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THE "PRINCIPAL PEOPLE," 1960: A STUDY OF
CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS OF THE
EASTERN CHEROKEE

By HARRIET JANE KUPFERER

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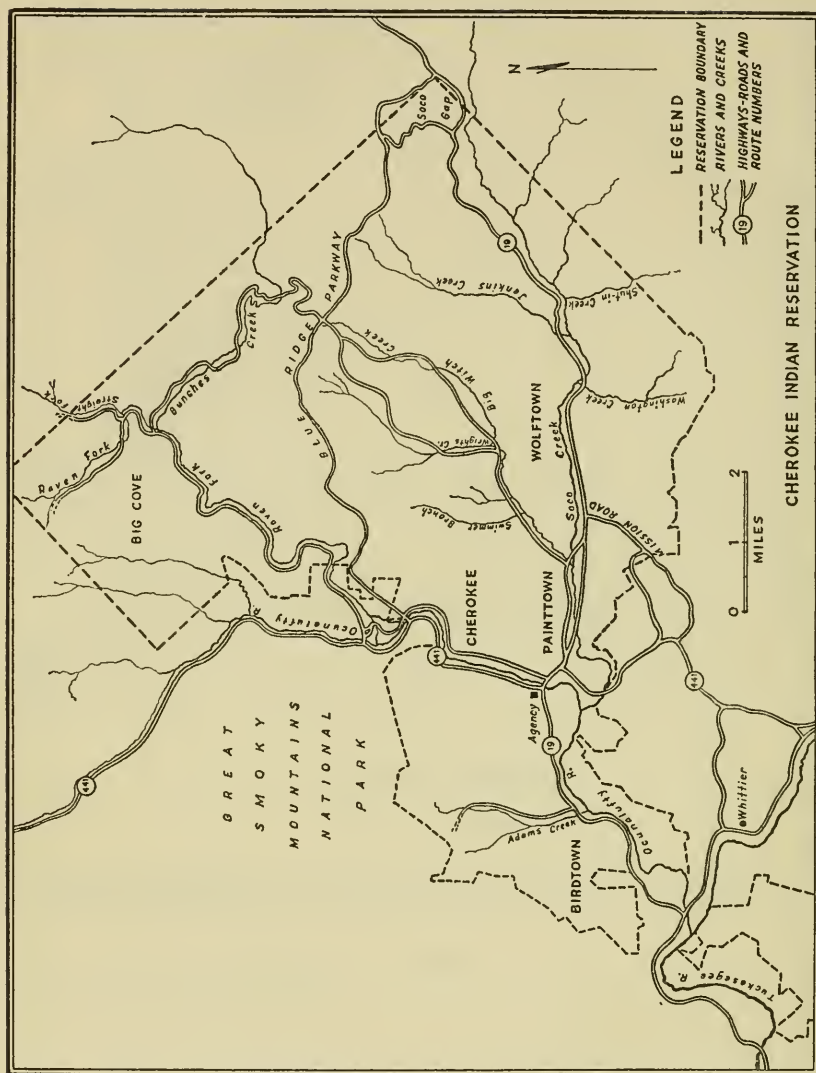
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MAP 2.—Cherokee Indian Reservation.

THE "PRINCIPAL PEOPLE," 1960: A STUDY OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE

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INTRODUCTION

The first intruders into the country of the Cherokee were the conquistadores of DeSoto, who encountered the Cherokee in their search for gold. From this time, early in the 16th century, the Cherokee were left undisturbed until the English courted them for military and diplomatic advantages and trade a century later (Malone, 1956, pp. 1-5). The colonial period had its inception in approximately 1654; the first trader among the Indians took up his residence in 1690 and spent the remainder of his life among them (U.S. Congress, 1915, pp. 141-147). From this period until 1838 the fortunes of the Cherokee vacillated between peaceful coexistence with the Whites and sporadic hostilities and broken treaties with them. In 1838 the tenuous grip of the Indians on their land was broken, and they were removed to the Indian Territory. All but a thousand or so of the people went west to establish a life from the shattered fragments. It is with the descendants of the remnants who remained hidden in the mountains, and the few who came back, that this research is concerned. They now occupy a tract of land in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina which is held in trust for them, as a reservation, by the United States Government.

THE SETTING

Together with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Cherokee Reservation constitutes one of the most visited seasonal sites in the Southeast (map 2). Each Saturday and Sunday from early spring until late fall automobiles carrying families of sightseers converge on the area. The Fourth of July is the biggest weekend of the summer. At this time, automobiles form a long serpentine line as they descend the mountain, traveling only a few feet in every 10 minutes on the highways leading into the main village of Cherokee.

As the vehicles reach their destination, the occupants tumble out to crowd their way into the craft shops to purchase souvenirs, only a limited number of which are made in Cherokee. By noon the motels exhibit "no vacancy" signs; the campgrounds in the adjacent park are closed to any more campers; and the drama "Unto These Hills" is sold out. At the end of the day some harassed parents and tired children make the slow return trip over the mountains to Asheville, N.C., or Knoxville, Tenn. Those who do not leave and who do not have accommodations sleep in their cars or on a blanket by the side of the road where the unwary walker may stumble over them. The doors of the shops are closed, but the neon lights continue to burn and the owners of the businesses congratulate themselves on another good weekend.

The visitors have eaten in the restaurants or picnicked in the crowded wooded sites. Some have ridden on the miniature railroad which whistles its way around a quarter-of-a-mile track; others have gone on a chairlift to the top of a small mountain ridge overlooking the village. A few have filed through a trailer said to contain the largest snake in the world, and in the midst of the tumult most of them have seen Indians.

In front of the commercial enterprises stand stalwart Indian braves dressed in the fringed trousers and war bonnets of the Plains Indians. They are there to promote the business in front of which they stand. For a quarter they will pose for pictures, shake hands with an overwhelmed small boy, and send an even smaller child into paroxysms of fright. Other Indians sit quietly in front of the bus station or on benches in front of the older buildings murmuring softly in Cherokee. Farther down the road, on the bridge over the Oconaluftee River, Indian men, boys, and girls sit on the wall or slouch against it, watching the endless stream of traffic. The tourists see many others whom they do not realize are Indians. Light-haired, light-eyed people who own some of the trading posts; girls who serve the tables; and others who wander up and down the road on this busiest weekend in all the year are also Indians.

After the autumn foliage is gone and the mountains stand stark and gray, only an occasional traveler comes through. When the rime on the peaks is visible from the valley, the gaps through the mountains are slippery and travel is hazardous. The shops close, the costumed Indian disappears, and only two eating places remain open to serve the bus passengers, salesmen, and the personnel of the Government offices. A few motels stay open, offering winter rates. The tenor of life at Cherokee changes dramatically, although the people are still to be seen on the main roads making their quiet way from the Agency offices, the hospital, or the grocery store. Except on one of the rare but pleasant warm winter days, the bridge is deserted. The buses unload

their passengers without the stares of the summertime audience, and the village is singularly empty and still.

But in any season the visitors to Cherokee seldom go far from the business center. A turn on the road leading to "Shut In," "Adams Creek," "Swimmer Branch," or "Straight Fork" would reveal ways of life not apparent in the village. Hidden in narrow valleys are cabins, concealed in the summer by hovering trees and blended into the gray-black background of the winter hills. Only faint streams of smoke tell of their presence. Others are set on sides of mountains approachable only by footpaths. Some of the trails cross swinging bridges and wind through rhododendron slicks. A few well-tended farms, and some not so well tended, surround other homes. Concrete blocks, wooden poles or logs, and roughhewn boards covered with tar paper are the materials which have gone into these buildings. Other houses closer to the main village are modern "ranch style." But regardless of the place or kind of home, a daily and seasonal round takes place in it which is characteristic of Cherokee's people.

THE PROBLEM

Who are these people? According to the old people who speak Cherokee, they are *Ani-yun-wiya*, the 'real people,' or 'principal people.' Others who speak only English refer to themselves as Indians and members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee. Phenotypically, they range from copper-skinned, black-haired, black-eyed people to blond, blue-eyed individuals. There are college graduates among them, and some whose formal education ceased with the second or third grade. There are those whose English is so limited as to be virtually useless, and many whose knowledge of Cherokee is confined to only a few words. Veterans of military service have been overseas, while some of their parents and neighbors have never been farther than Asheville.

It is with this apparently bewildering heterogeneity that this research is concerned. The lack of homogeneity is not a recent phenomenon among the Cherokee. Early writers hint of it in their descriptions of the Indians. In 1827 the parents of Catherine Brown, a mixblood, were described as members of the more intelligent class of their people. It was said about Catherine, "If you were to see her in a boarding school in New England, as she ordinarily appears here, you could not distinguish her from well educated females of the age either by her complexion, features, dress, pronunciation or manners" (Anderson, 1827, pp. 17-37). Malone (1956, p. 127), commenting on the clothing of the 19th-century Cherokee, says that it varied as widely as did the social scale. Thomas Parker points out that there was a marked split

in the nation with respect to culture. "There was, as a matter of fact, a division of the nation into Upper and Lower Cherokees. The former had abandoned the hunt and were engaged in pursuits of civilized man while the Lower Cherokees still preferred their old life" (Parker, 1907, p. 12).

In 1958, Robert K. Thomas, a member of the Cross Cultural Laboratory of the University of North Carolina, lived among the Cherokee for a year. On the basis of his experience he proposed a typology of groups which comprise the present population: Conservative Indian; Generalized Indian; Rural White Indian; and Middle Class Indian (Gulick, 1960, p. 127). These categories were established according to differing integrative values and differing world views. The Conservative views himself as an order of man different from the rest of men. Overtly, he is still the stoic red man. Insofar as there are Indian traits present (native speech and medicine), he preserves them. The Generalized Indian considers himself an Indian but also an American. He demonstrates inconsistency in statements on values, shifting between western values and Conservative values. As a group, the Generalized Indians interact more readily with Whites and are more open in their behavior. The Rural White Indians are much like southern Whites from rural areas. The Middle Class is composed of people who are derived from both the Rural White group and the Generalized Indian group. These people have arrived financially, and adhere firmly to an orientation which emphasizes progress and individual efforts (Thomas, MS. a, 1958, pp. 19-24).

Objections have been made to the names given these groups, and the distinctions between them are not always clear. John Gulick says, however, that they seem more appropriate to the specific Eastern Cherokee situation than such terms as "native," "native modified," and "White," which have been used to describe situations on other reservations (Gulick, 1960, p. 128). It is our purpose to explore the range of behaviors and attitudes among the Cherokee, using Thomas' continuum as a tentative guide, with the ultimate aim of affirming it or of suggesting another.

Typologies have been described for other Indian groups. Notable among these has been the work of George Spindler (1952) and Irving Hallowell (1952) who have used projective material to determine boundaries. Fred Voget (1951) and Edward Bruner (1956) attend to the same problem, utilizing sociocultural data to draw distinctions. In both these approaches to the question of differential acculturation, health and medical practice are frequently mentioned in general terms as indicators of a particular cultural orientation, either toward

"native" or toward "White." The literature also mentions education as one basic criterion for separating disparate groups of people.¹

Consequently, in the effort to place Cherokees in groups according to the degree of acculturation, I propose to focus this study on two sociocultural variables: health and medical practices, and attitudes and behavior toward education. Although these variables have been described as pertinent in the literature and although Thomas has talked of them in conjunction with the Conservative Cherokee, with few exceptions they have not been the object of deep examination. In an examination of culture change among Mescalero Apaches, Peter Kunstadter (MS., 1960) used, as an index of health behavior, the number of visits to the free Public Health Service clinic made by individuals during a 2-year period. Although such an index was appropriate to his study, I include under the rubric of health and medical practices a greater range of verbalizations and behavior. To what extent are Indian doctors used? Are the skills of both Indian doctors and White doctors combined in treatment of illness? Are Public Health physicians or physicians in private practice used most frequently? Are there discernible differences in attitudes and behavior among those who attend scheduled Public Health clinics? What is the response of children to health instruction offered in the Indian schools?

In addition to what the informants say about education—is it valued or disvalued—I am interested in knowing what is done in regard to it. How have the educational experiences of the adults affected them in terms of their behavior and in respect to the goals or aspirations which they hold for their children? Do the children attend school regularly? What schools do they attend—reservation schools or nearby community schools?² If they attend public schools, why do they? To what extent do the children communicate what is learned in school to the parents?

Dominant values and constituent behavior—interpersonal relationships, concept of self, nonempirical beliefs—will be examined to determine whether there are sufficient differences in these variables to identify groups and whether these differences correspond in any meaningful way to disparate behavior in health and education.

In summary, the task of this study is a threefold one. Do health and medical practices and educational practices vary sufficiently among the Cherokee to employ them as primary variables in describing acculturation? Are there other cultural variables which cluster about the key ones in a salient manner? On the basis of the

¹ See, for example: Warner et al., 1947; Voget, 1952, pp. 89-92; Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68-83.

² County and city schools adjacent to the reservation are called public schools by the Indians.

answers to the foregoing questions, does the Thomas continuum apply to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians?

TECHNIQUES OF THE STUDY

Gaining acceptance among the Conservative Indians is not a simple task. However, it was made considerably easier for me as a result of the fieldwork done in Big Cove, one of the more traditional communities, by my colleagues in the Cross Cultural Laboratory. In the summer of 1959 I lived in Big Cove in the home of an elderly Cherokee, and in close proximity to the families of her two daughters and one of her granddaughters. During the following winter and spring of 1960, I was located about half a mile from the center of Cherokee on the banks of the Oconaluftee River. Close neighbors were young married people, some of whom were living in rented quarters. Others were living in their own trailers. The owner of the cottages and of the land on which the trailers were parked lived on the premises in his own trailer. Late in the spring I moved to Soco, the first reservation section approached from the east. The home in which I lived was owned by an elderly widow and was located in a somewhat isolated section.

I tried to explain my purpose in living on the reservation, but only the more sophisticated understood. Some thought I was a Quaker who had come to work among them; others suspected that I was a writer or a teacher. Some simply considered me eccentric, but all eventually tolerated my presence.

Through visiting with people, attending box suppers, church prayer meetings, and funerals, I was able to participate as much as is possible in their life. Most of my interviewing was unstructured and informal. It consisted of gossiping about the happenings of the day and the coming and going of the people around. Inquiries about the health of the host or hostess, often made in Cherokee, elicited the data desired. Other conversations were directed toward the schools, the aspirations of the parents for their children, and their own educational experiences.

Observation in the schools and clinics provided insights into the behavior associated with these institutions. Members of the health staff and school faculty were very helpful in orienting me toward their goals.

I made a few house calls with the social workers from the Bureau Welfare Office (now Social Services Branch) and accompanied the home demonstration agent on several occasions. I substituted in the high school for part of a day during the absence of a teacher and waited on tables in the cafe of one of the White Indian business owners, and sat in the sun at the bus station. I provided trans-

portation for people on their numerous errands and trips to town. On one occasion my home was used as a refuge by members of a family escaping from the potential violence of a drunken son.

There are weaknesses in the participant-observation method, of course. Obviously a population numbering over 4,000 is too large for one person to know. Sex and age preclude interacting at some levels, and the personality of the anthropologist as well as of his informants will determine in some measure the individuals to whom he is attracted and those who are attracted to him. Given these limitations, however, the method has enabled a description of the members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee, 1960.

In order to find the answers to the questions posed in this study, families and individuals who seemed to resemble 'Thomas' four types were selected as cases for intensive analysis. Field notes were kept of every visit and conversation. They were subjected to a content analysis according to the variables.

Early in my stay in the field, the extent of the belief in immanent justice among the Indian children was examined. The tests used by the staff of the Indian Education Research Project were adapted for use with the Cherokee (see Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955). The sample included all the children in the third and sixth grades from four Indian elementary schools. The 9th and 12th grades from Cherokee High School were also included. An additional control was obtained by administering the test to a similar sample of White children from the public schools of Jackson County. The responses of both groups of children were compared for statistical significance of differences (cf. p. 294, footnote 21).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project grew out of the research of many investigators who were, from time to time, associated with the Cross Cultural Laboratory of the University of North Carolina. Most particularly, I am indebted to Robert K. Thomas for his penetrating insights into the Eastern Band of Cherokee. Frequent conversations with him added immeasurably to my knowledge of the people. Charles Holzinger, Paul Kutsche, and Raymond Fogelson were encouraging.

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Finally, I am grateful to have known the people of Cherokee. In the last analysis, it is they who made this research possible.

THE CHEROKEE

THE PAST

Following the Removal in 1838, the history of the Cherokee branches into two nearly discrete streams. One stream holds in its current those who went west during the Removal. Apparently many of the better educated and mixbloods were among this group. In examining a roll compiled by Mullay, a Federal enumerator, Gaston Litton (1940, p. 209) says that the great predominance of Cherokee names suggests that the emigration of 1838-39 took away most of the mixbloods. Judging from the elegance of the prose of the letters written by the Ridge, Watie, and Boudinot families, one is probably justified in concluding that a significant portion of potential leadership was drained off by this event (Dale and Litton, 1939).

The other historical course involves the fortunes of the fugitives from the roundup, "principally . . . mountain Cherokee . . ., the purest-blooded and most conservative of the Nation" (Mooney, 1900, p. 157). As a result of Tsali's historic sacrifice,³ General Winfield Scott granted permission to the people hidden deep in secluded recesses of the mountains to remain in the east. Col. Will Thomas ("Little Will") spent 6 years in Washington, D.C., seeking official recognition of the right of his adopted people to remain in their homeland. Permission was finally granted, and Thomas, using the moneys due the Cherokee for property confiscation and damage, purchased tracts of mountain land for them. The titles to the property were held by

³ Tsali and his sons killed a soldier while escaping from the Removal roundup. They, like other escapees, fled to an inaccessible mountain cave. General Scott, recognizing the tremendous task involved in capturing all of the fugitives, offered permission for them to remain in their homeland in exchange for Tsali. Tsali and his two older sons surrendered and were executed for the murder.

Thomas as trustee for the Indians, who were not permitted by the laws of North Carolina to own land (Mooney, 1900, p. 159). These parcels of land still comprise the bulk of the present reservation.

In rebuilding a life, the people were achieving some success by 1848, for Mulla wrote:

I was gratified to find the Cherokees who inhabit the valleys and coves of this wild, interesting and romantic region, a moral and comparatively industrious people—sober and orderly to a marked degree—and although almost wholly ignorant of our language (not a single full-blood and but few of the half-breeds speaking English) advancing encouragingly in the acquirement of a knowledge of agriculture, the ordinary mechanical branches, & in spinning, weaving, &c.[⁴]

In spite of the migration of many mixbloods, some stayed behind. It can safely be presumed that many of these were not as acculturated as the migrants. Their lack of facility with English demonstrates this conviction. However, many of their descendants figure prominently in the present-day mixed population of Cherokee. One of the most prolific of the "White Indian" families traces White ancestors back at least as early as 1840.

About the same time that Mulla visited the area, another traveler spent a week with Will Thomas. He describes his impressions of the people as follows:

. . . probably as temperate as any other class of people, honest in their business intercourse, moral in thought word and deeds. Three fourths of them can read in their own language, and though a majority can understand English few can speak it. They practice to a considerable extent the science of agriculture . . . they are in fact the happiest community that I have met with in the southern country. [Lanman, 1849, p. 95.]

In 1851 the Siler Roll was taken. This roll is of interest, for, in connection with it, Siler, the compiler, wrote to his superior in Washington requesting instructions in regard to listings of Negro admixtures. The directions came back saying: ". . . if they are recognized as Cherokees by their council, you will enroll them as such with some special mark."⁵ This donation to the Indian gene pool was made by slaves and probably a few freed Negroes. In the comments accompanying the roll, references are made to some marriages with Catawba Indians. This is not unexpected, for in 1840 one hundred or more of them took up residence among the Cherokee. However, because of discontent and some conflict, most of them wandered back to South Carolina. The genealogy of one elite Cherokee family today includes a Catawba ancestor.

The Swetland Roll, completed in 1860, states that there were 800 fullbloods in the Qualla settlement and nearly 400 people, mostly fullbloods, in Cheoah. A group of 500 that came in for registration

⁴ Litton, 1940, quoting from a letter from Mulla to the Washington office, 1848.

⁵ Litton, 1940, p. 212, quoting from a letter from Lea to Siler, 1851.

at Murphy, N.C., was partly or largely of White blood. This roll had a majority of Indian names although there were many English forms (Litton, 1940, pp. 216-218).

The progress and the achievements of the people after the Removal were transitory, for the Cherokee were not to be permitted to continue their rebuilding. The Civil War broke around them, leaving turmoil and property loss in its wake. It also created cleavages among the people, for, although the majority joined the Confederacy and were members of the Thomas Legion, others fought for the Union forces, and some changed allegiances. In 1892 there were 14 Union veterans surviving, and about 39 Confederate veterans (Carrington, 1892, p. 21).

It was after the Civil War that the first serious attempt toward the organization of a tribal government was made. On December 1, 1870, a constitution was adopted and first and second chiefs were elected. They served until 1875 when further amendments were made to the constitution (Litton, 1940, p. 201). At this time the Indian office assumed regular supervision over the Cherokee. The first agent (sent out 10 years after the war) reported that he found the Indians destitute, discouraged, and almost without stock and farming tools. There were no schools. Very few fullbloods could speak English, but nearly all could read and write in their own language (Mooney, 1900, p. 174). The poverty and disorganization which he describes were a bitter legacy of the war.

Several succeeding rolls were taken which are pertinent to this research. The Hester Roll (1884) reported 2,956 Eastern Cherokee: 1,881 in North Carolina; 758 in Georgia; 213 in Tennessee; 71 in Alabama; 3 in South Carolina; 8 in New Jersey; 5 in Virginia; 1 in Illinois; 3 in Kansas; 1 in Colorado; and 1 in California. In connection with the compilation of this roll, Chief Nimrod J. Smith wrote:

. . . another difficulty is presented in the fact that we have been for a long time living in the midst of and surrounded by two other races of people with whom there has been more or less intermarriage and cohabitation producing a result which makes it very difficult to trace the Indian blood. [Litton, 1940, pp. 222-223.]

A particularly curious fact is mentioned in the comments on this roll: that there were at the time of the enrollment 10 Cherokees in attendance at Trinity College (now Duke University) (*ibid.*, p. 223).

In 1889 the Cherokee became a corporate group under the laws of the State of North Carolina. In 1890 the total within the State was 1,520, of which 774 were males and 746 were females. Subsequent to the 1884 roll some moved to adjoining States and others to the Indian Territory (Donaldson, 1892, p. 7).

Nine years before the incorporation of the tribe, a school was established. The Quakers contracted with the Tribal Council to operate a training school for 10 years; the term expired in 1890. At the time of the expiration, the majority of the council favored its continuation, but the principal chief, Nimrod J. Smith, opposed the renewal of the contract (*ibid.*, p. 16). In 1901 the Federal Government assumed the responsibility for education.

During the Friends' administration of the school, Virginia Young visited it and was much impressed by what she saw:

A whole army of scholars came marching to the dining hall . . . the girls were taught to sew, mend, and darn. Instructions were given in laundry and cooking. They were such accomplished mistresses of these arts that the demand for them in Asheville as house servants could not be supplied. [Young, 1894, p. 172.]

She credited the wife of the superintendent with the success of the enterprise.

The inspiration of the school is Mrs. Spray. She is a strong believer in woman's suffrage. . . . It is her housewifely skill which has made refinement and neatness and system characteristic of this home in the wilderness . . . the motive power by which she rules being love. [*Ibid.*, p. 173.]

A typical day at the training school was a rigorous one indeed: 5 a.m., morning bell; 5:30, breakfast; 6-9:00, industrial work; 9-11:15, school exercises; noon, dinner; 12:30-1:30 p.m., industrial work; 1:30-4:00, school exercises; 4-6:00, industrial work; 6 p.m., supper; 6:30-7:00, recreation; 7-8:00, evening study; 8 p.m., evening prayers; 8:30, retiring bell (Carrington, 1892, p. 16). Under circumstances such as these, those who survived were undoubtedly rapidly indoctrinated in ways other than Indian—perhaps through "love," but certainly through regimentation.

In 1892 Donaldson observed that:

. . . they [the Cherokee] have few wants. They are peaceable, sociable and industrious, with marked ambition to acquire wealth . . . the main occupation is that of farming. Although the acreage is limited in each tract, the crops realized are more than sufficient for home necessities. [*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.]

The average earnings of males per year was estimated at \$166, and the per capita wealth of the band was \$217.25. It is not clear whether this is an annual figure or represents total per capita assets. Donaldson (1892, p. 9) said that the Cherokee earned as much and lived as well as the White people about them. We infer from this picture of the economic situation that by this time some recovery had been made from the postwar devastation. It is well to recognize, however, that average figures are misleading.

In 1907 another roll, known as the Churchill Roll, was taken. On this one appears for the first time a predominance of English names over Cherokee forms. This would not necessarily mean that the

White admixture was much greater than in prior times, for many names when translated or anglicized do not reveal their origin. However, on this roll many blood fractions are listed. Among the most typical are $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{7}{16}$, $\frac{13}{16}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, etc. (Litton, 1940, p. 226).

From 1848 to 1907 the Cherokee once more evolved from a nearly fullblood group to one which counts its Indian inheritance in a welter of confusing fractions. As I have pointed out, not all the mixbloods emigrated, but the bulk of this admixture is post-Removal. At the time of the 1890 census, there were 56 White families who were unlawfully on the tract, occupying and farming 6,000 acres of good land (Donaldson, 1892, p. 8). Family histories suggest that in addition to the reservoir of White blood existing from earlier times, much of it came into the population about this time and from some of these intruders.

The Baker Roll was started in 1924 as part of a Federal termination-type program. This was to have been the final roll, and it included all those of at least $\frac{1}{32}$ Indian inheritance plus those born no later than June 4, 1924. This roll has been surrounded by controversy and acrimony. Allegations have been made that many were enrolled with no more eligibility than \$5. Of the 3,146 names recorded, 1,222 are contested cases (Litton, 1940, pp. 229-231). This is a touchy subject in Cherokee now. There are people who are scornfully described by others, usually fullbloods, as "five-dollar Indians." As Gulick (1960, p. 16) points out, the Baker Roll has many problems associated with it, not the least of which is the fact that no one under 37 (in 1961) is legally a member of the tribe.

