began negotiations with the Lower Town

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[53] Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 80; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 198-200, 209-11. Charles Hicks to Meigs, 22 September 1816, CIART, roll 7.

[54] Robert Scott Davis, "John Coffee's Search for the Lost History of the Cherokees," *Chattanooga Regional Historical Journal* 8:2 (December 2005): 143-64.

[55] For a more detailed discussion, see McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 200-203.

[56] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 204.

headmen—men such as Toochelar, Oohulooke, Wasosey, The Gourd, Spring Frog, Oowatata, John Benge, John Baldridge, The Bark, George Guess (Sequoyah), Arch Campbell, The Spirit, Young Wolf, and Ooliteskee—at the Chickasaw council grounds. Jackson found it to his benefit to present this group with gifts totaling $4,500. He noted, "This measure seemed to produce some sensible effect."[57] At first the Cherokee National Council did not ratify the proposed agreement between Jackson and these headmen. Finally, after bargaining with eight of the prominent chiefs on the National Council, including Path Killer and Richard Brown, Jackson strong-armed the treaty through, disregarding the protests of the rest of the council members. The 2.2 million acres south of the Tennessee River in present-day Alabama became the property of the United States.[58]

With this important coup, Jackson proceeded to press the Lower Town headmen to exchange land lying north of the Tennessee River in exchange for land in Indian Territory. The new negotiations suggested two options. First, the federal government would provide those inclined to move west with a "rifle, ammunition, blanket, and brass kettle or beaver trap."[59] Second, for those not inclined to move west, they could opt for a private reserve that would envelope their current improvements and claims up to 640 or possibly 1000 acres. These reserves would no longer be part of Cherokee Nation.

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[57] Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904; reprint, NY: AMS Press, 1972), 2:133-37.

[58] Jackson to Secretary of War, 12 November 1816, "Treaties with Thirteen Tribes," *American State Papers*, *Indian Affairs* (hereafter cited as *ASPIA*) 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1832-61), 2:117; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 210-11.

[59] Royce, *Cherokee Nation*, 85.

Instead, the male Cherokee head-of-household would become like other free persons of color living within the United States and its territories.[60]

Many Cherokee headmen became alarmed at the thought of possibly detribalizing their nation. The Valley Town leaders met with Meigs near the end of 1816 to express their objections. The Upper Town chiefs agreed.[61] Soon after, The National Council deposed Toochelar as Second Chief for his actions in supporting removal and detribalization. The Cherokee Women's Council also voiced their negative feelings concerning the Lower Town's actions. On 13 February 1817, the Brainerd missionaries recorded the women's protest, implementing their matrilineal right as the "mothers of the warriors."[62] Beloved Woman Nancy Ward, who had first earned her a title as War Woman in 1755, now presided over the Cherokee women who represented the seven clans.[63] The women's council issued an official petition to the National Council on May 2, 1817 to make it plain that they unequivocally opposed emigration and all land trades associated with it. Appealing to the men's sense of kinship obligation, the women stated:

> Your mothers, your sisters ask and beg of you not to part with any more of our land. We say ours. You are our descendants. . . Only keep your hands off of paper talks for its [*sic*] our own country.[64]

Shortly thereafter the United States again brought the Cherokee leadership to the negotiation table in June 1817 at Amohee. Captain Charles Hicks, who had served as the Secretary of the Cherokee National Council, now became the Second Principle Chief under Path Killer, filling Toochala's position when he emigrated west. Path Killer was

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[60] Cotterill, *Southern Indians*, 203.
[61] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 214-15.
[62] Brainerd Journal, 13 February 1817, ABCFM; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 216.
[63] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 122.
[64] "Cherokee Women: *Petition*," 2 May 1817, Perdue and Green, eds., *Cherokee Removal*, 124.

now quite infirm from his advancing age; and so Hicks stepped in as the visible leader of the affairs of the nation. His first order of business was to tighten the young Cherokee centralized government. At his behest, the Cherokee National Council adopted several reforms to existing laws in order to make it clear that only they could dispose of any common tribal property.[65] According to the updated legislation, the 57 towns of Cherokee Nation were under the auspices of the Cherokee National Committee, who oversaw the wishes of the National Council. This nascent but burgeoning sense of nationhood reflected what McLoughlin labeled the Cherokee renascence, which further secularized their governing institutions much like they had accomplished with their law enforcement by organizing it into a paramilitary structure. Colonel Richard Brown became the president of the first National Committee but the council quickly replaced him with the very young but capable Adjutant John Ross when Brown voiced his approval for voluntary removal.[66]

Confusion reigned in Cherokee country over the insistence that the United States receive land to compensate it for the land that voluntary Cherokee emigrants now controlled in the west. Robert Cotterill maintains, "The resulting disturbance was both a sectional and a class war, since the emigrants were generally from the poorer population of the hill districts relatively untouched by civilization, while the chiefs opposing removal were from the river towns and had, thanks to United States tutelage,

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[65] Diary entry, 17 June 1817, *Springplace Diaries*, ed. McClinton, 2:165.Rowena McClinton Ruff, "To Ascertain the Mind and Circumstances of the Cherokee Nation: Springplace, Georgia, 1805-1821" (M.A. Thesis, Western Carolina University, 1992), 52, 83; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 226-27.

[66] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 232; Cotterill, *Southern Indians*, 202.

accumulated property, which they were now asked by the United States to abandon."[67] Further scrutiny into the emigration and reserve issue reveals that this is not an entirely accurate conclusion. Examination of the emigration rolls demonstrates that many of those who initially signed up to remove did not do so. Some had second thoughts; many just wanted to protect themselves until they had time to reconsider. No matter, many of the wealthiest men in the nation, officers during the late war, initially enrolled but did not follow through. Among these were Major Ridge and John Ross.[68] Again, the Cherokee women's council again protested emigration and land exchange. In June, 1818 they petitioned the National Council to express their sentiments:

> We have heard with painful feelings that the bounds of the land we now possess are to be drawn into very narrow limits. We therefore humbly petition our beloved children, the head men & warriors, to hold out to the last.[69]

They continued by noting their progress as Christians and an industrious people and reprimanded some of the white influence among them:

> There are some white men among us who have been raised in this country from their youth, are connected with us by marriage, & have considerable families, who are very active in encouraging the emigration of our nation. These ought to be our truest friends but prove our worst enemies. They seem to be only concerned how to increase their riches, but not care what becomes of our Nation, nor even of their own wives and children.[70]

The Cherokee Council did not disregard the voices of their clan mothers and sisters. In July the council legislated that "any Cherokee who agreed to sell any land of the nation

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[67] Cotterill, *Southern Indians*, 205.

[68] Bob Blankenship, compl., *Cherokee Roots: Eastern Cherokee Rolls*, vol. 1 (Cherokee, NC: Bob Blankenship, 1992), 22.

[69] "Cherokee Women: *Petition*," 30 June 1818, Perdue and Green, eds., *Cherokee Removal*, 125

[70] Ibid., 125-26.

without the approval of a full council would be subject to death" with the lighthorse regulators carrying out the sentence.[71]

Many propertied Cherokees sought to remain with their improvements and applied for reserve grants as stipulated by treaty. A great many who received grants of land had been officers in the Cherokee Regiment during the Red Stick War. Cherokee countryman Colonel Gideon Morgan received his requested grant for his property at the mouth of Sitico Creek. Colonel Richard Taylor and his brother Fox, Captains John McIntosh, John Speers, James Brown and his brother, 1st Lieutenant John Brown and their brother-in-law Captain George Fields, plus his relative David Fields also applied for reserves.[72] Cherokee countrymen Andrew Miller, who was Captain Charles Hicks's son-in-law, and Quartermaster Sergeant William Barnes applied on behalf of the rights of their Cherokee wives. Other officers and relatives included 2nd Lieutenant Thomas Wilson, 2nd Sergeant Henry Knave and Eight Killer, Ensigns Deer in the Water and White Man Killer, 3rd Sergeants Bold Hunter and William Brown, 4th Sergeants Mink and John Looney, 1st Corporal Dick Timberlake, 3rd Corporals Swimmer and John Looney, 4th Corporal Sap Sucker, and Private Path Killer.[73]

Another delegation of Cherokee war leaders and veterans left for Washington City in late 1818 to conclude the negotiations started with the Treaty of 1817. Arriving in February 1819, the delegation included John Ross, Charles Hicks, John Walker, John Martin, Gideon Morgan, Lewis Ross, Small Wood (Teeyonoo), George Lowrey, Cabbin

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[71] Joseph McMinn to John C. Calhoun, 7 July 1818, Office of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107, reel 71, #1284, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 241.

[72] In Alexandra Walker Clark's, *Hidden History of Chattanooga* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2008), 121, she notes that Brown's land included a 640-acre farm at Moccasin Bend on the Tennessee River , as well as a ferry and public tavern.

[73] David Keith Hampton, comp., *Cherokee Reservees* (Oklahoma City: Baker Publishing, 1979).

Smith, James Brown, Sleeping Rabbit (Chestoo Culleaugh), and Currohee Dick.[74] The Cherokees agreed to cede just enough of their lands in the east in return for western land for those Cherokees who had or wished to voluntarily emigrate. This group would join the Old Settlers, or Arkansas Cherokees.

Those economically hurt the worst from the land cessions lived in the fertile valleys of present-day northeast Alabama, northwest Georgia, and the Sequatchie Valley area of Tennessee. These communities, whose lands were lost in the 1817 and 1819 cessions, immediately faced the necessity of making the difficult decision of whether to emigrate west, opt for a private reserve of the ceded land (which would forfeit their Cherokee citizenship), or move to the remaining eastern Cherokee land base and start anew.

Many eastern Cherokees felt pressured to take private reserves in order to keep control of their improved lands that now officially sat within the borders of neighboring states.[75] A frustrated Path Killer and the National Council ejected émigrés from Cherokee citizenship in the east, noting that "they have no business to speak for the people and country here as you and the commissioners have divided my warriors and made us Two Nations."[76] The government had found the vulnerable spot in the Cherokee psyche.

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[74] Path Killer to Charles Hicks, Ross et al., Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:31-32; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 254. Colonel Richard Brown, a recognized headman and frequent delegate, had died earlier in the year. Richard T. Bell, *Blount County: Glimpses from the Past* (n.p.: Junior Blount County Historical Society, 1965), 25.

[75] Cherokee National Committee to President James Monroe, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:38-40.

[76] Path Killer et al. to Meigs, 6 August 1817, CIART, roll 7; for further discussion see McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 232.

As tradition dictated, those who opposed an idea merely withdrew. The Lower Town émigrés believed that they were well within their traditional right to remove themselves and conduct their own affairs in matters of personal interest just as they had done as Chickamauga warriors. This divided the inexperienced, struggling nation and left a gaping chasm that continued to grow in the years leading to the forced removal.

