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THE WAHNENAUHI MANUSCRIPT: HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE CHEROKEES

TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS, AND SUPERSTITIONS

Edited and with an introduction by
JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK

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INTRODUCTION

In September of 1889 Wahnenauhi (pl. 1),[1] a Cherokee woman whose English name was Mrs. Lucy L. Keys, sent from her home in Vinita, Indian Territory, a 70-page manuscript of her authorship to the Bureau of American Ethnology. "Please examine," she wrote, "and if of value to you, remit what you consider an equivalent." After some negotiation the manuscript, entitled "Historical Sketches of the Cherokees: Together with Some of Their Customs, Traditions and Superstitions," was purchased in November of the same year for $10.00.

In a letter to the Bureau of American Ethnology, dated November 8, 1889, the author stated:

> The name, 'Wahnenauhi,' signed to the Manuscript, is my own Cherokee name. You are at liberty to use either Cherokee, or English name in connection with the Manuscript. Major George Lowrey was my Grandfather and I was at his house when George Guess (Sequoyah) left for the West, also when his companions returned without him.

The above-stated relationship to Major Lowrey (pl. 2) provided the editor with the strong suspicion that the author was born Lucy Lowrey Hoyt,[2] a mixblood of distinguished ancestry, connected by blood and marriage to many of the most prominent families in the Cherokee Nation. Subsequent communication with Clun D. Keys,

[1] *Wa:mino:hi* ('Over-There-They-Just-Arrived-With-It [long]'). This is a comparatively rare feminine proper name.

[2] Wahnenauhi was born in 1831 at Willstown, Ala. After removing to the West she lived at Park Hill, Okla.

of Vinita, Okla., grandson of Lucy Lowrey Hoyt, removed all doubt as to the identity of Wahnenauhi.

Maj. George Lowrey (1770?–1852), of whom Wahnenauhi writes with obvious affection, was her maternal grandfather. Pilling (1888, p. 186), quoting Rev. Samuel A. Worcester (1798–1859) whose missionary endeavors were strongly supported by Lowrey, states:

> He [Lowrey] was one of the Cherokee delegation, headed by the distinguished John Watts, who visited President Washington at Philadelphia in 1791 or 1792. He was one of the captains of light horse companies that were appointed to enforce the laws of the nation in 1808 and 1810. He was a member of the national committee, organized in 1814. He was one of the delegation who negotiated the treaty of 1819 at Washington City. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of the nation in 1827; and also that of 1839. He was elected assistant principal chief under the constitution in 1828; which office he filled many years. At the time of his death he was a member of the executive council.
>
> He always took a lively interest in the translation of the scriptures into the Cherokee language, in which work he rendered important aid. One of his written addresses on temperance has been for several years [prior to 1852] in circulation as a tract in the Cherokee language.

Major Lowrey collaborated with the brilliant young Cherokee classical scholar, David Brown (?–1829), the husband of his third daughter, Rachel, in making what has been stated as being the first translation of the New Testament into Cherokee, but what was very probably a translation of the Four Gospels only. This accomplishment was completed on September 27, 1825. Chapters 2–27 of the Gospel of St. Matthew from this pioneer translation were published in the "Cherokee Phoenix" (April 3 to July 29, 1829) (Pilling, 1888, p. 111). At least a part of the definitive translation of the New Testament was based on the Brown-Lowrey version.

Major Lowrey served as head of the temperance organization among the Cherokee in Georgia. The tract, referred to above, was issued at Park Hill in two editions, 1842 and 1855 (Hargrett, 1951, pp. 18, 60).

The mother of Wahnenauhi, Lydia, the second daughter of Major Lowrey and his wife, Lucy Benge, has passed into the folklore of the Cherokee people. At the age of 16, while a student at Brainerd Mission, she was converted to Christianity and baptized on January 3, 1819. "Soon afterwards she had a dream in which the words [of an original hymn] came to her so impressively that on arising in the morning she wrote them out as the first hymn written by a Cherokee" (Starr, 1921, p. 249). Since the Sequoyah syllabary was not perfected until 1821, one wonders whether Lydia's hymn were in English or in some phonetic system. In either event, it is still sung by her tribesmen. It is to be found on pages 17–18 of the American Baptist

Publication Society's issues of the "Cherokee Hymn Book" (on pp. 14–15 of the 1909 Dwight Mission Press edition) and it is called "Une:hlanv̌:hi o:ginalí:i ('The Lord and I Are Friends')."

Wahnenauhi's paternal grandfather was the Connecticut-born Rev. Ard Hoyt (1770–1829), superintendent of Brainerd Mission from 1818 until 1824, and subsequently associated with Willstown Mission in Alabama until his death. His wife, nee Esther Booth (d. 1841), was also a native of Connecticut (Walker, 1931, p. 43).

Wahnenauhi's father, Dr. Milo Hoyt, the son of Rev. Ard Hoyt, was also a missionary (ibid., pp. 134–135), as were two of her brothers-in-law: Rev. Amory Nelson Chamberlin (1821–94), sometime superintendent of both the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries (Starr, 1921, p. 555), and Rev. Hamilton Balentine, who served as superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary and whose wife, Nancy, Wahnenauhi's sister, was a member of the faculty (Foreman, C. T., 1948, p. 150). Wahnenauhi's mother's sister, Susan, was the wife of Andrew, the brother of Principal Chief John Ross (ibid., p. 161).

Lucy Lowrey Hoyt was one of the 12 in the first class that graduated from the Cherokee Female Seminary. In the same month, February of 1855, the Cherokee Male Seminary graduated its first class, also 12 in number, and in it was Monroe Calvin Keys,[3] Lucy Lowrey Hoyt's future husband. One of the classmates of Keys was Joel Bryan Mayes (1833–91), Principal Chief of the Cherokee from 1887 until his death.

In Wahnenauhi's day her planter class of mixbloods—wealthy, educated, and receptive to all the Victorian attitudes of the corresponding stratum in Southern White society—was set apart from its full-blood tribesmen by formidable barriers. English was its first language, evangelical Christianity its religion, and acculturation its code. The surprising thing is not how much of the old Cherokee culture Wahnenauhi and those of her social class had forgotten, but how much of it they remembered.

The Christian missionaries—for the most part men of great force and sagacity—swiftly drove most of the aboriginal culture underground; the ruling mixblood class, engaged in a desperate struggle for national survival, in the belief that its cause was strengthened in direct ratio to rate of acculturation, seconded missionary efforts with fervor. What with illustrious missionary blood in her lineage and daily environment, one would expect Wahnenauhi's backward view

[3] Keys was born in Tennessee about 1823. During the Civil War he fought for the Confederacy in the Second Cherokee Mounted Volunteers. Wahnenauhi and her children spent some time during the conflict as refugees in the Choctaw Nation, where she taught school. In the early 1870's Keys established residence at Pheasant Hill, about 6 miles west of the present Vinita, Okla. He died in 1875 and was buried in a family cemetery at Pheasant Hill. After having spent the last 25 years of her life as a cripple from a fall, Wahnenauhi died from apoplexy in 1912 and was buried beside her husband.

over her people to have a decided Christian bias. Although she was actually but a couple of generations removed from the full flower of the old culture, much of it must have seemed to her as remote as does Beowulf to a citizen of present-day London.

And yet, some things of much significance to us she actually saw with her own eyes; her report on Cherokee dress and coiffure, for example, is quite valuable. The myths that she retells, despite much probable loss of details, have the ring of the authenticity of the family fireside of her grandparents. Cherokee curing rites she doubtlessly witnessed, even if she was unable to interpret them fully.

The information that Wahnenauhi has to give us on Lowrey and Sequoyah is not extensive, but nevertheless priceless. If we had been fortunate enough for there to have been competent guidance of the author in preparing her sketch, much data of enormous value might have been saved from limbo. For example, she could have filled in some of the disturbing gaps in our record of Sequoyah (pl. 3). She could have settled for us the question of his parentage; she could have completed the picture of his personal appearance. The glimpses of her grandfather are valuable; but we would also have deeply appreciated a word-picture of John Ross (pl. 4), whom she doubtlessly knew, and of Stand Watie, under whose command her husband fought in the Civil War. Wahnenauhi could have supplied us with fascinating details of plantation life in the Cherokee Nation, of the routine at the Cherokee Female Seminary, of the personality of Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, and of the impact of the Civil War upon her people.

Wahnenauhi's verbiage is replete with young ladies' finishing school posturing. The spirit of Scott and Tennyson pervades her pages. Such would be unworthy of comment in a document penned in Baltimore or Charleston at the time of Wahnenauhi's writing; what is intriguing is the fact that a scant few miles from her desk her tribesmen were "going to the water" with the same frequency, the same earnestness, and for the same purposes as they did in prehistoric times. Neither they nor Wahnenauhi could enter, nor did they want to enter, into the respective worlds of each other; yet, they were indissolubly bound together by the only ties that Cherokees ever understood, or still understand—a fierce loyalty to common ancestry.

In the negotiations over purchase of the manuscript, Maj. J. W. Powell, at that time director of the Bureau of Ethnology (the word "American" was not in the title in those days), wrote on November 14, 1889: "You will thus understand that its value to the Bureau is comparatively small." In view of its being much consulted since its acquisition, Major Powell somewhat underestimated it. But its true value lies not in what it purports to be—a contribution to Cherokee history and ethnology: rather, it is one of the most valuable rec-

ords available to sociologists in examining the psychological posture of a highly acculturated 19th-century mixblood Cherokee toward the fascinating dichotomy of cultures that was the Cherokee Nation.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE CHEROKEES, TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS, AND SUPERSTITIONS [4]

By Wah-ne-nau-hi, *a Cherokee Indian*

Fifty years ago, if someone had undertaken to write a History of the Cherokee Nation, he would have done so with some hope of success.

At that time Traditions were learned and remembered by those who regarded it worth while to preserve from oblivion the Origin and Customs of the Tribe. I know of only one person who attempted the task of preparing such a work, Major George Lowrey, who was, for many years, a prominent member of the nation, and well-versed in Cherokee Lore.

The Manuscript was written in the Cherokee Language, and is supposed to have been destroyed during the Civil War of the United States.