In 1958 the council voted to take a new roll. The blood requirement is now set at $\frac{1}{32}$, although initially there was a movement for a $\frac{1}{4}$ requirement which was defeated in the council. In addition to the inheritance stipulation, there are residence requirements. The roll at the time of this writing is not yet complete, nor will it be closed; those eligible will be added at birth. During the present enrollment, some applicants have been refused, but those refused may request special hearings on their applications. The tribal enrollment clerk said, "Some of these people must think that they are going to get some money. That's why they are so eager to be enrolled."

In 1929, Cherokee had not burgeoned into the vacation area that it is today. There was no town, and, exclusive of the school and the agency, the settlement had no electricity. The small cluster of buildings around the Cherokee station on the Appalachian Railway and on the banks of the river was composed of three fairly large stores, one small store, a warehouse, and two Indian dwellings. The largest store was owned by the chief, John Tahquette, a fullblood.

Across the river on the west side was another small settlement. One of the stores was a craft and curio shop. The Cherokee language was spoken by more than three-quarters of the population. All but a 10th could speak English and all could understand it. During this year two boys were in college, and three boys and two girls were in junior college. Prior to 1929, according to Henry Owl (MS., 1929, pp. 133-161), four boys had received college degrees, and two girls had completed nurses' training.

The preceding glimpse into the turbulent past of the Cherokee helps set the stage for Cherokee, 1960, for in that which exists today are threads from other days.

THE PRESENT

The present-day Cherokee occupy a reservation of 56,572 acres. Included in this are 159 acres controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and used for schools and other service areas. The region is mountainous; coves are sheltered by thickly wooded hills; good bottom lands floor the valleys. As a consequence of this topography, 46,582 acres are forest land, 4,053 are agricultural, and the remainder are in grass, pasture, and wasteland. The main reservation, Qualla Boundary, straddles two counties: 29,504 acres are in Swain County and 19,347 acres are in Jackson County. In Graham County, the Snowbird section includes 2,249 acres. Approximately 5,571 acres of land are held in Cherokee County in fragmented tracts. If all the land were to be distributed according to families, each family would hold approximately 95 acres. The largest landholder lives in Big Cove and controls between 500 and 600 acres, most of which are in timber.

Elevations in the area range from 1,900-4,700 feet. Although the valleys may be bare, snow is frequently visible on mountain tops during the winter. Spring arrives gradually in March and April, reaching the lowlands first and creeping up the mountains as shades of green blend into each other. Trees are just budding at the top of Soco Gap when lower regions are a panorama of green. Rhododendron and flame azalea bloom long after they have gone from the riverbanks below. In February, the coldest month, the temperature averages 29.7° F. and in July, the warmest month, the average is 80.5° F. The mean for the year is 54.9° F. Although the temperatures vary from year to year, the climate is relatively mild and there is an abundance of moisture.

The land is held in trust for the people by the U.S. Government. Individuals do not hold title to their lands, but have possessory rights to certain tracts. These holdings are freely bought, traded, and sold among the Indians, and they may be willed and inherited within the band. Just prior to my first period of fieldwork, one landholder, an

elderly widow, had all her land surveyed and distributed among her heirs. Several days later she returned to the Agency and took it back again. During this period she put a son and daughter off her land and had the former "lawed" so that he could not come on her land for 6 months! A land sale was recorded during this period of fieldwork in which \$30 was given as a downpayment for a piece of bottom land costing \$50. But the informant said that the owner had not signed anything over, and in the meantime had sold 4 acres from the same bottom to a mission group. The first purchaser was worried that the owner had sold the same land twice. However, on a later visit, I found that the foundation for the informant's new home was being erected on the plot.

In 1929 Henry M. Owl (*ibid.*, p. 136) said, "It is very remarkable and a credit to the tribe that there has been absolutely no misunderstandings and disagreements among individuals about boundaries and ownership of the individual tracts." This may have been the situation at the time of his work, but our field notes include several cases of disputed boundaries. Moreover, one of the routine responsibilities of the Tribal Council is arbitration of land disputes.

THE PEOPLE

In 1960 the population of the band was enumerated at 4,494. Since the 1924 roll listed only 2,540 members, it is evident that the population has nearly doubled in 36 years. At the time of the 1924 count the genetic composition of the roll was analyzed, and the data are available. Unfortunately we have no comparative figures for 1960. However, Gulick (1960, pp. 16-17), using figures based upon the composition of the school enrollment for 1956-57, suggests that some notion of the inheritance of the population can be estimated. Nevertheless we must keep in mind that, in the case of children with one-half or less Indian blood, there is the possibility that the child's

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of Indian blood degree in 1924 roll call with that in school figures in 1956-57*

1924 ¹			1956-1957 ²		
Blood degree	Number	Percent	Blood degree	Number	Percent
$\frac{3}{4}$	525	20.67	$\frac{3}{4}$	197	22.89
$\frac{3}{8}$	326	12.83	$\frac{3}{8}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$	223	25.90
$\frac{1}{2}$	183	7.21	$\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$	172	19.97
$\frac{1}{4}$	180	7.09	$\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$	140	16.26
$\frac{1}{16}$	613	24.13	Less than $\frac{1}{4}$	129	14.98
Less than $\frac{1}{16}$	713	28.07			
Total.....	2,540	100.00	Total.....	861	100.00

¹ Tribal file data, 1960.

² Based on school enrollment data only.

inheritance may differ markedly from either or both of his parents. Table 1 compares the Indian blood degree of the 1924 roll with the figures obtained from the schools in 1956-57. Analysis of the age distribution in 1960 reveals that over half of the band is 40 years of age and under. There were 750 children aged 10 or under, and 158 old people aged between 80 and 100 years.

Serological data on the Cherokee were obtained by William Pollitzer in 1958 and again in 1960. Phenotypic distribution of blood types is what we might expect, for it is characteristic of Indian tribes, not including the Blood and Blackfoot groups. Table 2 summarizes these findings. Hemoglobin levels were studied; less than 5 percent of the sample had fewer than 12 grams of hemoglobin. There was no abnormal hemoglobin, i.e., sickle cell.⁶

TABLE 2.—*Blood type distribution*

Type	Fullblood		Less than fullblood	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
O	157	94.58	265	71.62
A	6	3.61	57	23.52
B	3	1.81	17	4.59
AB	0	0.00	1	0.27
Total	166	100.00	370	100.00
M	50	64.11	42	49.41
MN	25	32.05	32	37.65
N	3	3.84	11	12.94
Total	78	100.00	85	100.00

THE DAILY BREAD

The main sources of earned income derive from the tourist industry, two factories, miscellaneous wage labor, and, to a much lesser extent, timbering. Farming as an exclusive occupation is confined to so few that it can scarcely be regarded as an important source of cash. However, for the purposes of this research, I have chosen to designate fulltime farmers as those who operate farms which include more than kitchen gardens. Many of these farmers have an additional source of income deriving from their own efforts or those of their spouses. Even with this qualification there are only 44 people living within the Qualla Boundary who may be regarded as farmers.⁷

The farms are spread unequally over the reservation. There are 5 in Cherokee, 4 in Painttown, 18 in Soco, 6 in Big Cove, and 11 in Birdtown. Because several people have suggested that fullbloods are not attracted to farming, or that the general tendency is for the more

⁶ William Pollitzer, personal conference, February 17, 1961.

⁷ This figure does not include data from Graham or Cherokee Counties.

progressive farmer to be less than fullblood,⁸ the data on agriculture were examined with respect to Indian inheritance. Table 3 seems to confirm the impression.

TABLE 3.—*Analysis of the Indian inheritance of full-time farmers*¹

Indian degree of inheritance	Number	Percent
1/64-19/64-----	20	45.45
17/64-29/64-----	8	18.18
23/64-39/64-----	4	9.09
31/64-49/64-----	6	13.63
41/64-59/64-----	1	2.27
51/64-69/64-----	0	0.00
61/64-63/64-----	5	11.37
Total-----	44	100.00

¹ Data secured from Extension Office, Cherokee, July 1960.

Raymond Fogelson (MS., 1958, p. 25) suggests that, "The ready adoption of white-Euro-American farming techniques originally took place mainly among the mixed blood population occupying the favorable Georgia bottom lands." This is true, but writers on the Eastern Band also remark on the quality of farming among the Cherokee in the 19th century.⁹ An informant describing Big Cove said:

You know, when I was a girl this whole bottom was covered with corn and beans, and people had hogs. We had all we wanted to eat. The man that raised me had about thirty hogs. (My mother gave me away.) He said that when he died, it would all go away and it did, too. People don't farm any more—rather work for cash, I guess—but things were better then.

In examining these reports more closely, the farming which is mentioned so often is actually a subsistence type and follows closely the aboriginal pattern of hunting-gardening. Thomas (MS. a, pp. 33-34) states that cash-crop farming was taken over by a few as game declined, but was discarded at the first opportunity for wage labor.

Today the dominant type of farming is subsistence. The main cash crop is tobacco; however, the average allotments are very small. The largest farmer, who has more than 100 acres of land, has nine-tenths of an acre allotment. He recently put in an acre of strawberries as an additional cash crop. Beef is becoming more important as a result of improved pastures, but the largest herd has only about 30 head. Vegetable production for commercial markets is very limited, although a few of the village restaurants purchase beans and potatoes grown locally. The goals of the Extension Division include a movement toward part-time farming and good home gardens.¹⁰

⁸ County Agent, personal conference, June 15, 1960.

⁹ Cf. above, pp. 229, 231.

¹⁰ Personal conference, County Agent, July 1960.

As a result of forest management on a sustained-yield basis, the timber stands have improved. The forest is of the moist-soil type. Of the hardwoods, oak and hickory predominate. The native coniferous trees are pine and hemlock; the balsam, red spruce, and Norway pine were introduced by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930's.

The regrowth estimate is 2 million feet a year. Consequently, annual cutting is limited to this amount. Cutting permits are given contingent upon the possession of cuttable timber; each such permit allows the removal of 2,000 feet. However, in hardship cases exceptions are made, and in the case of large landholders, permits can be issued in the name of different family members. For instance, the largest landholder has had as much as 9,000 feet cut in a year.

Logging is not very rewarding, for the average value of 2,000 feet was only \$80 in 1960. Of this, the owner must pay a stumpage fee of 10 percent of the selling price to the tribe. Should the owner not have the means to snake out the logs, he must pay to have it done. Ultimately the owner may realize as little as \$40 annually from his timber. Timbering regulations, which include the exclusion of stock from wooded land, are a source of irritation to many.

The tourist industry is an important element in the economic base of Cherokee. Aside from the profits which accrue to owners of businesses, many are employed as waitresses, sales personnel, and motel maids.

In order to operate a business of any sort on the reservation the owner must hold a trader's license for which there is no charge. White business operators who are not married to a tribal member must procure a lease that is individually negotiated. The length of the lease depends upon the size of the given investment. During the period between 1950 and 1960 there was a trend away from White lessees. At the time this information was acquired, there were no White-operated motels. Despite this trend a close look at the licenses issued

TABLE 4.—*Trading licenses of Indians*¹

Blood degrees	Num- ber	Per- cent
$\frac{1}{64}$ — $\frac{10}{64}$ -----	25	45. 46
$\frac{11}{64}$ — $\frac{20}{64}$ -----	7	12. 72
$\frac{21}{64}$ — $\frac{30}{64}$ -----	2	3. 63
$\frac{31}{64}$ — $\frac{40}{64}$ -----	4	7. 29
$\frac{41}{64}$ — $\frac{50}{64}$ -----	8	14. 55
$\frac{51}{64}$ — $\frac{60}{64}$ -----	2	3. 63
$\frac{61}{64}$ — $\frac{64}{64}$ -----	7	12. 72
Total-----	55	100. 00

¹ Data secured from Agency Office, July 1960.

demonstrates that although those businesses are Indian-operated, the entrepreneurs are seldom fullbloods.

Table 4 illustrates these data. The mean for these figures is $\frac{2}{4}$, the median is $\frac{1}{4}$, and the mode is $\frac{1}{4}$. Mean averages notwithstanding, these figures indicate that the greatest number of businesses are owned by people of $\frac{1}{4}$ Indian inheritance.

Table 4 does not reveal the kinds of businesses which are being operated by people with variations in Indian inheritance. These data are illustrated in table 5. The fact that there is a difference in totals between the two sets of data is a result of the number of licenses held by any one person, for a license must be obtained for every enterprise, even though the same person may run all of them. Among the licenses for 1960, for instance, six were issued to one woman of $\frac{1}{4}$ inheritance and four to a man of $\frac{1}{8}$ inheritance.

TABLE 5.—*Types of businesses operated by Indians, by blood degrees*¹

Business	Blood degrees—						Number
	1/64-10/64	11/64-20/64	21/64-40/64	41/64-50/64	51/64-60/64	61/64-64/64	
Tourist:							
Restaurant.....	6	---	2	---	---	---	8
Crafts and souvenirs.....	11	1	2	³ 3	---	---	17
Motel.....	8	² 3	---	⁴ 3	---	1	15
Trailer court.....	1	1	---	---	---	---	2
Service:							
Garage.....	1	1	1	---	1	² 1	5
Taxi.....	1	---	---	---	1	⁵ 5	7
Grocery.....	2	1	---	2	---	⁶ 1	6
Miscellaneous.....	---	---	1	---	---	---	1
Total.....	30	7	6	8	2	8	61

¹ Data secured from Agency Office, July 1960.

² Of these, one is an Indian woman married to a White man.

³ Of this group, one is subleased to a White man.

⁴ One of this group is married to a White man, a second is in partnership with a White man.

⁵ This is an Indian woman married to a White man who operates a small store in Big Cove.

The range in the size of these businesses is great. The taxi service involves no more than the ownership of a vehicle. The net income from this type of operation is low, although taxi owners do not pay the 3 percent levy to the tribe as the others do. On the other hand, the gross income figures reported for two of the larger operations for 1959 were \$307,131.35 and \$96,220.78.

Associated with the tourist industry, but separate from it in the technical sense, are crafts. Beadwork, basketmaking, and woodcarving are the main ones. Estimates of incomes derived from these crafts are difficult to make, for much depends upon the inclination of the individual. Crafts are sold either to the Qualla Cooperative or to the individual craft shops. Some are taken over to Asheville and Gatlinburg. In addition to the wholesale price for their work,

Qualla Cooperative members receive a dividend check based upon the profits of the organization. At one meeting checks were distributed ranging in amounts from \$2 to \$60. A near-White Indian boy has earned as much as \$40 a week from woodcarving. An industrious basketmaker earns somewhat less, for if she uses cane, the material is usually purchased. It does not grow near Cherokee.

Two White-owned-and-managed industries are present on the reservation. Saddlecraft, Inc., which manufactures moccasins and a few other items, employs 49 people in the plant and 55 fireside workers. This business rents an old dairy barn from the tribe, but it is constructing a new building with funds lent to it by the tribe. Harns Manufacturing Co., which makes quilted products and padded infant accessories, is housed in a modern building which was erected with tribal funds. The company has a 25-year lease with a renewal option. At present it has 102 employees who are paid \$1 per hour under a training program, of which the Federal Government pays part. The building is capable of housing 300 workers. Together the two provide a weekly payroll of \$8,000. However, all of this does not go to Indian employees, as each business has a few White workers. In regard to this a mother of an Indian employee asked me:

"How come White people down there get paid more than Indians?" "Well, I don't know," I replied, "unless they are men who came with the plant as management." "No sir," she said, "these are two White girls from Sylva and they are getting \$1.25 and they just got hired. I know that they can hire White if they can't find Indians who can do the work, but they all oughta git [sic] paid the same."

Other people work for the Government either as Indian Bureau employees or as seasonal employees of the Park. Still others are hired by the tribe as policemen, firemen, and sanitation workers.

In addition to earned income, some Indians are recipients of public welfare aid from the counties in which they live. To receive it they must qualify in one of three categories: aid to dependent children, old age assistance, or aid to the permanently disabled and handicapped. For those who are not eligible for public assistance, a special Federal Indian welfare program is available. This service is administered by two trained caseworkers who also do family counseling. The expenditures from these funds for the fiscal year ending in 1960 are shown in table 6 and correspond with the tourist season in amounts expended.

Estimates of family income are most irregular. A current figure was set at an average of \$1,662 (Anonymous, 1961); another made available to the public listed the average income of rural families as \$600 (Cherokee Historical Association, 1960, p. 4).

TABLE 6.—*Federal Indian welfare expenditures, fiscal year 1960*¹

Month	Amount ²
July.....	\$4, 474
August.....	4, 433
September.....	3, 848
October.....	7, 679
November.....	12, 613
December.....	13, 401
January.....	13, 495
February.....	13, 850
March.....	14, 457
April.....	13, 365
May.....	10, 173
June.....	2, 617
Total.....	\$114, 405

¹ Data secured from Welfare and Family Counseling Office, July 1960.² Add approximately \$200 per month for emergencies.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

The religious life of the people is provided for by 21 churches. In addition to 15 Baptist churches, there are 3 Methodist, 1 Pentecostal Holiness, 1 Catholic, and 1 Episcopal. During the summer several tent sects move in for a week or two. Many of the churches provide used clothing either for nothing or for a very nominal fee. Weekly prayer meetings are held, sometimes in the church and sometimes in the homes of parishioners. Notes taken after a prayer meeting in a home in Big Cove describe it thus:

We entered an oil-illuminated room with three double beds in it. The walls were lined with cardboard taken from packing boxes. Nan Driver was sitting on the edge of a bed, crutches nearby and her one leg dangled from a soiled dress. Her husband was there. Numerous children sat in the shadows, almost indistinguishable from the lumps of blankets. There were eight other adults present. The meeting opened with hymns, some of which were sung in Cherokee. The preacher started his sermon which gradually reached a rhythmic crescendo in which we were exhorted to love God and quit sinning. The room was very hot. During the most enthusiastic part of the sermon several of the men dozed on benches at the side of the room. At the conclusion prayers were said in Cherokee by some of those in attendance. We arose and walked around the circle and shook hands with everyone else. The handgrip was limp with a jerky up and down motion.

In general, the churches follow community orientation. Some have predominantly fullblood communicants, and others have mixblood congregations. The Catholic Church serves its largest numbers during the summer when travelers avail themselves of services.

At present, recreation is largely physical. There is a softball league in the summer, and each community has an entry. Little

League baseball or a variant of it was started during the summer of 1960. The school custodians were the team managers. After several sessions of general practice, they met early in the summer to bid for players with the points allotted to them. Consequently, the little league teams are not community entries. The director of the program stated that Big Cove was not as well represented with children as were the other communities.

Indian ball is played during the Indian Fair in October and at least once or twice during the summer. In the summer of 1959 regular games were scheduled and interest was high. Several games eventuated in injuries to the players and squabbles among some fullblood women spectators.

The high school has teams in the three major sports, and the football games and basketball games are well attended. However, observations made at several basketball games suggest that many utilize the occasion for visiting as much as for appreciation of the game.

Much of the leisure of Conservative women is occupied with visiting. Some make baskets together, talking softly between long periods of silence; others may bring their washing to the home of one who has a machine. Perhaps working together lessens the load.

AS OTHERS SEE THEM

A description of the milieu in which the Indians live is incomplete without some notion of the esteem in which they are held by their White neighbors. The Cherokee are forced into interaction with Whites, and at least part of their behavior and their self-image is conditioned by this interaction. The Whites act toward Indians in accordance with the opinion held by them. Thus the White behavior stimulates Indian reaction. This web of interaction produces a feedback which reinforces attitudes and behaviors of both the Indians and the Whites.

The Whites who surround the reservation are not of the same strata. They can be classified into three categories, one of which is the local power—professional people and businessmen—of Jackson and Swain Counties. Most of these people are native to the area. The second category is comprised of Federal employees, many of whom are not native to the area. The final stratum includes traders, missionaries, and farmers whose land is adjacent to the reservation. The farmers (old residents of the area) can, in turn, be divided into two groups. There is one group which operates modern farms with as much mechanization as the terrain will allow. Their stock is good, and their homes and farm buildings are substantial. Others farm marginal land off the main roads. This latter group is diminish-

ing in numbers. To the extent that there are characteristics typical of rural mountain people, they retain them. The generalizations to be drawn do not include comments from these people.

These three categories of Whites express somewhat different attitudes toward the Cherokee; some are more critical of certain "Indian traits" than others are. Yet, they are in substantial agreement on most points. Typical of all these people is a certainty that there is an Indian way of behaving. This behavior, they argue, is different from the way White people comport themselves. Indians, they say, are sexually promiscuous (although, they state some of the Whites in the hills are, too). Indians are inclined to be dirty and shiftless. They have large families which they are unable to support, and they constitute a drain on the county's financial resources. They are "devils when they are drunk." They live from day to day with no planning for the future. In spite of such stereotypic pronouncements, some respondents add that they are not all this way.

The observer is not made acutely conscious of race prejudice or discriminatory activity. All the local community schools now have Indian pupils or will admit them. Nevertheless, many Whites imply that they have some reservations about Indian-White marriages except in the cases where the Indian spouse is nearly White and is prosperous. The farmers appear to be more race conscious than the others. "No matter how White some of them get, Indian ways will crop out," is a sentiment often expressed by farmers.

The Government is blamed by almost all of the respondents for the deplorable state of the Indians. As a result of Federal intervention and protection, the Indians have been drained of initiative. Because of the Government, they are lazy and look to a benevolent and paternalistic agency for support. Some add to this belief the opinion that Indians are naturally perverse and that the combination has produced this "sorry mess."

IDEAL TYPES

I have reviewed the development of a heterogeneous society from one which, in 1838, was almost homogeneous. Changes in Indian inheritance, occupation, and land use were described. It is now necessary to examine the covert and less tangible aspects of the way of life of the people. In the pages to follow, I shall present representative portraits of typical Cherokees to illustrate Thomas' postulated continuum. The reader will recall that one of the tasks of this investigation is an appraisal of the accuracy of the typology. Is it sufficiently precise to depict the diversity among the people at Cherokee?

THE TYPOLOGY AS AN APPROACH TO
CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

Interest in the differential development of once-homogeneous groups is not without precedent. Latin American scholars have attended to this question at great length.¹¹ With the exception of the Pueblo tribes, the presence of subgroups with differing cultural orientations is probably a feature of most North American Indian reservations at present. Scudder Mekeel (1936, pp. 5-6) called attention to this segmenting tendency. Among 932 Oglala of the Teton Dakota tribe, three different strata existed. These were "divided not only according to generation but also according to the particular way of getting a living which was in vogue during the impressionable years of those within the given stratum." The first group was old; it remembered the hide tipi, it had counted coup and hunted buffalo, and it yearned for the old life. The second group knew of the old life only through tales. "Their minds were tuned to a parasitic life due to treaty rations." The third group was better educated. It knew of neither of the above-mentioned experiences. It resented the leadership of the older men, and thought "it could handle Washington better." Some of the members of this group were making a genuine effort to support themselves.

Mekeel's work was early and crude in its categorizing, but it presaged a flood of research using the basic notion of social gradients. Outstanding among these scholarly productions is the work of Irving Hallowell, which is based upon groups who at one time participated in a common Ojibwa culture. To examine changes in personality organization which, he hypothesized, might derive from acculturation pressures, he divided the Ojibwa into four groups. The groups represented four different communities: three in Canada, and one in the United States. They were placed on a scale of acculturation proceeding from level one, the least acculturated, through level four, the most modernized. The identification of these categories was made on an impressionistic basis (Hallowell, 1952, pp. 106-107).

George D. Spindler (1955, p. 6) comments on Hallowell's impressionistic differentiation of levels of acculturation, stating that this basis of ordering is only partly explicit and is, therefore, subject to no critical test of validation. Admitting that this method may be appropriate to samples drawn from distinct areas, he questions its application to a single population on one reservation. In such a situation the attributes used to place individuals on a scale must be

¹¹ See, for example, Redfield, 1941, p. 13: "In short, the Yucatan, considered as one moves from Merida southeastward into forest hinterland, presents a sort of social gradient in which the Spanish, modern and urban, gives way to the Maya, archaic and primitive." Others who have dealt with Latin American typology construction are Wolf, 1955, pp. 452-469, and Wagley and Harris, 1955, pp. 428-429.

made explicit (*ibid.*). Consequently, Spindler employed a schedule including amount and source of income, type of home, knowledge of Menomini language, belief in native lore and medicine, and religious and group affiliations. In an analysis of the data, he found that sorting by these variables resulted in grouping unlike individuals. Therefore, religious affiliations, which are structured groups, were selected as the classifying device. Among the Menomini he identified four categories: Medicine Lodge-dream dance group; Peyote cult group; a category of persons in transition; and members of the Catholic Church who were subdivided on the basis of socioeconomic status (*ibid.*, pp. 12-14). These four segments were examined for association with other sociocultural indices and with psychological data.¹²

Fred Voget (1952, pp. 89-92) posited a continuum which, with but few modifications, he applied to three North American Indian tribes. There are four sociocultural groups among the Crow: native, native modified, American modified, and American marginal. The marginality of the fourth group stems from local discriminatory activity of surrounding Whites toward Indians of mixed ancestry. On an Iroquois reservation, Voget (1951, p. 222) identified three groups: native modified, Euro-American modified, and Euro-American marginal. There is no native segment.

From his work on the Shoshone (1950, p. 53), he asserts that "The contact of cultures of differential complexity has produced not only social and cultural disintegration of the less complex but new social categories and cultural integrations." Among the Shoshone the new social categories are: native, native modified, White modified, and White.