By the mid 1820s, Cherokee National Committee member John Ross assumed command of the Cherokee Light Horse and Lieutenant Elijah Hicks served as his second. The regulators operated under direct orders from the Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to attempt to remove the vast number of white intruders swarming onto farmsteads vacated by the recent emigrant Cherokees.[77] A survey of the physical destruction reflects that the devastation suffered by many Cherokees during the war continued. An examination of losses, including early 1823, indicates that Cherokees continued to seek redress for stolen or destroyed livestock by whites with a cumulative value that approximated $35, 687.[78] This included swine, beef cattle, oxen, mules, horses, and milk cows. Other real property included slaves, cabins, corn, guns, canoes, beaver traps, hides, deerskins, ploughs, bells, saddles and bridles, saddlebags, kettles, pewter plates, a Dutch oven, blankets, clothing, such as coats, hats, shawls, shoes and handkerchiefs, combs, spinning wheels, a loom, and cash. These valuables conservatively totaled $7,415.[79]

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[77] J. Ross to Jackson, 19 June 1820, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:40-41. For further examples of problems caused by white intruders, see Ross to Richard K. Call, 30 July 1821, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:42; Also see, Ross to Calhoun, 24 October 1822, 1:44-45; Ross to Meigs, 26 October 1822, 1:46-47; and Path Killer, et. al. to Cherokee Indian Agent Joseph McMinn, 26 April 1823, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:47-48.

[78] Claims by Cherokees due for losses spoliation of U.S. troops during Creek War, United States Office of Indian Affairs, Special Files, #105, 1807-1904(hereafter cited as OIASF), microfilm roll 17, Washington, D.C., NARA.

[79] Claims by Cherokees due for losses spoliation of U.S. troops during Creek War, OIASF, #105, microfilm roll 17.

When Agent Meigs died after twenty-three years of service, ex-Governor of Tennessee Joseph McMinn assumed his position. Calhoun and McMinn were not inclined to pay the Cherokees for their work in removing intruders as per their "[s]acred obligations" stipulated by treaty.[80] Instead, Calhoun condescendingly asserted that Cherokee regulators should step up and remove them at no cost to the United States "as they assume to be an Independent People."[81] The federal government grudgingly decided to "make them a gratuity," which was not near what the U.S. troops earned doing the same job. Surprisingly, General Jackson actually agreed that the light horse should earn the same payment as the "*United States militia or mounted gun men for similar services*."[82]

In 1823, the United States again sought more land from the Cherokees. Path Killer and the Cherokee National Council agreed that they would relinquish no more land. In their explanation, the Cherokee leaders noted:

> The co-operation of the red man and the white man, in subduing the common enemy, during the late war, and the blood which have been lost on that occasion at Tallasehatchie, Talledga, Hillabees, Enotichopca, Emucsaws, and Tehophah, [*sic*] (horse shoe) we conceive to be no more than what might have been expected from our hands as children and true friends to our Father the President. Those acts we performed are a demonstrative proof of the sincerity of our affections and fidelity, and show the firm hold by which the hand of our father is grasped, more forcibly than volumes of promises.[83]

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[80] Path Killer, et. al. to McMinn, 11 October 1823, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:51. The very next year the Cherokee Nation asked Calhoun to replace McMinn because of their lack of confidence in him as representing their best interests. For more details, see Ross, George Lowry, Ridge, and Elijah Hicks to Calhoun, 25 February 1824, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:69-73.

[81] Path Killer, et. al. to McMinn, 11 October 1823, Ibid., 1:51.

[82] Ross, G. Lowrey, Ridge, and E. Hicks to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas L. McKenney, 3 May 1824, Ibid., 1:84-85.

[83] Path Killer and Cherokee National Council to the United States, CNP, mf. 50, box 176, folder 7395.

Further reminding the Americans of their now blooded relationship with them, the Cherokee leadership ended their determined letter "with the brightness of the sun" and the renewal of their "respect and brotherly friendship."[84]

In the spring of the following year, the Cherokee delegation of ex-military informed the United States Congress that the Cherokee Nation had determined "never again to cede another foot of land."[85] From their rooms at the Tennison Hotel, the delegates sought the help of the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas L. McKenney, to recover the amount due the Cherokee Nation for a land cession made twenty years previously.[86]

Tensions would only continue to mount between the Cherokee Nation and the United States. When their former commander Andrew Jackson became president, the Cherokees still vividly recalled their service on behalf of the U.S. Since one of Jackson's main objectives was Indian removal from lands east of the Mississippi River, Cherokee leaders hoped to appeal to his sense of fraternity and fairness towards his brothers-in-arms. John Ross, Richard Taylor, Daniel McCoy, Hair Conrad, and John Timson, the current Washington City delegation, wrote Jackson to urge him to recall that:

> Twenty years have now elapsed since we participated with you in the toils and dangers of war, and obtained a victory over the unfortunate and deluded red foe at Tehopekah, on the memorable 27th March 1814, that portentous day was shrouded by a cloud of darkness, besprinkled with the awful streaks of blood and death. It is in the hour of such times alone that the heart of man can be truly tested and correctly judged. We were then your friends—and the conduct of man is an index to his disposition. Now in these days of profound peace, why should

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[84] Path Killer and Cherokee National Council to the United States, CNP, mf. 50, box 195, folder 7395.

[85] Ross, G. Lowry, Ridge, and E. Hicks to the Senate and House of Representatives, 15 April 1824, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:77.

[86] Ross, G. Lowry, Ridge, and E. Hicks to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas L. McKenney, 1 June 1824, Ibid., 1:93-95.

> the gallant soldiers who in time of war walked hand in hand thro'g[h]blood and carnage, be not still friends? We answer, that we yet your friends. And we love our people, our country, and the homes of the childhood of our departed sires. We have ever enjoyed the rights and liberties of freemen—and God forbid that we should ever live in vassalage to any power. And if we are too weak to live as freemen—it is easier to die, than live as slaves!!![87]

This sense of connection as brethrens-in-war did not dissolve lightly. Once again in 1836 Ross and nineteen other delegates representing the Cherokee Nation reminded the U.S. Senate that:

> With the people of the United States, in their difficulties, they have made common cause. The have stood side by side with the present Chief Magistrate [Andrew Jackson], in the battlefield, and freely shed their blood for the interest, honor and glory of the American people.[88]

The delegation memorialized the Senate hoping to negate the illegal signing of the Treaty of Echota, which a number of well-known Cherokees agreed upon though 12,000 eastern Cherokees signed a protest against the Treaty Party's fraudulent claim of legitimately representing the people and government of Cherokee Nation.[89] The delegation once again reminded the United States of its special connection with the Cherokees that both had forged during the late war which they seemed insistent on severing. They entreated once again on deaf ears, "We know you possess the power but, by the tie that unites us yonder we implore you to forbear."[90] Of course, as history is now well aware, the forced removal of the Cherokees did take place in the winter of 1838-1839.

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[87] Ross, Richard Taylor, Daniel McCoy, Hair Conrad, and John Timson to President Andrew Jackson, 28 March 1834, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:284.

[88] Cherokee Memorial to United States Senate, 8 March 1836, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:394.

[89] Ibid., 1:409.

[90] Ibid., 1:413.

# Conclusion

As American political culture moved towards the ideology of the coming Jacksonian Age, which celebrated the common white man and democracy over the concept of Jeffersonian republicanism, the Cherokees continued a social and political transformation of their own. The Cherokee government no longer emphasized individual towns or communities as they struggled to survive as a centralized nation. A Cherokee constitutional government supported by laws written in their own language did not appear until 1827. But when it did Cherokee leadership fell to the nationally minded men, most of who had been military leaders in the Red Stick War that had not already voluntarily moved west. By this time, however, they were painfully aware that the United States did not consider them brothers but rather children.

The general support that Andrew Jackson received in his stubborn insistence on postwar cessions of allied Indian lands revealed a growing American disillusionment with its civilizing Indian policy. Washington insisted on Creek land cessions as reparation for the costly war. Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees disputed boundaries due to conflicting land claims. In 1816, the U.S. ruled against the Cherokees, thus gaining more Creek land to the Cherokees's south. In 1817 the U.S. demanded more

Cherokee land to compensate them for territory on which Cherokee emigrants to the west had settled.[1]

These land reductions left Cherokees with two viable options. Some emigrated west. Most stayed behind, with some taking individual reserves located within the cessions. Either way, Cherokees strove to maintain their sovereignty and citizenship. Over and over again the Cherokee veteran leadership would refer to "our part in the late war" and "the blood . . . lost on that occasion" when meeting with U.S. officials, reminding them of their shared past as a "band of brothers," as they sought to protect their lands.[2]

Perhaps because of their role in the war at the side of their American "brothers," Cherokee leaders continued to hope for justice from the United States government. The external pressures from white intruders only continued to escalate and wreak havoc upon the Cherokees, who, however naïve it may be from our perspective today, still trusted in their relationship with the republican government and their sacred treaty obligations.

Historian William G. McLouglin concluded that Cherokee sovereignty was doomed in the face of American expansionist ideology.[3] Consider, too, Cherokee ideology, which shifted at the end of the Chickamauga era and moved towards that which the civilization program espoused. The innovations in the Cherokee military after the Chickamauga War are evidence of an altered Cherokee psyche.

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[1] Thurman Wilkins, in *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, Civilization of the American Indian, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 82-83; Charles C. Royce, *Cherokee Nation of Indians* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1975), 69-83-91.

[2] John Ross to the Senate, 1834, Gary E. Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross, 1807-1839*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 1 121.

[3] William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 368.

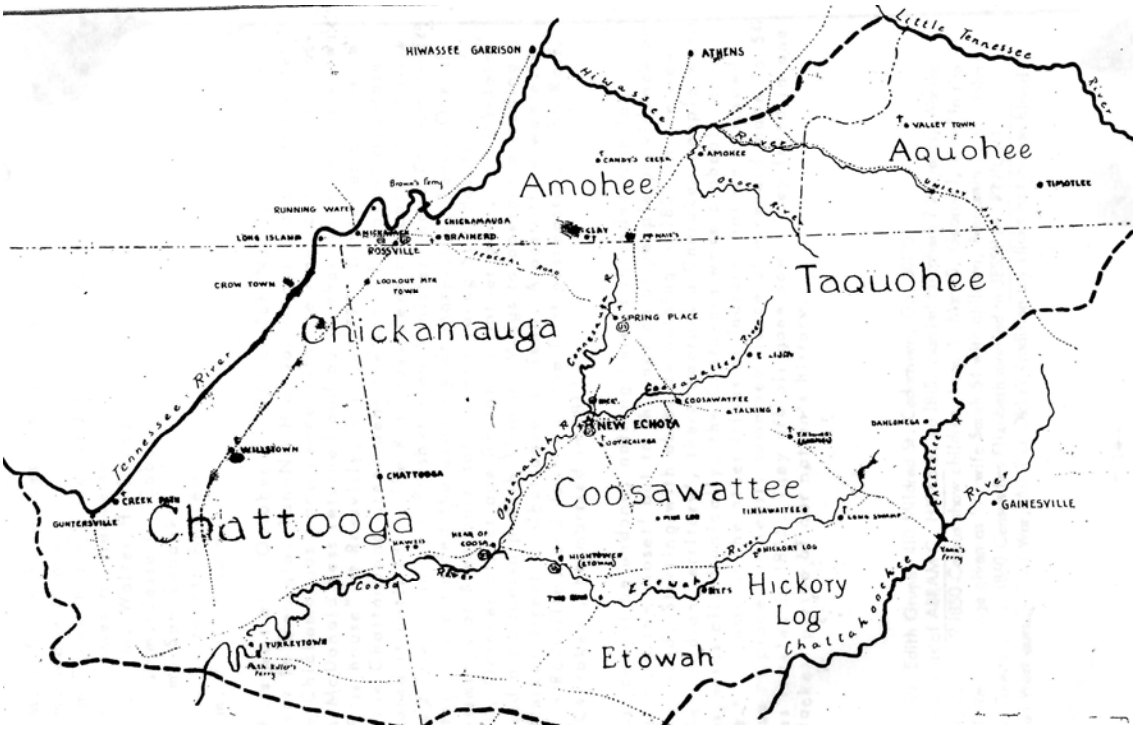


Figure 5. Cherokee Nation, c.1825. From Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), x.

