Abstract

The Cherokee, similar to other American Indian tribes, struggled with the implications of the growing Anglo population along the eastern seaboard leading up to American independence. The collision of White and Indian resulted in compromise and conflict with only one group emerging victorious in the battle for land and resources. The traditions of American Indians fell victim to the imperialistic drive of Europeans and a new nation called the United States.

This thesis follows the Cherokee Vann family as they navigated the Anglo world of commerce, politics, religion, and family. Their response to the encroaching American culture is an exemplar case of Indians and their attempt to acculturate during the early nineteenth century. James, the patriarch Vann family, actively negotiated commerce and power with the Cherokee "young chiefs" and Indian Agent Return Jonathan Meigs. James' actions placed him squarely on the "white man's path," which promised prosperity and peace with the growing population in the southeast. This promise, however, was broken as American greed overwhelmed all Indians, progressive or traditional. The promised benefits of acculturation turned out to be a cruel lie that left American Indians destitute and ultimately without tribe or nation.

This thesis begins with the history of the Georgia Vanns (1745-1834), a period of great financial prosperity, political power, and change as James moved the family out of the traditional Cherokee schema and assumed a clear Anglo patriarchy. The research follows the family through the removal crisis of the 1830s and their settlement in Indian Territory. The American Civil War adds another chapter to the rapid deceleration of the family, ultimately concluding with the loss of Cherokee sovereignty through the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 and the Curtis Act of 1898. The empire James Vann built by his death in 1809 crumbled under the weight of an overbearing federal government, anxious to control all the lands held by American Indians.

AND THE TRAIL CONTINUED: NINETEENTH CENTURY FEDERAL INDIAN POLICIES AND THE VANN FAMILY, 1745-1902

By

CHARLES DAVID HEAVERIN

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty in partial

fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

University of Central Oklahoma

2013

THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and the thesis of Charles David Heaverin for the Master of Arts in History was submitted to the graduate college on May 30, 2013, and approved by the undersigned committee.

COMMITTEE APPROVALS:

Patricia Loughlin, Ph.D.
Committee Chair
Professor of History

Kenny L. Brown, Ph.D.
Member
Professor of History

Shirletta Kinchen, Ph.D.
Member
Assistant Professor of History

"And the Trail Continued: Nineteenth Century Federal Indian Policies and the Vann Family"

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

American Indian history is about as far from my personal life experience as you could possibly get. I've travelled around the world and gleaned some basic information about various cultures. Unfortunately, I was woefully ignorant about the history of people I grew up around in Florida. Therefore, this thesis was a massive departure from my comfort zone. The topic snuck up on me as I began researching Bryson Vann's, my stepson's, Cherokee and Chickasaw lineage. The beginning efforts were frustrating because of the unique nature of Indian research, especially regarding clan relations and matrilineal vs. patrilineal descent issues. This research has consumed my historical interests for three years and would have taken much longer had it not been for wonderful people who assisted me in this endeavor.

First, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Patricia Loughlin who sparked a newly discovered family interest into a full-blown research topic. She has been an invaluable source of information and support as I stepped into this very foreign endeavor. I would also like to thank Dr. Kenny Brown who provided guidance and insight, even during seemingly unrelated conversations. He introduced me to archival research using online aids and was always available to talk about Oklahoma Indian history. Dr. Timothy Petete provided great information about modern Indian literature and asked about my research as we passed in the hallways of the Liberal Art building.

One important aspect of Vann family history is their reliance on slave labor, both in Georgia and Indian Territory. The wealth and prominence that set James and Joseph apart was directly linked to the unfortunate use of chattel slavery. I am thankful to Dr. Jere Roberson, who sparked my curiosity about Cherokee slave ownership, which opened

new doors to my Vann research. Dr. Shirletta Kinchen continued my path of inquiry during her graduate seminar on African American History. I truly value their dedication to the cause of educating UCO students to the horrors of the "peculiar institution" and pushing new scholars to ask tough questions about how slavery shaped American, and Cherokee, history. They were invaluable to this research, as I was pressed to look at the Vann family differently than I had before.