The following Sketches and Incidents are given as I remember to have heard them of older persons; and I trust they will be acceptable to those interested in Indian History.

When the English first came to America, a large tribe of Indians, calling themselves the Ke-too-wha, occupied the South Eastern portion of North America; The Country now comprizing the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania,[5] North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia.

Very little is known of them, only as Tradition comes to us.

They have always considered themselves the largest and most powerful Tribe on the Eastern side of the Continent, and have been so acknowledged by the other Tribes.

Holding this place of Supremacy made them selfconfident and independent. In disposition they were friendly and generous, though always reserved before strangers. Fearless in danger, intrepid and daring when occasion required, they were slow to take offence at fancied injuries or insults.

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[4] Certain phases of the research necessary for the editing of this paper were made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Inasmuch as they may be meaningful to students of Cherokee social history, Wahnenauhi's orthography and punctuation have not been altered.

[5] Kentucky, portions of which the Cherokee claimed, was possibly intended (see Mooney, 1900, pp. 14–23).

They were always on friendly terms with the Delawares, by whom they were called Ke-too-whah-kee. So highly were they esteemed that, at one time, a Ketoo-wha was chosen and served as Chief of the Delaware Tribe.[6]

The Whites first met with these Indians in one of their towns, on the bank of a small stream, which they named Cherry Creek, from the number of Cherry trees which grew there; the people they called, the "Cherry Creek Indians." This name, by gradual variations, came to be Cherok, then, Cherokee, as it now is. The Tribe, becoming familiar with their White Brothers, finally renounced their original name, Ke-too-wha, and adopted that of "Cherokee," by themselves pronounced "Dtsah-lah-gee." [7]

There were several different Dialects used in the Language of the Cherokees. [8]

In explaining the cause of this, we have recourse only to Tradition: This tells us that in the "long time ago" there were several Tribes conquered and adopted or "naturalized" by the Ke-too-wha, they retained their own Idiom of Speech, or, used a brogue in trying to learn the Language of their Conquerers.[9] This Story is the generally approved explanation of the difference in the Language of the Cherokees. One dialect is the "Pipestem," another the "Overhill," in this the most noticable peculiarity is the prominent sound of *R* instead of "L," there being no "R" in the pure Cherokee. The Cherokee Tribe was divided into seven Clans, or, Families. There are some interesting facts in regard to the operation and influence of Clanship.

If any one was killed, either by accident, or with malicious intention, his death must be revenged by members of his own Clan.

When the murderer could not be found, a Substitute might be taken from *his* Clan. The Chief Town of the Nation was the only place of safty for the Slayer, should he succeed in reaching this Refuge, he must remain in it until after the Annual Green Corn Dance.[10]

He was then at liberty to leave, his life being no longer in danger.

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[6] Documentation exists for proving that the Cherokee and Delaware came into conflict within the historic period; we have not discovered documentation for Wahnenauhi's statement to the effect that a Cherokee served as a Delaware chief.

[7] Folk etymologies such as this and the hypotheses of Mooney (1900, pp. 15–16) and Swanton (1946, p. 217) are equally unacceptable to conservative Cherokees. I (Kilpatrick, 1962, p. 39), strongly supported by fullblood friends and relatives, suggest the possibility that the tribal name may be derived from the word *tsa: dlegi* ('he-[or she-] who-just-turned-aside').

[8] Even at this late date the Cherokee dialects have been incompletely identified. Cherokee speakers in Oklahoma employ such terms as *Gi:dhahyo:h(i)*, *Itsodi:yi*, *Atsi:sgvhnagesdé:yi*, and *Dla:y(i)go:h(i)* for modes of speech which they consider to be distinct dialects.

[9] Cherokees themselves are quite aware that certain words, especially specific proper names, in common usage are of foreign origin. A study of "similar terms [in Cherokee and Creek] for certain plants, animals, and other things," observed by Haas (1961, p. 22) would be especially profitable.

[10] Cf. Gilbert (1943, pp. 324–325, 356–357).

The marriage of persons belonging to the same Clan, and of the father's Clan was strictly forbidden; and also marriage was prohibited between relatives by blood. Capital punishment was the penalty for breaking this Law.

Clan-kin was held most sacred.[11]

The mother was the Head of the Family, and the children were called by the name of her Clan. Affectionate regard for kindred was cherished; and old persons were treated with great respect and tenderly cared for. Persons, who had at any time, especially distinguished themselves by deeds of Courage or Bravery were highly esteemed, we give an illustration—

Once, a town was surprised by a band of enemies, and the Chief killed: His wife, whose name was "Cuh-tah-la-tah," [12] on seeing her husband fall, immediately snatched up his hatchet, shouting, "Hi-lu-ki! Hi-lu-ki!" (Kill! Kill!) [13] rushed forward on the invaders, striking down all who opposed her.

Her bravery so inspired the discouraged warriors with fresh Courage that they hurried on to the fight and gained a complete victory. Many instances could be quoted, of brave deeds and victories won by Cherokee Patriots.

The Cherokees believed in one God, whom they called "Oo-na-hlah-nau-hi," [14] meaning "Maker of all Things," and "Cah-luh-luh-ti-a-hi," [15] or, "The One who lives above." They acknowledged Him as their Friend, and believed that He made every thing, and possessed unlimited Power.

They also believed in an Evil Spirit, called in their language, "Skee-nah"; to his malicious influence they attributed all trouble, calamity and sickness.[16]

They believed in Familiar Spirits, Witch-craft and Conjurers. Witches were supposed to be able to do much harm, both to persons and to property. they received their power from the familiar spirits, who were emissaries of the Evil one. The more easily to affect their plans, witches were thought, sometimes to assume the form of birds or beasts.

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[11] Cf. Gilbert (1943, pp. 203–253).

[12] *Go:dhale:da* ('Perforated, It').

[13] *Hi:lugat* ('kill you, (imp.)').

[14] *Une:hlanv:hi* ('Provider, He'). Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, pp. 20–21) theorize that this term for the Supreme Being is a synonym for the sun. I discover in Cherokee theology little to support this concept.

[15] *Galó:la?di é:hi* ('Resider [or One-Who-Properly-Belongs] Above, He [or She]').

[16] There is no universal evil spirit, corresponding to Satan, in Cherokee theology. Properly an *asgi:na* is any sort of spirit, but it is usually considered to be a malevolent one. Wahnenauhi derived her connotation from the Cherokee New Testament (Worcester, 1860) in which this term is employed for a devil, or the Devil. Cf. Matthew 4:1 (p. 6): "*Hna:gwohno: Ada:n(v)dho i:nage? wudhi?nv:sdane Tsi:sa, asgi:na ugo:li:yedi:yi ayelv:se:i.*"

Conjurors were doctors who, besides curing deseases, were thought to have power to counteract the evil doings of Witches, and even to destroy the witches themselves, without ever going near, or, seeing them.

If a person was suddenly taken with a new or uncommon desease, a Conjuror was immediately summoned by the friends of the afflicted one. He first examined the patient, looking intently at him, and asking questions about him.

He then made tea of some kind of roots, giving the sick one to drink, and bathing his face and limbs with it. He then had recourse to incantations, blowing his breath on the patient, making manipulations over his body and all the time muttering or speaking in a low tone as if conversing with some one.[17]

In cases of severe pain, the Conjuror procured bark from a particular kind of tree, and burned it to coals, then after warming his hands over the fire, would press them tightly to the pain, then rub them briskly over the fire. after performing this operation several times, quite often the patient recovered.[18]

If this treatment proved unsuccessful then some one suspected of being a witch was accused as the cause of the trouble.

Various methods, at different times, were resorted to, to find out and punish the offender. one way was, to make a picture representing the accused and shoot it. if the person died soon after, that fact was proof conclusive of his guilt.[19]

Many medicinal plants and roots were known and used by the people in common deseases. The bark of the Birch Tree was considered a specific for Cancer and malignant ulcers.[20] A leaden-colored, oval-shaped stone, thought to be *solidified lightning*, as it was dug from near the roots of a lightning-struck tree, was a cure for Rheumatism.[21]

I think the Cherokees were not more superstitious than some Civilized Nations.

A few birds and some wild animals were said to be messengers of evil tidings.[22]

There is a Legend of a large serpent, called the "Ground snake," being the color of the ground was said to betoken death to the one who

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[17] Wahnenauhl undoubtedly saw a *dida:hnwi:sg(i)* ('one who cures them') at work, but in this account she confused specific curing procedures with general. The bathing of the face and limbs, for example, suggests treatment for apoplexy.

[18] This treatment would be appropriate to a number of unrelated medical situations. The "bark from a particular kind of tree" would be lightning-struck hickory or red oak bark.

[19] This is not one of the standard techniques employed by a *dida:hnwi:sg(i)* in "working against" someone who is molesting his patient.

[20] Hickory bark and post oak bark are used nowadays. Perhaps they are substitutes necessitated by a lack of correspondence of the flora of the old Cherokee locus and the new.

[21] I have seen these stones (star-shaped, not oval) among the Eastern Cherokee, but not in Oklahoma.

[22] Some, such as squirrels (good luck), have apparently not been reported. (Cf. Gilbert, 1943, pp. 367–369.)

saw it; if it appeared to several persons a National Calamity was apprehended.[23]

A buzzard feather placed over the door prevented the witches from entering their cabins.[24]

The Cherokees had many Traditions. Some are interesting, some appear simply foolish, but hold some hidden meaning; others sound strangely familiar, and are so like the Bible stories that Christian mothers tell their little children, as to make one say, "Where, or, how did they obtain them? Such is the one about the Boy who was swallowed by a fish.

The Cherokee Story is, that the boy was sent on an errand by his father, and not wishing to go, he ran away to the river. After playing in the sand for a short time, some boys of his acquaintance came by in a canoe, who invited him to join them. Glad of the opportunity to get away, he went with them, but had no sooner got in than the canoe began to tip and rock most unaccountably. the boys became very much frightened, and in the confusion the bad boy fell into the water and was immediately swallowed by a large fish. After lying there for some time he became very hungry, and on looking around he saw the fish's liver hanging over his head. Thinking it was dried meat, he tried to cut off a piece with a mussle shell that he had been playing with and which he still held in his hand the operation sickened the fish and it vomited the boy.[25]

The story of how the world was made is this,—Observe that in telling of the Creation, the plural number "They" is used for the Creator.