During the Creek War, the Cherokee regiment viewed itself as segregated but equal, while accepting the provision that only white men serve as commanders. Though Cherokee men fought for varied reasons, a prime motive was to earn American respect and to prove their worth and value as partners in this alliance.[4] They marked any differences as fundamentally temporary and a step in their adaptation of the civilization program that they accepted with modifications to support Cherokee identity.

Those Cherokee leaders who voluntarily removed west after the war sought to establish plantations, large farms and herds, schools, salt works, and other enterprises almost from the moment they arrived.[5] Cherokees east and west insisted on a sovereign existence, while expecting the United States to continue its current Indian policy of promoting their civilization. Thus, both groups had the same goal but differing strategies for becoming economically and politically like the United States, while maintaining a distinct and separate Cherokee identity.

As this study has revealed, the so-called fracturing of Cherokee unity after the Red Stick War over emigration was not a class issue, pitting accommodationists against the conservatives—progressives against the traditionalists. Nor was it an issue of generational disagreement, such as had been the Chickamauga split. Instead, the disagreements over whether or not to surrender to white incursions and ineffectual

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[4] Officers of the Corps Composing the Cherokee Band of Warriors to Meigs, October 31, 1815, CIART, roll 6. This letter thanked the government for presenting leading Cherokee officers with presents. They stated that they "rejoice that we have rendered Service to the United States which has met with the approbation of that Government to which our attachment cannot be shaken."

[5] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 217.

government treaty enforcement led to a distinct geopolitical fracture that revolved around the warrior-headmen of the regional communities.

Those who suffered the most lived along the waterways of the Lookout Mountain, Brown's, and Wills Town Valleys of the Lower Towns, the old Chickamauga region.[6] Troop damages to Cherokee property during the war only intensified the pressure upon them to voluntarily remove west. They did not take the decision to do so lightly. Those who did were not, as some suggest, of the poorer, more traditional class. Instead, the leaders were many of the community headmen and officers that had led the Cherokees through the recent war at the side of the United States.

The cessions of land in the treaties of 1817 and 1819 totaled four million acres. This was in exchange for land emigrant Cherokees could claim once they settled west. Many Cherokees scrambled to protect their property and improvements by applying for reserves within the ceded land. As McLoughlin explained:

> Those who wished reserves and citizenship would obtain them if they lived on ceded land; in the 1819 treaty, anyone who lived on land ceded in 1817 and who did not wish to emigrate could also obtain 640 acres around his farm and become a citizen.[7]

He suggested that the Cherokees in the Lower Towns conspired to sell their land, without National Council approval, to the United States through Andrew Jackson. Since many had enrolled but then chose not to emigrate, the National Council had not reestablished representation for them, assuming that their citizenship in the east had terminated at the time of their enrollment. They became "aliens" in their own homeland, stripped of their

[6] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 260.
[7] Ibid., 256.

rights as Cherokee citizens.[8] Their headmen included Captain George Fields, Bear Meat, Colonel John Brown, The Mink, George Guess (Sequoyah), and Captain John Thompson.[9]

Up to this time, Cherokee dissension had always been a part of their cultural landscape. In colonial times some Cherokee towns had supported the French and others the British. The Chickamauga disagreement had led to a removal of the dissidents to the Lower Towns below present-day Chattanooga. Now the Creek Path leaders, as proven warriors and "real" men, sought to exercise their Cherokee prerogative to take their affairs into their own hands in order to protect their people—just as they always had done. This was actually a continuum of their cultural ideology. Unfortunately, Cherokee politics had undergone critical changes in the time after the Red Stick War. This action was no longer acceptable.

What the Cherokees failed to realize, partly because they believed in the sacredness of treaties and promises, was that Jackson, his army, and the Red Sticks' defeat marked the beginning of an American ideological shift that insisted on the exclusion of Indian societies. It would be years before the Cherokee Nation accepted the fact that inclusion was not an option and that they were no longer, if really ever, part of the band of brothers that their participation in the Creek War had led them to believe. Warfare had not bounded Cherokee and American men together through the spilling of the common enemy's blood.

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[8] Meigs to Calhoun, 27 March 1821, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, 1800-1870 (hereafter cited as LRSW), M-221, reel 90, #6836, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as NARA); McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 265.

[9] Wasasy et al. at Creek Path to Calhoun, 2 November 1822, LRSW, reel 95, #0196, and Calhoun to Megis, 21 March 1821,LRSW, reel 93, #9070, NARA; Calhoun to Meigs, 15 June 1820, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835 (hereafter referred to as CIART), Record Group 75, M-208, roll 5, NARA; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 266.

Many of those Cherokees who answered the call to arms later became well known. Sequoyah, or George Guess, invented a written syllabary, which single-handedly led to a literate Cherokee general populace.[10] During the Red Stick War, he served under Colonel Gideon Morgan in Captain John McLemore's company. He was an expert huntsman, making him a valuable marksman. Forty-four years-old during the Red Stick War, Major George Lowry, Sequoyah's cousin, later became assistant chief.[11] The Ridge, future leader of the infamous Treaty Party that led to Cherokee removal, was another hunter-warrior of renowned exploits.

These and other Cherokee men fought for varied reasons. They fought to defend their people and territory when threatened. They also fought for material gain, status, gender validation, adventure, and for membership into the tangible brotherhood of manhood. Even though these warriors would never again wage war in the manner of their elders—in small groups under charismatic individuals—they would still fight for similar reasons.

Though many changes were apparent, other cultural continuities existed. These warrior-soldiers adamantly insisted on a Cherokee identity, whether they possessed white

[10] For a good synopsis on Sequoyah, see Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah*, Civilization of the American Indians Series, 16 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

[11] George Lowry's trader father came from Virginia and married his Cherokee mother at Tuskegee Town. Lowry moved near Battle Creek in the Sequatchie Valley during the Chickamauga era. He served as a lighthorse captain 1808-1810 and moved to Wills Town after the Red Stick War. See "Old Times," 7 March 1877, *Cherokee Advocate*, 164; and Arrow, "Biographical Sketch of George Lowry," *Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), 13 December 1902, 5:55, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Western History Collections, Cherokee Nation Papers (hereafter cited as CNP), Microfilm Edition, Roll 50; Reverend Samuel H. Worchester, "Biographical Sketch of Maj. George Lowry," *Indian Advocate* (Louisville, KY), December 1852, 7:6, CNP, box 175, folder 7404, typescripts, Tulsa, OK.

ancestry or not. Thus, Cherokee men in the Creek War never identified themselves as mixed or full-blooded buts only as Cherokees.[12]

Some things did change. After the war, Cherokee officers retained their Americanized titles of rank as status symbols that identified them as part of the American military organization. For instance, The Ridge became Major Ridge. Image was so important to Major Ridge that he stopped to change into his military jacket before appearing at his son's school in the Northeast. An eyewitness was impressed with his demeanor, noting that he "wore the uniform of an American officer and [that he] was deeply impressed with his 'firm and warlike step.'"[13] War titles and ranks were nothing new in Cherokee society, but instead of traditional ones, such as The Mankiller or The Raven, warriors now adopted titles from the American military organization, their former brothers-in-arms.[14] They had successfully merged their traditional military construct into that of the American military institution, hoping to demonstrate their worth and advancement up the civilizing ladder that whites expected them to climb.

Adventure, excitement, and camaraderie were other motives for going to war. Cherokee men often told war stories at home, at Christian missions, or during council breaks. In Cherokee society, reenactments of war actions through dance or story

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[12] Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (Fall 2004): 719-20. This study attempts to renegotiate scholarship by *not* stressing blood quantum in its analysis. As Perdue argues, and this author agrees, "[p]erpetuating the language of blood denigrates the centrality of Native culture and the significance of individual choice" (719); Perdue, "*Mixed Blood*" *Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*, Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures No. 45 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 68-9. Perdue noted that scholars have mistakenly tended to analyze "mixed bloods' by concentrating on their whiteness. Instead, she insisted that they consider "the power and persistence of the culture into which they were born and chose to live" (69).

[13] Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 1986), 131.

[14] Henry Timberlake, *Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake 1756-1765*, ed. Samuel Cole Williams (Marietta, GA: Continental Book Company, 1948; Reprint, Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1927), 94.

remained traditional vehicles through which to enhance notoriety, status, and proof of masculinity.[15] John Howard Payne, who interviewed Cherokees in the 1830s, heard one such example as Cherokee veterans reenacted the story of Captain Shoe Boots at the Horseshoe, which had remained a popular tale. At the end of the battle, Shoe Boots had disappeared, and his comrades thought him killed. Just as his friends deplored that the old cock would crow no more and were recounting his past bravery, Shoe Boots suddenly appeared, crowing loudly. His men "bore the old warrior off, with shouts of triumph and exaltation."[16] Even a Moravian missionary excitedly recorded a visit from the renowned warrior and his entourage, who touted him as invincible.[17]

Many of the Cherokees wounded during the war returned to find their ability to provide for their families compromised. To Cherokee men, this presented a dilemma. Under old Cherokee traditions, other clan members would step in to care for the disabled and his family. No longer could a Cherokee male relative look to hunting to contribute a share to their disabled clan relative's subsistence. The government did not officially deal with this issue until it became part of the negotiations that appeared as Article XIV of the

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[15] For examples of Cherokee performance through dance or oral transmission, see George Gilmer, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author* (Americus, GA: Americus Book Company, 1926), 198-99; "Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary in 1914," *Montgomery Advertiser* (March 26, 1911) and "Reports of S.S. Broadus, 1907 and 1911" folder in Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Files. Broadus interviewed descendents of Cherokee veterans for the centennial celebration at Horseshoe Bend. See also, Frank G. Speck and Leonard Broom in collaboration with Will West Long, *Cherokee Dance and Drama* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 62-64. For further discussion, see next two footnotes.

[16] This story, as recorded by Payne, appeared in its entirety in Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 81-2; John Howard Payne Papers, Ayers Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill, 2:55-56, eds. William Anderson, Anne Rogers, and Jane Brown (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).

[17] In addition, the Moravians noted that they "expressed a great desire to go to war (154)." Diary entry, November 11, 1814, *Moravian Mission Diaries, Murray County, Georgia*, 2 vols., 1:1800-1818. Trans. Carl Maelshagen, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Morrow, GA, from microfilm at Georgia State University from diaries at Salem College, Winston-Salem, NC.