Postulations of unilinear continua of acculturation have not gone unchallenged. At least one writer (Polgar, 1960, p. 233) states that his data suggest that a state of stabilized pluralism exists among the Mesquakie. He confined his major observation to boys and found that they are socialized into Mesquakie and White culture simultaneously. Biculturation is both process and end result at the Tama Reservation. In the evaluation of this study and the criticism of the lineal analyses which it makes, two factors should be taken into account. The Tama community is composed of only 500 Indians of all ages and both sexes. There are but 3,000 acres in the reservation. The economic base is similar for the largest number of wage earners (*ibid.*, pp. 217-218). Given these conditions, the emergence of disparate groups with different cultural content could hardly be anticipated. The Tama people seem to resemble the Makah as Elizabeth Colson

¹² For amplification of this continuum and further uses of it, see Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68-73, and Spindler, 1952, pp. 151-159.

describes them (1953, p. 280). She finds that they are a single group which, although having a body of tradition not shared with Whites, have been successfully assimilated to the extent that the forms of their current culture are largely derived from Whites.

THE THOMAS CONTINUUM

Throughout this paper certain of the Cherokee have been referred to as "fullblood"—the term has carried a connotation of traditional or Conservative Indian. Biologically, the term is misleading as, of course, blood has no relation to genes. The term is used because the Indians refer to themselves in degrees of blood and the expression has been adopted by census recorders and the Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel. "Fullblood" is also misleading culturally, for not all fullbloods are traditional and, conversely, not all mixbloods are oriented toward White viewpoints. There is, nevertheless, a tendency for more of the fullbloods to be conservative in their outlook, and for those of mixed ancestry (particularly under three-fourths or one-half) to be more "progressive" in theirs.

As stated on page 224, the Thomas continuum is composed of Conservatives, Generalized Indians, Rural White Indians, and Middle Class Indians. Although one might quarrel with the labels, they will suffice for the present. Thomas depicts the Conservative Cherokee as being much like the early contact Indian, as he can be understood from early literature. He conceives of himself as a "different order of man from the rest of the world." He verbalizes a few White values from time to time, such as "Don't drink and don't gamble." But, most often, he lives by Cherokee values and gives expression to them. According to Thomas (MS. a, p. 22), in his behavior he is still the stoic red man. His basic personality has remained unchanged. He prefers to speak Cherokee and regards generosity as a prime virtue. As seen through his eyes, the population of the reservation is divided into only two groups: Indians, of which he is a member, and White-Indians. The latter are not part of his community. Conservatives are frightened of White people, but they are not apprehensive about White opinions of them. White-Indians as a whole are disliked by Conservatives.

"Generalized Indian," a term coined by Thomas, is similar in connotation to Spindler's "transitional group" and somewhere in between the "native modified" and "American modified" of Voget. He considers himself as an Indian, but also as an American. This is an important distinction between the Generalized Indian and the Conservative. He is impelled toward White ways rather than Indian ways. Inconsistencies in enunciations of values are characteristic of him. This category is difficult to define. The difficulty is apparent

in Thomas' construct. Therefore, direct quotation may further the comprehension of a blurry picture.

He is much more inconsistent in regard to how he verbalizes value and world view than the Conservative. And individuals in this group vary as to the extent of how much white values and how much Indian values they verbalize. Behaviorwise they generally behave as if they still believed in the old Cherokee values and view of the world . . . there is a range in this group as to how many white values they have internalized. Overtly, their personality seems more "open" than the Conservatives. They are friendly and open to whites and Indian strangers. Perhaps because they are much more anxious about their relations with whites, they seem to have less emotional control than Conservatives. . . . They have ceased to use Cherokee because it seems to serve no purpose in the modern world. Most of them still believe in Indian medicine, although they don't like to admit it . . . the institution which most exemplifies Cherokee values, the Free Labor Society, they preserve. [Ibid., p. 22]

The Rural-White category is almost self-explanatory. First and foremost, the individuals in it are nearly White; in some instances Indian inheritance is not visible at all. They are very much like the rural White people of the area surrounding the reservation. The Conservatives define them as White, and, by this definition, they do not belong on the reservation. According to Thomas, one reaction to this is often defensiveness and guilt about their status. Some, however, do not seem to care as long as they are left alone. They seldom belong to a Free Labor society. It is doubtful whether some of these people have any Indian ancestry (ibid., p. 23).

The fourth group, and the most recent to develop, is the Middle Class. The bulk of these people are nearly White, but there are some who are not. Members of this category have their origins either in the Rural White group or the Generalized Indian segment of a generation ago. Their major occupation is business. Thomas states that the near White Middle Class people identify with the entire community in an attenuated manner; most of their ties are outside of the community. The segment deriving from the Generalized Indians identifies with the community and is "intellectually" Indian. These people interact with Whites of their class level. Ideologically and behaviorally, they seem to resemble Whites. In personality organization, Thomas (ibid., pp. 23-24) says that they show similarities to the Generalized Indians, but they are more stable and more sophisticated.

The outline which Thomas has given us discloses a skeleton of acculturative types. To further illustrate his concept, we will present a composite picture of a family in each of the four categories, both for the purpose of enriching the preceding description and to propose a series of ideal types to use as a benchmark from which to judge our data.

The use of ideal types as a methodological tool stems from the work of Max Weber, appearing in his essays on religion and bureaucracy. "Ideal" does not, in this case, refer to an exemplary type but to a pure or abstract one. It is a conceptual scheme to expedite understanding (Weber, 1958, p. 59).¹³

Redfield puts this concept to use in his study of the problem of folk-urban relationships. He says:

With others, I have found the imagined construction of a generalized typical primitive or folk society useful in directing attention to certain kinds of questions about societies and people. The conception asks special questions; it does not answer these; only particular facts can do that. [Redfield, 1953, p. 224.]

To be sure, Redfield deals with societies and in no way can the Cherokee types be regarded as societies or communities, but to the extent that our types exist in a culturally definable manner, the concept is heuristic.

The research of George and Louise Spindler (1957, pp. 147-149) seems to be a case in point. Although they perceive their descriptions of certain personality types among American Indians to be reasonable hypotheses, in fact the authors seem to be postulating ideal or pure types. They say that a study of the variation from their core of psychological features will lead to greater understanding of the behavior of Indians, both historically and in the present.

PORTRAITS OF FOUR FAMILIES

JOHN AND LIZA RUNNER (CONSERVATIVE)

About 50 yards away from a dirt and gravel road there is a three-room house perched precariously on four columns of rocks. Only the weight of the house assures its continuous contact with the foundation. The framing is largely of two-by-fours; some of the joists and rafters are two-by-sixes. All of it is rough-sawed lumber from the local mill. The exterior siding is of oak slabs covered with tar paper. The interior is lined with pieces of cardboard from packing boxes. The labels *Carnation Milk*, *Kellogg's Cereal*, and *Campbell's Tomato Soup*, add the only color to the drab surface. In two of the rooms there are two double beds and an iron cot. A wood-burning iron stove occupies a corner of the "front" room. The stovepipe makes its erratic way to a hole cut in the outside wall, providing a hot and dry spot for an unceasing accumulation of wet diapers. A large wood- coal-burning range in the kitchen is the only kitchen appliance. It is lighted at least twice a day to prepare meals for the family. In winter it is another source of heat, but in summer it

¹³ See also Bendix, 1960, p. 281; "Typological simplifications . . . these models are artifacts of the researcher based on historical materials."

creates an oppressive atmosphere in the small kitchen. Near the stove are a table and an odd assortment of chairs. Fuel for the stove is cut from the wooded uphill land behind the house; seldom is there a large supply of cut wood for it. More often wood is cut as needed, so that in wet or dry weather one of the Runners can usually be found "getting in some wood." John and the older boys bring it down from the mountain, but Liza frequently splits it.

A small spring courses down from the mountain near the house; its travel is interrupted by a half-circular dam over which the water continues to flow. Here Liza does her washing, the little children play, and several ducks take their noisy turn in the water. A kitchen garden is in the small flatland beyond the brook. John seldom works in it, except to do the initial soil preparation. Liza really "makes" the garden.

John sits on the porch during the first days of spring; such days are warm with an ethereal quality. In the summer, he sits there after work. Liza joins him when her work is done, or she makes her baskets there. They break the silence to exchange comments, murmuring in Cherokee. The little children sometimes play there too, pushing a battered toy over the rough boards. The porch affords a view of the road, and John rocks forward on his straight chair to watch either a neighbor or a stranger passing along it.

John Runner works about 6 months out of the year for the Park Department as a wage laborer. One of his sons works as a guide in the Indian village during the summer. Liza supplements the family income by making oak-split baskets. Some welfare assistance is provided during the winter when John is idle. The Runners are in their late 30's, but they have a large family, as they were married before they were 20. There are three older boys; one is in the ninth grade and two have dropped out of school. John is the "bread daddy" but not the "real daddy" of the oldest boy. Three girls between 7 and 12, a 4-year-old, and a baby of about 15 months make up the rest of the family. The older boys have little to do around the house. Liza is glad that one of the girls is finally old enough to help with the washing, and she does all the cooking when Liza is menstruating. Liza has been worried about John and the boys eating her cooking when she was "that way." When the Runners go to a box social, or down to Cherokee to play Indian ball, Liza carries the baby on her back anchored there by a sheet or a blanket.

John attended boarding school through the fourth grade, but he did not like it. Despite the fact that he was made to wear a girl's dress to keep him from running away, he succeeded in escaping from school. Liza attended school a year longer than her husband did.

John and Liza believe in signs, and many of their coping techniques are of the sympathetic or contagious variety of magic. Although they have never seen a witch themselves, they are sure there are witches, for they know people who have seen them. One day Liza was berrying on top of the mountain when she saw a large snake. She was frightened, left her picking, and came home to tell John about it. He told her that it was not a snake, it was a sign; and "sure enough, the next week one of her relatives died."

In the old days, before Will West Long died, John and Liza used to go to the Indian dances, but now there is no one left who can lead them.

Liza is concerned about the health of her children. All of the young ones have had Salk vaccine and other preventive inoculations which are given in the clinic. However, she thinks that Indian doctors know more about babies than White doctors do. One of hers had hives. "Hives are something inside the baby which makes him irritable and at night he cries and tosses in his sleep. White doctors know nothing about this condition. We took him to an Indian doctor and that baby got all right." John and Liza fondle the young ones, and the baby is always held, patted, or nursed. He never crawls about on the floor. His hair is long, because to cut it before he walks would make him grow up weak. Liza doctors the children at home, too, with Vicks or aspirin, and takes them down to the hospital for shots. She has great faith in the power of injections. But, she says, "Going to an Indian doctor is just like going to a White doctor. The Indian doctor asks you questions too, and gives you herb tea—and with him you get it all—not pushed down into a pill."

When the children get too obstreperous, Liza warns them that a booger will get them, or, what is probably worse, a "unega" (White person) will get them. On rare occasions some of the bigger ones may get switched. The three older boys often spend nights away from home. Neither John nor Liza know where they are, and, unless the absence is protracted, don't worry about it. Children are invariably sent to ask for favors or to borrow something for their parents. Liza's sister often acts in the same capacity for her. Liza participates in the gossip of the area and passes it on.

John and Liza are not politically active, but they go to Qualla Club meetings. John wants to see a fullblood council. He feels pretty certain that some men who might run for chief or council are for the White Indians. "The White Indians have all the money and they'd like to get the land allotted." John doesn't have much money; his car was repossessed a few months ago because he was five payments in arrears. He plans to get another as soon as he can get money for a downpayment.

Although they are poor, a place is set at the table for everyone. Liza never formally extends an invitation; that everyone will eat is a matter of fact. In the summer, flies and bees join the diners. Pigs' necks and backs, greens, and cornbread or bean bread, if Liza has had time to grind the corn in her log mortar, may be the fare. Leftovers are thrown to the six dogs who lurk under the house and bark fiercely at strangers. They stop barking and cringe, beating the ground with their tails, at a gesture from John.

Liza sometimes hopes she will not have any more children. She nurses the babies for several years, for she believes that this practice will prevent conception. After her first baby was born, her mother, who delivered it, buried the afterbirth several mountain ridges away in order to be sure that the other pregnancies would be several years apart. Liza does not like to have her babies in the hospital, but the last four were born there.

Visits with the Runners were unrushed, conversations were interspersed with periods of comfortable silence. They do not plan much for the future, and they do not expect it to be much different from the present. Nights follow the days and the seasons grow out of each other in a changeless pattern. Although game is scarce, there are fish in the river to catch, gardens to make, children to raise, and the dead to be buried.

GEORGE AND EMMA WEAVER (GENERALIZED INDIANS)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains a limited number of frame-houses for its employees. It is in such a house as this that George and his wife, Emma, live. There are five rooms and a bath. The yard is fenced to provide a barrier between it and the highway which runs east and west. Occasionally damaged toys lie about in the yard.

George is a year-round employee of the Bureau. He accumulates annual leave and, as a civil service worker, will eventually retire on a pension. His wife works during the summer in the tourist industry. Their combined efforts result in more than a hundred dollars a week during the summer. But they have little money saved. One reason is, of course, their large family, but another is their generosity with their children. A trip to the store always involves cokes and candy for the youngsters. The children are the delight of George and Emma, who express their affection for them openly. After they had torn some of the new screens off the house, George remonstrated with them mildly. Emma complains that George has the little ones spoiled "rotten." He is seldom seen off the job without at least two or three of his youngest.

The three oldest boys established a reputation in sports during their Cherokee High School careers. One accepted an athletic

scholarship at a neighboring State university. George had high hopes for him and wanted him to finish his "lessons" before he thought about girls. Nevertheless, Bill married in November of his first year of college. His wife moved in with the Weavers. Bill did not return to school after January, and his son was born in April. George was disappointed at the terminated career, but he said they had a "real nice church wedding" instead of sneaking away to Georgia to a Justice of the Peace. One of the things that bothered George was the attitude of some of the people around. Because Bill was making something of himself, they would hardly speak to him and Emma.

George travels up to Big Cove often. He worked up there until he was transferred to his current location. George worries about those "folks up in the Cove." They are so poor. "Guess they don't think about dollars and cents the way I do. If they get a little money, they spend it; if they don't get any, they get along. Me I got a good job, I get a regular wage, yet I worry."

An additional benefit accrues to George, for he is a veteran of World War II. Accordingly, he uses the Veterans Administration Hospital near Asheville if he requires prolonged medical help. He had to take his 3-year-old boy in to Asheville to the hospital after he fractured his skull in a fall in the schoolyard.

George and Emma went to the "set up" (wake) for Bird Partridge. "He was a real 'old timey' Indian, and there are few of them left any more." People around Big Cove still went to him for "doctoring" occasionally, but George prefers White doctors. There is a lush growth of poison ivy around the house. The children often have some sort of white salve, which Emma procures from the Public Health hospital, smeared on the blisters. She tried crushing some ragweed on the irritations, but it did not seem to help much.

George, as president of the Community Club, goes to Raleigh occasionally for meetings on community development programs. He does not like to go in the summer, "Us people who are used to the mountains suffer from the heat down there."

Land allotment is a subject which comes up often. George does not approve of the idea. "The old Indians just couldn't handle the situation." Because of this sentiment, he supports the candidate for chief who represents the interests of the Conservatives. Actually, he feels that his own best interests are protected by this candidate, too, for "the White Indians are behind the other man."

George is not given to long pauses and reflections in his speech patterns; neither does he speak Cherokee, although he can understand some of the conversation of Conservatives.

As long as he stays in the civil service, his financial future is relatively secure, although he will probably not be able to save very much money. His three oldest children already have more education than he has. However, he says, "They really put it to us in boarding school, maybe better than they teach the kids now. I know I forgot most of the Cherokee language while I was there." George's status will not change much in the years to come, but he has hopes for his children and wants them to "amount to something."

ED AND MARTHA MCVEY (RURAL WHITE)

In a small section of bottom land, yards of unbleached cloth appear in early spring. The cloth shelters tobacco seedlings which are to be transplanted to a field which is three-tenths of an acre. The plants are tended carefully, because Burley tobacco is Ed McVey's cash crop. A hundred yards away from the tobacco bed is a five-room framehouse. Originally it was a clapboard structure; now it is covered with asphalt shingles of imitation brick. Surrounding the house are farm outbuildings: a corner crib, a pigpen, a woodshed, and a small log barn. Near the barn is a well-used pickup truck, the only piece of mechanized farm equipment. Mules draw the plow, the cultivator, and the manure spreader. In the open barn two milk cows ruminate; a brood sow snuffles noisily in her pen nearby. The chickens wander unconfined over the yard and on the porch of the house.

At the edge of the road which winds into the farm is a green and white sign designating this farm as an "Honor Farm." Ed is a good farmer, but he suffers from the limitations of small farms everywhere. Ed cannot imagine himself doing anything else but farming. His elderly father, who lives with him, farmed the place before him, and it appears certain that his sons will attempt to follow the pattern. They are enrolled in the agricultural courses in the Cherokee High School. In spring and fall, the busiest seasons on a farm, they often miss a week of more of school in order to get the crops planted or to harvest them.

In addition to the tobacco, a field of potatoes is always planted. The yield is generally more than sufficient for the family; the surplus is sold to village restaurants. Field corn is always grown, for the less cash Ed must put out for feed for the stock, the more sufficient the farm is. The products of the farm and kitchen garden meet basic food needs for the family. Two or three young pigs are butchered throughout the winter; the extras are sold as weaners. Enough flour corn is grown to provide cornmeal for the winter. They have it ground as they need it, in Whittier or Bryson City. Martha cans beans, tomatoes, and wild berries in quantity. Despite their best

efforts, cash is always in short supply, so Ed does some carpentry work during the winter.

There are eight McVey children. The oldest, Tom, is married to a girl who is nearly "fullblood." He has some land adjoining his father's; he farms this and also some land belonging to his father. Bertha, the oldest daughter, graduated from high school this year. She started to work at the Harn plant soon after school closed. The rest of the children, except the baby, are in school. "And they will stay there until they finish, if I have to take a belt to them," Ed said. There are some things being taught that Ed and Martha do not understand. "Don't seem like they need algebra and subjects like that." High school diplomas are important goals to Ed, and he believes that "It would be nice if one of the younger girls could take up nursing or typing. The boys reckon they'll farm like their Daddy." Ed needs them, too, because his rheumatism cripples him from time to time. He comments on being an old man at 50.

He is a regular patient at the Public Health hospital because of his rheumatoid condition. On one occasion he was sent over to Asheville for extensive X-rays. The McVeys use the health facilities and services regularly. The baby suffers from asthma and is also under treatment at the hospital. Martha takes care of the colds at home with patent medicines. Once in a while she brews some herbal infusion which she said her grandmother used to use. Ed does not object to it, but he contends that "He'd be damned if he'd have one of them conjurers spittin' and blowin' over him or his kids."

The life of this family revolves around the farm and associated activities. Martha belongs to a Home Demonstration Club and attends monthly meetings. Several of the children are in 4-H clubs. One of the boys received a scholarship to go to a 4-H camp near Asheville. Ed scans the sky, hoping for rain during dry spells; he worries that the seed will rot after a week of rain. He never misses the noon farm and market reports.

Tribal politics do not concern the McVeys often, especially now that the blood degree for tribal membership has been settled. In the period when efforts were made to establish a lower limit of $\frac{1}{4}$ Indian inheritance for membership, Ed was in the audience at council meetings. Ed and Martha are on the 1924 Roll, but their children could not have been enrolled on the new register.

A few of Ed's neighbors are "fullbloods" or nearly so. The children of all the families play together without any adult interference. Ed has helped out one or two of the families with corn during the winter. But, he fusses, "By damn, they are lazy; some of them couldn't make a go of it as a taster in a pie factory." Martha tries to shut Ed up

when he gets started on Indians. "He don't mean half of what he says, but they ain't much for farming," she admits.

RICHARD AND POLLY KING (MIDDLE CLASS INDIANS)

The Kings live in Painttown in a six-room framehouse. It is not a new house; Richard's father and mother built it many years ago. Navaho rugs cover the floors; the furniture is old but comfortable. A television set is perhaps the newest piece in the living room.

The house is far enough away from the highway to accommodate a 20-unit motel and restaurant in front of it. The motel is open the year round, but the restaurant is operated only from April to October. Summer is a busy time for the Kings; they are at home only to sleep. "Keeping a reliable staff is hard," Richard says. The younger Kings help out once in a while, but "They are kids and should have their fun while they can enjoy it." It is the local help that cannot be depended upon. "You can't run a business with all-Indian help. You say something to them and they'll quit without a word."

Richard and Polly went to Haskell in Kansas, and he worked in California until the end of the war. They built their business after the war "in spite of Government and tribal restrictions." Credit is difficult to arrange for businesses or buildings which are on the reservation. They cannot be used for collateral on a loan. If the land were allotted, it would be much easier to operate a business, according to Richard. He would like to have the land divided up and the people given title to their property, for he feels the Government dictates too much and has deprived the Indians of initiative. "The welfare doesn't help, either. Too many of them are sitting around and getting paid for it instead of going to where the work is. Furthermore, if there were not so much aid to dependent children, there probably wouldn't be as much illegitimacy as there is."

Richard belongs to the Cherokee civic clubs and the Chamber of Commerce. Polly has no time for the Eastern Star during the summer, but she attends chapter meetings in Bryson City during the winter. They go over to Knoxville frequently to visit their son who is attending the University of Tennessee. "His grades aren't very good," Polly said. "They might have been worse if he had not gone to public school. Perhaps his car interferes with his studies," she added.

The young man who "chiefs" for the King restaurant was sick for a while. Richard finally persuaded him to go over to the Public Health hospital. "He'd been having some old Indian doctor him. You just can't tell these 'fullbloods' anything." The Kings save their cartons for people to use in their houses. "Some of those places

have cracks big enough to throw a cat through, and they still won't come down here and get the cardboard."

Richard and Polly are building a new house on deeded land. The plans include four bedrooms, two baths, and a playroom for the youngest King. Polly is pleased with the plans and is eager to begin furnishing it. "It will be a nice place for the children to bring their college friends to visit." They had intended to send Paul to private school this year, but he had an appendectomy in the fall, so they postponed their plans. Polly said, "It would have been lonesome with both the boys gone and only little Polly home." The Kings have all their medical and dental attention in either Bryson City or Asheville. Richard went to the hospital on the reservation only once for emergency treatment of a burn.

Richard buys some produce from the McVeys. "Ed is a hard worker, and we are glad to help him out." Polly takes clothes which her children have outgrown down to them. She says, "I have never seen Martha just sitting."

The Kings are not "Five-dollar Indians." Some of Polly's forbears contributed money to purchase the present reservation. They say they are proud of their "Indian blood," but they want the Indians to progress. As Richard says, "I've come a long way from my parents who were farmers right here on these bottoms. There is no reason why the rest of the people can't catch up with the times."

HEALTH AND MEDICAL PRACTICES

Health and medical practices will be discussed both in terms of preventive and therapeutic health measures. The evaluation will cover four areas of investigation: environmental sanitation and home hygienic practices; Public Health clinic behavior; responses to school health instruction; and behavior prompted by illness.

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION AND HOME HYGIENIC PRACTICES

Even superficial observations indicate marked differences among the Cherokee with respect to sanitary environments and hygienic measures. Types of water sources and toilet facilities, general condition of house and grounds, number of occupants per room, and ordinary health precautions have been used as crude indices of these differences in sanitary and hygienic practices. On the basis of my findings, I have identified four categories of families. In category 1 are those families whose sanitary and hygienic practices are totally inadequate. In category 2 are those families in which some efforts are made to maintain minimal standards of sanitation and hygiene. Families in category 3 have standards which are adequate. In

category 4 are those families whose sanitary and hygienic practices are very adequate. The difference between the last two groups is a matter of "extras" present in the environment of category 4.

CATEGORY 1. INADEQUATE

This group is found most wanting in the minimal essentials of sanitation. The homes are small; the number of rooms is seldom more than three. Usually the house is of roughhewn lumber. It is either covered with building paper, or the owner intends to cover it at some vague time in the future. If it is not a board house, it is constructed of logs or poles. The yards are littered with debris including rusted cans, broken bottles, and garbage (some of which is eaten by animals; the remainder moulders on the ground). A common sight in the yard is a car which has begun to disintegrate. Chickens, ducks, dogs, and cats are in dispute over the edible refuse. Their excrement is present in the vicinity of the house.

The water supply is always a spring or a stream. There are no plumbing facilities in these houses. Dishwater is tossed out a door. If there is a privy, it is a surface type which is never treated with lime. (It should be noted, however, that it is never located near the water source.) Frequently there is no privy.

The interiors of these houses are similar. There are two or more double beds in all the rooms. The kitchen often has a cot or single bed in it. Soiled blankets are commonly wadded up on the beds or spread in a casual fashion over stained mattresses. Clothing, whether it be freshly laundered or worn, is piled up on beds or upon other pieces of furniture. The number of occupants to a bed is contingent on the size of the family, but since the dwellings are always crowded, three or four children usually sleep together.

Wood-burning kitchen stoves provide heat for these homes. Aside from the range, there are no other appliances in the kitchen. Some families have washing machines, which are kept on the porch. These are filled by pails of unheated water from the spring.

There are no screens on doors or windows; panes are often broken. Flies abound during the warm weather, drawn by the decaying organic matter on the premises. One afternoon I visited a young Conservative couple who had graduated from the reservation high school. They have three small children. Flies were everywhere. The two boys were very soiled. Between bites of bread, they threw it at each other, then retrieved it from the floor and continued to eat it. One of the boys got into some baby oil and saturated his head. He rubbed against the baby. Martha, his mother, said, "Don't get snot on her."

During a visit to another home, a baby was given a bottle (a supplement to breast feeding) which was picked up from the floor and filled. The baby drank part of it. It was then given to a "yard baby" who finished it. I discussed worms with Lucy, the mother of this family. She said that two of her children had "killed" (passed) nearly a hundred of them. I asked the cause of the worms. Lucy answered vaguely, "I don't know what causes them." She is a close relative of an Indian doctor. The young children are covered with sores and scabs especially on their heads. Lucy says that these are gnat bites.

A final excerpt from notes of a visit made in 1959 summarizes these generalizations about sanitation and hygienic practices.

I visited with Dorothy on her porch. The house is a two-room cabin with four double beds in the front room and a cot in the kitchen. All of them are unmade; soiled blankets are heaped upon the beds . . . the kitchen table had dishes on it. They appeared to have been unwashed for some time. With the dishes was an open jar of beans . . . later I glanced up to see a chicken on the table foraging among the unwashed dishes. There are nine children and two adults living here.