It is said, They took a turtle and covered its back with mud. This grew larger and continued to increase until it became quite a large island.

They then made a man and a woman, and led them around the edge of the island. On arriving at the starting place, They planted some corn and then told the man and the woman to go around in the way they had been led, this they did; returning, they found the corn up and growing nicely.

They were then told to continue the circuit; each trip consumed more time, at last the corn was ripe and ready for use. Then fire was wanted.

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[23] This "Ground snake" is undoubtedly the mythical sea-dragon, the *Ugh(a)dhe:n(i)* (the spelling of this word in manuscripts is variable). (Cf. Mooney, 1900, pp. 458–461.)

[24] I have found no evidence to support this statement, paraphrased by Mooney (1900, p. 284), nor that of Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 76) to the effect that buzzard feathers are hung over doorways for the purpose of warding off disease. In Oklahoma a buzzard feather is placed above a front door to serve as an *agh(a)dhi:di:sgi* ('watcher of it [the house], it'), and this is a representative charm that accompanies the placing of the feather: *A²hni gvnv:dhodhe:sdi hno:gwo nihi niga:i go:hü:sdi tsugo:wahl(o)di sgihwa:dhve:hi ge:se:sdi* ('I am going to leave you on watch here. Now you will be the finder for me of all valuable things') [*Atsi:sgvhnagesdi:yi* dialect].

[25] This myth is quoted in Mooney (1900, p. 321).

The animals were called together, and the question asked, "Who will go and bring fire?" The 'possum first came forward and offered to go; he was sent, but returned with out it; he had tried to carry it with his tail, but had that member so scorched and burned that he made a failure. They then sent the buzzard, he, too, failed, returning with his head and neck badly burned [26]. A little spider then said, "I will go and get fire," upon which the beasts and birds raised an uproar, ridiculing the spider, but not one was willing to undertake the hazardous journey, and the spider was allowed to go. She made a little bowl of mud and placing it on her back started, spinning a thread as she traced her way over the water on arriving at the fire, she carefully placed some coals in her cup and returned crossing safely on the bridge which she had spun [27].

Another story is told of how sin came into the world. A man and woman brought up a large family of children in comfort and plenty, with very little trouble about providing food for them. Every morning the father went forth and very soon returned bringing with him a deer, or, turky or some other animal or fowl. At the same time the mother went out and soon returned with a large basket filled with ears of corn which she shelled and pounded in a mortar, thus making meal for bread.

When the children grew up, seeing with what apparent ease food was provided for them, they talked to each other about it, wondering that they never saw such things as their parents brought in.

at last one proposed to watch when their parents went out and follow them.

Accordingly next morning the plan was carried out. Those who followed the father, at a short distance from the cabin, saw him stop and turn over a large stone that appeared to be carelessly leaned against another.

on looking closely they saw an entrance to a large Cave and in it were many different kinds of animals and birds, such as their father had sometimes brought in for food. The man standing at the entrance called a deer, which was lying at some distance and back of some other animals, it rose immediately, as it heard the call, and came close up to him.

He picked it up, closed the mouth of the cave and returned, not once seeming to suspect what his sons had done.

When the old man was fairly out of sight, his sons, rejoicing how they had outwitted him, left their hiding place, and went to the cave,

[26] This, of course, is in explanation of the hairless tail of the opossum and the colored head and neck of the buzzard.

[27] Cf. Mooney (1900, pp. 239–242) for North Carolina versions of the origins of the world and of fire.

saying, they would show the old folks that they too could bring in some thing. They moved the stone away—though it was very heavy, and they were obliged to use all their united strength.

When the cave was opened, the animals, instead of waiting to be picked up, all made a rush for the entrance, and leaping past the frightened and bewildered boys, scattered in all directions and disappeared in the wilderness, while the guilty offenders could do nothing but gaze in stupified amazement as they saw them escape. There were animals of all kinds, large and small—Buffaloes, deer, elks, antelopes, raccoons and squirrels; even catamounts and panthers, wolves and foxes, and many others, all fleeing together; at the same time birds of every kind were seen emerging from the opening, all in the same wild confusion as the quadrupeds:—Turkeys, geese, swans, ducks, quails, eagles, hawks and owls.

Those who followed the mother, saw her enter a small cabin, which they had never seen before, and close the door.

The culprits found a small crack through which they could peer.

They saw the woman place a basket on the ground, and standing over it shook herself vigourously, jumping up and down when lo! and behold! large ears of corn began to fall into the basket. when it was well filled she took it up, and placing it on her head came out, fastened the door and prepared their breakfast as usual. When the meal was finished in silence, the man spoke to his children, telling them that he was aware of what they had done, that now he must die, and they would be obliged to provide for themselves, he made bows and arrows for them, then sent them to hunt for the animals that they had turned loose.

Then the mother told them that, as they had found out her secret, she could do nothing more for them, that she would die, and they must drag her body around over the ground, that where ever her body was dragged, corn would come up, of this they were to make their bread. she told them that they must always save some for seed and plant every year.[28]

I have heard a story about the "Little People", or, "Children." "Nuh-na-yie" [29] is the Cherokee name for them. It was said that in old times they were very numerous; they were inoffensive, and would often help any persons whom they found in distress, especially children who were lost, if a child were found, the Nuh-na-yie would appoint several of their number to take care of it and supply it with food until it could be restored to its parents or friends. for this reason they

[28] Mooney (1900, pp. 248–249. 431) quotes the Wahnenauhi versions of these myths. I taped a rather lengthy version of the "Origin of Corn" myth in Cherokee County, Okla., in the summer of 1961 (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 129–134).

[29] *Nv:néhi* ('they who continue to live'). *Ge:néhi* is the form more often used in everyday speech.

[were] very much loved by the Indians who took great care not to offend them, but for all that something happened by which the Nuh-na-yie felt themselves very much insulted, and for which they determined to leave. The Indians were aware of their intention, and exerted all their arts of persuasion to induce them to remain, but without success. there was nothing for them to do but to see the last of them. There was an arm of the sea which the Little People were to cross.

The Indians assembled on the bank near the place of crossing, looking at them sadly as they passed: on they went into the water, the Indians watching all the time until on the opposite side they disappeared in what seemed to be the mouth of a large cave in the margin of the water. nothing more was ever heard of them. In appearance, the little people were described as being wellformed, not more than two feet tall, with an abundance of long black hair almost trailing on the ground. It was said that they were very fond of music.

The drum seemed to be their favorite musical instrument, it was used on all occasions; when on a journey they marched to the sound of the drum.

It was often heard by the Indians, before the Nuh-na-yie went away, sometimes in the mountains, or, in lonely situations far from human habitations. sometimes in the night folks were awakened by the sound of a drum very near their cabins, then it was said that the Nuh-na-yie were about, and on going to their work in the early morning, as gathering in their corn, or, clearing off land for a new field, sometimes they were greatly surprised by finding it all finished up, corn all gathered and put away, or, ground made ready for planting, trees and brush all taken off and put up around the sides, making a fence much better than they themselves would have done.[30]

In early times, the clothing of the Cherokees was made entirely of the skins of animals which they killed in hunting.[31] The Cherokee women became quite skilful in making clothes for their families, when very young, girls were instructed in the art of preparing material for, and making clothing. After dressing, the skins were rubbed and polished until they were very smooth and soft, often nicely ornamented, by painting in different colors; for paint, or dye, the juices of plants were used. The men wore a turban on their heads, their other clothing consisted of a hunting-shirt, leggins and moccasins, all deeply fringed.

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[30] Numerous tape recordings made in eastern Oklahoma by me in 1961 prove that the Cherokee by no means believed that the "Little People" disappeared. The recordings corroborate Wahnenauhi's statements as to the physical appearance, musical proclivities, and helpful attitude toward human beings of these creatures. (See Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 77–95.)

[31] This is an oversimplification. The use of vegetable fibers and featherwork is discussed in Swanton (1946, pp. 460–461, 472–473).

The hunting-shirt was worn wrapped tightly around and folded over the chest, fastened with a belt around the waist.

Belts, in later years, came to be very much prized, being worn as an ornament.

They were made of bright colored worsted yarn interwoven with white beads, and were several yards in length, so as to fold many times around the body, they were worn tied at the left side, the ends, ornamented with tassels, hung nearly to the knees. Garters, made to match the belt were tied over the leggins below the knees, the tasseled ends left dangling.

The women wore a skirt and short jacket, with leggins and moccasins, the jacket was fastened in front with silver broaches, the skirt was fringed and either painted or embroidered with beads, and the moccasins were trimmed with beads, in many colors. Their hair, they combed smooth and close, then folded into a club at the back of the head, and tied very tight with a piece of dried eel-skin, which was said to make the hair grow long.

The men, in cutting their hair, always left the lock growing on the crown of the head, this was braided and hung down the back. It was called a "coo-tlah." [32]

Both sexes were fond of wearing ornaments. Some wore broad bands of silver on the arms above the elbows, and on the wrists and ankles, they wore rings on their fingers, and in the nose, and ears; I have seen old men with holes made in their ears from the lower edge to the very top; [33] I never saw them wear more than two pair of ear-rings at one time. They liked very much to wear beads around their necks.[34]

Their dwellings were sometimes made by bending down saplings and tying the tops together and filling in between with poles tied with bark and interwoven with cane or withes, and a space left open for a door, also a small opening near the top for smoke to escape.

For winter sleeping room, the saplings were bent quite low, making the hut not more than four or five feet high in the centre; after finishing off as the other, it was thickly daubed on the outside with mud, leaving only a small opening near the ground, large enough for a man to creep through; a large fire, of bark and dry sticks, was made, and when burned up, the ashes and embers were taken out, and two persons crawled in, and, with turkey wings, fanned out all the smoke, and closed the entrance by hanging a skin over it.

[32] This word appears to have dropped out of the vocabulary of the Oklahoma Cherokees.

[33] The portrait, reputed to be that of Major Lowrey, in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla., is highly informative (pl. 2).