1835 Treaty of New Echota.[18] Even with its ratification, monetary aid did not occur until Congress passed the Act of April 14, 1842 that provided for the allowance of pensions to invalid veterans of the War of 1812. By this time, forced removal of the Cherokees to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River had occurred three years prior.

The Act of 1842 stipulated that each applicant pass through a series of examinations to verify the legitimacy of their claim.[19] This included verification of their names on the official muster rolls and the testimony of their commanding officers, or if deceased, by two others of good repute. In cases where the pensioner warrior died before the passage of the act, it fell upon the Cherokee widow and her male affine to apply on their behalf. In addition, it stipulated that a military surgeon attest to the existence and the severity of the injury. John Ross, now Principal Chief, attempted to hasten the process by requesting that Cherokee Indian Agent Pierce M. Butler should consider it a "great misfortune" if the "old warriors" did not soon get their promised pensions.[20] He urged Butler to write the Secretary of War about the delayed payments.

In 1838, the U.S. government had allowed a few of the more severely disabled to remain in their eastern homeland because the severity of their condition precluded them from making the strenuous trip. This included Pigeon in the Water, or Pigeon (2nd), who died from continually festering wounds in September 1840, shortly after the removal,

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[18] Regulations, To Commissioner of Pensions J.L. Edwards from Secretary of War John C. Spencer, 13 August 1842, Pension Office Records, NARA.

[19] Commissioner of Pensions J.L. Edwards from Secretary of War John C. Spencer, "Regulations," "An act to provide for the allowance of invalid pensions to certain Cherokee Warriors, under the provisions of the 14th article of the treaty of eighteen hundred and thirty-five," Pension Office, 13 August, 1842, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, Old War Invalid Files (hereafter cited as OWIF), NARA.

[20] Pierce M. Butler from John Ross, 30 August 1842, Moulton, ed., *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 2:148.

after physicians validated his three-fourths disability level.[21] In May of that year, Pigeon, with the help of his stepson Edward Fallin, traveled to Washington, D.C. attempting to procure his pension, but Congress had not yet appropriated the monies and would not for two more years. His old white commander, Cherokee countryman Colonel Gideon Morgan, though suffering from blindness inflicted by his own war wound, assumed the care of Widow Pigeon.[22]

One of the Valley Town warriors, Nichuwee (Nichowee), also remained after the forced removal. Nichuwee, who lived in Cherokee County, North Carolina, hired local white attorney, P.M. Henry, in 1859 to facilitate his pension application, since the Cherokee witnesses, officers, and headmen who could attest to his claim now lived hundreds of miles away across the Mississippi River. [23]

Due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to say for sure that some wounded veteran warriors who the United States forcibly removed in 1838-1839 died more quickly after their arrival to Indian Territory as a result of their disabilities perhaps exacerbated by the journey's hardships. The Overtaker, or Tecawseenaka, had received a severe injury at the, having suffered from a gunshot through his lower jaw and mouth, which blew away several teeth in the process. Though deemed as two-thirds disabled, he nevertheless was forced over the Trail of Tears. By August of 1839, The Overtaker was dead.[24] In another instance, Young Puppy carried the rifle ball he had received in his

[21] The Cherokee Muster Rolls usde 2nd or 3rd as a means to distinguish different individuals who have the same name within a company. Thus, in this instance, Pigeon (2nd) refers to the second individual by that name in that particular company.

[22] Pigeon, OWIF, no. 20136.

[23] Ni-Chu-Wee (Nichuwee), OWIF, no. 16763.

[24] Te-Caw-See-Na-Ka (Overtaker, Tesawsenokee, Tecawseeuckee), OWIF, no. 21008.

right thigh at Horseshoe Bend. This warrior suffered mightily until his death in October 1839, shortly after walking the entire trip to the west.[25]

Another warrior whose wounds and disability most likely quickened his death was Territory, or Ootalata. This warrior was one of the few injured Cherokee warriors who suffered injury from another weapon wielded by the Red Sticks besides the more common rifle. Territory received a tomahawk wound to his wrist as well as a severe contusion to his left chest. Declared one-half disabled after the war, Territory died during the roundup and internment period of the forced removal of the Cherokees.[26]

Crawling Snake, more commonly referred to in the literature as Going Snake, was another disabled Cherokee veteran, who served on the Cherokee National Council and had led one of the emigrating parties west. Deemed on examination as two-thirds disabled from a gunshot that passed through his left arm and then lodged near his spine, Going Snake died only a short year after arriving in the west.[27]

In another recorded instance, one of the invalid warriors actually died in route to Indian Territory. According to The Whale and Thomas Woodward, The Beaver died in December 1838 on the harsh winter's journey toward the west. He was one-half disabled due a shattered scapula from the gunshot wound he received at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.[28]

One of the most recognized of these hopeful pensioners to undergo the long application procedure was fifty-five-year-old The Whale (Tucko, Tuckfo), who finally

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[25] Keet-lah-nee-tah (Young Puppy, Gi-la-ni-tah), OWIF, no. 20825.

[26] Territory (Ootalata), OWIF, no. 21007. Other disabled veterans made the difficult journey west, only to die shortly afterwards. For examples, see Wa-hie-a-tow-ee, OWIF, no. 20234; The Mouse, OWIF, no. 20883; and James C. Martin, OWIF, no. 20849.

[27] Crawling Snake, OWIF, no. 20969.

[28] The Beaver, OWIF, no. 20625.

received his one-half disability pension of $4 per month, payable until his death in September 1844. The Office of Pensions only issued his certificate a mere four months earlier, with the arrears calculated from time of injury in the service of the United States amounting to $1,427.20. The process for his certification began in February 1843 when he swore to Butler, testifying to his service under Captain Rain Crow and that he had indeed received a wound by a "gunshot the ball passing entirely through the left arm, fracturing the bone," which left him quite impaired due to the slowness of the bone to mend.[29]

The Whale also applied for a land bounty warrant in 1857 pursuant to his entitlement as stipulated by the Act of March 3, 1855.[30] As a veteran of the War of 1812, he could receive 160 acres from the U.S. government. Back in 1816 President James Madison had recognized The Whale's "valorous conduct" at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend by bestowing upon him a presidential medal and a silver-mounted rifle.[31] As of 1843, The Whale had yet to receive these decorations; apparently some unknown person had accepted delivery of the objects instead. Eventually, the letters reached the Ordinance Office where they decided to issue a second rifle, a .39 caliber flintlock, commissioning its manufacture by a private gunsmith, most likely Joseph C. Golcher

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[29] Tuckfo, OWIF, no. 25891.

[30] Tuck Wah or Whale, OWIF, no. 74985, Bounty Land Files Application, BLW 93.775-160-55, NARA.

[31] Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler to Indian Affairs Commissioner Thomas Crawford, 10 May 1843, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs-Cherokee Agency (hereafter cited as LROIA), 1824-1880, frame 273, roll 87, M-234, NARA; and Butler to Lt. Col. G. Talcotte, Ordinance Office, to Secretary of War J. M. Porter, 5 August 1843, LROIA, frame 1273, roll 87. The stock of the original gun manufactured at Harper's Ferry read, "Presented by James Madison, President of the U.S. to The Whale, a Cherokee Warrior, for his signal valour & Heroism at the battle of the Horse Shoe in March 1814." Madison authorized three rifles produced at Harper's Ferry. These, along with presidential medals, Madison commanded to be delivered to the first three Cherokees who swam the Tallapoosa. "Interpretation of the Museum, Exhibit 15," Miscellaneous HOBE Interpretive Materials folder, HOBE.

from Norwich, Connecticut, the son of famous gunsmith, John Golcher, of eastern Pennsylvania.[32]

Many Cherokee warriors wounded in the Red Stick War used the traditional rhetoric of blood to make their case for disability assistance. Culsowee (Kuliskawy), though not appearing on the muster rolls, applied to the United States "for whome [*sic*] he fought & bled to assist him in his old age." Though James Lesley (Lasley) and John Brown provided affidavits verifying his service and that he had received a gunshot to his right side at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, which left him "[e]ntirely useless" and "lame in consequence of it," the government denied his claim on the basis that they had no record of his injury.[33] It is most likely that he never sought the care of an army surgeon but instead depended on the services of a traditional medicine person.

By the time the possibility of receiving a land bounty became viable, many warriors had already died. Often in these cases, the Cherokee widow would attempt to claim the rights to the land given for their husband's federal service. This did not always end well. Betsey Turkey, the ninety-year-old widow of Standing Turkey, who served two terms of service under Captains Sekekee and Spears, respectively, applied in 1875 and five years later the government rejected her application on the grounds of abandonment.[34]

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[32] Butler to Crawford, 7 August 1843, LROIA, roll 87, frame 0323 and Talcotte to Porter, 5 August 1843, frame 1273. For further discussion, see Peter A. Brannon, "Whale's Rifle," *Arrow Points* 6 (January 1923): 47-48. See, also, Brad Agnew, "The Whale's Rifle," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 56 (Winter 1978-1979): 472-77; "Interpretation of the Museum, Exhibit 15," Miscellaneous HOBE Interpretive Materials folder, HOBE; Thomas Martin to Mrs. Sadie M. Elmore, 22 August 1956, "Whale's Rifle," Copies of Correspondence Relating to Museum Items folder, HOBE; and Peter A. Brannon, Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, to Clarence J. Johnson, Superintendent Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, 18 June 1963, Peter A. Brannon, "Whale's Rifle," Whale Rifle Information Folder, HOBE.

[33] Culscawee (Kuliskawy), OWIF, no. 13544.

[34] Standing Turkey, Widow original claim no. 11628, OWIF.

Other widows also had difficulties obtaining land bounty warrants under the Act of February 14, 1871. Watty Jug, the one-hundred-year-old widow of Cherokee warrior Tah-Chee-Chee, or Jug, who had died approximately twenty years earlier, signed her mark and attested that she had not given "aid or comfort" or held any office in the Confederacy during the Civil War and promised to support the Constitution of the United States and vowed that she had not remarried. For this, the Widow Jug received 160 acres of land. Her guardian, Levi Jug, then sold the property for $140.[35]

In a later case, one distinguished Cherokee warrior, Junaluska, returned to the eastern homeland still held by the Eastern Band in the Great Smoky Mountains after making the long journey west during the removal. The State of North Carolina granted the veteran warrior 337 acres in present-day Graham County. In addition to awarding him this land, North Carolina also bestowed state citizenship upon the war hero in 1847, along with a cash gift of $100.[36]

Ten years early an observer noted that before the forced removal west, "The Cherokees . . . have been a very warlike people; and would . . . if armed with suitable

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[35] Tah-chee-chee or Jug, Widow original claim no. 9984 OWIF; and Levi Jug, guardian on behalf of Wutty Jug, widow of Tahcheechee, Bounty Land Warrant (hereafter referred to as BLW) 93.775-160-55, Record Group 49 (hereafter cited as RG 49), Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Military Bounty Land Warrants, Act of 1855 (hereafter cited as RBLM-MBLW), NARA. Levi Jug, guardian on behalf of Wutty Jug, widow of Tahcheechee, BLW 93775-160-55, RG 49, RBLM-MBLW, NARA. This was the most common practice. The land grants were for property in U.S. territories, such as Kansas and Nebraska. Even John Ross and Sequoyah's widow, Sally, sold their bounty land claims to the U.S. Public Land Office, who would then sell it to white settlers. See John Ross BLW 44139-160-55 and Sally Guess for George Guess, BLW 92949-160-55, RG 49, RBLM-MBLW.