CATEGORY 2. MINIMAL

The houses in this class are also small in proportion to the number of residents, but not as crowded as those in category 1. Newer houses in this group are frequently constructed of cinder block. The areas directly adjacent to the houses resemble those about which we have already spoken, but efforts are directed toward maintaining some semblance of "neatness." The yards are often raked or swept. Although there are no lawns, there are attempts to grow flowers. Unpenned chickens are kept away from the porch. There is some litter in the yards, but it does not match the accumulation noted for the first group. As a probable consequence of this, there are far fewer flies and many of the houses are screened against them. One informant reflected a concern about flies when he said, "I think if people would only screen, there would be less sickness. Flies are nasty things . . . take Lucy; her children are always sick."

The interiors of these houses are neater and more varied than are those of the houses depicted in the first category. Frequently, linoleum covers the floors. Less often are there beds in all the rooms; they are made each morning. Several of the kitchens boast refrigerators. There is no modern plumbing, but some of the occupants discuss plans for its installation in the future. One informant said:

I want to get water in my house this summer . . . I'm going to build a reservoir over behind my mother's house and pipe it down. To dig a well will cost \$4.75 per foot and they'd have to go down 700 feet. . . . I don't want that old sump water.

To accomplish this task the pipeline must be extended nearly a quarter of a mile. In addition, a well-traveled road is in its path. The plan seems to be unrealistic, and at this writing, no steps have been taken to implement it.

Another informant, the wife and mother of a Conservative family living in a type two home, made this statement in June, 1959:

We plan to add a bedroom and shower to the house. Some young people who helped the community last summer and do what people need, capped the spring. We got to buy the pipe to get the water down from the reservoir.

At present nothing further has been done.

People in this group frequently mention cleanliness and good health habits. Often, however, a somewhat cavalier attitude is exhibited in this regard. The 11-year-old daughter of the above-mentioned informant developed a severely infected foot. My quarters were near their home, so I was able to observe the entire sequence of events. The girl rubbed a blister on her heel which went unattended as she traveled about barefooted. Finally her foot and lower leg became inflamed, swollen, and very painful. She was taken down to the reservation hospital late one night. I asked her mother what caused it; she answered that a blister had caused it. When I brought the child home from the hospital 3 days later, she had a Band-aid on her heel and carried two more. During the succeeding days she continued to go about without shoes. The original bandage loosened and dangled from one side of her heel. When I asked her when she was going to replace it with one of the spares, she replied, "Just before I go back to the hospital."

A second example of the contrast between verbalizations and actual behavior regarding cleanliness and health habits comes from a highly verbal Rural White family whose home is typical of this second category. Emma, the mother, was concerned because her son, Richard, was sick. "What's the matter with him?" I asked.

He went fishing Saturday night below the dam without a jacket and he already had a little cold. Today he took the fever and chills and his teacher sent him to the hospital.

Later, while visiting Emma, I observed that the baby was given his bottle after it had been lying on the couch where I had inadvertently sat on it.

The frequent comments about cleanliness are almost always unsolicited. Molly, an elderly informant, sometimes cooked breakfast for me. One day as she washed the breakfast dishes she said:

I always use soap and scald the dishes . . . because it keeps the germs away. That's what I learned when I cooked at Berry's camp and when I cooked in other places. At Berry's camp if one dish got cracked, we had to put it away because a germ could get in the crack . . . after he went away we used the cracked ones.

[I noticed that some of the dishes still had egg and oatmeal on them after she washed them.] I've always been clean and I taught my daughters to be clean.

One sunny morning I was in the company of an informant at the bus station. We were greeting people as they walked by. She said:

See that taxi driver there from Bryson. He said something about the dirty Indians . . . If he don't like Indians why don't he stay out of here . . . I told him that too . . . I'm gonna knock him down. Indians are no dirtier than anybody else. . . . That boy there [her grandson] I never thought he was going to go up to Jay's with us. He was so dirty . . . none of my children ever been dirty.

The women and children of both categories 1 and 2 go barefoot during the warm months. But regardless of the season, the adults of category 2 take pains to wash their feet prior to going on a visit or before going down to the village. Even a trip to the hospital for the impending arrival of a baby was delayed while the expectant mother washed her feet!

CATEGORY 3. ADEQUATE

This category of homes is typified by neat exteriors. There are grassed yards and flower gardens. The interiors are tidy. They usually have running water and some modern kitchen appliances. If they do not have plumbing conveniences, plans to install them materialize with greater regularity than they do in the preceding group. "I haven't got a toilet now, but I'm going to build one. I've got my blocks for the septic tank."

Some of the homes are new, and the owners have been forced by economic circumstances to postpone the inclusion of facilities which they regard as important.

We just built this house a while ago. It's small; some people call it a doll's house I love to carry water, but we do want a bathroom. We miss the showers I have hung my hat on better racks than this.

There are sufficient numbers of rooms for the occupants. Beds are in bedrooms. Occasionally, in the recently built houses, the kitchen and front room may be combined. This state of affairs is regarded as temporary by the owners.

By and large, individuals of this group follow standardized ways of behaving with respect to hygienic practices. Mr. and Mrs. Smart, a middle-aged couple, are representative. He is more nearly White than she is. One day Mrs. Smart told me that she had run a wire into her arm. "Polly [her daughter] told me to go to the hospital, but I said I'd soak it in hot water unless it got bad." "Was it rusty?" I asked. Her husband, Chick, said, "Gawd, I stepped on a nail back in the timber one day. By the time I got in to the doctor, it was all swole up. 'Why in hell didn't you come sooner?' the doctor said.

Gawd, I couldn't get there no quicker. He gave me a shot or two . . . in a couple of days I was back working again."

Others in this category may be less colorful than Mr. Smart, but their preventive health measures at home are similar. Children are sent to wash before meals. They are kept home from school if they exhibit any symptoms of illness, and they visit the dentist twice a year. If the adults have conditions which require periodic examinations (tuberculosis, diabetes), they are faithful about going.

CATEGORY 4. VERY ADEQUATE

There is a variation in the luxuriousness of dwellings in this group. However, they all have many elements in common: modern conveniences throughout the house, no overcrowding, mowed lawns, electricity, and modern plumbing. Standards of neatness (not to be confused with cleanliness) vary. Furnishings vary too; some houses are elaborately furnished, while others are plain but comfortable. Those of category 4 share with category 3 a mutual concern for, and participation in, patterns of behavior which provide typical hygienic environments. This concern is not stressed verbally unless the conversation turns to "fullbloods." When this occurs, remarks may be made about the carelessness of "fullbloods" with regard to hygienic measures. "I can't understand these 'fullbloods' who work all day and then come in and eat supper and go to bed. They'd feel so much better if they bathed."

Apologies for the condition and appearance of the house are often extended, seldom with sufficient cause. One unmarried householder in this category wondered if she were becoming compulsive in her housekeeping.

To conclude, these are the types of homes in which the Cherokee live and the ways which they follow in matters of hygiene. Although we have sorted the environments into four categories, these do not correspond neatly with Thomas' four acculturative groups. There are Conservatives and Rural Whites in category 1; Conservatives, Rural Whites, and Generalized Indians in category 2; Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and some Middle Class in category 3; and category 4 includes the Middle Class, plus a few Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. (See table 7, p. 274, for a numerical summary of this distribution.)

CLINIC BEHAVIOR

Associated with the maintenance of healthful surroundings is the actual day-to-day attention given to disease prevention. This includes, in addition to ordinary precautions, the utilization of the Public Health clinics and periodic physical examinations for adults. All

Cherokee, with the exception of those in the Middle Class, use the Public Health services.

Well-baby clinics are held once a week in the offices of the Public Health nurse, and periodically in the Big Cove and Snow Bird community schools. Mothers are urged to bring in children up to 5 years of age for periodic checkups. Children attending these clinics receive inoculations for tetanus, smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and polio.

Two preschool clinics are held each May. All children who are to be registered in school for the first time must be checked by the physician. The examination is a cursory one, but it does suffice to screen gross conditions. It also detects children who have not had their full set of inoculations. Yearly screening examinations for tuberculosis are provided for school children, and during the winter of 1959-60, the children were given flu shots. Consequently, children who attend reservation schools, regardless of family orientation, are protected from virulent illnesses.

Since all families, exclusive of the Middle Class, are drawn into the clinics, we cannot distinguish between groups on the basis of their use of disease prevention services. Difference does occur, however, in *behavior* during clinic visitations, and in attitudes toward inoculations. These behavioral variations make it possible to identify two distinct groups. These groups are clearly marked by the demeanor or pose assumed in the clinic, both in the waiting room and in the dispensary. While waiting to be called, those in the first category sit quietly outside. Their children, both babies and toddlers, also sit with solemn expressions. If they speak, it is very softly and often in Cherokee. Those of the second group laugh and visit noisily with one another while awaiting their turn. Their children wander about, talk to others in the waiting room, or thumb through the children's books which are provided.

CATEGORY 1. PASSIVE

Both the adults and children in this category are inarticulate and acquiescent. Although the Public Health nurse greets everyone in a jocular manner, these people reply to the greeting almost inaudibly.

Their main purpose in bringing children to the well-baby clinic is for inoculations, which they realize all children must have. They seldom initiate a discussion of other health matters. If these arise, they are introduced by the nurse who administers the clinic. For instance, in the course of administering diphtheria and whooping cough inoculations the nurse said, "Her stomach is puffy; has she got worms?" The mother replied casually, "I don't know, she might have."

Another common characteristic of people in this group is the failure to complete a series of inoculations. All of them manage to appear for an initial injection, but many of them do not reappear within the stipulated time period. For example, a couple from Big Cove brought one child into the clinic held in Cherokee. After the small baby was inoculated, the mother said, "I got another one in the car; maybe it might need something." The record was checked, and it was found that one inoculation had been administered 2 years before. While waiting for the second child, the nurse turned to the mother and said, "Are you eating liver and greens?" There was no answer. The husband came in with the second child; the nurse spoke to him. "Don't you think Ida is looking poorly?" He did not answer. Finally, after a long pause, he nodded. The nature of the inoculations was explained to him, and he was told the date on which the children were to be brought back for the second. He responded by saying "Yes" in a manner peculiar to Conservatives, leaving one in doubt about their comprehension.

They seldom provide a reason for the neglect in the followthrough of the protective series. It is difficult to judge how much they understand of the instructions about further visits, although they nod when they are told to return in 2 months or 6 months.

Parents also accompany children to the preschool clinic. They watch without comment the physical examination given by a staff physician of the Public Health Hospital. When they are questioned, they respond by nods or in murmured short sentences. On one such occasion a child refused to open his mouth to have his teeth checked. The doctor put down his tongue depressor saying, "I'm not going to fool with him." The mother said, hesitantly, "He was sick on the way down. He threw up." The doctor explained, "That's because he didn't want to come here. It will do that to him. He needs to get out and meet more people." The mother made no reply and left with the child.

The people of the first category are Conservatives. Some of them attend the clinics irregularly, others are more regular. All of them are passive participants. Communication emanates from the medical staff and is largely one way. The Indians speak when spoken to.

CATEGORY 2. ACTIVE

Members of this category are in sharp contrast to those of the first: They joke with the nurse and pass on local news. They tell children old enough to understand that "it won't hurt." If a child should cry, he is frequently told not to cry. Discussions of the inoculations are common and advice is sought on other matters pertaining to the children and occasionally to themselves.

Emily, who had brought a child in for Salk vaccine, inquired about the next scheduled eye clinic because she thought one of her older children was experiencing some difficulty in seeing. A second woman discussed the possibility of taking a child to an orthopedic clinic in Sylva. Still another brought her nephew in for smallpox vaccination. She asked the nurse to look at his rupture. After the nurse had removed the diaper to reveal a large hernia of the scrotum, she told the aunt to take the baby over to a doctor in the hospital very soon.

In the preschool clinic the same behavior prevails. Parents ask about the results of the examination and respond openly to questions from either the doctor or the nurse. They make appointments for dental treatment if conditions warrant attention.

The people in this category are Rural White and Generalized Indians. They are clearly differentiated from the people in the first category by their active interest and participation in clinic and health matters. Conversely, the Conservatives in category 1 are reticent and compliant in the presence of the professional staff. Their demeanor suggests vagueness and a lack of comprehension of the principles of immunization. These two categories are clearly distinct, separating Conservatives from all others by behavior displayed in the clinics.

RESPONSES TO SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS

Avenues of health instruction, and responses to this instruction, are present in the schools. One approach is formal health education. The teachers in the elementary schools devote two or three periods a week to the teaching of health rules and good health habits. Elementary anatomy is taught and care of body organs is emphasized.

The other approach is informal in the sense that it is teaching by precept and by rules of behavior in the school. In each of the elementary day schools, a custodian spends part of his day washing and polishing the floors and dusting equipment. Children in the first and second grades remove their shoes and place them in a line at the door of the classroom. Older children keep their shoes on, with the understanding that they are old enough to wipe their feet before entering the classroom, and because they are old enough to clean their own rooms. In three of the elementary schools, provisions are made for the children to take showers and wash their hair once a week. A teacher, in discussing the bathing provisions said, "Look around; I'm sure that some of them have not washed since their last shower." However, because there is an emphasis on washing, her statement is not entirely true. By actual count, all children in one of the schools were sent to wash their hands four times in one morning.

The responses of the pupils to the classroom health instruction resemble the patterns of behavior discernible in the public health clinics. There are two well-defined groups of children in the classroom. The division is made on the basis of oral recitation. Written work does not necessarily reveal this distinction.

CATEGORY 1. PASSIVE

The children in category 1 do not, according to the teacher, perform well orally. If a child is called upon to answer a question, he often makes no answer at all. If he does respond, it is in such a low voice that it is audible only to a few children near him. Rarely does he raise his hand to volunteer an answer.

One morning I observed a health lesson in a combined third and fourth grade. The class had been divided into committees which were to report on the care and function of the organs of the body. The heart committee made the first presentation. Three children stood up, one holding a book showing a picture of the heart. They stood with their heads bowed. The teacher urged them to speak. Finally her coaxing managed to elicit the recommendation, "You should keep your heart clean." This concluded the report on the heart! The committee on eyes was represented by a girl who read a complete report, but she kept her hand over her mouth and spoke in such a low voice that her speech was inaudible.

Oral performances, such as those discussed above, suggest to the observer that these children are either very low in ability or suffer from a language handicap. The quality of their written work, however, refutes this conclusion. I collected samples of written health rules from all children whom the teacher rated no lower than average in ability. The following sets of rules illustrate that the children in category 1 are capable of doing satisfactory work.

A. Girl, high ability:

1. Brush your teeth twice a day.
2. Drink lots of milk.
3. Take a bath at least twice a week.
4. Eat proper foods.

B. Boy, average ability:

1. Keep clean and neat.
2. Wash real good, wash your hands good.
3. Comb your hair.

C. Girl, better than average ability:

1. Keep our skin clean and look neat.
2. Brush our teeth after every meal.

D. Girl, barely average ability:

1. Learn the rules and follow them.
2. Take out germs on skin.
3. Keep out germs.

E. Boy, average ability:

1. Take care of your body and eyes.
2. Wash your skin every day so you won't get sick because you could blow your nose and you may hurt it.

If we leave the school and follow these children home we find that here, as well as at school, they are generally reticent. They communicate very little of the health information they have been taught at school. I asked an informant, Frances, whether her nephew ever told her what he did in school. "Lord, no. You have to ask him and then he just barely tells you one or two things. The only thing he ever tells is when he gets a shot . . . then that's the first thing he says when he gets home." Another parent said that his boy told him that I had given him a shot at school. The child referred to blood collection for typing, at which I assisted. Although these reports of "shots" can be duplicated over and over, information beyond this is not imparted.

The children in category 1 are, with two exceptions, from Conservative homes. Most of them are either bilingual or understand Cherokee although they may not speak it. Their comportment in the classroom is characterized by shyness and unaggressiveness.

CATEGORY 2. ACTIVE

Children making up this group are Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. During question and answer periods in health class, they wave their hands eagerly to recite. Often they offer an answer, right or wrong, without waiting to be called upon. Some of them correct wrong answers made by their classmates or prompt a "mute" child of category 1.

The committee reports made by members of this group, although not always complete or accurate, are delivered forthrightly. The committee which reported on care of the skin came right to the point. "Take a bath at least twice a week. Use soap, and hot water too. Don't get cut or burned; if you do, fix it up and it won't get germs in it." Another report dealing with ears and hearing was delivered with equal dispatch.

We compared samples of written work from this category with those from the first. The following examples demonstrate that in written work there is no appreciable difference between children in categories 1 and 2.

A. Girl, high ability:

1. Keep clean.
2. Keep clean clothes on.
3. Go see the doctor.
4. Keep germs out of your body.
5. Take a bath at least twice a day.

B. Girl, good ability:

1. Keep your skin clean.
2. Do not read in a dim light.
3. Set up straight.
4. Do not put your finger in your mouth.

C. Boy, good ability:

1. Get plenty of food.
2. Do not work hard.
3. Keep yourself clean.
4. Play safe too.
5. Use plenty of soap.
6. Keep your skin clean and healthy and sit up straight.

D. Boy, average ability:

1. Keep clean.
2. Keep germs out.
3. Keep from getting sick.
4. Wash before you eat.
5. Keep your body clean.

These children are as verbal at home as they are at school. School activities are reported with varying degrees of accuracy by most of them. Two sisters in the same grade informed their mother that their teacher told them that flies carry germs. Emily replied, "Well, if you kids would keep the screen door shut we wouldn't have so many flies in here."

While I was visiting with another mother, her small son came home and said, "My teacher told us that if we chewed tobacco it would turn our lips inside out." Admittedly, the data are limited, but my observations do not suggest that circumstances in the home are altered by any information which the children impart.

Responses to health instruction in the classroom suffice to sort the children into two groups. Differentiation is made on the basis of their behavior, not on learning ability. In written work there is little to differentiate the two. In oral recitation, one group is verbal and actively participates in the learning process. The other is non-verbal; unless individuals are coaxed, they seldom volunteer an answer. On the occasions that they do, they cover their mouths with their hands when talking. There is no gradation of behavior which suggests the presence of Thomas' four acculturative categories with which we are concerned.

BEHAVIOR PROMPTED BY ILLNESS

Illness disturbs the equilibrium of a family. If the condition persists, it demands a decision upon which some action will be predicated. Evon Z. Vogt (1955, pp. 5-7) calls this a choice situation, and finds that it is adapted to research on values. These choices reveal differences among people. Given the choices which the

Cherokee make among the alternatives they have for coping with illness, I can place the informants into three categories: those who rely on Indian "doctors," usually in combination with some modern medicine; those who rely almost exclusively on the Public Health staff; and those who rely on private medical care to the exclusion of other services.

CATEGORY 1. PATIENTS OF INDIAN "DOCTORS"

Indians who continue to rely on Indian doctors are the Conservatives, but they seldom do so to the complete exclusion of modern medicine. There are, however, some of the older Conservatives who attempt to confine their choice of therapy to the native "practitioner." These old Indians believe that the hospital is a place where people die. One aged woman said firmly, "I'd never go to the hospital; I'd never go to anybody but an Indian doctor. . . . I want to die in my own bed." An old man said he never went to the hospital. "I want to live a long time, and get better." He said his wife did not go to the hospital, either. "She just slip over and die in the night. . . . Next morning she dead. Lot of people die that way; never do get sick."

When these older Conservatives do go to the hospital, it is at the insistence of another member of the family. An elderly woman—a "doctor" herself—was taken under protest to the hospital after a fall. "She didn't want to go," her daughter said, "but they slipped a blanket under her, and carried her to the hospital . . . the nurse rubbed something on her back . . . she didn't like it." If they have been under the care of an Indian doctor, and are forced to seek modern medical aid, they attempt to explain the native healer's failure to alleviate the condition. "Uncle Jimmie nearly gave up on him but not quite. . . . I think maybe we waited too long to do something about it. We knew he was hurting, but he wouldn't tell us how long he'd been like that." Others suspect that some native doctors have "spoiled themselves" by not observing prescribed rituals after the death of a patient.

Admittedly, those people who actively resist modern medical aid are few. The most common practice is that of employing a combination of the two forms of treatment. Occasionally this combination occurs simultaneously, or nearly so. For example, one family has a daughter who, according to an official diagnosis, is emotionally disturbed. She suffers from the delusion that someone is "knocking her down." Through arrangements made by a caseworker, her parents take her to Asheville for psychiatric counseling. At the same time, however, she is being treated locally by an Indian doctor from Birdtown. Others who have been discharged from the hospital by an

attending physician will resume treatment with an Indian doctor. For another example, one informant was treated for a cat bite which had become infected. Upon release from the hospital she was treated by an old woman. Another man's face was stepped on by a mule. "Uncle Jimmie doctored him, then he went to the hospital. When he got out Uncle Jimmie doctored him until he got well."

This pattern of utilizing a combination of professional and nonprofessional care is not as common as using either one type or the other as different occasions demand. It is difficult to discover what determines the choice of therapy in some circumstances. However, the data suggest that knowledge of the nature of the ailment is a factor, particularly in the case of children. If the ailment is not diagnosed, the child is most frequently taken into the Public Health Hospital. If, on the other hand, the trouble is an earache, a cold, or a fever, an Indian doctor is called in. One young couple regularly takes its baby to a private pediatrician for periodic examinations. But the mother took the youngest child to an Indian healer when the child had a bad cold. "He prescribed some roots to be scraped down and made into tea, then delivered more the next morning." The baby recovered. Hives (Indians in category 1 believe that all babies have them) are always treated by native doctors. They make the baby restless and fretful. "White doctors don't know anything about hives or kernels, either."

I asked one Indian mother, Emmaline, a question about the relative effectiveness of Indian doctors or White doctors. She replied, "Well, it just depends, if you know what's the matter." She took her baby to Molly to be doctored because she thought the baby had an earache, but later the same day when the baby seemed no better, she took her into the hospital where she hoped they would "give her a shot of penicillin. That usually takes care of it." She continued, "Sometimes when you go down, they just give a shot and it don't help."

Some years ago, Emmaline had a 3-year-old who would not play with the other children. The physician at the hospital said there was nothing wrong with the child. But Emmaline noticed that the baby was getting "fat [swollen] in the face and stomach." She took the youngster to an old man who asked, "How she was. He said he'd try. He got some herbs and blew on the baby. We went back four times and the baby was cured." Emmaline said, "It seems like Indian doctors know more about babies than White doctors."

Another parent, Katherine, has a baby who weighed only 5 pounds when she came home from the hospital. She did not gain and did not "do right." When the hospital failed to help the baby, Katherine took her to an Indian doctor. He asked, "How she been," and then

he said, "I'll try to help her." In a week or so the infant began to get better.

As these latter two examples show, both mothers used the hospital facilities at first, but when they became dissatisfied with the result, they turned to native healers. Thus, another factor influencing choice of therapy is related to a dissatisfaction with the kind of care the hospital staff gives. That is, as the Indians perceive it, the care may not be proper. This dissatisfaction is borne out in the following case. A toddler pulled a pot of boiling corn and lye over herself. As her mother tells it:

The blisters did not come for a couple of hours. We took her to the hospital and they bandaged her and I brought her back home. She cried all night. When I took her back 3 days later, that nurse ripped the bandages off and the blood poured out. I took her home; I could nurse her better than that. Lloyd, he came up and doctored her, told me to leave the bandages off so the heat could get out. It took about a month for the burns to heal.

During the winter of 1959-60, an elderly woman was told she had cancer. Her son asked the physicians to operate, but was told that it was too late for surgery. The patient was quite sure that she didn't have cancer, for she said, "I forgot to tell the doctor I hurt my body when I fell last December. . . . I decided to go to an Indian doctor; she say, I'm bruised inside." Some weeks later she remarked that she was getting stouter and said, "I don't suffer like I did." Others in the community agree that Liza is better. "She couldn't even turn over when she got home, now she walks good." Her Indian doctor is treating her for kidney trouble. Liza said she would not go back to the hospital because she has medicine of her own now.

Another area in which there is some disapproval of hospital technique is in obstetrics. There were only five infants born at home during my stay in the field. Many Conservative women are, however, apprehensive about going to the hospital to have their babies. Lucy made frequent oblique remarks about staying home to have her child, although it was delivered at the hospital. Many mothers disapprove of the kind of postnatal care given at the hospital. There is a firm belief that postparturient mothers should not be given cold liquids and that the placenta should not be burned; if the latter is done, the mothers will not regain their strength. Some new mothers are treated by native doctors upon their return from the hospital. During my stay, two of the mothers whose infants were delivered at home said they would not go to the hospital because babies die there. In fact, one firmly believes that a doctor killed a baby of hers. In conjunction with this, she said, "White doctors can cure, but they can kill too, if they want to."

Opinions about Indian doctors vary somewhat. Some, although they do patronize Indian practitioners, feel that they do not know as much now as the "old people" did. Others hold that Indian doctors can cure cancer and diabetes, as well as other ailments. Some native healers are, of course, considered better than others. The feeling is strong that all of them can "conjure" against somebody, but the doctors generally deny this. How widespread the feeling is that Indian doctors know when a person is going to die has not been determined, but this subject has been mentioned by a few informants.

Most adults who make use of Indian doctors know some herbal remedies and use them much as others might use patent medicines; indeed, some of them use patent medicines, too. Usually these people do not know the ceremonial language which accompanies the formula for curing. For example, Ollie, a middle-aged informant, said that one of her grandchildren had something wrong with him, so she made some medicine and rubbed it on. "He quit that sliding around [itching]." Her brother, Julius, "learned medicine" for cuts and toothaches from his grandfather, Ducksoup. However, he doctors only himself.

To summarize, these are the patterns which most of the Conservatives follow when coping with illness. If allowed to make a choice, some people, admittedly few in number, avoid contact with White physicians. However, school health activities preclude complete reliance on Indian doctors. Thus, many Conservatives use both types of medical practitioners at the same time.