[34] Wahnenauhi's statements as to early 19th-century Cherokee dress are strongly supported by the brushes of Francis Parsons, George Catlin, and John Mix Stanley. Throughout this whole passage there is some confusion of dress at the time of contact with what the author saw in her childhood. The scalplock, for example, she may never have actually seen.

This hut was called a "hothouse" and it was sometimes used to steam a sick person in this is the way it was done,—The hot-house being made ready, the invalid was given as much cold water as he could drink, then taken in and left upon the ground until he was in a profuse perspiration, when he was taken out and plunged into a cold water bath.[35]

In their intercourse with all, except most intimate friends, the Cherokees were reserved and independant, though very hospitable and often generous; they preferred to give favors rather than to ask them.

All Indians were called by them, "Yuh-wi-yah-i" which means, "The real People," others were designated by their color, as white people, were, "Yuh-wi-na-kah" and black people, "Yuh-wi-kuh-hna-ka." [36]

As before mentioned the Cherokees were given to hospitality; On rude side-boards, in their camps or cabins, prepared food was always kept, and any persons coming in, were at liberty to help themselves, food was always offered to visitors or strangers stopping, and a refusal to partake of it was considered an insult.

The women made bowls and cooking vessels of clay, and the men made spoons and bowls of wood, and spoons of buffalo horn, which were really pretty, as they were capable of being highly polished.

The women and girls prepared the food as is customary with other nations. The principal dish, "Con-nau-ha-nah," [37] was made of Corn, Cuh-whe-si-ta [38] was meal made of parched corn, and was used when on a journey, the hungry and weary traveler on arriving at a spring of water, alights and taking his bag of Cuh-whe-si-ta, puts a few spoonfuls into a cup which he carries for the purpose, mixes it with water and drinks it down, the requirements of Nature are satisfied—and the traveler goes on his way as much refreshed as when he began his journey in the early morning. The Cherokees also used a drink called "Con-nau-su-kah," [39] it was made of grapes which were boiled, strained and sweetened with maple sugar or honey. Corn was beaten in a mortar to make meal for bread, walnuts, chestnuts and hickory-nuts were often used in cooking, so were different kinds of berries, of which the huckle-berry was the favorite.

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[35] Although the *o:si*, or 'hot-house,' is mentioned in Adair (1930) and Timberlake (1929), the brief description in Mooney (1900, p. 462) is probably the clearest to be found in the standard Cherokee bibliography.

[36] In every case Wahnenauhi presents here the designation for an individual who is a member of a specific race: *yvwi:ya* ('person, entirely'); *yvwine:ga*, usually contracted to *yone:ga* ('person, white'); *yv:wigv:hnage.* ('person, black').

[37] *Ghvno:he:na*, a hominy prepared with lye leached from green hardwood ash.

[38] *Ghvhwisi:da.*

[39] *Ghenv:su:ga.* Before contact with the Whites, the sweeting was probably obtained from honeylocust pods.

The men provided meat, and when game was plentiful, there was no lack of such food.

Boys were taught when very young, to shoot with bow and arrows, to hunt and to fish. Wrestling, foot-racing, ball-playing and corn-stalk-shooting [40] were continually practiced, not only as a pastime, but as a necessary exercise.

Before starting on an expedition, or, engaging in a contest of any kind, they were obliged to take medicine, scratch and bathe, the scratching was done with a small instrument having six points, some said the points were rattle-snake teeth, but the one I saw was made of a half dozen pins [41] fastened together with two pieces of wood or bone.

This practice was strictly observed by ball-players when preparing for a "big play"—it was thought to make them brave and strong. and, before the Annual Festival of the Green Corn Dance, which lasted seven days, all must be scratched, none might partake of the feast unless he had performed this operation; After this Festival, green corn and all other vegetables were freely eaten.

At the Stomp Dances,[42] terrapin shells enclosing pebbles, were worn, fastened to the ankles, by the dancing women.

When the English came to America they were peaceably received by the Cherokees, who presented them with food in token of their good will. 1730 [43] is the earliest recorded date of a Treaty being made by the Cherokees with the English; in 1755 [44] they ceded territory to the British Colonists, and permitted them to build forts. Prior to any treaty, a band of Cherokees utterly rejecting proposals of Peace, used all their powers of eloquence to prevent the Tribe from making a treaty.

They said that the Foreigners would get possession of a little now, then a little more and would not be satisfied until they had taken all the land, and there would be nothing left for the Indians.

Finding their efforts were unsuccessful, they determined to abandon the Tribe, going far away into the Wilderness, crossing the "Ummie Aquah," [45] and on to the "Cuh-too-sa Aqua," [46] they would find a Country for themselves, where the "Yuh-wi-na-kah" could not follow: Possessed by this one wild idea—to retreat from the neighborhood of

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[40] A study of these sports is much needed.

[41] A ceremonial scratcher customarily has seven teeth, not six (see Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 68–69).

[42] The Green Corn Festival and the stomp dances, as performed in Oklahoma, also stand in need of investigation.

[43] This was the Treaty of Nequassee, negotiated by Sir Alexander Cuming (Mooney, 1900, p. 35).

[44] This was the Treaty of Saluda, negotiated by Gov. James Glen of South Carolina (Corkran, 1962, pp. 59–61).

[45] *Ame:gwa* ('Big Water'), contraction of *ama e:gwa:* 'the Mississippi River.'

[46] *Gadu:se:gwa* ('Big Mountain[s]'), contraction of *gadu:si e:gwa:* 'the Rocky Mountains.'

the Whites,—deaf to the passionate entreaties of their friends, they made hurried preparations for their departure.

Although the greater part of the Tribe was very unwilling to have them leave, yet, finding their efforts to persuade them to remain, were unsuccessful, they assisted them in making preparations for the journey: some furnished "pack ponies," while others loaded them with "Cuh-whe-si, tah," "Cuh-nuh-tsi," [47] dried venison and other things, They were led by the Chief, "Yuhwi-oo-skah-si-ti." [48]

For many weeks communications were kept up between the two divisions, by "runners," who were sent from either side to enquire of their welfare, or to take messages.

A company, each member selected for their courage and perseverance, were sent to assist the travelers in crossing the "Big River", After this all intercourse between the two parties was ended, and no more was heard of the wanderers. In the course of time the run-away band was forgotten, or, remembered as only an old tale which no one believes.

A long time afterwards, some adventurous hunters met with a band of Indians who spoke the Cherokee Language and lived as the Cherokees did before they had learned any thing of civilized life.

These Indians were found at the Eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, They were supposed to be the lost Band.[49]

After the Wanderers left, the remainder of the Tribe continued friendly with the Whites, trading with them and learning much that was useful to them; but alas! they also learned much that was bad, the vices of civilization, the worst for the Indians being drinking and gambling, but soon as the evil tendencies of these practices were known the Chiefs and Headmen made exertions to suppress them.

It is an established principle with the Cherokees, in common with all Indians, that Air, Water and Land is the free gift of the Creator to all men, and when Land is traded it is always understood that only the right to use it is meant.

Soon after the English began to settle in America, the Cherokees were persuaded, for a compensation, to relinquish the Northern part of their Domain. By this arrangement, they were forced into more narrow limits.

The Creeks were their Southern neighbors. Peace between these two Tribes was continually disturbed by feuds and war. This state of affairs was caused by a misunderstanding about their Boundary

[47] *Ga:nvtsi* the Cherokee consider to be their national dish. It is a soup made of hominy and crushed hickory nuts.

[48] *Yu:wi usgá:sidh(i)* ('Person Fierce, He').

[49] Retold by Mooney (1900, pp. 391-392).

Each Tribe was accused of encroaching on the hunting grounds of the other. These disturbances were continued until Cherokee and Creek were names considered antagonistic almost by nature. As late as 1813 the two Nations were yet enemies. The Cherokees and Choctaws assisted the United States, under command of General Jackson, in the famous Creek War.

The decisive battle was fought at the Horse shoe Bend in the Tennessee River, it was the most terrible battle with the Indians, of which we have an account, it is said, that the river for several miles ran red with blood. But it was not until 1821 [50] that a Treaty of Peace was finally made by the Cherokees and Creeks. it was modified in 1822, '23, by which the question of "Boundary Line" was decided, and, "forever hereafter acknowledged by both Nations to be permanent."

Members of either Tribe living within the boundaries of the other, were permitted to become Citizens of that Nation, if they chose to do so.

About other matters, the most liberal provisions were made.

The obligations of this Treaty have never been broken, and as a consequence these two Nations are still at peace.

During the time of the Colonization of North America, by the Whites a number of English and Scotchmen came to the Cherokee Nation on trading expeditions, and on becoming acquainted with the people, soon found themselves so much pleased that they persuaded the Cherokees to adopt them and give them wives.

Most of these men became very much interested in the welfare of the Indians, and tried to make their home-life more pleasant and comfortable

An Englishman, named Edward Graves, [51] who had married "Lah-to-tau, yie," [52] sent to England for a spinning wheel, cards and cotton, and taught his wife to card and spin, he then made a loom, and taught her how to weave, and make clothing for herself and children. Lah-to-tau-yie learned the art very easily, for she was interested in the work, and wished to please her husband by dressing herself and children neatly. Edward Graves was a Christian and told his wife and children about God and the Savior, Jesus Christ and taught them to pray.

Lah-to-tau-yie received this good news of salvation with a glad heart. she said, she knew about the great Being who made every thing, but she had never heard of the Savior, She told the Story to all her neighbors and relatives, and many of them became Christians,

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[50] This was the Treaty of Indian Spring, January 8, 1821.

[51] Mooney (1900, p. 214) states: "The anonymous writer [Wahnenauhi] may have confounded this early civilizer with a young Englishman who was employed by Agent Hawkins in 1801 to make wheels and looms for the Creeks (Hawkins, 1801, *in* American State Papers: Indian Affairs, I, p. 647)."

[52] We cannot translate this name with certainty. It might be *u:hl(i)dhado:h(i)* ('Bearer-of-Seeds-on-Top').

quite often many of them would meet in her cabin for prayer. Lah-to-tau-yie is supposed to be the first Cherokee converted to Christ. Her children all became Christians, and many of her decendants are now living, and honor the profession by consistent living.