[36] Graham County Bicentennial History, "Chief Junaluska," (n.p.: n.d.), 14; Hiram C. Wilburn, *Junaluska:The Man—The Name—The Places* (Asheville, NC: Stephens Press, 1951), 5-6, Special Collections, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC; "An Act in favor of the Cherokee Chief, Junaluskee," *Laws of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly, at the Session of 1846-47*, Miscellaneous, Chapter LIX (Raleigh, NC: Thomas J. Lemay, 1847), 128.

rifles, make as good light troops as any on this continent."[37] He went on to say that currently the Cherokees were at peace with their former enemies:

> [a]nd all the world, and especially the people of the United States, to whom in point of interest, and even kindred, they are closely allied . . . Happily for the Cherokees, they have no disposition to go to war with any nation or people.[38]

This period of flux experienced by the Cherokees extended from the Chickamauga times through their forced removal west. Cherokee collective memory, particularly among those relocated in the west, continues to recall the Trail of Tears and the Civil War as the primary pivotal events that shaped their history and tested their solidarity as a people.[39] As this study argues, though overwhelmed by the extreme upheaval of forced removal, prior to that, the Cherokees saw the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a time where they struggled to forge a new national sense of identity, while maintaining a traditional worldview of *tohi*, or a healthy state of well-being. Linguist Heidi M. Altman and Cherokee speaker and linguist Thomas N. Belt carefully explain that "if the state of *tohi* becomes disrupted there can be disastrous consequences, and communities that are disrupted in this way can be dangerous or unhealthy places to live." They explicate, too, that from an individual's state of well-being exists the concept of *osi*. Each person's centered state is critical to "ensuring that all is flowing well in the larger Cherokee world." Thus, they consider that "[h]istory . . .

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[37] John Stuart, *A Sketch of the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians* (Little Rock, AR: Woodruff & Pew, 1837), 14, microfilm, no. 5205, New Haven: CT: Research Publications, 1975, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, GA.

[38] Stuart, *Sketch of the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians*, 14.

[39] For a more complete discussion on this, see Heidi M. Altman and Thomas N. Belt, "Reading History: Cherokee History through a Cherokee Lens," *Native South* 1 (2008): 90-98.

is a series of events that relate to the attainment, maintenance, or loss of the states of *tohi* and *osi*."[40]

Cherokee remembrance within this worldview differs from that of most readers in that they compress the concept of time within their own lifetime. Hence Cherokees tend to recount "narratives with a sense of immediacy and recentness that makes events as distant in time as the Removal seem like it was yesterday."[41] The struggles during the years between the Chickamauga era and the forced removal remain significant to Cherokee history and should be just as important to scholars seeking to understand the Cherokee process of *agoliye*. This examination of this era indicates that Cherokee identity was not what was in crisis. The historical forces of accommodation and traditionalism were not always at odds here as some historians have argued. Instead, Cherokees war leaders, who became the civil leaders after the war, accessed multiple possibilities to continue to strengthen their identity as a people *while* seeking to establish a nation-state. They believed that to do this would give them their righteous place in the nascent global community of nations that was flourishing in the early nineteenth century. They also sought respect as real men from their strongest ally the United States and their Father, its president.

This, however, was not to happen. As the Jeffersonian era faded, so did many republican values that had fostered early U. S. Indian policy. The Age of Jackson had arrived and, though the Cherokees still sought to engage the United States through the eyes of a republican prism, it was too late to change the pounding and rolling waves of American citizens who demanded Cherokee land.

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[40] Altman and Belt, "Reading History," 91-92.
[41] Ibid., 93.

Throughout this dissertation, it is clear that the warrior leadership became crucial to the nascent Cherokee Nation's emergence with a strong identity. This younger warrior leadership fixated on the goals of protecting their communities and sovereign identity. They did this while seeking recognition from the United States for the honor and dutifulness they displayed in fulfilling their part of a military alliance that should have led to a stronger and more equal relationship. The new Cherokee leadership embraced the old and waning federal stance on Indian relations and worked toward becoming "civilized" and productive neighbors to the citizenry of the adjoining states. Meanwhile, the rise of western and southern populism in the forthcoming Age of Jackson, past prejudices and acts of vengeance, and a growing opposition calling for Indian removal stood against them as solid and unmovable as the log barricade that had stopped Jackson in his tracks at the Horseshoe Bend. Though the Cherokee had contributed greatly to ending Red Stick power in the southeast, history now reveals that they had shed their blood in vain

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APPENDIX A

INVALID PENSIONERS

| Name | Injury | Place of Injury |
|---|---|---|
| **Barnes, William** | Gunshot through left leg below knee | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Beaver | Gunshot to left shoulder | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Black Prince | Gunshot through left thigh | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Blanket | Gunshot through right thumb | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Crawling (Going) Snake | Gunshot to left arm, embedded near spine | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Fields, George | Gunshot to chest | Battle of Talladega |
| Grimmett, William (Chamber's Stepson) | Gunshot through left arm above elbow | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Gunter, Edward | Gunshot to right thigh | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Halfbreed, Pigeon | Gunshot left chest | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Looney, John | Gunshot to left shoulder and arm | Battle of Emuckfaw |
| Martin, James C. | Gunshot to right hand | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| **McNair, David** | | |
| **Morgan, Gideon** | Gunshot to right eye and arm | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Mouse, The | Gunshot left chest | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Nichowee (Nichuwee) | Gunshot through right leg near knee | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Overtaker, The (Te-caw-see-na-ka) | Gunshot through left mandible | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Pigeon (2nd/Pigeon in the Water) | Gunshots through left arm and right hip | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Price, Aaron | Gunshot embedded left chest | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Seed | Gunshot through thigh, embedded in abdomen | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Territory (Ootalata) | Tomahawk to left wrist and left chest | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Tobacco Mouth | Gunshot through buttocks | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| TooNoy | Gunshot through left forearm | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Wah-he-ke-tow-ee | Gunshot through right hip | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Whale, The | Gunshot fracturing left arm | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |
| Young Puppy | Gunshot embedded right thigh | Battle of Horseshoe Bend |

**(Bold** *indicates Cherokee Countrymen*)

*Source:* Old War Invalid Files, Pension Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