Others employ both Indian and White doctors, but on different occasions. One variable here is diagnosis. If the nature of the affliction is known, help is solicited from an Indian doctor. In the event that it is unknown, a trip to the hospital is made for a shot, for these people have implicit faith in the efficiency of shots. Evidence suggests that in circumstances where the White physician does not tell the patient what is wrong with him and does not give him an injection, the patient feels that the doctor is no good. Associated with this point of view is the tendency to turn to an Indian doctor if the therapy or diagnosis does not accord with the Indian's idea of proper treatment. We suggest that for the greater number of these people, the two types of medical assistance are not antithetical. In their view, the two systems are complementary. Choosing between them does not produce ambivalence. Given the notion that Indian doctors know more about pediatrics than White doctors, one readily selects a native doctor, but if the malady does not respond to this therapy, a shot is probably required. Correspondingly, in ailments in which injections form part of the treatment, the people are fairly faithful. The diabetic patients are regular in their adminis-

tration of insulin, but not nearly so faithful in following the dietary regulation in which they have been instructed.

CATEGORY 2. PATIENTS OF PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICAL SERVICES

The second group is composed of the Rural Whites and the Generalized Indians who use to the fullest extent the facilities offered by the Public Health Service. Unless they are referred to other physicians or specialists by the reservation medical staff, they seldom go off the reservation for treatment. While none admit using Indian doctors, some may use herbs which they regard as effective. "Do you ever use Indian doctors: do you believe in them?" one was asked. She replied, "Well, those who use herbs can help. I've used herbs for the children. Yellowroot is good for thrash in the mouth . . . wild cherry is good for colds. My mamma uses herbs, too." Another mother of a large Rural White family said:

We used to be bad to do that [formerly made frequent use of herb medicine] but we don't do it much any more. On the other side of the creek is a medicine called boneset. It's very good for fever. You make tea out of it and drink it hot as you can. Junior says it tastes terrible. Years ago my mother and some of those people up there [Big Cove] would never go to a doctor down here, but now most of them do. We always take ours [take their children to the Public Health doctors in Cherokee].

Tom, the father of another Rural White family, is typical of people in category 2 in his frequent use of the Public Health Service. His comments about his medical problems reflect the poor communication that often exists between the medical practitioners and the people in category 2. For example, he said that the Public Health doctor told him he had "just given out." He is under treatment for severe asthma. His medicine, he says, "Smells like cherry bark and alcohol and tastes worse than it smells." Tom has another condition which affects one leg. He was referred to a doctor in Asheville for X-rays. His remarks about this experience also mirror his confusion. Tom said that the Asheville doctor told him he'd never seen "so much gas coming from the ligaments in his back to his leg." A suspicious spot, which was thought to be cancer, showed up on the plate and the county welfare worker told Tom this. Later the Public Health doctor told him that it was a result of having but one kidney. "Anyway," Tom said, "There ain't nothing you can do about cancer. I wouldn't let them cut into me." In contrast to the woman cancer patient in category 1 who is being treated by an Indian doctor, Tom said he would never go to an Indian doctor although he gets little relief from the medications he takes. Tom has a favorite physician

at the hospital, and he takes all the children to him. The three youngest children are not well. Goats' milk has been prescribed for one, but obtaining it is out of the question because of its cost.

Jack, a Generalized Indian, spent several weeks in the Public Health Hospital and was then sent to a Veterans' Administration hospital. He left there on a weekend pass and would not return. Later he was readmitted to the Public Health Hospital. His mother said Jack left the VA hospital because he thought they were going to operate on him. Jack commented in an interview that none of the physicians know what they are doing, but he maintained that Indian doctors know even less.

Usually as children, some of those in the second category have used Indian doctors in the past. If they use them now, they do so sub rosa, although they may admit knowing who one or two of the Indian doctors are. One older informant said, "Anybody would be a fool to go to one of them." When reminded by his wife that he had gone to one once, he replied,

Aw hell, I was so damn drunk I didn't know what I was doing . . . it would have gotten better anyway. I fell off a damn mule and my leg swelled up and kept bothering me. So I got a jug of whiskey and went over to her place and said I wanted my leg doctored. She went over to the stove and warmed her hands and rubbed them on my knee. Then she took a scratcher with snake rattles on it—snake teeth too I reckon—and scratched my leg 'til the damn thing bled. She told me it would get better in four days . . . got well after a while, but not in four days . . . damn foolishness!

Among many in this category, the sanitary conditions of the home are such that frequent illness is to be expected. Usually these people follow the orders issued by the physicians. The diabetics among them are cautious about their diet, and many of them achieve a desired loss of weight.

CATEGORY 3. PATIENTS OF PRIVATE PHYSICIANS

The final category is comprised of people who use private health services almost exclusively. Among this group, which is made up primarily of the Cherokee Middle Class, are a few Rural Whites and a few Generalized Indians. Their reasons for relying on private medical care are varied and complex. Several of these people are Civil Service employees. They maintain that, in this capacity, they are not eligible for care provided by the Public Health hospital. However, many inquiries yielded no definitive statements on such a policy, although there is a sign in the waiting room of the hospital which states that medical care is available for indigent Indians only.

Yet some use these facilities who are financially able to assume reasonable costs for treatment but are not Federal employees. Furthermore, several people who are employed in some capacity by the Bureau of Indian Affairs use the hospital without charge.

It is alleged by many people in this group that the Public Health doctors are poorly qualified. "Public Health officials can't make a go of it in private practice. They are more concerned with the salaries than they are the people." One woman, a Generalized Indian, had her first child at the reservation hospital. She said they left her in labor for 2 days. Her second child was born in a private hospital, and she takes all the children to a doctor in Waynesville. She vows she will never go back to the "Indian" hospital for anything unless she is ready to die. Another informant, a Rural White, insists that the Public Health staff does not know what to do for her. She takes her medical problems to Bryson City. Statements such as these are typical of this group.

Although there may be some truth in some of the charges about the attitude of the health staff, comments suggest that a matter of status is involved in the choice of therapy for people in the third group. This is borne out by such remarks as: "I can afford my own doctor bills," and "I'm no charity patient." I asked a Middle Class informant whether she ever used the Public Health facilities. She looked very surprised and answered, "Heavens no!"

People in category 3 are much more sophisticated in health affairs. Although they treat themselves at home, they seldom permit a chronic condition or an unusual symptom to continue uncared for. They make use of psychiatric counseling. They are quick to have surgery when it is necessary. When they keep their children home from school, the youngsters are kept in bed or indoors.

Most of these people are not acutely aware of the extent to which Indian medicine is still being practiced. One man said that it had all died out, although he supposed his grandmother used it. Another denied any knowledge of native doctors, although probing revealed that he did know who one of the doctors was. The few who do have some awareness of the habits of Conservatives have no interest in, or sympathy with, native medicine. A shopkeeper said, "Don't let them fool you. Nine-tenths of them believe in conjuremen, so they fool around with them . . . when they get to the hospital they are half dead." A former nurse said of one well-known Indian doctor, "He'll tell people anything he happens to think of."

In general, there is no distinctive difference between Indians in the third category and White people from a similar educational and

economic background. Their health practices with regard to preventive measures and treatment of illness accord with middle class standards at large.

To conclude, the analysis of behavior in respect to the onset of illness has suggested three types of people. However, the differences between the three groups are not of the same order. The second and third groups are both committed to modern medicine. The difference rests in the choice of doctor which is, in part, based upon the ability to pay for private care. The basic distinction among the people is clearly drawn between those who use aboriginal medicine and those who do not.

CONCLUSIONS

Health habits and medical practices have been analyzed in terms of four criteria: environmental sanitation and hygienic practices; responses to clinical procedures; responses to school health instruction; and behavior prompted by illness.

CRITERION I. SANITARY-HYGIENIC ENVIRONMENT.—Analysis of the data on environmental sanitation and hygienic practices permitted the construction of four categories of people. The first two categories contain Conservatives, Rural Whites, and Generalized Indians. The third and fourth categories include Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and the Middle Class. Table 7 demonstrates the distribution of 73 informants and their families according to this criterion. The data presented in this table are valid only in terms of the cases selected for observation. They illustrate the fact that there is a rough fit between Thomas' four acculturative types of people and their sanitary and hygienic practices.

TABLE 7.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by types of sanitary-hygienic environment (criterion I)*

Types of sanitary-hygienic environment	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Category 1. Inadequate.....	13	56.5	1	6.0	4	28.6	0	0.0
Category 2. Minimal.....	9	39.1	7	41.2	4	28.6	0	.0
Category 3. Adequate.....	1	4.4	6	35.2	5	35.7	14	21.1
Category 4. Very adequate.....	0	.0	3	17.6	1	7.1	15	78.9
Total.....	23	100.0	17	100.0	14	100.0	19	100.0

¹ Three of the four are homes of single men.

CRITERION II. RESPONSES TO CLINICAL PROCEDURES.—Materials from the observation of Public Health clinics enable me to divide the participants into only two groups. The writer observed approximately 78 adults, some of whom were accompanied by children, in five clinics.¹⁴ Table 8 shows the distribution of these adults. The difference in the behavior is very marked. Thirty-two of the participants are characterized by reserve and passiveness; the remaining forty-six are "out going," and interact openly in the clinic situation. The first category comprises Conservatives. Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians are in the second category.

TABLE 8.—*Distribution of Cherokee clinic participants, by type of behavior in five public health clinics (criterion II)*

Type of clinic behavior	Clinic participants, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Category 1. Inarticulate-acquiescent	31	100.0	0	0.0	11	4.5	0	0.0
Category 2. Vocal, active participation	0	.0	24	100.0	21	95.5	1	100.0
Total	31	100.0	24	100.0	22	100.0	1	100.0

¹ Modified behavior.

CRITERION III. RESPONSES TO SCHOOL HEALTH INSTRUCTION.—All of the reservation schools were visited during the course of the fieldwork, but the school health instructional program of one school was investigated at length because the school had a good representation of Thomas' first three acculturative groups. Of 35 children, 14 behaved in a manner similar to the people described in category 1, under clinical behavior. The remaining 21 children duplicated the behavior of the second group of clinic participants. These data are presented in table 9.

CRITERION IV. BEHAVIOR PROMPTED BY ILLNESS.—The choices made by the Cherokee in terms of medical therapy reveal significant

¹⁴ Observations were made in one well-baby clinic, two preschool clinics, and two diabetic clinics. In the well-baby clinic approximately three-fourths of the participants fell into category 2. Participants in one of the preschool clinics, held in Big Cove, were all Conservatives whose behavior placed them in category 1. Of those taking part in the preschool clinic held in the Public Health offices, approximately three-fourths fell into category 2. On the basis of their behavior, the patients in the diabetic clinics were evenly divided between the first and second categories.

TABLE 9.—*Distribution of 35 schoolchildren, by health classroom behavior (criterion III)*

Type of health classroom behavior	Schoolchildren, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Category 1. Inarticulate-acquiescent.....	12	100.0	-----	-----	12	25.0	-----	-----
Category 2. Vocal, active participation.....	-----	-----	15	100.0	6	75.0	-----	-----
Total.....	12	100.0	15	100.0	8	100.0	-----	-----

¹ One child mentally retarded.

differences. There are two major groups, those who use Indian "doctors," and those who do not. Among those who use native practitioners, some are more consistent in their use than are others. For the most part, the most consistent patients of Indian healers are the old Indians, but not exclusively so. The more prevalent pattern is the alternative use of both aboriginal medicine and modern medicine. The second major classification is subdivided into those who use Public Health facilities available on the reservations, and those who use private physicians in surrounding towns. Data provided in table 10 show the distribution of 74 Indian families by the main type of medical care utilized. Indians who cling to aboriginal medicine, either exclusively or in combination with modern medicine, are Conservatives. Those who are oriented toward modern therapy are Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and the Middle Class. The patrons of private medical services are largely members of the Middle

TABLE 10.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by type of medical care (criterion IV)*

Type of medical care	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Indian "doctors".....	22	91.7	11	5.9	11	7.1	-----	-----
Public Health.....	2	8.3	13	76.5	10	71.5	1	5.3
Private practice.....	-----	-----	3	17.6	3	21.4	18	94.7
Total.....	24	100.0	17	100.0	14	100.0	19	100.0

¹ There is no conclusive evidence that these informants utilize Indian doctors, but conversations hint at the possibility.

Class, although a few of the better situated Rural Whites and Generalized Indians also patronize private physicians.

The findings previously discussed do not provide us with a *fourfold* lineal model of acculturation. The clustering which I find tends to group together people who are, according to Thomas, dissimilar. Rather, the data suggest both an on-going process of acculturation, and an internal differentiation taking place within the more acculturated group.

Acculturation.—Data from criteria II and III (clinic and school behavior) demonstrate a two-fold acculturative differentiation, "Indian and Non-Indian." Conservatives are concentrated in one category. Other people, on the basis of analogous behavior, fall into a second category. This illustrates the ways in which three of Thomas' four types are similar to each other.

Acculturation and internal differentiation.—Data from criteria I and IV (sanitation and types of medical care) also illustrate an on-going process of acculturation. They show less two-way differentiation than do criteria II and III, but there is, nevertheless, a clustering of Conservatives in category 1, in each case, and a clustering of the Middle Class in the last category, in each case.

Criteria I and IV illustrate, moreover, the possibility of social class differentials as well as Conservative-non-Conservative differentials. For example, in criterion I some 52.8 percent of the Generalized Indian informants fall within categories 3 and 4 and 57.1 percent of the Rural Whites fall within categories 1 and 2; the former percentage is higher than would be expected and the latter is lower if a good fit existed between sanitary and hygienic practices and the Thomas acculturation continuum. One is led to believe that much of the difference in the sanitary environments of the Generalized Indian, the Rural White, and the Middle Class is due to socioeconomic rather than to acculturative differentials. Similarly, data from criterion IV suggest that choices made by the non-Conservatives as to types of medical care are made, not so much because of differences in acculturation, but because of differences in status and styles of life. The Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who use the Public Health facilities and staff frequently do so because they cannot afford private medical care.

A diagram of these findings (fig. 7) shows clearly the problems inherent in an assessment of both the process and the end result of acculturation, and emphasizes the inconsistency of the data on health as a key criterion of acculturation.

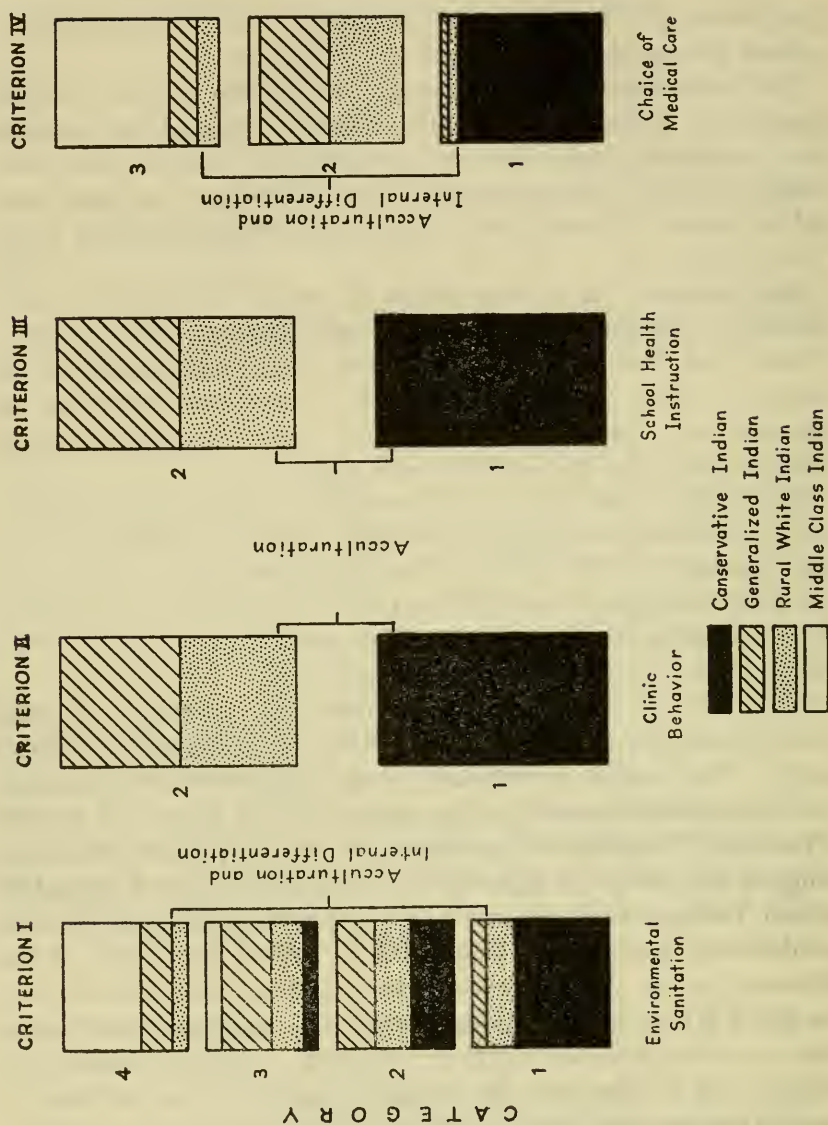


FIGURE 7.—Graphic presentation of health habits of Cherokee informants.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Many students of social stratification in Western society have used education as one basic criterion for separating disparate groups of people. Some studies simply record the number of school years completed by members of a sample. Other studies search for the value which respondents attach to education.¹⁵ This second approach has revealed significant differences in the importance divergent groups place on formal education, and suggests that a similar phenomenon might be present among the Cherokee. Consequently, education has been used as a second variable for testing the Thomas continuum.

Almost everyone at Cherokee agrees that education is important. Beyond this, however, there are differences. Aspiration levels differ, reasons for valuing education differ (although sometimes subtly), and the behavior associated with achieving the goal also differs.

ASPIRATION LEVELS

I have placed the Cherokee into three broad categories on the basis of what I have learned of their aspiration levels: Those who aspire to a high school education for their children; those who regard some further training, usually vocational, as necessary; and those who anticipate college education for their children.

CATEGORY 1. HIGH SCHOOL ORIENTED

Among those who envisage high school education as necessary preparation for young people, verbalization on the importance of this achievement is a recurrent phenomenon. By and large, the reasons given for this desideratum are similar. A common one is the desire to have children better educated than their parents. Jess, a young father, said in answer to a question about keeping his children in school, "Yes, I don't want them to be like me; I only went to the third grade. My boy is in the sixth grade now." Another informant, Lizzie, a grandmother raising the illegitimate son of one of her daughters, insists that she wants "him to be something when he grows up, not a dummy like me. I most forgot everything I ever learned . . . arithmetic, it's like when you lie down to go to sleep; you put everything away." Lizzie's own formal education was restricted to 3 or 4 years at the reservation boarding school in the years around 1900.

Another reason proposed for finishing school, closely related to the one above, reflects concern for employment opportunities. There is a general consensus that nowadays, a high school education is impera-

¹⁵ See, for example: Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958; Warner et al., 1947; Hayman, 1953, pp. 426-432; Kahl, 1956, pp. 184-218, 276-293; and Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68-83.

tive if one is to get a job. The fact has been underscored by the presence of the Harns Manufacturing Plant, for although workers have been employed who are not high school graduates many have been refused on this basis. Younger workers are encouraged to apply only after they have finished school.

Jack Johnson recognizes the importance of a high school education for obtaining a job. The fact that his oldest son married without finishing high school was a great disappointment to him and his wife. His second son went West with a Mormon missionary and is attending public high school there. Jack misses him but contends that he is better off out there. "They can't do anything without an education." The boy in the West wants to join the Navy. Jack said he would sign the papers provided his son finishes high school first. Jack completed the 11th grade, and his wife finished high school.

In agreement with Jack is Tom, the father of 12 children. He told his boys that they were all going to finish school "even if they are 30 before they do it. They can't get a job now unless they've got an education." One son was a victim of polio, and, Tom says, "He has got to go past high school because he isn't as strong as the others."

Concomitant with the parents' desire to have their children "better themselves" by finishing school, is their concern over the quality of the reservation schools. Lizzie, for example, is critical of the reservation educational program. She sends her grandson to summer school at Cullowhee, a small college about 40 miles from the reservation. In this connection she plans to put Frank in "public school,"¹⁶ for she does not see "why Indian children can't learn as good as White children." She is convinced that Indian children are not educated as well as they should be. "Long time ago," she said, "a superintendent [superintendent in charge of the reservation] told them teachers that Indians shouldn't learn like White people. I know a girl graduated from Cherokee can't even count."

Jack Johnson also questions the quality of the reservation schools. "The Indian school isn't like it used to be when I went If I had the money, I'd send every one of mine to public school in Bryson or Whittier. They need good schooling."

These four informants are typical of many who stress the importance of secondary school preparation. Whether they will see their children achieve this is impossible to predict with certainty. (None of Lizzie's own children have finished high school. The two youngest, a boy and girl in their early 20's entered, but despite Lizzie's "begging them to finish, they stopped after the ninth grade." She insists that her grandson will not do this.) But their approach to the problem differs

¹⁶ County and city schools adjacent to the reservation. Cf. footnote 2, p. 225.

from some of the others in this category who express the same goal. They do not permit the children to stay out of school unless it is absolutely necessary, or unless the child is ill. Occasionally, Tom's older boys have to stay out to plow, plant, or harvest. When they do, Tom's wife writes a note to the school principal explaining the situation.

Other Indians who recognize the importance of high school education are less assertive about it. And they rarely complain about the quality of the reservation schools. The attendance records of their children testify to the fact that they do not pressure their children into regular attendance. Other evidence supporting this lack of coercion is visible in the variation found among children within the same family in terms of the number of grades completed. For example, Emmaline, a mother of 10 children, says she hates to have the children "lay out" of school, but when asked why Alfred was not in school, she said "He got ready to go this morning; he put on clean socks, but he didn't go." Emmaline has an older son and daughter who did not finish high school but she has two daughters who are attending high school at a Federal boarding school for Indians in Kansas. The younger one, Ellie, is crossing off the days until she can come home. Her mother said, "She don't care much for it."

Lucy, another informant, has only a sixth grade education, but her older brother and sister have graduated from Cherokee High School. A younger brother and sister entered, but did not finish. Lucy said, "I just quit; I didn't like boarding school. Momma and Poppa didn't say nothing about it." Five of her children now are in elementary school. "Mary does good, but them boys can't learn nothing. Kenneth wants to quit. I guess I'll let him if the school will." On two occasions I found Mary home from school because, her mother said, "she didn't want to go."

Both of these mothers and their husbands talk about the importance of education. One husband was refused employment at the Harns plant because of inadequate preparation. But when asked about plans for their children, the reply was, "It's up to them, whatever they want to be."

Some Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and Conservatives are found in category 1. They all share the same level of aspiration, but the steps they take to implement the goal vary. Generalized Indians and the Rural Whites are usually more forceful in seeing that their children attend school regularly, and they attempt to keep them enrolled until they graduate. For the most part, Conservatives do not pressure their children to comply with their wishes. However, there are some who, although traditional in many ways (for example, in choices of medical treatment), are determined to see that their children

receive more education than they did. At this writing, they are taking measures to implement the goal, but these children are young. Whether the adults will continue to directly influence them as they mature is a moot point.

CATEGORY 2. POST-HIGH-SCHOOL VOCATIONAL TRAINING ORIENTED

Noncollegiate post-high-school training is a common goal for many people, and well within the reach of most of them, since the Federal Government maintains free vocational schools for Indians. (The major cost is transportation.) Cherokee who take advantage of these schools go either to Haskell Institute, in Kansas, or to Chilocco, in Oklahoma. The reasons parents give for encouraging their children to continue are almost entirely associated with better economic opportunities.

Luke Diver, a Conservative resident of Big Cove, has two boys and a girl who graduated from Cherokee High School and are now attending Chilocco. He was asked whether he thought that it was a good idea to have them in school. "Well, it don't cost nothing, and it looks like nowadays you can't get work unless you go on . . . like me, it's hard to get work. I ain't heard from the plant yet." Luke has not given his children as strong encouragement to continue their education as has his neighbor, Wilbur, the father of three children now in elementary school. I asked Wilbur if he was planning to see that all of his children graduate from high school. "Yes," he replied. "But of course, a high school education doesn't mean much nowadays; if they want a white collar job, they got to have college or vocational training." His wife added, "If we can't afford college maybe we can get them into other training. It seems like it is easier now than it was when I was growing up." Wilbur continued, "Look at some of these kids who are getting high school diplomas. They don't know what they ought to know. I don't think the schools are as good as they were when I went, back in the boarding school days." Wilbur would like to send his children to a local public school for better preparation. However, it isn't possible because they live much too far from the county school-bus lines.

Another informant, a Generalized Indian, attended Chilocco and feels that vocational education is important. He is sending his son to high school in Waynesville so that he will be better prepared to attend Chilocco. "Cherokee is no school; those kids can't do a thing when they get out . . . nothing but loaf. Not enough of them go on to school and when they do, they can't last." He continued, "Another important thing about Chilocco is the getting out and mixing with people."

The parents of a large Rural White family have hopes of sending their oldest son to Haskell. They could not afford it when he graduated from Cherokee High School last year. Although he is now working at the Harns plant, he talks of quitting and going on for vocational training. "Now with the new roll, I might be able to go because I'll get the same privileges [financial assistance] as full Indians. I couldn't go this fall, but I might be able to next year."

These remarks reflect the sentiments of the people in category 2. However, there is some merging between ambitions for vocational training and for attending college. Some of the people do not make a clear distinction between the two choices. The economic differential between the two is one reason for lack of a definitive goal. Some entertain the idea of college, but their finances militate against it, and they are not so firmly committed to college as a social goal that they will try to find a way. A second reason for the blurring is that some of them are not clearly aware of the differences between advanced vocational training and college education.

People who comprise category 2 are Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and a few Conservatives. (Most, although not all, of the Conservatives are in the second group by virtue of the fact that some of their children are presently enrolled in post-graduate training schools. But we suspect, with good reason, that this is due, at least in part, to outside influences and personal choices of the children, rather than as a direct consequence of parental pushing.) Not all those who want their children to continue some sort of training beyond high school share the same feelings about the inadequacy of reservation schools. But it is a prevalent sentiment, and becomes even more entrenched in the next classification.