The first Treaty with the United States was made in 1785, [53] by which land was again given up and Boundary lines confirmed. Owing to the encroachments of white settlers, and the miserable wars with the Carolinas, in 1791, [54] and '98 [55] still more land was ceded away.

By this time many of the people had become disgusted and dissatisfied with so much "Treating for Land" and their thoughts, instinctivly, turning west, they soon decided, in that direction to seek for themselves a future home.

Adventurous persons then started out on prospecting tours, going as far as the Arkansas River.

The first Company who returned gave wonderful accounts of the Good Country at the "far West," they had found plenty of water, good timber, rich soil for farming, and game in abundance: immense herds of Buffalo, deer and antelopes, flocks of wild turkeys, geese and ducks, and the waters teeming with fish of all *kinds. A veritable paradise, go they must.*

George Lowrey was the son of Charles Lowrey, a Scotch trader, who had married a cherokee woman named Tah-nie, [56] and had settled in the Cherokee Nation. George was the oldest of several children, and was born about the year 1770 at Tah-skeegee a place on the bank of the Tennessee River, [57]

He grew up as most other Indian lads of his time, but was very observant and selfreliant; when he was ten or twelve years old he had the misfortune to lose his father; he was killed and robbed while crossing the Mountains in Tennessee, with pack-mules.

George Guess, or "Se-quoh-yah," as he was usually called, and John Leach, his cousins, and about the same age as himself, were his constant companions, and the Trio grew up together intimate friends.

Once, when about seventeen years old, while out on a hunting expedition, with several others of the Tribe, they met with a Company of white hunters; this accidental meeting proved to be quite an important, as well as a very pleasing incident to the Indians, as it was the means of changing the life-purpose of at least two of them.

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[53] The Treaty of Hopewell, November 28, 1785.

[54] The Treaty of Holston, July 2, 1791.

[55] The Treaty of Tellico, October 2, 1798.

[56] *Da:ni*, a feminine name that we cannot translate. It is encountered in old manuscripts, and it is borne by living individuals.

[57] These statements are somewhat at variance with Starr (1921, pp. 366-367), whose genealogical table shows that the name of MajorLowery's father was also George, not Charles, and that Major Lowrey was the second son, not the first. According to Starr, the name of Major Lowrey's mother was Nannie, but such may well have been the English form of *Da:ni*.

Lowrey was the only one of his party who spoke the English Language and this he did very imperfectly.

One of the white men who gave his name as "Dickey," by his affability, quite won the Indians from their natural reserve and diffidence, and had a very interesting conversation with Lowrey, the leader of his party.

The whites and Indians camped near each other, ate and smoked together, and spent several hours in pleasant intercourse.

Dickey persuaded them to tell him many curious incidents relating to Indian habits and customs, while he gave them some ideas of civilized life.

He had with him a small book which he showed and explained to them; Lowrey acting as Interpreter for both parties—the Indians were filled with astonishment at the new and interesting things they had learned; and soon after separating with the white hunters they decided to return home. For the first time in their lives, Lowrey and Sequoyah felt an intense and longing desire for improvement; they had had a glimpse of a better way of life, and they determined to reach it.

From this time their careless, wild life lost all attractions for them; they were often taunted and ridiculed for their change of deportment; their friends tried to cheer and enliven them by persuading them to attend the ball-plays and dances, by making them many valuable presents, and in other ways showing kindness to them.

Out of regard to their friends and kindred, they still attended the gatherings of the people, as, Green Corn Dances, Foot-races, and Ball-plays they were dissatisfied, inattentive and listless. They both embraced every opportunity of learning the "white man's ways."

Indeed many of their relatives and other friends were persuaded by them and followed their example, they began to build better houses, make larger fields and gather around them cattle, horses and hogs.

Many years passed bringing changes to all, and much inprovement to the Cherokees.

Sequoyah often wandered away alone avoiding every one, at such times he was absent for hours, no one knew where. One day, a hunter on his way home, in passing Sequoyah's cabin, and seeing his wife at the door, called to her and said that he had seen Sequoyah in the woods, seated on the ground, playing like a child with pieces of wood that he had chopped from a tree. that he spoke to him but could not attract his attention, he was so intent at his play. After this he was often seen in this way; always making odd little marks, sometimes on rocks, using paint rocks as pencils, and sometimes, with his knife cutting them on wood.

After trying for a long time to divert his attention from these "Worse than childish ways" his wife and other friends left him alone to

do as he pleased. From being very indignant, they became very much alarmed about him; they knew not what to think.

Some said, he was crazy, but that was impossible, for who ever heard of a crazy Indian?

They then decided that he was in communication with the Spirits, and for this reason many of his friends neglected him and refused to have any thing to do with him. [58] He endured with seeming indifference the neglect of friends, and the annoying sarcasm of opponents.

In all this time Sequoyah had been industrious and prudent, had gathered some property around him, and neglected nothing that would bring comfort to his family, endearing himself to them by kind attention to their simple wants; and by his proverbial hospitality and conciliating manners, enlarging the circle of his friends. Sequoyah did not speak the English language, and understood only a few words, of which he could make but little use; though he had seen but few books, he had learned something about them, and how distant friends could communicate with each other by writing. He was convinced that if a written language was beneficial to one people, it would be equally so to another so he determined to make this for his people, the Cherokees. Once the resolution formed it was never given up.

Many years Sequoyah dreamed, studied and worked until success crowned his efforts: and he presented to his people a methodically arranged alphabetical language, containing the eighty six sylables of which the Cherokee language is composed. He first taught his Alphabet to his little daughter, a girl of about ten years old, afterwards he persuaded a few of his friends to learn it

However, it was not received with favor by the people generally, until after many experiments, it was proved beyond a doubt that Sequoyah had indeed devised a most wonderful invention, He sent a letter to some friends, who had removed to the Arkansas Territory, and on receiving a reply, all doubts were forever banished.

Nearly every member of the Tribe became interested in the new movement, and learned [to learn] the letters and to read and write.

Sequoyah now became a most popular man, and was respected, as almost super-human; for he was regarded as a great benefactor of his Nation.

Valuable presents were given to him by the Chiefs and men of influence, and a sum of money, out of the National Treasury was paid to him, in consideration of his inestimable service.[59]

[58] The basis for the antagonism toward Sequoyah's experiments was the fear that he was practicing sorcery.

[59] The General Council of the Cherokee Nation presented a medal to Sequoyah in 1825. The United States Government promised him $500.00 in the Treaty of 1828 with the Western Cherokees. He never received the full amount (Foreman, G., 1938, pp. 8, 16–17).

Afterward, a pension, to be paid out of the Public Treasury, was settled on him for life, to be continued to his wife after his death.[60]

George Lowrey spent his time very differently from Sequoyah, being generally engaged in more active Public Life.

However, they continued to be firm friends, and Lowrey was one of the first to recognize the great advantages which would come to his people by the use of the native Alphabet, and used his influence to have them learn it, speaking unthusiastically of it on all occasions.

He embraced every opportunity of learning the Customs of Civilization.

Being a very fluent speaker, he often talked to his people about these things; urging them to forsake their careless, disorderly life, and try to improve their condition, by learning from and imitating the whites who had settled near them, many of whom were wealthy and refined people, to whom Lowrey was a steadfast friend. it was his earnest endeavor continually to improve his own mind, and his outward circumstance, always, by precept and example, trying to induce others to do the same.

It was customary with the Cherokees to name a person for, either some fancied resemblance, for something said or done, or some trait of Character: On account of Lowrey's peculiar Characteristics, his friends sometimes called him "Ah-gee-hli," which words means "Rising" or "Aspiring." [61] and the name seemed so appropriately chosen, that from this time, in Cherokee, he was spoken of as "Dtsah-tsi Ah-gee-hli," "Dtsah-tsi," meaning George.[62]

In early manhood, George Lowrey distinguished himself by important services rendered, both to his own people and to the United States.

He was employed, at one time, by General Washington, to convey to the French in Canada, a secret message of great importance.[63]

Most of the way lay through an unbroken Wilderness, inhabited only by hostile Tribes.

As the greatest caution and skill were necessary; to ensure the success of the undertaking, he made the journey on foot. accompanied only by Billy, a colored slave; one other Indian began the journey with him, but on account of the hard-ships to be encountered, his resolution failed, and he returned.

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[60] Reliable information upon Sequoyah is, considering his historical importance, astonishingly meager, and some of these sidelights are of value. There exists among the John Howard Payne Papers in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla., a one-page fragment of a manuscript in syllabary on Sequoyah by Major Lowrey.

[61] Mooney (1900, p. 507) suggests that Major Lowrey's name may be a contraction of the Cherokee for "Rising-fawn," and takes issue with "Dog," another interpretation. In modern Cherokee, at least, the word *agi:hli* means 'pain' or 'anguish'; *gi:hli* means 'dog.'

[62] *Tsa:ts(i)* is the universally accepted Cherokee form of George.

[63] We can discover no documentation for this.

The success gained by means of this perilous journey, won for Lowrey, Washington's warmest approval and esteem; and the greatest confidence and regard of his people.

In 1791, George Lowrey was chosen one of a Delegation sent to Washington City, to solicit payment of the Annuity which had been promised in the Treaty of 1785, and had not been paid. This expidition met with a favorable issue, and the payment was made in the following year.

When about twenty years old, George Lowrey was married to Lucy Benge, a Cherokee girl, also of Scottish descent, she, too, owned quite a considerable amount of property, as, slaves, horses, cattle &c. It was customary, in those times, for a young Indian man, contemplating marriage, first to prepare a dwelling place, making it as comfortable as he knew how; then the consent of the girl must be obtained, as also that of her mother, after which, at a time previously agreed upon, the girl accompanied him to his home and became his wife.

Thus it was that Mr. and Mrs. Lowrey began their wedded life.

They were truly devoted to each other, and up to old age treated each other with the greatest respect and kindness Their children, in after years, in speaking of their parents, were heard to remark, "Never a hard word passed between them, and they never had a misunderstanding.

Mrs. Lowrey was very industrious, and kept every thing around her in beautiful order.