# APPENDIX B*

## CHEROKEE MUSTER ROLLS

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acorn, John | | McIntosh | |
| Adair, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Adair, James, Sgt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Fort Armstrong |
| Adair, Walter (Black Watt), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Adair, Walter (Black Watt), Pvt | 11-1/12/1 | McLemore | |
| Ahkalookee, 4th Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Ahneahly, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Emuckfau Battle |
| Ahquatakee, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Ahsatootone, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Ahwoyah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Ahyauskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Akecoyah, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Akeeaquah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Alexander, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Alickee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| All Bone, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| All Bones, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Allchaloah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Wounded-Hobe |
| Alutsaw, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Ameca, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Anati, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Aquakee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Archegiskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Killed-Hobe |
| Archtoyohee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Archy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Archy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Arlowee (Artowee?), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Ataheotoone, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Atlosana, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Atlowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | Fields | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Atowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Attacoloonee, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer | Path Killer's Fort |
| Attawloowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Auhneyahting, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Auhseeaughchew, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Auloolaauskeneher, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Aumayatawhee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Aumayatehee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Aumoocanah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Aumorehcuttokee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Aunekayatehee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Aunenawee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Deserted |
| Ausingagoquey (Assingoque), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Autawlesee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Autietta (Autcitta), 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Awwahsutoaiskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McIntosh | |
| Bad Billy (Pouch), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Bag, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Baldridge, George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Baldridge, John (Oostilleh), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Baldridge, Richard, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Ball Ketcher (Catcher), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Bark, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Bark, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Bark of Hightower, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Bark, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Bark Oohalloukee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Bark, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Bark, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Bark, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Barnes, William, Pvt/QM Sgt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | Promoted to QM Sgt |
| Barnes, William, QM Sgt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Barnes, William, QM Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Gunshot L tibia-Hobe |
| Batt, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Bean, The, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Bear, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Bear, The 1, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Bear, The 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Bear At Home, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bear At Home, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Bear Meat, Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Bear Meat, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Bear Sitting Up, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Beaver, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Beaver, The, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Beaver, The, 2nd Lt (Died 12/1838) | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Gunshot shoulder-Hobe |
| Beaver, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Benge, John, 1st Lt | 10-7/1-7 | Taylor | |
| Benge, Thomas, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Acorn, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Big Bear (Yonahaquah), 1st Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Big Bear, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Bear, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Big Coming Deer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Big Feather, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Big Feather, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Big Half Breed, The (Guulisi), 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Big Hawk, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Big Head John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Mole, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Mouse, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Mush, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Big Mush, Pvt | 10-7/1-11 | Fields | |
| Big Mush, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Big Mush, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Big Oosowwee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Rattleing Gourd (Rattlingourd, Big), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Big Ratling Goard (Rattlingourd), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Big Shit (Ekeshe), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Big Tajincy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Big Tunnetee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Bill, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Billy, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Binding Up, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Binding Up, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Bird Double Head, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Bird In Water, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Bird's Nest, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bird's Nest, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Biter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Biter, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Talladega Battle |
| Biter , Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Biter (Howesuka), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Biter (Ooskalkee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Biter, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Black Beard, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Black Beard, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Black Fish, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Black Fish, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Black Fox, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Black Fox (Enoly; Enoli), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Black Fox (Enoly; Enoli), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Black Gum, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Black Prince (Cahlahsayohha), 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Gunshot R thigh-Hobe |
| Blackbird, Samuel, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Blanket, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Blanket, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Gunshot R thumb-Hobe |
| Blossom Falling, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Blythe, William, Pvt (Transferred McNair's) | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Not on list |
| Bob, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Bob Tail, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Boggs, Dick, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Boggs, John, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Boggs, Suaggy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Bold Hunter, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Boot, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Killed-Hobe |
| Boots Chulio, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Bossona, Ben (Bassona), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Bottle, The, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Brains, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Box, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Bremer, John (Beamer), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Brewer, George, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Bridge Maker, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Bridge Maker, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Broom, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Broom, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Broom, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Brown, James, Cpt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Promoted to 2nd Maj. |
| Brown, John, Pvt/1st Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Promoted to Cpt. |
| Brown, John, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Brown, William, 3rd Sgt (Lost shirt/bridle) | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Wounded-Hobe |
| Buck, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Buffaloe With Calf, 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | Tallushatchee Battle |
| Buffaloe With Calf, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Bull Frog, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Burges, Dick, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Burns, Arthur (Burnes), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Burns, Arthur (Burnes), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Bushey Head, 4th Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Bushy Head (Onotata), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Butler, Charles, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Butler, Charles, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Butler, John, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Campbell, Archabald, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Campbell, John, 3rd Corp | 10-7/107 | McLemore | |
| Candy, Thomas, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Lost horse-Hobe |
| Canoe Spoiler, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Cant Doit, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Capeollar, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Cary, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Cassahelah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Cassahela (Casakela; Carsahelah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Cat, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Cat, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Horse died after Hobe |
| Cawchehee, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Cawchetawee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Cawhetowe, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Cawloqualegah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Cawtootaskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Cawukatekee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Challow, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Hillabee Battle |
| Charles, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Charles, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Charles, 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | Emuckfau Battle? |
| Charles, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Charles, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Emuckfau Battle? |
| Charles, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Emuckfau Battle? |
| Charleston, George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Charlotehee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Charlotehee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Charlotehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chattoe BB (Blackbeard's) Son, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Chattoe, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Hillabee Battle |
| Chattoa, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Cheestachee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Chelegatihee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Chillogetehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chelogechee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chenowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Chenowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Chenowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chequage, Jack, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Chesquaooneka, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chesquahunwaye, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chestaychee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Chestoquallany (Chestooguallany), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Cheuauchee, 3rd Corp | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Chewah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Chickalilly, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Chickasaw, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Chickasaw, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Chicken Cock, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Lost horse-Hobe |
| Chickesawteah, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Chickesawteah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Chickesawtihee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Chickesawtehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Lost horse -Hobe |
| Chickesawtee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Chinnarbee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Chinquaka, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Chisholm, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Chism, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Cholehkakaha, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Chotoa, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Choweskee, 3rd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Choweskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chowwee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Chowwenna, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Chuanneohah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Chuchuchee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Chuequaetokey, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Chuhallokee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Chuhallooky, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Chualookee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Wounded-Hobe |
| Chulaskee, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Chulelaskee, Ensign | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Chuleotee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Chulitaskee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Chulio (Gentleman Tom), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Chulio, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Chulioa, Pvt/Creek Interpreter | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Promoted to 1st Lt. |
| Chulio, 1st Lt/Creek Interpreter | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | Path Killer's Aid |
| Chukeletee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Chuetsennah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Chulesunn, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chuneluhusk, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Chunuluhisk, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Chunesaquee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chunoqualeskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Chunaqualesky (Chunaqualasky), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chunaqualasky (Chunaqualesky), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Chunuloskee (Junaluska;Juneluskey), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Lost Horse-Hobe |
| Chunulukee (Junaluska; Juneluskey), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Chuochenote, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Chuochuokah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Hobe |
| Chuowyehkee, R., Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chuscunta, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Chuskiote, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chusqanaee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Chuwalookee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Chuway, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Chuwee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Chuweeh, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Chuwee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ckooah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Clabboard, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Clalahee (Clatahee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Clawnoosee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Clewcow, Jack, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Cloy, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Club Foot, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Club The Hair (Club The Cur), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Lowry/Fields certified |
| Cochetowe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Cockran, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Cold Weather, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Coldwater, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Collusogiskee (Collasogiskee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Coming Deer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, James | |
| Connaketahee, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Connally Houstah, 1st Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Connasohee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Connesenah (Connoskeskee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Conneskahiskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Connoughsoskee, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Connusutaiske, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Contnoah, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Conway Chiefs, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Coowooletaiskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Coowooletaiskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Corn Silk, 4th Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Promoted to 2nd Sgt |
| Corn Silk, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Corn Tassell, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Counoskiskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Cowatseska, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Cowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Crab Grass, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Crab Grass (Crap Grass), Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Crab Grass (Chuluskee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Crab Grass, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Cramp, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Crane Eater, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Craw Fish, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Crawler, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Crawler, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Wounded/Died-Hobe |
| Crawling, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Crawling Snake, (Going Snake) Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Crawling Snake, (Going Snake) Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Hobe |
| Crazy Fellow, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Crittington, William, 2nd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Died by 8/1814 |
| Crooked Foot (White Man Killer), 1st Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Croplin, John, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Crutchfield, Edmond, 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Cryer, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Crying Bear, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Crying Wolf, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Culculoaskee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Cullasche (Cullarche), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Culloquatuchee, Pvt | 1-6/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Culloquatucheeah, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | New York Battle |
| Cullulatah (Cullatahah)Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Culsatahee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Cullosawee, Lt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Culsowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Culsowwee, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Culsowee 1 (Kuliskawy), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | No record wound-Hobe |
| Culsowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Culsowee 2 (Kulsowee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Culsetee, Hugh, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Culsetee, Old (Culsetee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Cumberland, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Cunnesow, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Hillabee Battle |
| Cunnetoo, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Cunskulloowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Davis, Abraham (Abram), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Deer In The Water, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Deer In The Water, The, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Deer In The Water, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Deer Walking, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Deerhead, John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Dew, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Dew, The, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | New York Battle |
| Dew, The, 2nd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | Deserted |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dick (Old Dick), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Path Killer's Fort |
| Dick, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Path Killer's Fort |
| Dick, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Dick, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Dick, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Dick, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Dick, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Dirt Merchant (Seller), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Dirt Merchant (Seller), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Dirty Billy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Dirt Pot, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Dog, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Door, The, 1st Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Double Head, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Double Head (Tulehchusco;Two Head), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Hobe |
| Dougherty, Archibald, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Dougherty, Archabald (Archibald), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Dougherty, Jack (John), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Dougherty, Jack (John), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Downing, Archy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Downing, John, Pvt | 11-1-12-3 | McLemore | |
| Draging Canoe, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Dragin Canoe, The, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | Emuckfau Battle |
| Draging Canoe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Deserted |
| Drawing Canoe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Dreadful Water, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Dreadful Water, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Dreadful Water, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Drownding Bear (Yonoocayasca), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Drownding Bear (Yonoocayasca), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Drowner, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Drunken Billy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Dry Head, Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Dry Water, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Ducks Son, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Dull Hoe, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Dull Hoe, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Dull Hoe, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Dull Hoe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dun Bean, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Eagle (Oobekauskay), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Eagle (Oobekauskay), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Echulehah, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Echulehah (Echulaheh), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Ecowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Ekoowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Ekoowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Eight Killer, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Elders, Moses, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Elk, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Elk, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Elleehee (Cleehulee; Eleehulee), 1st Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Enchanter, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| End, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Epawletichaw, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Eutelettah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Eyahcheeclee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Saunders | |
| Eyautautaubee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Fallen, Edmond (Edward Fawling; Falling), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Fallen Water, Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Falling, Bill, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Fawn, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Fawn, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Fawn, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Feel Of It, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Feather In Water, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Fields, Archy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Fields, David, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Fields, George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Fields, George, Cpt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | Gunshot spine-Talladega |
| Fields, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Fields, John, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Fields, John, Jr., Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Fields, Thomas, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Fields, Turtle, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Fish, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Fish Lying Down, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fisherman (Terherman?), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Fisherman, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Fishing Hawk, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Five Killer, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Five Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Five Killer (Hisketehe), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Five Killer (Hisketehe), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Five Killer (Hisketehe), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Flatfoot, 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Flutes Son, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | | |
| Follower, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Following, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Fool, The (Oolscunny), 1st Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Fool, The (Oolskahnee), 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Wounded-Hobe |
| Foster, Cabbin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Foster, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Foster, James, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Four Killer, 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Four Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Four Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Fowl Hawk, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Fox, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Hobe |