Most of the parents in category 2 have completed more years of schooling than have those in the first category; however, there are some who have little or no formal education. Emphasis on marks or school performance, while not entirely absent among the first group, becomes much more marked in category 2.

CATEGORY 3. COLLEGE ORIENTED

A small group of Cherokees regard college education as a normal expectation for their children. Some of these children are currently in college; others, not yet there, are reminded of this goal in many ways. Economic position is, of course, an important element in the realization of the goal. But it is not the sole reason. There are several parents for whom the expense of maintaining even one child in college represents a financial strain, even though these people are better off than many because they have steady employment. Other

motives are present among this group that are lacking among people in the other two categories.

One sentiment, often disguised, is that a college education will prove that Indians can "amount to something." One informant, a college graduate, reflects this in the half-joking remark, "Well this dumb Indian got through it . . . and when I needed money, I went out and worked for it."

Concealed in other comments is the recognition of the status which a college degree confers, irrespective of race. The son of one family stayed out of college during the spring quarter of his junior year. He is planning to be married this summer and return to school in the fall. Because he has a well-established family business to enter, I asked him why he bothered to finish college. "Oh, I don't know," he said. "Just to say I did it, I guess . . . it would be nice for the children to say they had a Daddy who went to college . . . I'll never use it [college education], I guess."

There are people in this category who have achieved a stable socioeconomic position. They desire higher education for their children, not so much because they are striving for status, but because they have accepted college as a normal goal for those in their social position. Illustrative of this is the case of a couple with three children. The husband is a graduate of Chilocco; his wife attended a university in the West for 2 years. One of their children has graduated from a State university. The other two are presently enrolled in college. One, a student in a western institution, failed a course his first semester. His parents expressed mild concern, but took no definite steps to discipline him. He was married during the spring of his freshman year. Although his parents did not object, his mother fears that the marriage may hinder him in the completion of his education. Several times during the first semester he overdrew his checking account. His father said, "Boy, he can spend the money. He went to school with a bank account, and we've been sweetening it all winter. I guess boys have to spend money, but I believe he spends too much." The youngest child was graduated from a public high school last June. He spent a great deal of time searching college directories and finally decided to major in engineering at a nearby State university.

There are others whose socioeconomic status is not typically that of the middle class, but whose goals are similar. These families are currently mobile. One such couple has two children for whom college careers are planned. These children are under a reward system in which they receive 50 cents for every A. If they receive a C or a D they must pay the parents 10 cents. The money goes into their college account. A set of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (adult edition) was purchased for the children to use in doing their homework.

Their mother said, "I sure could have used them when I was in school, but we couldn't afford it." The mother graduated from high school. The father finished the eighth grade. He said, "In those days, I didn't know what was good for me. I would have gone further, but my Daddy died. He would have made me stay in school . . . he went to Carlisle."¹⁷ One of his reasons for urging his children is the employment potential inherent in a college education.

Rare, but present in a few cases, is the idea that an education includes more than a means for earning a living, that it is a liberating and stimulating experience. One informant has been planning for a college education for her son from his infancy. The boy has never attended reservation schools. All his educational experiences have been geared to his ultimate entrance to college. He is a better than average student but has required tutoring in French. A year in preparatory school would help him, according to his mother, but the expense involved makes the extra year out of the question. There is a long tradition of education in the family, extending back four generations. The choice of institution for the boy is conditioned both by expense and his particular needs. Because he is unassertive, his parents think he might be lost at a State university. The cost precludes following some of his uncles who attended New England colleges. The task is to find a good small school which will arouse his curiosity and widen his horizons.

None of the reasons for college education is mutually exclusive. And, of course, employment possibilities are woven through all the motives, but only in the sense that certain kinds of positions and occupations are appropriate to the socioeconomic status of this group. Most of the people of this category consist of people in Thomas' Middle Class. However, there are a few Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who, although not having the economic level of the Middle Class, have the educational orientation. Strangely enough, there is among our cases, at least one who is, in many respects, a Conservative.

REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Perceptions and memories of one's school experience have a bearing on aspiration levels. They also serve as a sorting device for the fieldworker. Attitudes toward school and things remembered differ from person to person. But certain recurrent themes appeared as I talked with informants. I have placed my informants into three major groups on the basis of their reactions to boarding-school experiences.

¹⁷ Carlisle, now closed, was a school in Pennsylvania for Indians which provided both high school and post-high school training.

GROUP 1. RESENTFUL

Perhaps the most vivid recollections come from those who resented the treatment of the children in the boarding school¹⁸ of 25 or more years ago. The mention of school elicits such reminiscences as: "They put dresses on me to keep me from running away; think maybe I be ashamed to go through Cherokee in a girl's dress, but I did anyway." This speaker is a young man in his early 30's. Another man about 56, recalls that there was a "little stone house they locked the runaway boys in . . . they kept them from speaking Indian, too." Speaking about forbidding Cherokee speech, another said, "They used to make us work, or whip us, if they caught us speaking Indian. I didn't like that at all. I'm proud to say that I can read and write in my own language." A woman of 65, agrees with his comments, adding, "Seemed like they wanted us to be White." One final anecdote illustrates how vivid these recollections are for some. "Thompson," I said, "tell me about when you were in school." Thompson is a man of over 70. "One feller he hold one arm and another hold another and one behind me whup me. They took seven sticks about that thick [he used his forefinger to illustrate the size] and whup me." "Why?" I asked. "Runnin' away; after that I runned away and never come back. They shouldn't have done that to me."

These speakers who resented the regime of the boarding school are Conservatives. They speak with strong personal feelings of the harsh treatment accorded them there as children. Most of them succeeded in running away some time during their early years in school. A few talk of eluding the "policeman" who was sent to take them back. While escapes from truant officers were common, they are not the primary reason for remaining away from school. The basic cause was directly traceable to their parents, or parent surrogates, who did not make them return. The children's failure to return to school resulted in perpetuation of Conservative ways at a time when the educational program was directed toward the rapid inculcation of White ways. We shall have more to say about these circumstances later. For the present, it is sufficient to say that today they recognize the importance of some education. They perceive that, to an extent, their economic plight is determined by this deficiency. But efforts directed toward remedying this situation for their children, in all but a few cases, are made less effective because of the behavior pattern which stresses individual autonomy and disvalues coercion.

¹⁸ With the advent of the John Collier Administration for Indian Affairs, the military discipline was removed from Indian schools. Curricula were revised and emphasis was placed upon the "needs and goals of the Indian students." In 1952 the boarding school at Cherokee was closed because new and better roads permitted daily transportation for the students on the reservation. The current day school at Cherokee is similar to public schools, with, perhaps, less emphasis on scholarship and more emphasis on crafts.

GROUP 2. APPRECIATIVE

For many who endured the discipline of school, the memory of it has been dulled by what they perceive to have been the positive consequences. For some, it led to Hampton Institute in Virginia; for others, to Carlisle. Younger ones went to Haskell or Chilocco. They feel that they have learned proper ways to do things, proper ways to behave, and they feel they are progressive. One woman speaks of the boarding school:

as a place where the classrooms were quiet and well disciplined. I told the reservation principal that when they took out the military discipline, they ruined the school. I remember our matron; she used to paddle me plenty, but I loved her. That's where I got my knowledge of the better things in life, right there in that boarding school.

Still another says, "I was in boarding school when I was a girl and went home only for the summer. I swore I wasn't going to live like those people in Big Cove." The men remark, "Oh, it was rough all right, but after that I went to Haskell, or Carlisle, or Hampton." The theme is, "It was worth it."

Those who completed, or nearly completed, the program are now most of the Generalized Indians, the Middle Class, and a few Rural Whites. Some of them did run away but were returned, and so home ties were made more tenuous. Some of those in group 2 went on to other schools and some did not, but in any event, this period in the history of the reservation school system succeeded in bringing about significant changes for part of the population.

GROUP 3. BITTER

Others, who also finished the boarding school, never mention the rigidity of the training unless one probes for it. But other feelings come to the fore. These suggest that from some place, either from the school or from other sources, they acquired a feeling of inadequacy. One man said:

Segregated school for Indians is bad . . . the first time they go outside and bump shoulders with Whites and get a kick in the pants, they come back home and pull the blanket over their heads. I know how tough it was for me, how they made me feel. I swore I'd never send my kids to Indian School.

When the curriculum underwent revision during the Collier administration, some students were distressed:

Back in the 30's when John Collier came in and put in all those crafts, we went on strike. We felt we were wasting our time; they were making us go backwards. I had 24 units from here, and Cullowhee would only accept 15.

An informant, somewhat incoherent because he had had too much to drink, said of all Indian schools, "I went to Haskell from here

. . . It was a farce . . . they are just vocational schools, and a person could learn in 1 year what it takes him 2 to get at a place like Haskell or Cherokee."

People in group 3 shared similar school experiences with the people in group 2. They also share, but for different reasons, the bitterness found among the Conservatives in group 1. Beyond this similarity they do not resemble Conservatives in any way. Nearly all of them have completed high school, and many have had vocational or college training. They are actively encouraging their children to succeed in school. In almost every case, their children attend schools off the reservation. They condemn Indian schools in general, and the Cherokee school in particular.

CONCLUSIONS

Levels of aspiration and recollections of educational experiences have been the focus of the study of education. Analysis of educational aspirations has yielded three categories of Cherokee: high school oriented, post-high-school vocational training oriented, and college oriented. We see quite clearly that only secondary school completion is a goal for one group. The second group is aware that some training beyond high school is often necessary. The third group anticipates college education for its offspring. The members of these categories fit Thomas' continuum in a crude way. The group with the lowest aspiration level includes a large number of Conservatives and a few Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. The group with the intermediate expectation is made up of Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and a few Conservatives. The largest single group in the college oriented category is the Middle Class. Table 11 illustrates this distribution for 41 families with school age children.

TABLE 11.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by educational aspirations*

Educational aspirations	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
High school oriented.....	7	63.6	3	27.2	3	33.3	-----	-----
Post-high-school vocational training.....	3	27.2	5	45.6	3	33.3	1	10.0
College oriented.....	1	9.2	3	27.2	3	33.3	9	90.0
Total.....	11	100.0	11	100.0	9	100.0	10	100.0

Through the informants' memories of personal experiences associated with boarding school, I have been able to discern three groups of Cherokee adults: those who resented the harsh treatment, those

who credit the school with their advancement, and those who were made to feel inadequate by their attendance at Indian schools.

Those who were harshly treated and moved out of the situation are Conservatives. They generally, but not always, have the lowest level of aspiration for their children; they take few direct steps to implement the goal. Some of the Rural Whites did not complete many years of schooling either, but, because of their facility with English and other familiarity with White ways, they were not so roughly treated. Although their years of formal education were often as few as the Conservatives, they do not have the same intensity of feeling about the school. Their ambitions for their children are similar to those of Conservative parents, but they provide more direction and encouragement.

Members of groups 2 and 3 spent more years in school than did those of group 1. Whether they appreciated the training or whether they felt stigmatized by it, they are the ones whose children are now finishing high school and frequently going beyond it.

The findings on educational aspirations and experiences have revealed differences among the Cherokee, but the differences do not fit neatly with the differences among Thomas' four groups. These differences are the result of acculturation away from Conservatism. They are, moreover, the result of internal differentiation among the non-Conservatives, hinting at social class distinctions in regard to educational goals and values.

DOMINANT VALUES

In the course of my fieldwork I discovered a number of behavioral patterns which seemed only incidentally related to health matters and to education. Such behavior led me, in turn, to suspect the existence of *two* dominant values among the Cherokee. Thomas has identified one, which he calls the "Harmony Ethic." The second is closely related to Weber's "Protestant Ethic."

This section, therefore, is devoted to a description of these values and to the behavior associated with them. For if, as Evon Vogt (1955, pp. 6-7) suggests, values are selecting and regulatory processes, an understanding of them is relevant to the examination of the Cherokee, in accordance with Thomas' conceptual model.

THE HARMONY ETHIC

Thomas contends that the Harmony Ethic is central to the conservative Cherokee way of life. He says:

According to it, the Conservative tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with his fellow Cherokee by avoiding giving offense on the negative

side, and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his material goods on the positive side.¹⁹

I have selected pertinent aspects of behavior which illustrate this regnant value and which are also in sharp contrast to the behavior of people who are not motivated by the Harmony Ethic.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR

The intermediary.—All groups have developed methods by which to facilitate interaction; some of these devices are markedly different from each other. Among the Conservative Cherokee there is a preferred way of behaving in certain dyadic situations in which one person wishes to affect the behavior of another, for example, making requests, reproaching others, and controlling children. The single outstanding characteristic of this behavioral syndrome is the use of a *neutral third person* in circumstances which could be conceived of as threatening to amicable relationships.

It is readily apparent in incidents involving requests of one kind or another. School children, including high school students, frequently send another child to request permission of the teacher to sharpen a pencil or to leave the room. Employers comment on the same practice among people applying for work. In fact, I became the neutral third person when Frances, an informant, wished to get a job as a waitress. She mentioned this desire often, finally saying, "I'd go to see the manager if I could get someone to go with me." I accompanied her and made the initial overture to the manager. Go-betweens are also used in court cases. Several local lawyers have remarked on the frequency with which defendants, even those who speak English, bring an intermediary to court through whom they communicate.

This behavior is not confined to contacts with Whites or nonkinmen. One informant family was occupying a house, rent-free, which belonged to the wife's aunt. Although the aunt wanted the couple to move she did not approach them. Eventually she communicated her desire to another, saying, "When I said they could live there, I didn't mean forever." The neutral told the unwanted tenants that their aunt wanted them to move.

There was another domestic situation which reached crisis proportions in the eyes of the participants: A young 20-year-old girl who lives with her parents had one child by a man, unknown to the writer. A year or so later she bore a child to her maternal parallel cousin who was living with the family. Her mother disapproved highly of this,

¹⁹ Robert K. Thomas, quoted by Gulick, 1960, pp. 135-136. For a more complete description and interpretation of the Harmony Ethic, and associated Conservative values, see *ibid.*, pp. 136-141.

but would not let them marry because they were cousins. She complained about the irregularity of her daughter's relationship to many others in the community. Subsequently, her daughter became pregnant by her cousin again. Her mother then visited her mother-in-law, and discussed the problem. The girl's grandmother went to see the Chief about the situation. At no time during this period was the boy approached directly, by his aunt or his mother, about leaving.

Another example of the employment of the indirect method to approach or reproach people is seen in the case of an elderly woman whose son drives a taxi for a livelihood. He charges his mother for trips. When I expressed some surprise at this she said, "He shouldn't do me that way. I told some of my friends about it down in Cherokee. They must have jumped on that boy because for a long time he quit charging me. Now he do it again."

The pattern of using an intercessor is so firmly established that when an Indian is confronted with a direct request (which often happens in dealing with Whites) he draws another into the situation, if possible. A social worker went to Ollie Bird to ask her to care for some children in Big Cove. She came directly to the point, without any preliminaries. Ollie, who speaks English, turned to her brother who was visiting and spoke with him in Cherokee. After an extended exchange, the brother said, "She's got a lot to do here—hoe corn, and make the garden. Maybe her sister could do it."

There are occasions when a mediator is not available. Depending upon the circumstances, one can predict the courses of action Conservatives will follow on such occasions. If a desire is not overwhelming, or urgent, the Cherokee will go away unsatisfied. For example, Lizzie went to visit a Rural White friend who had promised her some flower cuttings. Getting the flowers was the purpose of the visit for she spoke of it on the way. After a long stay, during which the flowers were not mentioned by either principal, Lizzie departed empty-handed. As we returned, she mentioned several times how much she wanted some flowers like that. Should, however, the need for something be very important to the individual, he will phrase the request in the form of a positive statement: "I guess I'll ride with you to Cherokee." When dissatisfactions with people or situations occur and a disinterested party is not available, direct encounters are still avoided. An informant felt that too many demands were being made upon her at work but she did not mention her dissatisfaction to her employer. She simply quit. When asked what she had told the boss she said, "I didn't tell him nothing; I just didn't go back to work the next day." Related to this, is the fact that the Cherokee may also quit without notice if he is directly or openly reprimanded by a superior.

Parental control of children is essentially a dyadic situation, involving a parent and a child. Reliance upon indirection is also visible in this relationship. Generally, children are raised permissively and are seldom coerced unless they step too far out of line. But when this occurs an adult tells the child to stop and threatens him by saying that a "booger," a "skilly," or a unega (White person) will get him. In this way a symbolic agent, external to the dyad relationship, is introduced. This pattern of behavior occurs repetitively among Conservative parents. Habitual use of an external sanctioning agent does not, however, obviate direct parental interference. Yet, when an adult does resort to more direct methods, these actions are not preceded by a series of threats or promises to punish. The action takes place quickly after the child has been told to stop. The general tendency is for the adult not to identify himself as the source of authority.

The use of a mediator is a reflection of the Harmony Ethic in specific behavior. It functions to reduce friction in situations which could give rise to conflict. Employing an intercessor removes both actors from the immediate tense circumstance; it resembles psychological withdrawal. Where a mediator is not present, often a physical withdrawal occurs. In either event, direct altercation is avoided. Controlling children through the use of a symbolic external agent is an aspect of the same principle. The parent appears to the children in a neutral role rather than in an authoritarian or threatening role.

Generosity.—Cherokee pride themselves on their generosity. Tourist literature originating in the Cherokee Information Center mentions that the Indians are generous and hospitable. Other students of the Cherokee have also identified this trait. In reflecting upon what I have seen, it occurs to me that generosity is, indeed, a characteristic of the people, but it does not take the same form among all of them.

Conservatives state that "Indians are good to everybody"; "Stinginess is bad." If one is at their home around mealtime, they do not extend a formal invitation to stay to dinner. The unwary visitor finds that a place has been set for him as a matter of course and he is expected to eat. A guest seldom thanks his host; he simply gets up after a meal and wanders out of the house. Nor does one ordinarily receive thanks for a gift. I gave a good coat to a woman who needed it badly. She said, upon receiving it, "It be all right; you can leave it I guess." The writer did have one gift acknowledged, although indirectly. The daughter of the recipient told her, "Mamma sure did like those flowers you gave her."

The pattern of generosity is the norm among the Conservative segment of the population; it is predictable. But it is not without

its inconveniences and burdens, particularly since the Cherokee have been drawn into a money economy. Occasionally people withdraw from a situation in order to avoid its operation. An informant said that "he [her husband] don't go over to Russell's any more to get his hair cut. They are always out of something—coffee or flour—and he has to get it for them."

Generosity of this type is not unrelated to the use of a neutral person in favor-seeking situations. Loans are sought through the use of a third person and are seldom repaid; the lender rarely asks for the return of his money. But he often complains to others that his money has not been returned. Making requests of others (for loans or for repayment) can be viewed as disruptive for both principals. The possibility exists that an individual either does not wish to grant the request or is unable to do so. If he refuses another to his face, he offends, for the Harmony Ethic stipulates giving of oneself and possessions. When the neutral is used, there is no face-to-face interaction which might involve refusal. The kind of generosity we have been describing is peculiar to the Conservatives. Of generosity of others we shall have more to say later.

Aggression and aggressiveness.—Before I leave the general subject of interpersonal relationships, it is necessary to say something about aggression and aggressiveness.²⁰ Although the two terms have different connotations, I have chosen to discuss them simultaneously. In this case aggression refers to direct physical assaults, or to direct oral exchanges. By aggressiveness is meant the type of behavior, including initiative, forcefulness, or individualism which is necessary for success, according to some people.

Both aggression and aggressiveness are typically lacking in Conservative behavior. It is only when people have been drinking that direct physical encounters or quarrels take place. Any account of a fight between two Conservatives always includes a remark to the effect that they were drunk. Just as physical aggression is absent, so is the kind of aggressiveness or single-mindedness necessary for business success or individual achievement. Classroom competitiveness is not apparent among their children. Only in Indian ball and its pallid substitute, softball, do aggression and aggressiveness occur. Here they are circumscribed and institutionalized by the game.

NONEMPIRICAL BELIEFS

This category has been divided into two somewhat related phases; retention of the belief in immanent justice, and imitative magic, signs, and omens.

²⁰ For a more complete interpretation and explanation of aggression and aggressiveness, see Gullick, 1960, pp. 141-145.

Concept of immanent justice.—One segment of behavior which is clearly related to the Harmony Ethic is the persistence of the faith in automatic retribution. It functions as a form of social control which relieves the Cherokee from controlling each other through direct interference.

A test of immanent justice, given by the Indian Education Research staff to five western tribes, was adapted and administered to Cherokee children and to White children (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955). A selected sample of 161 Cherokee children, ages 8-19, was tested and the findings were compared with those from White children of the same age from Jackson County. Table 12 shows these findings.

TABLE 12.—*Percentage of responses indicating belief in immanent justice among Cherokee children and White children*¹

	Age, 8-11			Age, 12-19		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
		Q. A	Q. B		Q. A	Q. B
Whites.....	35	71.42	68.57	95	40.00	21.50
Cherokee.....	94	71.27	70.22	67	73.13	68.65

¹ A story was told involving the theft of a fish. Two questions were asked which would reveal a belief in automatic consequences: Question A. Why do you think Paul's foot was cut? Question B. If Paul had not stolen the fish would he have cut his foot?

The difference in the proportion believing in immanent justice between the White 8-11-year-olds and the White 12-19-year-olds is statistically significant. The probability is less than 0.05 that it occurred by chance.²¹ The proportionate difference in the belief between the Indian 8-11-year-olds and the Indian 12-19-year-olds is probably a result of chance variation. There is no significant difference between Indians of the 8-11-year-old group and their White counterparts. The difference between the Indian adolescent

²¹ The test of "Significance of Difference Between Proportions" was utilized on the answers to the questions for:

- White 8-11-year-olds—White 12-19-year-olds
- Indian 8-11-year-olds—Indian 12-19-year-olds
- Indian 8-11-year-olds—White 8-11-year-olds
- Indian 12-19-year-olds—White 12-19-year-olds

The distribution of characteristics for samples compared were tested by the formula:

$$\sigma p_{s_1} - p_{s_2} = \sqrt{\hat{p}\hat{q}\hat{u} \left(\frac{N_1 + N_2}{N_1 N_2} \right)}$$

where:

$$\hat{p}\hat{u} = \frac{P_{s_1}N_1 + P_{s_2}N_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

In each case we tested the null hypothesis that the "difference between the proportions of those believing in immanent justice was due to chance variation." The 0.05 level of significance was used. See Hagood and Price, 1952, pp. 313-320.

group and the White adolescent group is statistically significant. The probability of chance variation is much less than 0.05.

In a further refinement, the older group of Indian respondents was reclassified into two tentative groups: Conservative Indians and others (including Generalized Indians and Rural Whites). This reclassification resulted in findings which suggest that among the Conservative adolescents, the retention of the belief is almost universal. The proportion of the Conservative cases which retains the belief is, by inspection, significantly different from the proportion of other Cherokee adolescents which retains the belief.

The faith persists in different forms into adult life. I once made a comment to two women on the amount of money a certain entrepreneur must be making. One of them said, "It isn't good to be rich; you might die." The rationale for this statement touches on the Conservative value of generosity. In the eyes of the Conservative, anyone who has money must be stingy, and stinginess is an unseemly trait to be avoided.

The belief is also reflected in statements made about the cause of illness. Sickness is often attributed to "being bad" or "not doing right." Other vicissitudes are also interpreted as being a result of not doing right. Alfred was a heavy drinker. His wife lost a baby right after its birth. "They were so broken up over losing that baby that Alfred quit drinking. He even got up in church and said that he'd quit."

The notion of automatic consequences is present in many of the Cherokee myths. For example, there is a story of a boy who, contrary to his father's instructions, went to the river to play. After he had joined some other boys in a canoe, it began to rock and tipped the disobedient boy into the water.

An Indian doctor put it most explicitly, "In the old days, the people used to know the rules, used to know what to do. Now some of the young people don't care; they don't do right. They going to be sorry; they going to see they are wrong."

Imitative magic and signs and omens.—Thomas (MS. a, p. 22) states that the Conservative Cherokee still sees an ordered universe much as his ancestors did. Evidence for the persistence of this world view,²² can be seen in the beliefs revealing simple cause and effect, and in the credence which is placed in omens. These two phenomena are part of the way in which the Cherokee sees a harmonious ordering of his world. Several of these beliefs have been

²² For a discussion of world views and their entrenchment in present-day Indian tribal culture see Thompson, 1943.

selected to illustrate the extent to which convictions about the nature of things are inherent in Conservative culture.²³

Many of the beliefs are of the type which Frazer (1958, pp. 12-15) calls imitative magic. We heard a mother say, "I don't want this new baby scratched with a bear claw. That other boy was, and it made him too mean. He could be scratched with a turtle: that will make him stout." Another said:

My mother says if you scratch them over the eye with a lizard they'll go to sleep wherever they are, but it makes them had to climb. My sister did that, her first one sleeps, but the others didn't do like they told us they would; but they are bad to climb. Sometimes, I think some of the people catch the little ones and scratch them with something so they will grow up like they think they should, and the parents don't know anything about it.

The Indian ball teams are scratched with ironwood so that the players will be tough and will not fall as much. Similarly, babies scratched with ironwood are saved from the frequent falls associated with learning to walk.

Aberrant behavior is frequently imputed to a variant of this principle. The family of an elderly matron became concerned when she began to wander about the community. Her daughter said:

Something going to happen to her, like she gonna be crazy. She never stay home. The old people used to say if you didn't stay home 7 days [to become accustomed to the loneliness] after someone died, you'd never stay home again, and she didn't stay home after Daddy died. I believe what the old people say She's never stayed home since.

The Cherokee idea of planned parenthood concludes these illustrations. In order to space births, the placenta of the first or second birth is buried a certain number of mountain ridges away. The number of ridges corresponds to the number of years desired between conceptions. Another informant reported that the placenta should be buried according to arms' distances away from the house, covered with seven rocks, and seven corncobs laid "crisscross." "The babies will come every 4 years, then."