She also learned to spin and weave, and took great delight in making clothing for her family, in making quilts, in embroidery and other fancy work.

She was very skilful in making the beaded belts, so highly prized by Cherokee braves and warriors.

She and "Wuttie," [64] the wife of John Lowrey, George's younger brother, so improved and embelished these belts, that they generally sold for twenty five dollars apiece.

In sickness, being unwilling to trust the members of her family to native doctors and conjurers, Mrs. Lowrey attained great skill in the use of medicinal roots and herbs, especially in cases of the bite or sting of reptiles or poisonous insects.

The years brought increasing prosperity to Mr. Lowrey, and he became the owner of a large number of slaves, over whom, as a reward for his faithful services, Billy was advanced to the position of overseer, which station he occupied as long as he lived.

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[64] I have encountered this name several times among those of Wahenauhi's social class. We suggest that originally it may have been *Awo:di*, a fairly common feminine name probably derived from *wo:di* ('paint').

One instance only of Billy failing the confidence reposed in him is known.

Mr. Lowrey had a large piece of ground cleared, broken up and planted with watermelons,[65] he had it fenced with picketts, a strong gate made, fastened with a lock with two keys, one of which he gave to Billy, reserving the other himself.

When the melons began to ripen, one morning, Mr. Lowrey went in to get a melon that he had selected the evening before; to his great surprise it was gone, however he said nothing about it: but when the same thing happened again, and yet another time he decided that it was time for him to investigate. Accordingly, when evening came, he concealed himself just outside the gate and waited.

Pretty soon Billy came to the gate and opening it walked in, carefully closing and locking it. he soon came out with a large melon under his arm.

His master, leaving his place of concealment, met him, saying, "Ah! Billy, I find it no harm watch honest man!" To cover his confusion, Billy handed the melon to his master trying to pretend that he had gathered it for him: it was haughtily refused, with the words, "no, I got key, I able get my own melon." nothing more was said of the affair, and no more melons mysteriously disappeared.[66]

Mr. and Mrs. Lowrey were the parents of six children, three sons and three daughters,[67] all of whom grew up, and worthily filled respectable places in the Nation, Mr. Lowrey was very anxious that their children should be educated in the English Language, for this purpose a white man was employed to teach them.

That the children might make more rapid progress, the teacher was required to live with the family while teaching. a small cabin was builded in a pleasant locality near the dwelling house, and fitted up for a school house. Mr. Lowrey paid the teacher a liberal salary, expecting in return the best work. He invited some of his neighbors to send their children to his school, which privilege they gladly accepted. After trying three or four men, at different times, and not being pleased with their manner of educating, he gave up this plan, and sent the older children to a distinguished school near Nashville, Tenn.[68]

About the year 1803, Mr. and Mrs. Gambold, Moravian Missionaries, came to the Cherokees, who received them joyfully.

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[65] Even among themselves the Cherokees' predilection for watermelons is proverbial.

[66] This vignette is one of the few authentic glimpses available to us of the relationship of the Cherokee planter class to its slaves.

[67] Starr (1921, p. 367) states that there were seven children: James, Susan, George, Lydia, Rachel, John, and Anderson Pierce. It would appear that John never married; perhaps he died in childhood.

[68] We cannot identify this school.

Arrangements were immediately made by the Chiefs and Headmen to select a suitable locality for a Mission Station. A school was soon put into operation, [69] and Hicks, Ross, Lowrey [70] and many other influential men immediately availed themselves of the privilege of sending their children to a Christian School. In 1804, Presbyterian Missionaries [71] were sent to the Cherokee Nation, and in a short time several Mission Stations were located in different parts of the Nation, Schools were established and Churches organized. But many of the people still adhered to the old ways, would have nothing to do with the Missionaries, and ignored all their efforts made for educating and civilizing the Indians.

At their dances and ball-plays, whiskey was brought in and freely used; very often the gatherings were broken up by drunken quarrels, and sometimes by brutal murder.

However, the most influential persons, who were followed by the greater part of the Nation, anxious to secure educational advantages for their children, made great exertions to assist the Missionaries in building houses, and providing things necessary for their comfort while working among them.

In 1817 the Station at Brainerd [72] was begun and the school put into successful operation. And in a few years several other Mission Stations were established, and the schools well attended and prosperous. The Baptist [73] and Methodist [74] also had Mission Stations among the Cherokees. As a Nation, they were now prepared to receive the Gospel, brought to them by the Missionaries.

Many were converted, among others, Hicks, [75] who was then Principal Chief, Lowrey and his wife, Rising-fawn, Sleeping-Rabit, Mr. John Brown, the father of Catherine and David [76] of whom so much was written at the time by the Missionaries, and a great many more. The Missionaries were greatly loved by the Cherokees, who had by this time received such an impetus towards Christianity and Civilization that it was impossible for them to return to barbarism.

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[69] Springplace Mission was dedicated on July 13, 1801 (Schwarze, 1923, p. 65). Rev. John Gambold (1760–1827) and his wife Anna Rosina (1762–1821) came to Springplace in October 1805 (Starr, 1921, pp. 82–83).

[70] Charles Hicks (1767–1827), Assistant Principal Chief (1817–27), Principal Chief for 13 days prior to his death; John Ross (1790–1866), Principal Chief (1827–66).

[71] The Presbyterian missionary Rev. Gideon Blackburn began work on the Hiwassee River in 1803 (Schwarze, 1923, p. 79).

[72] Brainerd Mission was established on Chickamauga Creek in 1817 (Starr, 1921, p. 248).

[73] The Valley Town Baptist Mission was established by Rev. Humphrey Posey in 1820 (ibid.).

[74] Methodist work among the Cherokee began with the evangelical efforts of Rev. Richard Neely in 1822 (ibid., p. 259).

[75] Hicks was converted to Christianity in 1812, prior to his incumbency either as Assistant Principal Chief or Principal Chief (Schwarze, 1923, pp. 180–181).

[76] As may be seen in several issues of the "Cherokee Phoenix," Rising Fawn was an officeholder from Hickory Log District. Sleeping-Rabbit and John Brown were tribal leaders associated with Wills Valley in Alabama (Walker, 1931, pp. 175, 311). David Brown has been discussed. His sister, the saintly Catherine (1800?–22) was, so to speak, the Cherokee Kateri Tekakwitha. Her moving story is told by Rufus Anderson (1825).

Some years before all this, the Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors, had met together in Council and agreed, for the general good of the Nation, to make a more united Form of Government; instead of each Clan working for its own, they chose one Principal Chief, an Assistant and a Council, consisting, at first of thirteen members, upon whom devolved all the business of the Nation, as making laws, appointing officers, &c. They immediately organized Companies, called Regulators, or, Lighthorse whose duty it was to suppress theft and robbery, and to protect the peace. This Legislative Body made laws, as they saw needful, for the protection and improvement of the Nation. As early as 1808, prohibitory laws were made to prevent the introduction of intoxicants into the Nation, for, when the Annuities were to be paid, vicious whites were ready with Whiskey to give, or, sell to the Indians that they might obtain possession of their money; this nuisance became so prevalent as to make it an absolute necessity to the Nation to act in its own defence. Although the law could not wholly eradicate the evil, it proved a wholesome check to the flood of intemperance and, with amendments, has continued in force in the Cherokee Nation to this time. Black Fox was Principal Chief at that time.

About the same date, laws against poligamy were enacted.

The first Public use made of Sequoyah's Alphabet was to print the Gospel of Mathew, and a Collection of Hymns in the Cherokee Language.[77]—In 1828 Public Schools were established by the Council, to be supported by the National Government.

Educational exercises conducted in both Cherokee and English Languages.

Two years previously measures were taken by the National Council to have published at the National expense, a News Paper, devoted to the Interest of the Indian People.

This paper, called "The Cherokee Phenix," printed in both languages, continued to be published until the removal of the Tribe, West of the Mississippi.[78] In History, little is said of this event, so laden with loss and suffering to the Cherokee Indians.

It is only what has been repeated many times since, in the case of other Indian Tribes.

If the Cherokees could have been united and acted under one Leader, they might have escaped much of the trouble and loss by which they were overtaken. The dissatisfaction, already mentioned as existing in the Nation, on account of selling land to the aggressive

[77] The Cherokee hymnal, first issued at New Echota in 1829, is still in use after having gone through many editions. It is largely the work of the brilliant fullblood Cherokee scholar, Elias Boudinot (1802–39), and Rev. Samuel Worcester.

[78] The Cherokee Phoenix was founded in 1828; it was suppressed by Georgia militia in 1834. Elias Boudinot was its first editor. Although bilingual, it was in one sense the first newspaper in an American Indian language.

whites continued, and no wonder, for no less than sixteen treaties were made with the United States, each one requiring land to be given up, and likewise, each one promising to protect the Cherokees in their homes.

Companies of Emigrants were very frequently seen, on their way to the "Far West." Reluctant, indeed, they were to leave their loved homes, and the "graves of their Dead." Love of peace urged them on. And they believed that only by seeking a new Country, they could build up permanent homes for their children. Sequoyah, whose English name was George Guess, went with that division of his people who emigrated prior to the "Treaty of 1834–35." [79] and continued to be one of their leading men. Aaron Price [80] for quite a number of years, was Principal Chief of the "Western Cherokees," who after the Union were called, "Old Settlers." After Price, John Jolly was chosen Principal Chief and filled the office acceptably to his people. Black Coat and Col. Walter Webber were elected Second and Third Chiefs; the three Chiefs were invested with equal authority and received the same Salary,—one hundred dollars each.

The Western Cherokees manifested the same zeal in improvement, in civilization, and educational advantages as before their emigration. The difference of climate was a severe tax on their health, and many of them died.[81]

Besides this, they were obliged to be always on their guard, on account of the Osages, who were continually committing depredations, as driving away their horses and cattle, &c.

All this led to long and troublesome wars with the Osages. The difficulty was eventually settled by a Treaty with the United States, and the lines of boundary between the two Nations settled decided.[82] In a few years the Western Settlers began to be very prosperous; and were very much pleased with their change. During all this time, the majority of the Tribe continued in their homes, looking to their Chiefs for advice and protection.