| Fox, John, Ensign | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Fox, John, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Fox Biter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Fox Biter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Fox Biter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Fox Biter, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Frog, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Promoted to Cpt. |
| Frog, The, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Frying Pan, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Frying Pan, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft Armstrong |
| George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| George 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| George 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| George (Tallarcyn), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| George (Tallarcyn), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Get Up (Ootetayahee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6? | Hicks | |
| Get Up (Ootetayahee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Glass, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Glass (Young Glass), 4th Corp | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Going To Lift, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Going To Send, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Going To Shake The Earth, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Going Wolf, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Going Wolf, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Good Woman, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Good Woman, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Good Woman, The (Arnecoyarnoah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Gowing, William, 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Grass Hopper, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Grass Hopper, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Grayson, Walter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Green Grasshopper, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Gregg (Greg), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Griffen, Daniel (Griffin), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Promoted to 2nd Lt. |
| Griffen, Daniel (Griffin), 2nd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Grimmett, William (Chamber's Stepson), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Gunshot L arm-Hobe |
| Grist, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Killed-Hobe |
| Grits, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Ft. Armstrong |
| Guess, George (Seqoyah), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Guess, George (Seqoyah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Gun, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Gun Rod (Conrad), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Gun Stocker, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Gun Stocker, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Gunter, Edward, Pvt/Spy/Interpreter | 10-7/1-6 | Fields/McNair | Gunshot in R thigh-Hobe |
| Gunter, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Gunter, Samuel, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Gut Sticker, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Gut Sticker, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Guts, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Guts (Chullennessee), Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Gutts (Chulidie) | | Shoe Boots | No rolls but bounty land |
| Hail, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Hair, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Hair, The (Conrad), 4th Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Hair Lifter, The, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Haley, John C., Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Half Breed, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Half Breed's Son, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Half Breed, Pigeon, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Gunshot L chest-Hobe |
| Hannel, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Hannelah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Hannelah, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Hanelah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Hanging Head, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Hanging Head, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Hanging Head (Oostaloeunt), Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Harland, Ezekiel (Harlin; Harlen), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Harland (Harlin), George, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Harris, John, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Harris, John, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Harry, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Harry, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Hemp, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Henderson, William P., Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Henderson, William P., Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Hickory's Son, 4th Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Hickory's Son, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Hicks, Charles, Cpt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Hicks, George, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Promoted to Ensign |
| Hicks, George, Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Hicks, Nathaniel, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | Promoted to Ensign |
| Hicks, Nathaniel, Ensign | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Hilderbrand, John, Pvt (Lost horse) | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Killed-Hobe |
| Hog Shooter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Hog Shooter, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Hog Shooter, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Hog Skin, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Hog Skin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Horse Fly, 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| House, Hiram (Haure), Pvt (White man) | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| House Bug (Conantoheh) | | Shoe Boots | Not on rolls |
| Huckleberry, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Huckleberry, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Hughes, Barney, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hughes, Barney, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Hughes, James (Hues), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Hughes, James, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Hummingbird, Old, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Hummingbird, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Humming Bird, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Also at Path Killer's Ft. |
| Humming Bird, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Hungry Fellow, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Hungry Hunter, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Hunter, John, Pv t | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Hunter, Langley, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Ionewaynee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Ionewaynee (Jonewaynee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Jack, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Jack Tail, 3rd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Jacob, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Jessee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Jim, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| John, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Johne, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Jug, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| July, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| June Bug, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Jupta, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Justice, George, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Lost horse-Hobe |
| Justice, Jack, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kade, Jack (Cade), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kahenah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Kahkowe, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Kahsatehetah (Kahsatenetah; Kahsahetah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kahukatahee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Kalawaskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Kanasaw, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Kannoskeskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Kanowakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Karnkatuah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kaskaleskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Katakiska (Kutegeske), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Katchee | | | |
| Katehee (Catehee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Kawasoolaskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Keclacanaskee, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | New York Battle |
| Keecloucanneskee, 1st Sgt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Kelechulah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Kelloke (Killokee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kelshaloskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kelslokah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kenah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Keenah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Kenah, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Kenah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kanah (Striking Turkey), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Kenner, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | Tallushatchee Battle |
| Kennetetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Kesukano, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Kettle Tyer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Killagee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Killage, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Killague, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Killawgee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| King, Robert, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Kinnessaw, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Kohahteeskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Kokahatishee (Kokahateskee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Kooeskooe (Cooweescoowee), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Kooeskooe (Cooweescoowee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kookoolegenkee (Kookoolenkee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Kulatehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kulleskawas, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Kuliskawy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kulkulohisky, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kulsawah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Kulsowy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Kunnequiokee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Lame Davy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lasley, James (Lessley; Lesslie; Lasslie), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Lessley, William (Lasley; Leslie; Lasslie), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Lasslie, William (Lasley; Leslie; Lessley), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Laugh At Mush (Tootlister), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Laugh At Mush (Tootlister), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Laugh At Mush (Tootlistah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Leafon, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Lowry/Fields certified |
| Leather Boot, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Lenetah (Lineta), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Litewood Toater (Carrier), Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Little Bark, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Little Bird, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Little Broom, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Little Deer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Little Ionewaynee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Little Mouse, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Little Mouse, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Little Pot, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Little Robbin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Little Sawney, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Little Tajincy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Little Will, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Walker certified |
| Long Beard, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Long Knife, 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Long Needle, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Looney, John, 3rd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | Promoted to 4th Sgt |
| Looney, John, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Gunshot arm-Emuckfau |
| Loowaykee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Lost, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Lost Man Oolanah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Lovett, Robert, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Lowry, James, 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Lukekee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Lying Pumpkin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Also at Path Killer's Ft. |
| Lying Pumpkin, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer | |
| Lying Rock, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Mankiller, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Manning, Charles, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Manning, Charles, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Manning, Thomas, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Martin, James, 2nd Lt/QM | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Gunshot to R hand-Hobe |
| Mataye (Aumayalawhu), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Maw, Martin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Maw, Thomas, 3rd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Maylawbee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| McClellon, John (McClellan), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| McCoy, Alexander, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| McDaniel, Samuel, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| McGowing, John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| McIntosh, Charles, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| McIntosh, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| McIntosh, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| McIntosh, John (Quotaquskey), 1st Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Promoted to Cpt |
| McIntosh, John (Quotaquskey), Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| McIntosh, Martin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| McLemore, John (Oosqualhoka), Cpt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| McLemore, John (Oosqualhoka), Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| McLemore, John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| McNair, David (Countryman), Cpt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| McNair, David, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | Gunshot R leg-Hobe |
| McTeer, 3rd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Meal, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Meat, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Melting, The (Milting), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Middleton, Benjamin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Miller, Andrew, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Miller, George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Millughchar, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Mink, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Mink, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Mink, The, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Mink Wats Son, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Moheech (Mohecah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Mole, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Morgan, Gideon (Countryman), Col | 10-7/4-11 | Morgan | Gunshot to head-Hobe |
| Morris, George (Suleh), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Mosquito (Musqueto; Toseh), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mossee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Mountain, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Mountain Ass, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Mouse, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Mouse, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Mouse, The, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Gunshot L chest-Hobe |
| Mouse Tarapin (Terrapin), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Killed-Hobe |
| Murdock, William, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Horse died 11-27-1813 |
| Murphy, Archy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Murphy, Archy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Murphy, Johnston, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Mushroom, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | Hobe |
| Muskrat, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Muskrat, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Wounded-Hobe |
| Mutiah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Mutiah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Naery, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Naholohty, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Nalseah (Natseah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Nantoowaykee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Nantooyah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Narrow Back, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Nateehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Killed-Hobe |
| Nave, Henry (Knave), 2nd Sgt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Nachowwe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Nechowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Necowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Ned, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Neecowwee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Hillabee Battle |
| Nickowee, Pvt (Exempted from Removal) | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Gunshot-leg-listed killed |
| Neecoochakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Neelockaughchar, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Neelowwee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Neequatake, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Nelehoustah, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Nettle, pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Nettle Toater (Nettle Carrier), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Nettle Toater (Nettle Carrier)-1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Nettle Toater (Nettle Carrier)-Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York, Peter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Promoted to 3rd Sgt. |
| New York, Peter, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Lost horse-Hobe |
| Neyohlee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Nayohlee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Nicholson, Benjamin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Night Killer, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Night Killer, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| No Fire, Pvt | 1-27/-4-11 | Speers | |
| No Pumpkins, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Noisy Fellow, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Nooshawway, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Killed-Hobe |
| Nootawhetah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Northward, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Northward, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Nuchowee, Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Nuchowy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Nuchuay, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Nutawhetah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Nuwoutah, 2nd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Oatacoe, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Old, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Old, The (Watee or Watie or Wattie), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Old Brains, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Old Broom, 2nd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Old Cabbin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Old Cabbin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Old Chelagatshee (Chelayatehee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Old Fields, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Old Man Big, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Old Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Wounded-Hobe |
| Old Turkey, 1st Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Old Turkey, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Old Wool, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Oochogee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Oochogee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Oohaketawhee (Oohakatawhee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Ookoosee, (Lost gun/hatchet/knife/shirt) | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Hobe |
| Oolagoy (Oolayoy), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Oolanotee (Oolla-nottee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oolastaey (Oolastety; Oolastaly), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Ooleotah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Oolelayahee | | | |
| Oolahatah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Oolehetah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Oolstooch, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Oonequonee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Ooneeyautahhetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Ooneyauhhetah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Oosawtah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Ooscower, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Ooskouwa (Ooskona; Ooskoua), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Oosowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Oostenakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Oostenakee (Oostenakoe;Oostenakoo), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Oostookey, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Oolastooky (Oolasta[u]ly), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Oosunnally, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Oosunnally, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Oosunnally, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Oosunnaly, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Ootahatah 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Ootahatah 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Ootahetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Ootahilla, Pvt | 1-11/-2-10 | Hicks | |
| Ootaletah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | First Tour |
| Ootarhittah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Ootawgoahee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Ootawgoahee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Ootawlookee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Ootetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Ootlanowah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Hillabee Battle |
| Ootolanah (Ootanatah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Ootolone, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Killed -Hobe |
| Oowahsahhah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Oowallotoh, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Oowonnoh, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Osawtahee, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Ositahee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ossawlawheo, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Otter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Otter Lifter, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Oughnenetoyah, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Overtaker (Tecawseenaka), Pvt (Died 8/1839) | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Gunshot L jaw-Hobe |
| Overtaker, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Pack Horse (Kilechulle), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Paine, Samuel, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Panter, The (Panther), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Parch Corn Flour, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Parch Corn Flour, 4th Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Parch Corn Flour, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Parch Corn Flour, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Partridge Nose, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McLemore | |
| Path Killer, 1st Corp | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Promoted to 2nd Sgt |
| Path Killer, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Path Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Paunch Carrier (Carier), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Paunch Carier (Carrier), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Paunch, The (Scowley Dennis), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Perdoo, Daniel A. (Perdue), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Perry, Silas, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Perry, Silas, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Peter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Pheasant, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Pheasant, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Pidgeon, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Pidgeon 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Killed-Hobe |
| Pidgeon In The Water 2, Pvt (Exempt Removal) | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Gunshot arm/hip-Hobe |
| Pidgeon, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | Promoted to 2nd Corp. |
| Pidgeon, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Pike Archetoy, The, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Poor, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Poor John, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Poor John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Poor Shoat, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Pot Kecher (Pot Kicker), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Pot Ketcher, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Price, Aaron, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Gunshot L chest-Hobe |
| Proctor, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Proctor, Thomas, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Proctor, Thomas, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Killed-Hobe |
| Proud Tom, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Proud Tom, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Puckasooch, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Pumpkin Heap (Pumpkin Pile), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Pumpkin John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Punch, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Rabbit (Tisska), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Rabbit Sleeping, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Rain Crow, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Randy, Thomas, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Rassahelah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Ratliff, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Ratliff, William, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Rattle, Bill, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Reece, Charles (Reese), 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Hobe |
| Ridge, The, 1st Lt/4th Mj | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Promoted 4th Maj.-Hobe |
| Riley, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Rising Fawn, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Rising Fawn, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Rising Fawn, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Robbin, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Robbin 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Robbin 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Robbin Long Fellow, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Robbins, Benjamin, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Rogers, Charles (Rodgers), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | Cpt Emigration 1817 |
| Rogers, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Rogers, John (Rodgers), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | Promoted to 2nd Lt. |
| Rogers, John (Rodgers), 2nd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Rogers, Joseph, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Roon, Archy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Listed as 3/4 blood |