The realm of portents and witches has significance for many people. For some, their belief is strong enough to induce apprehension and consequent action. In Soco, the fear of whippoorwills is pervasive. As a consequence, many residents of the area take pains to shoot them or otherwise dispatch them. Lizzie, an elderly informant, is especially fearful of them. Several of my evening visits with her and her family were interrupted by the quavering call of

²³ For an exhaustive study of these esoteric premises the reader is referred to Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932. Several of the beliefs which we shall report are found in it; others have been distorted through the years, but they still show affinities with material in the manuscript.

these night birds and a subsequent hunt in which we all participated. Lizzie said:

One time one came and sat right on the roof about 4 o'clock. I got a stick and hit it. I said another one is coming, and sure enough the next night another one came and I killed it too. You are supposed to ask who they are. A person in Birdtown died and one in Soco; they could have been them.

I mentioned the whippoorwill hunting to an Indian doctor. He nodded and remarked, "It might be a witch. The Bible said that there will be more and more witches." "Where in the Bible?" I inquired. "In Rome, some of those chapters." An elderly woman said in regard to witches that after Mrs. Panther died, she bled for 2 days. "Her son said she was a witch, and I think so too." I mentioned the night birds to her. She said, "They [the people in Soco] think they be witches, but I don't know. They aren't up here. I killed one once, next year my husband died." (I leave it up to the reader to judge the implications of this remark.) The same informant later made the statement that there are brownies. "There is one in this house [gesturing toward her own] and one in that one over there You don't see them unless something bad going to happen. They like a sign." In response to a question about brownies, a Soco resident said she didn't have one in her house now, but where she had lived formerly there were some. "They stay out in the woods, mostly around the rhododendron slicks." She related the following story:

There was a woman once who was in the woods and put her little girl down, and when she came back she couldn't find her. She looked and then she saw her with a brownie. That brownie was feeding her crawfish. When he held it in his hand it turned red just like it had been cooked. The brownie told the little girl her momma was looking for her. That woman told about it . . . and soon she and the little girl died They didn't last long. That's what happened when they told about it.

Foxes are also thought to be omens. Two brothers of a younger Indian woman heard the bark of a fox on several occasions. Following each incident something tragic occurred. On the first occasion the wife of one of them died; after the next, the small baby of the other died. Their sister said, "Neither of them even likes to talk about a fox now, and I believe it, too." A cross-check on the distribution of this belief led an informant in another section of the reservation to say: Well, I've heard them [other folks] say so . . . but I don't know whether I believe that or not. We have too many foxes around here. You kin see them most any time. Course they haven't come right into the yard and barked. Maybe I think if they do that, somebody going to die.

There is a similarity between the reactions to the possible dangers of whippoorwills and the faith in the portentous quality of the fox.

While both of the informants express doubts about the importance of one or the other, neither is willing to disavow completely his belief. Credulity in respect to signs is not confined to older Cherokee Conservatives. A young wife lost her brother during my stay in Cherokee. After the funeral I stopped in to extend my sympathies. She said, "You know Roy French and Jim Driver?" She continued:

Jim was coming down to get Roy the morning George died. He saw a ball of fire rolling down the hill, and it went to pieces right by the house. He told Roy about it and said it meant bad news . . . that somebody was going to die and George did die. Johnny [her husband] and I were talking the other night. We wondered why White people didn't hear strange things and see things like Indians do. Of course, some of the old White people who live back in the hills do, but most White people don't.

Mary related other stories of strange happenings in her mother's house after George's death. She concluded by saying that she would not under any circumstances stay up there now by herself.

Imitative magic has its adherents among the most traditional people. Faith in omens and witches also finds greatest expression among them. We have illustrated through the selected units of behavior that Thomas' portrayal of the dominant values of the Conservative Cherokee is accurate. He states further that associated with the presence of dominant values is a concept of self which is peculiarly their own. I shall turn to this postulate to complete the description of the Conservatives.

CONCEPT OF SELF

The evidence (which, to be sure, is confined to verbalizations and overt behavior rather than any depth analysis) indicates that the Conservatives are sure of their identity as Indians. Thomas points to this awareness as a signal characteristic of Conservatives. In their conception of themselves, they are a separate order of people and largely unconcerned about others' opinions of them (cf. pp. 245-246). Although, in conversation, Conservatives seldom make this concept as explicit as Thomas has, they do make remarks which imply that they consider themselves to be a different order of people from the rest of the tribe, particularly those who are obviously genetically mixed. "I'm a fullblood," an elderly man said; "There ain't many Indians left." Another informant, Aggie, said about her obviously mixed great-grandchild, "Her Daddy is a White man. He brought my granddaughter and the baby home 2 years ago, and said he was going to hunt a job. I guess he's still huntin'. You'd think if he didn't want to stay with an Indian, he wouldn't have married one. I always say I'm a fullblood; I'm not because John Ross, who was part Scotch, was my Daddy's Daddy."

Lizzie, whose every word and action testifies to the attitude that Indians are different, refers often to the Removal. "Andrew Jackson did it . . . if he didn't like Indians he should have gone back across the ocean; that's where he was from." Lizzie visited an old school-mate. I asked, "Is she an Indian?" "No, she's White. She's a Hornbuckle." I said, "I thought the Hornbuckles were part Indian." "Well, just a little bit; she [sic] a White Indian."

From all sides, one hears others described as White; the fact that they are admixtures is of no significance to the Conservative. Appearance plays an important role in these judgments, but it is not the whole story. Behavior is evaluated according to standards of like-Indians or not like-Indians. One elderly Conservative informant criticized her daughter saying, "She begin to laugh too loud like White people. Indians not like that." A woman, almost White in appearance, was described thus: "She's too bossy, Indians not bossy." Examples of this sort are legion, and combine to reinforce the idea that Conservatives have a well-defined system by which they guide their own activities and by which others are judged. The Conservatives show little inclination to change their ways or to be affected by the opinion of others. This position is spelled out in statements to the effect: "If they don't like Indians, why don't they go away?" "That superintendent don't love Indians" or "They must want us to be White." There is never a hint that they might alter their position. To them it is a simple matter: there are Indians and there are Whites, and if the latter do not like Indians, it is no fault of the Indians.

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

The dominant value of the Conservatives is the Harmony Ethic. Antithetical to this is the value system reflected in the statements and behavior of the Cherokee Middle Class. We have called this system the Protestant Ethic, following Max Weber's conceptualization. There is, according to Weber, a constellation of beliefs and conduct arising from Puritanism and other Protestant sects which has paved the way for modern capitalism:

. . . it is not the doctrine of a religion but that form of ethical conduct upon which premiums are placed that matters. . . . For Puritanism, that conduct was a certain methodical, rational way of life . . . proving oneself before God . . . proving oneself before man . . . they helped to deliver the spirit of modern capitalism; its specific ethos: the ethos of the modern bourgeois middle class. [Weber, 1946, pp. 320-321.]

Puritan teaching disseminated values of planning and self-control to economic activities. In short, it encouraged worldly success. On the heels of the internalization of the theological doctrines which supported the conduct, came the secularization process in which practical indus-

triousness replaced the search for salvation. There arose "an amazingly good conscience" concerning the acquisition of worldly goods (Bendix, 1960, pp. 85-90).

There is a distinction made in the literature between the "old middle class"—entrepreneurs, independent businessmen, and the professions—and the "new middle class"—salaried employees, the bureaucratic officials. In the new middle class the basic values have been altered to include career emphasis, adjustment, and security, although success is considered to be more than an accident (Kahl, 1956, pp. 193-198). As we have pointed out elsewhere, the Cherokee Middle Class, with the exception of a few career employees in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, are all engaged in business enterprises. The members, with one or two exceptions, mirror the sentiments of the "old middle class"; the secularized Protestant Ethic. Individual responsibility, self-discipline, hard work, and thrift—basic ingredients of the bourgeois ethos—are virtues echoed by this group of Cherokee. They participate in the American Dream,²⁴ the "rags to riches" sequence, which is the anticipated result of adherence to the doctrines of the Protestant Ethic.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR

Directness.—The intermediary, a constituent of the Harmony Ethic, is not utilized by those of the Cherokee Middle Class. In fact, it is a source of irritation to these people. Schoolteachers, including those who are Indian, attempt to discourage the practice among the children; employers deplore it. They all stress forthrightness and directness in their dealings with others. One informant said emphatically, "If I have something on my mind, I speak out." This theme is apparent in their behavior. In situations where assistance is needed they solicit it directly without recourse to another person. Of course, requests are often preceded by such remarks as, "I hate to bother you" or "I know this is an imposition." One bad winter day, a cafe employee was snowbound at home. The business owner asked, "Harriet, would you mind driving down to get her in time for the noon hour rush?" There are always attempts made to discharge obligations which they feel they have incurred. In this specific illustration, payment was not accepted for my lunch.

Closely related to directness in dealing with others, is the emphasis placed upon "keeping one's word." "If I say I'm going to do something, I do it. None of this putting off, or avoiding the issue." John, one Middle Class informant, said, "When I promise the kids that I'll take them somewhere, fishing perhaps, I do it. I want

²⁴ See Merton, 1957, p. 139, for cultural axioms necessary to the maintenance of the "American Dream."

them to know that they can depend on me keeping my promises. I want them to learn, too, that they have to keep theirs."

Statements about forthrightness, reliability, and directness, reflect a Middle Class view of what constitutes "proper behavior." Such statements often arise in the course of conversations about the "fullbloods," who are considered unreliable and "suspicious"²⁵ by Middle Class standards. One young informant asked, "Why do they sit and stare at you like that, or talk about you in Cherokee, or not hardly speak when you come up to them?"

We have spoken of directness as though it were a characteristic confined to the Cherokee Middle Class. However, Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians are indistinguishable from the Middle Class in this regard. These three categories of people are in sharp contrast to the Conservatives.

Generosity.—We have commented upon the fact that Conservatives pride themselves on their generosity. However, this trait is not exclusively theirs. Other Cherokees are hospitable and generous in a manner more familiar to the White observer. Because we used food as an example of Conservative generosity we shall use it once more to describe generosity among the non-Conservative Cherokees. Sharing of food differs somewhat between the Middle Class, on the one hand, and the Rural Whites and Generalized Indians on the other. Among the Rural Whites and Generalized Indians one often hears, "Come eat with us," or "Better stay with us for dinner." These invitations are informal, and usually occur when a visitor is present as mealtime approaches. It is typical of "country" hospitality. These people do not often extend formal invitations for meals to be served sometime in the future. However, the Middle Class, while they may follow the above pattern, also exchange more formal dinner invitations with one another. Essentially, they follow the pattern of social amenities observed elsewhere among middle class Americans.

Of course, the sharing of food is not the only expression of generosity. The Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and Middle Class help out those less fortunate than they, within their ability to do so. One typically impoverished Rural White farmer gave some land to an unved Conservative mother and helped her build a house on it. Yet, he often comments on the shiftlessness of the "fullbloods." Joe, a Generalized Indian informant, always shares his garden produce with his neighbors, and collects clothing to take up to needy families in Big Cove. Margaret, another Generalized Indian informant, keeps two or three of the older Conservative women supplied with

²⁵ Suspiciousness, as a trait of the Conservatives, has been discussed in Gulick, 1960, p. 137. He suggests that it is not suspiciousness as such, but rather, an aspect of the Cherokee's inclination to wait and see what others are going to do, in order to guide his own actions.

food and clothing throughout the year. A Middle Class woman spoke of taking clothing and food to a "fullblood" family, when the husband was sick. "We took enough food to last 10 days; it was gone in 3. Everybody in the neighborhood came over and ate on them." Another Middle Class couple, the Elders, aids a large family by providing clothing and part-time work for the wife. Mr. Elder said, "I don't mind helping people out who try; they really deserve help." Comments such as these, which often accompany acts of generousness, are closely related to the importance placed on self-reliance by adherents of the Protestant Ethic.

Aggression and aggressiveness.—Aggression, as it has been defined, occurs in an idiosyncratic fashion among those Cherokees who are not Conservatives. Some individuals are more outspoken than others; some will "put up with" more than others. This is true of Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and the Middle Class. One Generalized mother told the writer, "We taught our kids not to fight with others in the school yard. But they picked on ours, so I told my daughter to beat the tar out of them." A Middle Class informant spoke of a rather serious quarrel she had had with her husband over some aspect of their domestic life. Another woman, a Rural White, told me, "My husband just won't fight with me; he walks away. Makes me so darn mad!" I witnessed many cases of bickering among those who comprise the latter three groups in Thomas' continuum. However, only two serious quarrels were observed. But these incidents, coupled with accounts given by various informants, suggest that the Generalized Indians and the Rural Whites, along with the Middle Class, do not participate in the system which guides the Conservative's handling of aggression.

Aggressiveness is also manifested on an individual basis. All of the Cherokees who operate businesses have a minimum of aggressiveness which permits them to succeed in a commercial milieu. The farmers engaged in more than subsistence type farms also demonstrate this characteristic. Those who work in a white-collar capacity must meet the competitive demands placed upon them in the Civil Service. That this varies from person to person, however, is revealed in the answer one Middle Class informant gave to a question about his career.

I just don't have that much ambition I guess . . . I guess I could have risen in the Indian Service if I had been willing to take transfers to other places, but I just didn't want to leave here . . . I'm just content to stay here and get along.

Aggressiveness and ambition are part of the value syndrome of self-reliance, discipline, and individualism to which we now turn.

SELF-RELIANCE

Middle Class.—Self-reliance, self-discipline, and individual endeavor are cardinal precepts of the Protestant Ethic. And it is to these qualities that the Cherokee Middle Class Indians attribute their success; it is to the lack of these qualities that the present status of the Conservative is related, according to the Middle Class.

"Persistence and personal effort pay off," said one informant. "When my Daddy bought this land, it was nothing but an old broom sage pasture. Now, because we built this business on it, and put everything we had into it, some people are jealous." Another person maintained that, "There could be a lot of rich Indians, but they won't work." In reference to the proclivities of the Conservatives to "loaf," one young person asserted, "I've worked for everything I've ever gotten. If I lost my job tomorrow, I'd go dig ditches or wash windows for a living, but I'd never starve to death."

Utterances like those above are legion among the Middle Class. But nowhere is their basic orientation better seen than in their criticisms of Federal policies toward the Indians. Frequently, older persons of this group refer to a period of 40 or more years ago as a time of plenty:

Everyone had hogs and cattle, and there was grain in the bins. Now look at the land. It is going back to woods. Somewhere the Indian Service has missed the boat . . . it has encouraged dependence. They [Conservatives] can't cut timber without asking; some of them even ask when they should plant their gardens. You take an old bitch who has pupped in the woods; she and those pups won't starve. But a house dog turned out will die . . . that's the way with a lot of them.

Another elderly informant said, "Why I remember the first time an Indian begged here . . . and the Government is responsible . . . the only thing the Government ever did for the Indian was to take away his [sic] initiative." A nearly White Indian²⁶ complained:

The Government keeps them [Conservatives] stirred up. Everything that happens is blamed on the White Indians . . . Do you know for every single Indian there are three Government employees . . . the reason they want to keep the Indians down is so they can keep their jobs.

A specific Government program that is roundly castigated is the Federal welfare service. Indians of the Middle Class contend that little good will come from welfare programs. "I don't like this welfare business," asserted one woman. "There is work if people would only go to it . . . they are just going to get big corns on their tails sitting collecting their relief checks . . . and I know kids right now who think they are going to get money from the Government,

²⁶ Cf. p. 246, for discussion of "White Indians."

too." Others suggest that public assistance is a factor in the illegitimacy rate, since many unwed mothers qualify for aid to dependent children under the Social Security Act.

The subject of land allotment is a tense one, and is frequently discussed by these people. They are not all in favor of it, despite their critical attitude toward the Government and toward the Conservatives. Those who favor land allotment do so for several reasons. One person claimed that allotment would be a good thing, "So that they [Conservatives] would get off their butts and do something to support themselves." Another man argues for it for the "sake of the fullbloods" and because he feels he is being restricted by present business regulations. "The way things are now, it holds us back."

Those who are not in favor of land allotment feel that it would cause a great deal of heartache and acrimony. "How is the land to be divided? Will people keep the land to which they now have possessory rights? If so, what about the people, and there are some, who don't own any land?" One businessman said, "Of course, I would benefit personally from it. I'd be able to get a large amount of capital to improve my business. But truthfully, the bulk of the people just aren't ready for it. Some couldn't even pay their taxes if they owned it." A count of 10 Middle Class informants, well known to the writer, disclosed 5 who were adamant in their demand for allotment and 5 who felt they personally would profit by it but believed it would be a mistake for the reservation at the present time.

Rural Whites and Generalized Indians.—As individual autonomy and underemphasis of self is the nucleus of the Harmony Ethic,²⁷ so rugged individualism is the heart of the Protestant Ethic. It is appropriate to examine Rural Whites and Generalized Indians in terms of this dimension of self-reliance. They present an extremely complex and confused picture. For example, Rural Whites in no way guide their activities by any aspect of the Conservative value system. As was pointed out, they are generous to individuals and helpful within their abilities to be so. But some of them have worked hard all their lives, and are still recipients of public assistance. One hard-working Rural White wife admits that she does not know what her family would do without assistance. Her husband seems to feel no embarrassment about receiving help. Another Rural White, who aids others when he can, is, however, extremely critical of those who receive financial support through public assistance, or from the special welfare service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "I've been working for 50 years, the lean and the fat ones. I could go out and get a job right now if need be." The Rural Whites tend to agree with the "moderates" of the Middle

²⁷ For a good explanation of this apparently paradoxical position, see Gulick, 1960, pp. 141-142.

Class with regard to land allotment. "The people aren't ready for it, particularly the old folks in the hills."

Rural Whites value individual efforts and personal independence, but the extent to which their efforts yield commensurate financial returns varies. Consequently, although they cherish the idea of independence and individualism, some are not able to attain it in fact. Circumstances such as poor health, poor land, large families, and bad location of land, plus an attachment to the mountains conspire to keep them economically depressed. Their faith in the efficacy of hard work is somewhat diminished. They have become resigned to having fewer material goods. Their aspirations and expectations for their children are lower, but they do hope for some improvement. Some of the Rural Whites, for whom diligence and good fortune have combined to provide them with an income adequate for a modest standard of living, cling vigorously to the central theme of self-help. Therefore, within this group there is a continuum both in standard of living and in adherence to the primary value. People at the upper end of the continuum are closer to the Middle Class, but they have neither the education nor the economic resources to support the style of life of the Middle Class, as yet.

Distinguishing the dominant values of Generalized Indians is also a vexing problem. Thomas contends that although they are inconsistent in the values they verbalize, they behave as if they still believed in the old Conservative values (cf. p. 246). We have no evidence to support this. In most respects our evidence for the Generalized Indians is negative; that is to say, we know what they *do not* say or do. If we examine the aspects of behavior which reflect the Harmony Ethic, we find that these people, as a group, do not exhibit those patterns which mirror it. They do not rely on an intercessor. They have neither a "wait and see" attitude nor the initial reticence which is a constituent of the Harmony Ethic. Parents and children are outgoing in their interpersonal relationships. The beginning fieldworker finds that they, like the Middle Class, accept Whites in a way which facilitates the establishment of rapport.

Few of the Generalized Indians are completely self-employed. Most of them work for an employer, either in some capacity for the Government or in the manufacturing plants. Usually they are steady and reliable employees. Among those who are self-employed are carpenters, masons, truckdrivers, and small store owners. To some degree there is a difference among them in the way they handle money. Some are thrifty and plan for future expenditures. Others have less regard for the "rainy day" or future wants. Some have received unemployment compensation when out of work, or public assistance when the breadwinner has undergone an extensive illness.

But many of them are against public welfare, at least in principle. Callie, one of my Generalized Indian informants, reflected a commonly held view when discussing one of her Rural White neighbors. "He draws about \$150 per month from the welfare . . . says he's sickly, but he's just lazy and won't work." Others express concern over the illegitimacy rate on the reservation.

Usually the Generalized Indians feel that the people are not ready for land allotment. One man said:

I can manage my own affairs and I could get a bank loan to build my house, too, if I had title to the land . . . but look at "old Lady" Littlejohn. She has a good piece of land on the highway. If somebody went to her with \$300 in one-dollar bills, she'd think that was a lot of money and she'd sell it to the first White man who came along. Then where would she go?

In summary, Generalized Indian values are somewhat muddy. Our facts support the contention that they are oriented more closely to the Protestant Ethic, despite a few resemblances to Conservatives. After we have presented all the evidence, we shall return to this subject for a consideration of its meaning and implications for acculturation.

NONEMPIRICAL BELIEFS

According to Weber, one aspect of the Protestant Ethic is a rejection of magic and the attainment of mastery over the world (Bendix, 1960, pp. 156-157). Assuredly, the Cherokee Middle Class meets this criterion as much as middle class people do elsewhere. They reject the esoteric beliefs to which the Conservatives cling. Many label them "silly superstitions," while others disavow the beliefs but are more tolerant of the "old timey" Indians who do believe. A former nurse said, "I never interfered with their beliefs if I could help it; they took the placenta and buried it. It's a funny thing, too, some of those people did have babies several years apart."²⁸ Many of the younger Middle Class people are not even conversant with the lore. I explained some of the lore to one informant who said, "Here I am supposed to be an Indian and you know more about them than I do." Although most of these people have discarded the old Cherokee folklore they are not without some form of nonrational beliefs; black cats, broken mirrors. But by and large, they place their faith in science and technology.

Rural Whites and Generalized Indians sometimes talk about the omens in which the Conservatives have faith, although they do not admit to belief in them. One Rural White man carries a buckeye for luck. Occasionally, older Generalized Indians reflect some uneasiness. Annie, a Carlisle graduate of many years ago, and a pillar of her

²⁸ See p. 296 for a discussion of placenta burial and its relationship to spaced pregnancies.

church, asked if I had heard the whippoorwills. "I don't like them," she said. "Lula says that they are just little birds, but I think they are scary sounding." Owls also had a significance in the old order. The children of one Generalized Indian family killed one. Their father said, in response to my query, "Oh, they've heard stories about owls from the other kids."

Certainly, fragments of the once large body of lore do hang on among Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who live in closer proximity to Conservatives than do people of the Middle Class. Given man's tendencies to persist through long periods of time, we should anticipate that some of these people will not have sloughed off all the constituents of the old tradition.

CONCEPT OF SELF

Middle Class.—It became apparent to me very early in my association with Middle Class Cherokees that self-rejection or ambivalence over Indian ancestry was a fairly common phenomenon. Seven of the ten informants used for the most intensive case analysis admitted to conflicting emotions. Others by their remarks or by their behavior, also suggest some ambivalence. I shall let a few of them speak for themselves in the following examples.

A young woman, a graduate of a small college, suspects that she really has no Indian ancestry, or if she does, it is only 1/64 even though she is listed as 1/16. She said, "Our family has always been encouraged to marry White. My mother was White, and my grandfather said to marry White." This young woman recognizes this ambivalence in others and calls it "Indianitis." One evening she asked me, "Do you think I'm in conflict over which group to identify with; do you think I don't know whether I'm an Indian or a White?"

I asked a White Indian, of about 50, whether he felt like an Indian. He replied, "Well, it depends; I'm proud of my Indian blood. You know there's a saying, 'white skin but red heart.'" He continued, "My kids are proud of their blood, too, but they don't think of themselves as Indians." This informant has had a problem with alcohol. A relative said that his psychiatrist helped him to see that he had an "inferiority complex over being an Indian."

Another Middle Class woman exhibits what seems to be a high degree of anxiety about herself. It comes out most frequently in joking behavior. She often refers to Whites as her betters. She was refused as a donor by the annual blood bank collection. She talked about this often in the days that followed, calling herself no good. "All those 'pale faces' were giving blood and mine was no good; that really hurt me." One evening some White visitors were discussing blood degrees. She said, "I'm 1/2 and that's enough."

Bill, a White Indian about 33, said, "I hate this place. God, I don't feel like much of anything, an outcast maybe . . . when I'm here and see these Indians, I'm ashamed of how they look and behave . . . ashamed to be part Indian. But when I'm away and hear people talk about Indians, then my blood boils." He has frequent spells of drunkenness, which cause his mother great concern. His brother said one evening, after sharply criticizing Indians, "Of course I'm an Indian, too; at least I suppose I think I'm one because I was brought up here."

There is one fullblood man, well educated and well traveled, who has returned to Cherokee. He has been married twice, each time to a White woman. He remarked that he never could become interested in an Indian girl. "I dated a few Indian girls . . . but if I wanted anything, I always went outside." "Why?" I questioned. "Well, they all seemed like sisters to me." He, too, has a drinking problem. When he talks about Indians, he uses phrases like "these Indians." He has a brother who has legally changed his name to one which does not suggest Indian affiliation, and who has left the area permanently.

Generalized Indians and Rural Whites.—Generalized Indians, like the Middle Class, frequently use such phrases as: "*Those* Indians"; "*They* don't care"; or "I can't understand *them*," when referring to Conservatives. I am not sure that self-doubt reaches the same intensity in them as it does in members of the Middle Class. Nevertheless, the following conversation implies that, at least among a few, it has become a problem. Jack, a man of 38, was quite intoxicated one evening. In typical fashion he listed his grievances. One of the major ones was his wife. "My wife," he said, "is a damn Indian . . . of course I'm an Indian, too, but she's a damn Indian. Come up and see us; you'll see what I mean." Jack, an only child, is nearly a fullblood. He attended the boarding school until he enlisted in the Navy during World War II. He speaks no Cherokee. His wife is a fullblood from Snow Bird who comes from a Conservative family. During this same conversation Jack mentioned that a Bureau of Indian Affairs employee has given him a "hard time." "Why?" I asked. "Oh, she's from Bryson, all those Bryson people think they are better than we are . . . why, they won't hardly be nice to you on the streets."

Rural Whites also use the third person when speaking of Conservatives, and they are critical of Conservative ways. The data are inconclusive as to the amount of ambivalence present in this group, although there is some suggestion of it. One Rural White said of the "fullbloods," "If it weren't for the White blood in the Indians around here you'd be scalped tonight . . . Those fullbloods hate White Indians." "Are you one?" I asked. "Hell yes, me and the whole bunch of us!" He suddenly changed the subject, asking,

"Why the hell do White people love the niggers more than the Indians? Why do they hate Indians?" I answered that I didn't think that most White people ever gave Indians a thought. "Likely that's true," he said, "except for the White folks around here. Hell, the niggers been voting; I just got the vote in the forties."