The Chiefs and Headmen relied on the good faith of the Government of the United States, who had in the Treaty gauranteed to them their Country for ever, using the expression, "As long as grass grows, and water runs."

In no case had the Cherokees signed away their inheritance.

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[79] Treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835.

[80] *Tahlonteesgee* immediately preceded John Jolly. This personal name and also designation for the Old Settler capital near what is now Vian, in Sequoyah County, Okla., is possibly derived from *aʔdhalvʔdi:sgi* ('One-Who-Makes-a-Notch-in-a-Tree').

[81] The reports of missionaries attest to the high incidence of malaria.

[82] It is not clear which treaty is in reference here—the Treaty of St. Louis, June 3, 1825, or the Treaty of Fort Gibson, January 11, 1839.

The declarations of the Government, and of the Indian Agents, had been always directed to one point,—that was, to satisfy the Cherokees that the Government would deal justly and fairly with the Indians, and would perform all its engagements to secure to them the permanent possession of their Country. They had been constantly urged to become farmers, to educated their children, and to form a regular Government for themselves. and all this they had done.—In 1826 this opinion was written by a Missionary, a faithful friend of the Cherokees,—

"It is now too late to talk of the impracticability of Indian civilization,

Strangers who pass through the Nation now, and who had passed through it several years ago, are often heard to express their astonishment at the change which has taken place."—

"The mass of the people in their dress, houses, furniture, agricultural implements, manner of cultivating the soil, raising stock, providing for their families and in their estimate of the value of an education, would not suffer by a comparison with the whites in the neighboring settlements."[83]

The mass of the people had practically embraced Christianity.

Intemperance had been checked—some, notoriously intemperate, had been reformed.

Owing partly to political disturbances, the encouraging aspect of the Nation became clouded with confusion and depression. The Public men manifested much firmness and dignity of character, and remained steadfast friends to the moral and intellectual elevation of their people; and advised them to remain at home, quietly attending to their usual business of farming and taking care of their stock.

They firmly believed that the United States would fulfil its treaty obligations, and protect them in their homes.

Since 1819 the Cherokees had refused to sell any more land.[84]

Gold had been found in some parts of the Nation, and this fact, by exciting the cupidity of the Whites, had brought to a crisis the circumstances which resulted in the removal.[85]

In 1827, Georgia assumed an arrogant attitude towards the Cherokees, declaring that they had no title to the land, only that of occupancy, determinable at the pleasure of Georgia, that *she* had a perfect title by right of discovery, to all the land within her chartered limits, that the United States were bound to extinguish the Indian title.

[83] We cannot identify this quotation, doubtless from some missionary journal.

[84] The cession of 1819 was agreed to by the Treaty of Washington on February 27, 1819.

[85] Starkey (1946, pp. 110–111) states that gold was first discovered by a child near Dalonega in 1815 and rediscovered in 1828 or 1829. By 1830, 4,000 Whites had intruded into the goldfields.

In 1828 Georgia extended her laws over the Cherokees.[86] Their Government was hindered in its operations, their laws counteracted, and some of their citizens imprisoned, the missionaries were forbidden to preach to them, and on their non-compliance, were shamefully treated, and imprisoned in the penitentiary. The Cherokees appealed for protection, to the President of the United States, who informed them that he had no constitutional power to protect them.[87]

They then petitioned Congress,[88] and while their Petition was pending, a Bill was introduced into Congress for the purpose of enabling them to remove west of the Mississippi; the Bill for the removal was passed, and preparations were immediately begun to have it enforced.

To give some show of law to this deed of violence, a Sham Treaty was made with a few irresponsible Cherokees, who, for love of money, accepted a bribe, and immediately left for the Western Country.[89]

Meanwhile, many acts of lawlessness were perpetrated on the Cherokees, horses and cattle were driven away, hogs were taken without the consent of the owners, murders were committed, and the friends of the slain were powerless to bring the offenders to justice,

Even the graves of the dead were not safe, but were opened in order to obtain the treasures supposed to be buried with them.

The Headmen and Chiefs called the people together for the purpose of deciding what course to pursue as the best means of protection.

Many eloquent speeches were made, but nothing was decided; A few spoke of resistance, that was evidently so unavailing,—it would only be self-destruction; and to the helpless wives and innocent children, more suffering and distress.

This was a critical time for the Cherokee Nation, its very existence was threatened, and all was to be determined by the Chiefs now in Council. How this great responsibility pressed upon them! perish or remove! it might be,—remove *and* perish! a long journey through the Wilderness,—could the little ones endure? and how about the sick? the old people and infirm, could they possibly endure the long tedious journey; Should they leave?

This had been the home of their Ancestors from time out of mind.

Every thing they held dear on the earth was here, *must* they leave?

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[86] Wahnenauhi is probably in reference here to the act, passed by the Georgia legislature on December 19, 1829, extending State law over a large portion of the Cherokee Nation (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 229).

[87] This is seemingly in reference to the visit of the delegation, headed by Principal Chief John Ross, to Washington, January–May, 1833 (ibid., p. 247).

[88] "Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation to Congress, June 21, 1836."

[89] The Treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835. The United States commissioner, Rev. J. F. Schmerhorn (who still lives in Cherokee folklore as "Devil'shorn"), himself reported that only 300–500 Cherokees out of a total population of over 17,000 attended the conference for the making of this treaty (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 269)

The graves of their kindred forsaken by them would be desecrated by the hand of the White Man! The very air seemed filled with an under-current of inexpressible sadness and regret.

They could almost hear the reproaches and wailings of the dear dead they were leaving.

How must these Chiefs decide for their people? No wonder it seemed that Despair in its thickest blackness had settled down and enfolded in gloom this assemblage of brave and true-hearted Patriots.

But no time could they spend in regrets and forboding, although their own hearts were torn with grief, throwing aside their private troubles, they set themselves to the task of preparing the people for the inevitable journey. A Delegation was appointed and authorized to make arrangements with Major General Scott for Supplies required for the Removal.

For convenience in protecting, providing for and distributing to, so large a Body of people, they were divided into Companies, or, Detachments, as they were called, each provided with a Captain, whose duties were to attend to the necessities of all in his particular Detachment.

Some of the Cherokees, remained in their homes, and determined not to leave.

For these soldiers were sent, by Gorgia, and they were gathered up and driven, at the point of the bayonet, into camp with the others. they were not allowed to take any of their household stuff, but were compelled to leave as they were, with only the clothes which they had on. One old, very old man, asked the soldiers to allow him time to pray once more, with his family in the dear old home, before he left it forever. The answer was, with a brutal oath, "No! no time for prayers. Go!" at the same time giving him a rude push towards the door.[90]

In many instances, the families of settlers were at hand, and as the Indians were evicted, the whites entered, taking full possession of every thing left.

It is useless to attempt to describe the long, wearisome passage of these exiled Indians.

The journey had but just begun when sickness attacked them.

Many of the old people, already enfeebled by age, were unable to endure the fatigue and hardships of the way, and sank unresistingly.

Every camping place was strewn with the graves of the dead.

Not one family was exempted from the tax of the Death-Angel. It was estimated, on reaching their destination, that fully two-thirds

[90] Wahnenauhi may have witnessed this scene.

of the number that began the journey fell by the way. Many more died after their arrival. [91]

As the emigrants arrived too late in the Season for planting, an Appropriation was made for their subsistance during that year.

Some of the Missionaries, true and beloved friends of the Cherokees, went with them and shared with them the trials and hardships by the way; others followed them very soon.

Forever revered be their memory for that Act of Sympathetic Mercy!

At the time of the Removal, Mr. John Ross was Principal Chief, and Maj. George Lowrey, Assistant Principal Chief.

Both had occupied these Stations for several years, having been repeatedly elected by the People.

As soon as practicable after the arrival of the Emigrants a Convention of all the people was held in order to form a union between the two Divisions. [92]

George Lowrey was chosen President of the Eastern Cherokees, and Sequoyah, George Guess President of the Western.

By an Act of this Assembly, the two parties agreed to form themselves into one Body. [93]

A system of Government was matured, adapted to their changed condition, providing equally for the protection of all in the enjoyment of their rights. An Instrument was modeled, considered and approved by the respective Chiefs; John Ross, Principal Chief of the Eastern Cherokees; and John Looney, Acting Principal Chief of the Western Cherokees, and signed by a great number of Old Settlers and Late Emigrants. The long journey from the Old Home to the New had caused much suffering and Loss.

The people, however, were not wholly disheartened;—Friends and kindred welcomed and sympathized with them, the Missionaries were still with them, their leading men were earnestly interested in their welfare and advancement. and in a few years Prosperity again smiled upon them. However, success did not come to them without great effort on their part.

Besides the usual difficulties, incident to the Settlers of a new Country, the Cherokees were harrassed by internal strife; Party feeling ran high. Several men, accused of being implicated in the loss of their old home, were killed at the instigation of a Secret Organization, formed by a few who felt themselves called to avenge the wrongs of their people.[94] Anarchy almost prevailed.

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[91] Approximately 4,000 Cherokees perished in the course of the removal (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 312).

[92] The Council of June 3, 1839, at Takatoga.

[93] There were two Acts of Union—July 22, 1839, and June 26, 1840.

[94] This refers to the June 22, 1839, assassination of Elias Boudinot, Major Ridge, and John Ridge, leaders of the faction that had advocated removal.

Had it not been that the Almighty had designs of mercy for the People, and in His Providence placed at the Head of Government wise and good men, the Nation would then undoubtedly have been destroyed.

A Constitution for the Government of the Cherokee Nation was framed, and established subject to amendments by the National Council. This Constitution stands an advantageous comparison with that of the United States. [95]

In 1828, the proceeds of a Sale of Land was vested in a permanent School Fund; and the interest divided between the two Branches of the Cherokee Family.

After the Reunion, as payment was made for the Lands east of the Mississippi, a part of the money was added to the original School Fund; more Public Schools were established, and also two High Schools were located near Tahlequah, the Capital of the Nation. [96]

Provisions were made for an Orphan Asylum, which, later on was firmly established, and has since continued in a prosperous condition. Besides these schools, an Asylum for the Blind and other unfortunates was founded, and is maintained by a National Fund appropriated to that purpose.