| Roseberry, Cot (Cat), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Ross, John (Coowwscoowee), 2nd Lt/Adjutant | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Rotten Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rowe, Walter, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Rowe, Wattee (Old Rowe), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Saddle, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Sallekookee (Sallacokee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Salluwee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Sampson, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Sampson, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Sanecowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Santatakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Santatakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Santahtakah (Sentelake), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Sap Sucker (The Bag), 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Saunders, Alexander (Sanders), Cpt/3rd Mj | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Promoted to 3rd Maj |
| Saunders, George (Sanders), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Saunders, James (Sanders), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Saunders, John (Sanders), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Sawanookee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Sawkeah, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Sawney, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Sawney, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Schopechar, 4th Sgt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Scokoohisky, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Screch Owl (Screech Owl), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Seeds (Tshukata), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Seeds, The (Tshukata), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | Gunshot abdomen-Hobe |
| Seetteer, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Seewhosee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sekekee Conolokee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Sekekee Ooscullagee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sekekee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sekekee, Cpt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Sekekee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Sekekee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Seekekee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Sekeowwee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Senecowee, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Senakowy (Senaky), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Killed-Hobe |
| Sharp, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Capt Emigration 1817 |
| Shellote, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shepherd, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Shoe, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Shoe Boots, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Shoe Boots, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Shoe Boots, Cpt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Sickatawee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Seketowee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Sicketowee, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Sighter (Sciter), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Simbling (Cymbling), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Sinews, 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Siteya, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Situaky (Situakee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Lost horse-Hobe |
| Six Killer, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Six Killer, 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Six Killer 1, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Six Killer 2, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Six Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Six Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Skawissa (Skauisa), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Skeeutah (Skeutah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Skeowwee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Skitehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Skittiah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Skiukah 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Skiukah 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Skoahlohee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Skokuhesky, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Skyowkee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Sleeping Rabbit, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Sleeping Rabbit, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Sleeping Rabbit, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sleeping Rabbit (Rabbit Sleep), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sleeping Rabbit, 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Sleeve, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Small Back, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Smallback (Kysuala), Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Smith, Cabbin (The Cabbin), 1st Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Smith, Cabbin (Big Cabbin), 1st Lt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Smith, Cabbin (Big Cabbin), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Smith, John, Pvt (Lost gun/horse) | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Hobe? |
| Smith, John, Pvt (Lost gun/horse) | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Hobe? |
| Smith, Levi, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Smoke, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Snipe, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Soft Shell Turtle, 2nd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Sooletiyaeh, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Soowailor, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Soowakee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Soowakee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Soowescullar, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Sour John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Sour Mush (Ogosatah), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Sour Mush, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Spaniard, Harry (Spanish Harry), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Speers, Fox, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Speers, Fox, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Speers, John (Jack), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Speers, John (Arnekayah), Pvt (Lost horse) | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Wounded-Hobe |
| Spencer, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Spirit (Oochalunnahhee), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Spirit (Oochalunnahhee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Spoilt Person, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Spoilt Person, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Wounded-Hobe |
| Spring Frog, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Spring Frog, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Spring Frog, Pvt | 1-27/-4-11 | Speers | |
| Squire (Usquelusquiee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Squirrel, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Squerrel, The (Squirrel), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Stampin, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Standing (Taketokee), 4th Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Standing , Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Standing Deer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Standing Stone, 2nd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Standing (Peach?) Tree, Jack, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Standing Turkey (Striking Turkey?), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Standing Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Standing Water, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Starr, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Starr, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Starr, James, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Stellughchar, 4th Corp | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Stephen, Joseph, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Killed-Hobe |
| Stickasee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Wounded-Hobe |
| Still, Jack, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Stinger (Tacheesy), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Stinger 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Stinger 2 (Tahlehunsee; Tahchunsee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Wounded-Hobe |
| Stinger, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Stinking Fish, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Stocker, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Stomper, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Stookey (Stukah; Stekah), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Stool (Takaskilla), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Stool, The (Takaskilla), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Stooping Tree (Oolescatey), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Straw Picking Up, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Suagee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Suakah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Sucker, The, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Sucker, The, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Suhkeyh, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Sulatshota, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Suletuskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Sullockaw, Cpt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Sully, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Suluntah, 1st Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Summer Grapes, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Surprising A Man, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Sutalelehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Sutogeh, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Suttakee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Suttawkaughgee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Sway Back, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Sweet Water, Pvt | 10-7-1-6 | Fields | |
| Swimmer, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Hillabee Battle |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Swimmer 1, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Swimmer 2, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Swimmer, 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Switch Lifter, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Tacasutta, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Tacasutta, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Tahchechee (Jug), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Tail, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, Ja | |
| Talelahtee (Taletahtee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Tallow, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Tally, Samuel, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Tarripin (Scillacooka; Terrapin), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Tarripin (Sillikookee; Scillacooka), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Tassle, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Tautluntah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Taweskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Taweskee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Tawlootoughkar, 1st Corp | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Tawnoowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Tawtalanonee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Taylor, Dick, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Tayawchullingnee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Taylor, Fox, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Taylor, Fox, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Taylor, Richard, Cpt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Teacy, 4th Sgt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Teconeeskee, 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Teecawnooteeshee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Teekepacheaughchew, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Teesterkee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Tekahtoskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Tekaneyeskee (Tekaugeska), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Tekinny, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Teesteskee, 3rd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Tekakeskee, 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Teasteskee (Tekaliskee; Tekakiskee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Tematly, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Tematly (Temautly; Tenalty), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Tenauntah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tenetehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Tequalquatage, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Tequoisewhita, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Teritory (Territory; Ootalata), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Teritoy (Territory), Pvt (Died 8/1838) | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | Tomahawk L wrist-Hobe |
| Tesatauska, 4th Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Teseteetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Tesuguskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Teyaheleskee, Ensign | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Teyestesky (Teysteekee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Ft. Armstrong |
| Thief, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Thin Drink (Young Cabbin), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | Promoted to 3rd Sgt |
| Thin Drink (Cabbins Son), 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Thompson, Charles, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Thompson, Charles, 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Thompson, John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Three Killer (Chiotee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Thunder, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Tick Eater, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Tick Eater, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Tiger (Tyger), 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Tiger, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Tyer (Tyger), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Tikiusey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Tilleseyollar, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Tillulah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Timberlake, Dick (Richard), 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Promoted to 1st Corp. |
| Timberlake, Dick (Richard), 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Timberlake, John, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Tinegaskee (Tenegaskee), Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Fields | |
| Tiner, Reuben, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Tish (Fish?), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Toater, The (Carrier), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Tobacco Eater (Tobacco Mouth?), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Tobacco (Mouth?; Chulacheehutlah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Gunshot buttocks-Hobe |
| Tobacco John, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Tockkahake, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Tohooyah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Tokahage, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tolakiska, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Toleekuskee (Tolun Turkey), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Toleekuskee (Tolontuskee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Tom, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Tom, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Tonetee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Tonuwooeh, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Tonnayee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Toochachee (Toohachee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Tookatloo, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Tookoolar, 2nd Corp | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Toolalookee, 4th Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Toonish, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Toonowee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Toonoyah, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Toonoyyah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Toonoye, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Toonoye, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Toonoy, Pvt (Died Spring 1839) | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | Gunshot to arm-Hobe |
| Toonoyee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Tooquotakhe (Tooquattah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Toostee, Pvt (Disabled horse) | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | Ft. Armstrong |
| Toowayello, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Toowohyah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Toqua George, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Toqua George, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Toqua Jack, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Toqua Jack, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Totatah (Toteetah; Totalah), Pvt | 1-27-4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Tounohanlah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Towayitte L.T. Son, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Toweekilah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Town House Killer (Cawteetaw), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Town House Killer (Cawteetaw), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Town House Killer (Cawteetaw), Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Toyah, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Toyahtohesay, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Toyehahchee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Treading, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trout, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Trunk, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Tualugee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Tucahagee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Tuckaseeoolah, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Tuckesseoolah (Tuckosuoolah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Tuckkawyahgee, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Tuckullossee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Tuleothy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Tullelaquah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Tullelaquah, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Tulloomucco, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Tunakeliskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Tunetehee, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Tunnettehee, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Tunetehee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Tunnayee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Turkey, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Turkey, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Turtle, The, 3rd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Turtle, The, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Turtle, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | Wounded-Hobe |
| Turtle At Home, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Tusqualleskee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Tusquiny ( Tusquia), Pvt (Lost horse/kettle) | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Hobe |
| Tutt, Alexander, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Two Fathom, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Two Head, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Two Killer, Bill, 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Killed-Hobe |
| Two Killer, Willy, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Ulleskeskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Ulloly (Uhully), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Ulteaskee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Ummasooak, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Up Sides, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Up Sides, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Upton (Oolenotah), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Urtulakee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Utteyechey Towtone, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | Ft. Armstrong |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vann, Avery (Ave), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Vann, Avery (Ave), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Vann, James, 2nd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Vann, Joseph, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Vaun, Jesse, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Vaun, Robert B., Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Wahheketowwee (Wahicatowee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | Gunshots to R hip-Hobe |
| Wahsaucy (Wausacey, Wassausee), 1st Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Walker, Jack (John), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Walking, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Walking Fellow, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Walking Stick, 4th Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Walking Wolf, 3rd Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Wallaleuah, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Wallenetah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Walnut, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Warhatchee, 3rd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Warhatchee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Wartooleyoular, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Wasauta, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Watahchugoia, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Water Going In, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Water Going In, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Water Lizard, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Water Lizard, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Watts, John (Watts Son), 1st Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Watts, John (Watts Son), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Waylay, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Well of Coosa Water, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| West, Jacob, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | |
| Whale, The (Tucfo), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | Gunshot L arm-Hobe |
| Whirlwind (Tommy Acaraca), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Whirlwind (Tommy Acaraca), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| White Man Killer, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| White Man Killer, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| White Man Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| White Man Killer 1, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| White Man Killer 2, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| White Paths, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| White Piss, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Whooping Boy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Whooping Boy, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Whortle Berry, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Wicked, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Wild Cat, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Wilkinson, John (Wilkerson), 2nd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Will 1, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Will 2, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Willerbee (Hillabee?), Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Willie, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Willey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Willioe, 1st Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Willioe Tennessee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Willioe (Oosunnally Son), Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Willioe (Oosunnally Son), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Wilson, George, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Wilson, George, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Wilson, Thomas, 2nd Lt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Promoted to 1st Lt. |
| Wilson, Thomas, 1st Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Wilson, Wilioe (Woman Holder's Son), 2nd Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | McNair | |
| Wilson, Wilioe (Woman Holder's Son), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Wing, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Witch, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Wolaneter, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | |
| Wolf, The, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |
| Wolf, The, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Woolf Walking (Wolf Walking), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Woman Holder, 1st Sgt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | Promoted to 2nd Lt. |
| Woman Holder, 2nd Lt (Died by 8/1814) | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | Wounded-Hobe |
| Woman Holder, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Woman Holder, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Woman Killer, Ensign | 1-27/4-11 | McNair | Killed-Hobe |
| Woman Killer, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Woman Killer, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Woman Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |
| Woman Killer, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Wood Cock, The (Tesetee), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wood Cock, The (Tesetee), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Wood Cock, The (Tesetee), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McIntosh | |
| Worm (Scoya), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Wortookee, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Woyekakiskee (Woyekiske), Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Killed-Hobe |
| Yahtannah, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Yahtanee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Yahtawnee, 3rd Sgt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Yellow Bird, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Youfallarmicco, Pvt | 10-7/4-11 | Sullockaw | |
| Youhala (Yohulah), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Fields | |
| Young Bird 1, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Young Bird 2, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Young Chinnebee, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | Col Morgan added |
| Young Chicken R., Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Young Deer (Auweneetay), Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Hicks | |
| Young Deer (Auweneetay), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Young Fish, Pvt | 10-7/1-7 | McLemore | |
| Young Glass, 3rd Lt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Young Pidgeon, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Young Puppy (Keetlahneetah), Pvt (Died 1839) | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | Gunshot R thigh-Hobe |
| Young Sour Mush, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Hicks | |
| Young Sour Mush, Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 10-7/11-7 | Fields | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | McLemore | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Taylor | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Speers | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Brown, John | |
| Young Turkey, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Foster | |
| Young Wolf (Wahyehnetah), 2nd Corp | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Saunders | |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Brown, James | Path Killer's Ft. |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 1-6/2-6 | Path Killer's Ft | |
| Young Wolf (Wyonetah), Pvt | 10-7/1-6 | Sekekee | Ft. Armstrong; Emuckfau |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 11-12/1-6 | Sekekee | |
| Young Wolf (Waylanetaw), Pvt | 1-11/2-10 | Hicks | |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Frog | |
| Young Wolf, Pvt | 1-27/4-11 | Shoe Boots | |

| NAME | DATES | CAPTAIN | NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|
| Young Wolf, 1st Corp | 1-27/4-11 | Rain Crow | |

*Source:* Muster Rolls and Pay Rolls of Colonel Morgan's Regiment of Cherokee Indians, October 7, 1813 to April 11, 1814, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

*

The dates refer to the mustering in and out dates for the years of 1813-1814. The first enlistment period began in October 1813 and the final mustering out occurred in April 1814. For instance, 10-7/1-6 represents October 7, 1813 to January 6, 1814 and 1-27/4-11 represents January 27, 1814 to April 11, 1814.

The battles listed represent a direct confirmation in the records regarding that warrior's direct participation. This should not imply that others not listed here did not fight in battles.

HOBE represents Horshoe Bend.

Individuals who enlisted for service more than once will appear according to their enlistment dates. Some served multiple enlistments within different companies.