There is no doubt that personal conflict is present among members of the Middle Class with regard to self-acceptance and identification. Generalized Indians and Rural Whites also exhibit some conflict, but, except for a few cases, they are less verbal, less troubled about it, or have thus far repressed their anxieties. The presence of this attitude among certain of the Cherokee should come as no surprise. There are many and complex reasons for this attitude. Some people felt stigmatized by attending Indian schools; others have reacted to the attitudes of the surrounding Whites toward Indians. White Indians as a whole, are faced with the problem of dual reference groups. Conservative behavior, which they do not understand, both embarrasses and angers them. These reasons which are, of course, inter-related, combine in diverse ways in individual lives to induce uncertainty and to weaken self-esteem.

CONCLUSIONS

The data of this chapter have been organized around two pivotal value systems which are essentially antipodal to each other. As the values are in contradistinction to each other, so are the people who espouse them. Conservatives live by the Harmony Ethic. The aspects of the Harmony Ethic on which this study has focused disclose that these qualities are present among most of our Conservative cases. There is some slight relinquishing of faith in nonempirical beliefs, and three informants no longer rely exclusively on intermediaries. A few have adopted the form of generosity which was described as part of the Protestant Ethic, although they continue to manifest the Conservative pattern of generosity, too. Six Conservative informants have begun to exhibit a very modified pattern of self-reliance, which typifies the Protestant Ethic. However, these six are not "go-getters," for they have not yet "exploited" their highway business property.

The Protestant Ethic has its closest adherents among members of the Middle Class. Rural Whites and Generalized Indians vary in the extent to which this ethic shapes their judgments and guides their behavior. However, I submit that, on the basis of this research, these people do not view themselves or others through the lens of the Harmony Ethic but through that of the Protestant Ethic, even though it may be "scaled down."²⁹

²⁹ See, for example, Merton, 1957, pp. 136-139, 149-153; Faris, 1960, pp. 1-5.

Because of the pervasiveness of the Middle Class values derived from the Protestant Ethic, even those Rural Whites and Generalized Indians whose economic position is still insecure are inclined toward these precepts. Their lack of success is ascribed to misfortune or to some weakness in themselves. As a consequence of their more precarious financial situation, and of the general isolation and lower level of education in the mountain area in general, they have lower aspirations for their offspring, although they do anticipate improvement in material and educational matters for their children. Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and the Middle Class all cling to this values system, but in various degrees of intensity. Table 13 sets forth the distribution of the traits typifying the two basic values systems, in terms of Thomas' four acculturative groups.

TABLE 13.—*Distribution of selected informants in terms of two dominant value systems*

Selected aspects of dominant value systems	Selected informants			
	Conservative (No.=20)	Generalized Indian (No.=11)	Rural White (No.=11)	Middle Class (No.=12)
Harmony ethic:				
Interpersonal behavior:				
Intermediary.....	17 (3*)	1*	-----	-----
Generosity.....	17 (3*)	-----	-----	-----
Aggression—Aggressiveness.....	20	-----	-----	-----
Nonempirical beliefs:				
Immanent justice.....	17	-----	-----	-----
Magic, signs, omen.....	16 (4*)	4*	4*	-----
Concept of self—Secure as an Indian.....	20	-----	-----	-----
Protestant ethic:				
Interpersonal behavior:				
Directness.....	3*	10	11	12
Generosity.....	3*	11	11	11
Aggression—Aggressiveness.....	-----	7	6	8
Self-reliance.....	6*	10	10	12
Absence of nonempirical beliefs.....	-----	7	7	12
Concepts of self—Overt ambivalence.....	-----	6	4	7

* Modified behavior in terms of given trait.

The analysis of the paramount values and associated behavior demonstrates that the Cherokee cannot be placed in four groups on a scale from "like Indian" to "unlike Indian." They can, however, be separated into two categories on the basis of their adherence to one or the other values systems. The Conservatives are clearly a distinct group, identifiable by their allegiance to the Harmony Ethic. The others—the Generalized Indian, the Rural White, and the Middle Class—who resemble each other far more than they resemble Conservatives, are motivated by the Protestant Ethic.

To be sure, there are departures from the norms of each of the value systems by members of both groups. There are six Conservatives who have modified their behavior patterns in the direction of the

Protestant Ethic. Those, however, who deviate from some of the norms of the Protestant Ethic do not do so in the direction of the Conservative ideal. Their departures are a function of the degree to which they are committed to the "old middle class" ideals (cf. p. 300).

The existence of the two values systems is evidence of acculturation. The presence of variation among the adherents of the Protestant Ethic suggests that, in addition to cultural change, other changes have taken place. I believe that, in order to understand the dynamics of change and the heterogeneity among this latter group of Cherokee, an additional approach—social stratification—is required.

SUMMARY: A MODIFICATION OF THE THOMAS CONTINUUM

This study has examined the complexities of cultural and social diversity among the Eastern Cherokee. The preceding chapters have presented evidence of extensive variations in health practices, educational attitudes and behavior, and adherence to dominant value systems. As we have seen, the differences between the Conservative and the non-Conservative Cherokee are due to acculturation. Furthermore, I have suggested that differences among the non-Conservatives are due to an internal differentiation; social class behavior. Therefore, it is incumbent upon me to modify the Thomas construct by postulating a model which takes into account both acculturation and social stratification.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE FORMATION OF CHEROKEE DIFFERENTIATION

The presence in Cherokee of people who are obviously dissimilar forces the recognition that differentiation has taken place. The problem now is to order these groups in the way which seems most plausible in the face of the facts at our disposal.

ACCULTURATION

The first piece of evidence with which we must reckon is that there are Conservative Indians. To be sure, they are far from the aboriginal Cherokee. In this regard, Gulick (1960, pp. 148-149) postulates a core of adapted and diffused traits which the Conservatives have incorporated into their own system and regard as Indian. Most of the people are functionally literate, either in their own language or in English. But it is the Conservatives that most of our criteria readily identify. They stand apart from all the others through their use of Indian doctors, and by their continued adherence to the Harmony

Ethic. Correlates of this ethic ramify into all of their behavior. It is by their behavior that one is best able to identify them.

There is also a large group of people who are phenotypically Indians. They look upon themselves as Indians, and are called "Indians" by Conservatives. However, except for appearance, and the living arrangements of some of them, they do not act like Conservatives. These people have been called Generalized Indians up to now. I propose to call them *Modern Indians*, for, while they are Indians, their orientation is not primarily to the past or to the traditional.

The third group has been called Rural Whites. They are, of course, phenotypically White. Except for some of their living conditions and some of their educational aspirations, they do not resemble Conservatives. The group to which they bear the greatest resemblance in manner of living and in behavior is the Generalized Indians. As a matter of fact, when Thomas first distinguished between these two groups, he did so on qualitative differences which he did not clarify. It is now my impression that Thomas based his division of the Generalized Indian and the Rural White, in great measure, on phenotypic differences. I do not wish to do violence to his findings, but I cannot ascertain, according to any of my variables, a significant difference between them. It well may be that a systematic investigation of basic personality might reveal meaningful differences. However, on the basis of behavior, goals, and interests, the two groups are very similar. Therefore I will include Thomas' "Rural Whites" among my "Modern Indians."

We are left with the fourth category, called the Middle Class. Members of this aggregate are either phenotypically White or phenotypically Indian. There is a wide range in the blood degree represented in this group. These people are far removed from Conservatives in values and behavior, but they are not so distinctly separate from the Modern Indians in most characteristics. I will, therefore, include them also among the "Modern Indians."

Thus the analysis has led to only two acculturative groups, Conservatives and Modern Indians. How then can the differences among those called Modern Indians be explained? I intend to explain them by adding another dimension—stratification—to our model.

STRATIFICATION

A stratified society is characterized by differences among people which can be evaluated by others as being "higher" or "lower." Students of the social-class concept have proposed various criteria by which groups can be ranked. Some have defined class in strictly socioeconomic terms as aggregates whose distinctions are rooted in

the economic cleavage of a community.³⁰ Others, such as Richard Centers, have suggested that without class consciousness a group is not a class.³¹ Many have experimented with specific criteria to discover the most useful measures for ordering people into classes. Lloyd Warner (1949, p. 164) eventually settled on occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling areas as the best objective criteria for determining class. August B. Hollingshead (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1953, pp. 161-169) has limited the class variables to occupation, education, and residence. Kahl (1956, p. 46) postulates six variables: personal prestige, occupations, possessions, interaction, class consciousness, and value orientations.

Of the diverse criteria emerging from social-class research, economic position, styles of life, educational aspirations and expectations, and variations in value orientations are pertinent to the findings at Cherokee. For it is these variables which have led us to postulate social stratification as a possible explanation of the existing differences within the Modern Indian group.

Within the Modern Indian group are two classes, the middle class, identified in Thomas' original research, and a lower class, which includes both Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. Both of these classes show a range of variation in their members. The basic difference between the two classes as we have suggested above, rests in economic position, educational aspirations, styles of life, and some variations in value orientations. The difference is only one of degree. They share similar goals, and live by much the same ethic.³²

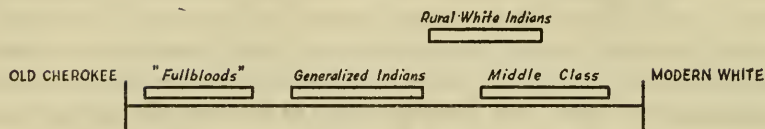
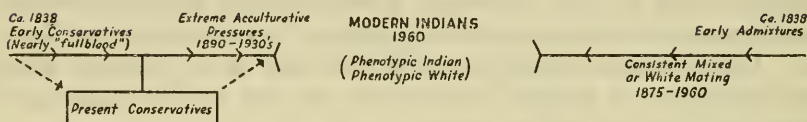
THE DYNAMICS OF ACCULTURATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

A two-dimensional model has been introduced; it involves both acculturation and social stratification. Figure 8 illustrates this model, its historical derivation, and its relationship to Thomas' construct. It is now necessary to add diachronic depth to the information in order to understand fully the dynamics of this situation.

³⁰ Karl Marx defined a class as those who stand in the same relationship to the means of production (Bendix and Lipset, 1953, pp. 27-35). Class for Max Weber was "those people who have the same life chances"—supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences (Weber, 1958, pp. 180-195).

³¹ See Centers, 1949; and Page in Bendix and Lipset, 1953, p. 45.

³² Robert Faris (1960, p. 4) speaks of the difference between the middle class and the lower class as a matter of degree of stability of organization. "Our lower classes . . . share organizational values for the same reason all others do, but differ statistically, due to a variety of causes, in the degree of living up to the principle. There is ambition . . . there are goals . . . thrift exists . . . in numerically smaller degrees. Robert Merton (1957, pp. 170-171) is in essential agreement with Faris. In his analysis of the causes of anomie, Merton's fundamental postulate is that, as a result of the pervasiveness of the dominant values of the culture, a sizeable minority of lower strata are more or less indoctrinated with these cultural mandates. There are studies which partially support the position of Faris and Merton. See, for example: Mack, Murphy, and Yellin, 1956; and Kahl, 1953, pp. 186-302.

1. THOMAS MODEL OF THE CHEROKEE
ACCULTURATION CONTINUUM2. HISTORICAL DERIVATION OF CONTEMPORARY
CHEROKEE CULTURAL GROUPS

3. CHEROKEE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS, 1960

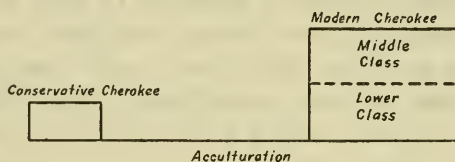


FIGURE 8.—Three models of Cherokee differentiation. (For Thomas model (1) see Thomas, R. K., MS., 1958, Chapel Hill.)

The population immediately after the removal was, according to the literature, nearly all fullblood, and it was traditionally oriented, although there were some admixtures. These admixtures attest to the fact that there were present in the small post-Removal band White people who provided models for those Indians with whom they came into contact.³³ Genealogical material shows that one of the most prolific and socially mobile of the White Indian families is a very old one. Until recent years this kindred has tended to marry White people. Their White marriage partners were not, according to the information, "poor Whites." They were "respectable citizens of the period,"

³³ The presence of White models who remain in persistent and consistent contact with a different cultural group is of major significance in change. One must always keep in mind, however, the question of who these White people were. E. Bruner (1956, p. 622) attends to the question of White models in his study of the Mandan-Hidatsa. He suggests that the presence of a White model is insufficient by itself. The latter must deliberately socialize children in White ways. See also Gulick, 1960, p. 157.

reflecting values consistent with the Protestant Ethic.³⁴ Some of the descendants of the original founders of this group have left the area entirely. Others who have remained are found in the middle class business group, while still others are among the more resourceful farmers who live at the uppermost range of the lower class. These farmers express the dominant values of the middle class, but their style of life is not middle class. This entire kindred has always lived close to the center of the reservation.

Later, at about the time that the land was being acquired on behalf of the Indians, other Whites moved in. These intruders claimed that they were part Indian in order to obtain land-use rights. Others entered the tribe by marriage, and some are accused of "squatting." In any event, these Whites already represented different classes. All of them married, or cohabited with, the people present on the reservation. Their offspring, with few exceptions, were encultured to the specific orientation of the White model present. From this group stem people who are now in the middle class, and those who are now in the lower class.

There were families who did not have White models in their kin-group. There were, nevertheless, other influences present. These influences are intimately associated with the boarding school, the place of residence, and contact with missionaries and traders. The "full-bloods" who lived in what is now Cherokee and the immediate environs were in contact with the White Indians and the White spouses of other mixed marriages. They were also exposed to the missionaries and the traders who acted as models with various degrees of success. Conservatives who lived up in the coves away from the center were not thrown into constant contact with the more sophisticated group evolving there.

When the boarding school was opened, those people who lived closest to it sent their children there. Because of their proximity to the school and the probable influence of the presence of Whites in the immediate area, many of these children remained in school. "Fullblood" children who lived farther away came into the school also, but a substantial number of these ran away. These are the adult Conservatives of today. The youngest of these have parents who escaped the early boarding school and did not insist on their children's attendance at the elementary day schools which were built later. These people are clustered in Big Cove, Snow Bird, and Soco, with a few small enclaves elsewhere.

³⁴ See Codere, 1961, p. 514. The author raises the question of whether or not the Kwakiutl were confronted with a Protestant Ethic in their contact with Western culture, and suggests that the possibility of such influence is an important problem for further research.

The people who did not elude the boarding school, and their children, are the Modern Indians of predominantly Indian descent. I have described the regime of the boarding school; it was designed to change the "heathen ways," to eradicate the Indian culture. This it did with the greatest success. The entire fabric of the culture as it existed up to 1890 was rapidly eroded and eventually destroyed.³⁵ Indeed, as Colson (1953, p. 288) says of the Makah, given the fact that some of the children were enrolled at 3 and 4 years of age, the ensuing process was as much enculturation as it was acculturation.

Many of those of the Modern Indian group went on to other Indian schools, or to preparatory school and college. Some of these are now in the middle class. Others of the Modern Indian group who attended Indian vocational schools are still in the lower class, as are many who did not go beyond the Cherokee boarding school. The variation within the lower class is a result of years completed in school, contacts and experiences outside the reservation such as military service, and the differing White models available. Some models were teachers; others were neighbors and traders, many of whom represented a different stratum of White society.

CONCLUSION

The period from about 1890 until the beginning of the Collier Administration was one in which rapid acculturation took place. During this era the Conservatives were set off as a distinct group for reasons which we have seen. The evidence suggests that they are likely to remain limited in acculturation because the process has *slowed* down. Children of Conservative parents are now in school only 5 hours daily. The present curriculum does not exert intensive acculturative pressures. At the end of the school day, children return to homes where their parents rear them in the Conservative way. In addition, the dropout rate of high school students is very high.³⁶ Therefore, Conservative children who leave school are not exposed to the total influences of the contemporary educational program. The effect of the school is substantially minimized as an agent of change.

The churches, too, have lost much of their earlier influence in the acculturative process. The early churches were administered by zealous missionaries who brought with them the Protestant Ethic and who attended to all spheres of their parishoners' lives. Now, the churches which the Conservatives attend are, in large measure,

³⁵ It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the ethics or morality of force, but it seems evident that, if acculturation and assimilation are goals, rapid change is more effective than slow change—a recent theme of Margaret Mead (1956).

³⁶ The attendance in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades is so low that the Indian Education Committee recommended building a consolidated school to include only elementary and junior high school grades. Education beyond the ninth grade would be completed in the county schools.

served by Conservative preachers or by Fundamentalist ministers whose main concern is with "salvation."

I do not mean to imply that the Conservatives are devoid of acculturative influences. The schools will continue to bring about some change; marriages between Conservatives and Modern Indians will also bring about change. And, certainly, new influences, such as the manufacturing concerns on the reservation, will leave their mark.

The remainder of the population is more acculturated as a result of the influences to which it has been exposed. The current variations within this segment are due to social class differences. Social mobility among the Modern Indians is an on-going process. As individuals better their economic situations, acquire more education, and adhere more rigidly to middle class values, they will become members of the higher stratum. Others, who do not aspire to upward mobility, or for whom a combination of factors prevents mobility, will remain in the lower stratum of Modern Indian society.

Chapel Hill, N.C.
1961

EPILOG, 1963

Since "The Principal People" was written, along with the winds that sweep down from the mountain peaks through the hamlets of the reservation are other winds. Currents of change are coursing through Cherokee. The most striking of these are in the economic base of the tribe. My very brief visit to Cherokee in the early winter of 1963 was sufficient to become acquainted with these surging forces. From the point where the road reaches the level ground of the valley the visitor is immediately made aware of activity. Here there is a new motel; there grading is being done for a new factory; across the river preparations are being carried out for the largest tourist attraction in western North Carolina. The driver must be cautious, for paralleling the road through Painttown to Cherokee, waterlines and a sewage system are being installed, employing Indian labor. The roadside is different, too. Where the woods touch the roads the underbrush has vanished, a project of the Forestry Branch which utilized the labor pool of Cherokee. In short, these impressions which signal fundamental economic alterations are in sharp contrast to the Cherokee I knew such a short time ago.

Agriculture.—Although farming has not been a major source of cash for many, many years, the sharp decrease in the number of farmers in the past 3 years is significant in that it attests to the presence of other means of income. In 1960 there were 44 farmers. Their farms were unevenly distributed within the Qualla Boundary.

Today there are 25 remaining. Once there were five farms in Cherokee, now there are three. Painttown boasted four in 1960; this number has now dwindled to one. Of the 18 people who used to farm in Soco only 8 remain. Birdtown farms have been reduced from 11 to 7. Only Big Cove remains fairly constant; there are now five instead of six farmers there.³⁷ Interestingly enough the five Big Cove farmers are "fullblood" or nearly so. This is a consequence of the fact that these folk are too old to leave the land,³⁸ and their holdings are located where land is not, at present, sought after for commercial exploitation. But this too may change because the road to Big Cove has been paved and more tourists will find their way into this once isolated settlement.

Trading licenses.—From perhaps no other single source of information is the picture of expansion more apparent than from the number of trading licenses issued. In May 1963, 134 licenses were granted to people in the following categories: Indian-owned-and-operated businesses, 63 (9 more than were issued in 1960); Indian-owned but leased to White operators, 11; non-Indian-owned, 60.³⁹ A review of the degrees of Indian inheritance of the Indian-owned-and-operated establishments suggests that no significant change has taken place since 1960 (cf. p. 238).

To illustrate the continuing and increasing importance of the tourist industry to Cherokee, the following data are offered: there are today 33 motels; 39 craft shops; 11 restaurants; 9 groceries with picnic supplies; and 9 combination craft shop, restaurant, and grocery business under one roof.⁴⁰

Gross income figures reported for three of these Indian-owned-and-operated establishments are: \$428,213; \$175,072; and \$151,538.⁴¹ In the instance of the largest Indian business a 39 percent increase in the gross was realized in the last 3 years. In addition to wages paid to Indian employees and net profits to owners, 3 percent of these incomes are paid into the tribal treasury. This increase in tribal funds has made possible more assistance to individuals, but, more importantly, has enabled it to attract light industry by offering financial assistance.

A new tourist attraction is now being constructed representing a million dollar investment of private funds. It is to be a park emphasizing a historic theme. In addition to a western frontier town and fort there will be 11 Indian villages depicting Plains Indian life. During the summer months of operation, periodic Indian raids will be made on the Fort and regular gunfights will occur in the town. The

³⁷ Home Economics Extension Agent, Personal Conference, December 10, 1963.

³⁸ See footnote 37.

³⁹ Realty Officer, Personal Conference, December 10, 1963.

⁴⁰ Mimeograph report, Cherokee Indian Agency, May 23, 1963.

⁴¹ See footnote 39.

tribe will receive 3 percent of the gross receipts which have been estimated to be between \$2 and \$3 million a season. Apart from the monies which will indirectly accrue to others in the tourist business, 250 Indians will be employed during the operating season and between 35 and 40 are to be employed on a year-round basis. Construction of the buildings within the park will utilize Indian labor, where possible.

A project sponsored by the Indian Agency with tribal council approval is the fish management program. By stocking controlled streams with adult fish (trout) each week during the fishing season, it is supposed that fishermen can be induced to remain longer in the area. A dollar fee will be imposed per day on each angler. Present plans are to use these funds to build a civic center suitable for conventions and athletic and theatrical events.

Industry.—Despite the real reliance on visitors, tourism alone is insufficient to support the people the year around. At the time of this research there were two industries operating at Cherokee. Both of these have been enlarged. Saddlecraft has made a \$50,000 expansion in its facilities and has added about 30 more employees. Its yearly payroll is estimated to be about \$200,000. The Harns Company payroll is now over \$500,000 per year. Of its total work force about 70 percent are Indians; the average number of Indian employees is 120.⁴² Construction work has begun on factories for two additional plants. The Vassar Corporation—America's third largest manufacturer of women's hair accessories—is planning a 45,000 square foot building on the reservation. Funding for this facility came jointly from tribal resources and Jackson County Industries, with the tribe assuming major financial responsibility. Current plans provide for the employment of 200 people, most of whom will be women. Of this figure 70 percent are to be Indians—if properly qualified—the remainder will be Whites from Jackson County. The fact that the bulk of employees are to be women will pose some difficulties in respect to family life. However, a Day Care Center for children is now being operated by one of the Baptist Churches. At present, 24 children are accommodated. A new facility is planned which will have a greater capacity and will take infants as well as children from 2 to 6 years.

A furniture manufacturing plant is to be located just off of the reservation. The location was occasioned by the need for railroad service. Since both the Jackson County Industries and the tribe were instrumental in procuring the company, and both issued loans totaling 5 percent of the cost of the factory, Whites and Indians will

⁴² Project Officer, personal conference, December 10, 1963

be equally represented in the labor force. The anticipated number is 600 employees.⁴³

The Public Works Program, which includes the installation of the water system and sewage lines, and the Forestry project are employing 168 men. These jobs will terminate in January 1964, but the construction of the factories and the amusement park are expected to provide work for many of these men.

Social services.—The change in the availability of jobs since 1960 should be reflected in the amounts of monies given in assistance to Indian families. To some extent this is true as shown in table 14. That the differences are not greater is a function of the fact that in 1960 the program was just meeting basic needs. Now it is possible to utilize funds to supplement incomes of those families whose breadwinners cannot, by themselves, provide adequately for their dependents. In addition, the new jobs have not reached the hard core cases of chronic unemployment.

In an effort to ameliorate this unemployment condition, two additional caseworkers have been added to the Social Service staff, bringing the number up to four. Presently less than one-third of the case load of this department is in assistance. Counseling is given in all areas of family life. The United States Public Health Service has secured the services of a psychiatrist on a consultant basis, and a clinical psychologist is on contract to the Cherokee School 3 days a week to provide additional professional assistance in the areas of counseling and rehabilitation.

Indirectly associated with problems of family life is housing. Approval has been received from the Federal Government for the construction of low-rent housing. Construction of 35 units is scheduled to start in the spring of 1964. Rents will range from \$20-\$70 per month contingent upon income and the number of minor dependents. These units are to be built in the various residential sections of the reservation. Efforts are also being directed toward securing Farmers Home Administration and Federal Housing Authority Title I Home Improvement loans for the Indian people.⁴³

The future.—Without doubt the economic base of the Eastern Cherokee is much sturdier than it was in 1959-60. In fact, it appears that the reservation is in a healthier condition than many of the surrounding White communities. Assuredly the effects of the burgeoning economy will make themselves felt among the people and among the social and cultural groupings described in 1960. It might be expected that the emerging class structure which was observed will become more differentiated. The development of an upper middle

⁴³ See footnote 42, p. 319.

TABLE 14.—*Federal Indian Welfare Expenditures*¹

Month	Fiscal year		
	1960	1962	1963
July.....	\$4,474	\$3,085	\$4,205
August.....	4,433	5,217	3,986
September.....	3,848	6,488	4,960
October.....	7,679	6,295	3,569
November.....	12,613	7,316	3,175
December.....	13,401	9,365	3,504
January.....	13,495	12,686	3,806
February.....	13,850	14,271	4,975
March.....	14,457	11,907	7,739
April.....	13,365	11,124	6,515
May.....	10,173	8,559	5,742
June.....	2,617	5,371	3,127
Total.....	\$114,405	\$101,684	\$55,303

¹ Data secured from Social Service Division.

and a lower middle class might be anticipated. Formerly such lines were blurred and numbers were too few. A similar cleavage may occur in the lower class with the appearance of an upper lower and a lower class. We have empirical data and sociological theory with which to assess and perhaps even to predict these changes. The difficult question to handle is the effect of these shifts in the economy on the Conservatives. An increase in subsistence is seldom enough by itself to accelerate acculturation. It seems most likely that until the dominant Conservative value system can be harmonized with a thriving economy and all that it entails we cannot predict an early disappearance of the Conservatives.

Greensboro, N.C.
1963

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