The barbarous practice of punishment by Public Whipping has been long ago abolished, and confinement in Prison substituted.

In closing these imperfect sketches, the reader will be interested to know of the last days of the two men of whom I have made most prominent mention.

On account of Sequoyah's declining health, he was advised to travel.

He had thought much of the Legend of the Rockey Mountain Cherokees, and the hope of satisfying his curiosity with regard to this myth made him anxious to take a westward trip; he was also very desirous of seeing and exploring the western outlet belonging to the Cherokees. These inducements led to his decision.

On the early spring of 1842, he, with about twelve attendants, two of whom were his sons, set out on the journey.

Not caring to be needlessly burdened the Company carried with them only a small amount of provision, expecting to supply their immediate wants by killing the wild game with which they supposed the Country to abound. for this purpose they were provided with a sufficient stock of ammunition;

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[95] This is the Constitution of September 6, 1839.

[96] The two seminaries were established by an act of the National Council on November 12, 1847 (Starr, 1921, p. 142). As early as November 16, 1841, the National Council created the position of Superintendent of Education and established 11 public schools. In 1845 there were 18 public schools; in 1867 there were 32; by 1877 there were 75; there were over 120 at the time of the dissolution of the Cherokee Nation (ibid., pp. 226-229).

By traveling slowly, examining the nature and appearance of the Country as they passed along, stopping to camp or hunt whenever it suited Sequoyah to do so, the time passed pleasantly and swiftly. Sequoyah's strength returned, and his health improved so rapidly that strong hopes were entertained of his permanent recovery.

His pet idea of visiting the Rockey Mountains seemed about to be fulfilled, and all rejoiced in the apparrent success of their journey.

Almost suddenly, the features of the Country changed, water became scarce, and what there was, very bad. Game was hard to find, and the Company was obliged often to make forced marches in order to obtain water and shelter, while on account of having no food, some of the men must continually hunt the game which seemed to have eluded them. Sequoyah, supposing this arid land to be only a narrow strip that could be crossed in a very short time, persuaded his companions to persevere in their course, still hoping to gain his wish of reaching the Rockies.

Not strong enough to endure the fatigue and privations to which he was subjected, Sequoyah's new-found health gave way, and he gave orders to turn and retrace their steps; his strength now failed so rapidly that he was unable to travel, he gave up all hope of recovery, but wished to get home before he died. he became so reduced, they could make only short distances with him, often they were obliged to stop in very unfavorable situations.

In all his journey, he had busied himself with writing descriptions of the country through which they passed; this he continued to do, at intervals, as his strength allowed.

Coming to a Cave, Sequoyah thought he might gain strength by resting here for a few days; they remained at this place perhaps a week, the men going every day to hunt, always leaving one of their number to take care of him.

One morning he sent them all off. On their return in the evening, he was gone, but had left a skin hanging at the entrance of the Cave.

On this he had written directions for them to follow him to a certain place, indicated in the directions.

They immediately set out but failed to find him until the next evening, they found him dead, the appearance of the body showed that he had been dead for several hours.

The time being the heat of summer, it was impossible to take him home;

Carrying the body far back into the Cave, and placing his writing with him, they wrapped it in skins as securely as they could.

They marked the place so that it would without difficulty be found, and then set out on their return.

Immediately on their arrival, preparations were made and a Company organized and sent with the men to convey the remains home. They did not find even the place where they had left him. Thus Sequoyah, the Indian who most deserves the respect and gratitude of his people, sleeps in his last resting-place with no Monument to mark the spot.

Every true-hearted Cherokee will ever hold his Memory dear, and will speak with pride of their gifted Brother.

All men, whatever their Nationality, whether friend or foe to the Indian, will acknowledge the wonderful genius of Sequoyah, he who gave to his people their written Language.[97]

George Lowrey continued to be a ruling spirit among his people—their trusted Friend and Adviser. He rejoiced with his people in the peace and security which assured prosperity to them; and in the steady progress they had made toward Civilization.

His own individual peace was soon to be disturbed by a great sorrow.

He was called home from the National Council by the sickness of his wife, whose death occured in October the 20th 1846.

Five years later Lowrey was declared too old to perform the duties of a Chief, and a younger man was placed in the office so long and ably filled by him.

Old, very old he was—his formerly erect frame bowed with the weight of years, yet he possessed all his native energy of mind. Declining to retire from Active Service, he was assigned an office in the Executive Committee; [98] a position of high trust.

Death found him at his post, faithfully discharging the duties of his office, He was compelled, by his own sickness, to leave the Council.

Six years after his wife's death:—Oct. 20th 1852, George Lowrey entered into that "Rest" prepared for the people of God.

His remains were followed to their last resting place, in the Cemetary at Tahlequah, by a multitude.

Besides his immediate relatives and friends, there marched in the long procession, all the Members of the National Council, headed by the Chiefs and the two remaining members of the Executive Com-

[97] There is much in Cherokee oral tradition and not a little in untranslated manuscripts that, were it available to scholarship, would surely enrich our knowledge of Sequoyah. It is indeed strange that although Sequoyah methodically kept journals, as Wahnenauhi and Grant Foreman (1938, p. 37) inform us, none of them have come to light. Incidentally, the name of this distinguished Cherokee, all etymological conjecture to the contrary, is apparently not of Cherokee origin (*see* Kilpatrick, 1962, p. 41).

[98] In the government of the Cherokee Nation, the Executive Committee corresponded somewhat to the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

mittee, the Students from both Seminaries, Free Masons, Sons of Temperance and many other persons, [99]

All appeared to realize that "A Great man had fallen!"

As a fitting close to this Sketch, I will give a quotation from the Monument which marks his grave.

"Erected
by order of the
National Council."
"He filled the duties of every office well,
An Honest Man—
A Spotless Patriot—
A Devoted Christian."

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[99] Carolyn Thomas Foreman (1948, pp. 89–90) informs us that the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester was requested by the National Council to deliver a funeral address to "both branches of the National Council, officers of the government and many other citizens." George Lowrey was probably a Freemason and possibly affiliated with Cherokee Lodge No. 21, chartered on November 8, 1848, at Tahlequah, although "Some history of Freemasonry in Indian Territory before the War Between the States and the organization of the Grand Lodge" (n.d., MS.) does not specifically so state. We infer from this document that the first Masonic funeral conducted in the Cherokee Nation was that of G. W. Lavender in 1851. Lucy Lowrey Hoyt would appear to have been a student at the Cherokee Female Seminary at the time of her grandfather's death and burial.

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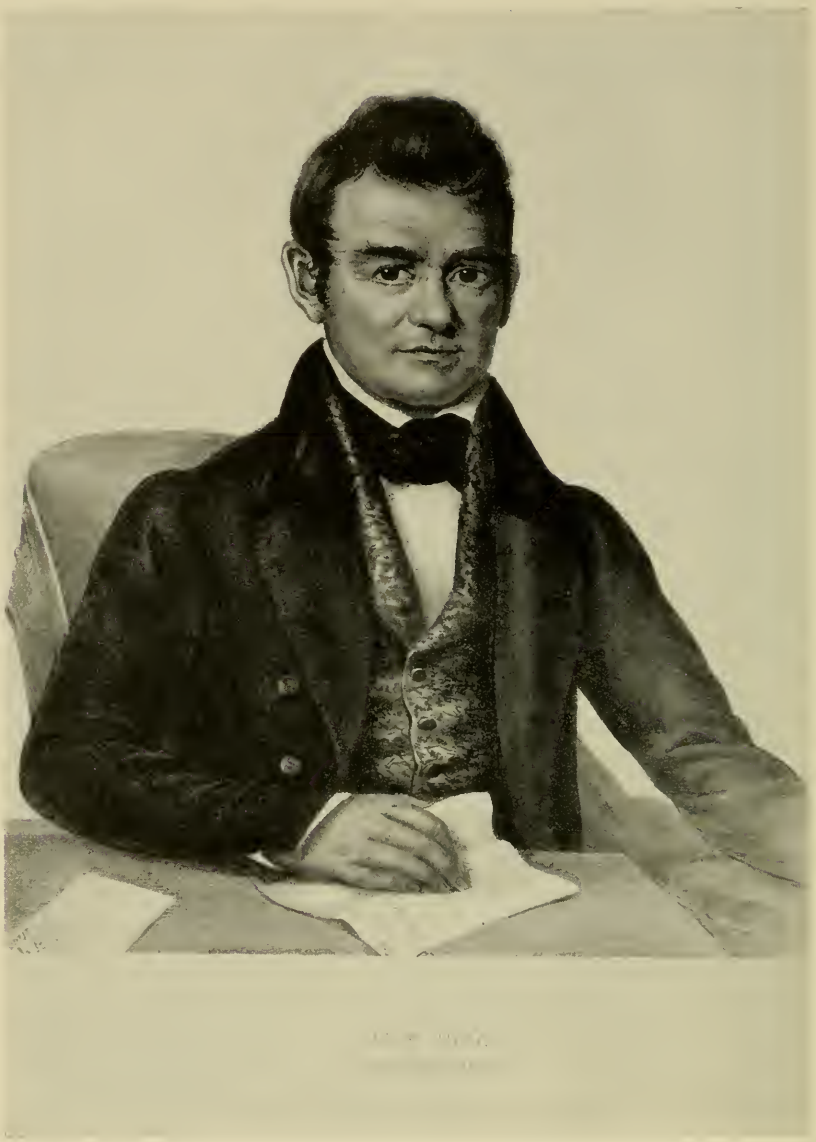
Wahnenauhi (Mrs. Lucy L. Keys). This photograph was taken sometime between 1900 and 1912, according to Clum D. Keys, grandson of Wahnenauhi, who supplied it.

Portrait thought to be of George Lowrey. Attributed to J. M. Stanley, 1844. Courtesy, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla.

Sequoyah. Ca. 1760–1843. Also known as George Gist (Guest, Guess). Copy from a lithograph in McKenney and Hall's "Indian Tribes of North America." The original source is thought to be a painting by C. B. King, Washington, D.C., 1828. (The original painting is not known to be in existence.)



John Ross. 1790–1866. From a photograph by A. Z. Schindler, Washington, D.C., 1858.