I was fortunate to talk with members of the Vann family located throughout Oklahoma. Virginia "Ginny" Vann Perry, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, is the recognized fount of Vann family history. Her services have assisted museums and historical societies in Oklahoma and Georgia. Ginny was kind enough to invite me to her home, where she has collect, by far, the largest archive of Vann history available today. She is the go-to person for answers when research information seems to contradict other sources. She is an absolute treasure to the Vann genealogical efforts and was invaluable to my research. Gordon and Helen Vann, Lake Texoma, Oklahoma, were also kind to open their boxes of family pictures, letters, documents, and other materials, allowing me to copy whatever I needed for this research. Their family stories helped fill in information that could not be found in records, articles, and books. Mrs. Joy Herron, of Glendora, Mississippi, provided information about the Willis family. William Vann married Lottie Willis shortly after the Civil War, introducing the Chickasaw tribe into the family. This is significant because Lottie and the children enrolled in the Chickasaw Nation during the Dawes Commission, forever altering the heritage of future Vanns, including my stepson.

This research would never have begun were it not for Charlie and Erma Jean Vann of Paul's Valley, Oklahoma. These two wonderful people are the grandparents of

my stepson, Bryson, and sparked my interest as they talked about reconnecting with their Chickasaw and Cherokee heritage. While this thesis is a major accomplishment in my life, it pales to the joy of sharing each new piece of information with these two precious people. I am truly thankful for the opportunity to research their family history and excited every time I speak with them about it.

Many organizations have lent incalculable assistance during the research process. I want to thank Bill Welge, Carol Jasak, and Felecia Vaughn of the Oklahoma Historical Center, in Oklahoma City, for their assistance in Indian records and the Oklahoma newspaper archive. Nancy Calhoun, Muskogee Library Genealogist, not only provided access to her archive, but introduced me to Ginnie Vann Perry, the matriarch of Vann history. Ms. Jackie King, Iowa State University News Service, provided valuable family information from genealogical databases available through her program. I also want to thank the great volunteers at the Marshall County Historical Society and Webber's Falls Museum for land records, and access to one-of-a-kind artifacts related to the Vann family. Finally, I want to acknowledge the staff at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian, in Cherokee, North Carolina, The Cherokee Heritage Museum, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the Holisso Research Library at the Chickasaw Heritage Center, Sulphur, Oklahoma, and the Chief Vann House Historical Site in Chatsworth, Georgia.

This project absolutely would have failed without the loving support of my wife, Sondra. She has spent countless hours going through records and travelling to various archives, even though history is not her passion. She has remembered things I have forgotten, discovered new leads through her growing curiosity, and endured my absence, even when I was around, working to complete this project. She has patiently accepted the

role of thesis estrangement when I was so consumed with writing that she might have questioned whether she was even married. She has been a true rock and a major contributor to my success. She supported my history addiction when I quit work for two years to focus solely on completing my Bachelor's and Master's degrees. I love you and you will never know how much I appreciate your tolerance during this crazy period in my academic career.

Introduction

> "At once, after the shot, all of his clothes he had with him, … as well as other valuables including his pocketbook containing a large sum of money in banknotes, were stolen. Thus fell this man, who had for so long been feared by many but loved by a few, in his forty-first year. In this man one could see an amazing example of the indescribable tolerance and patience of God toward his enemies! Oh! God alone knows how we poor children felt on receiving this abominable news. How sincerely we would like to have seen this man, who had been a longstanding enemy before his demise, become a friend of Christ."
> -- Moravian missionaries after hearing the news of James Vann's death, 1809.[1]

The Vann story is one that until now has only been half told. Much has been written about the family while they lived and prospered in the American Southeast (1745-1834). John Joseph Vann (1738-1800) slowly built an agricultural and commercial empire in north Georgia, which quickly established the family as the richest Cherokees. The second half of the Vann saga, the Oklahoma period (1836-present), has only been told in bits and pieces, and sometimes woefully incorrectly. Maybe it is the colorful life of Chief James Vann (1766 – 1809) that attracts the most attention. He, however, died twenty-five years before the family fled Georgia under fire from members of the National Guard in 1834. The Oklahoma story, on the other hand, is a story of survival, when the Vanns, like other American Indians, experienced a rapid series of events that destroyed Native sovereignty and their commercial empire. This segment of the story (1934 – 1905) is the result of American greed conquering Indian hopes of coexistence. The third part of this story (1905-present) is mired in disenfranchisement and will need to be told another day. This research project ends with the Vanns accepting their Dawes allotment in 1902 and moving into Chickasaw Territory to begin their new life, separated forever from their

[1] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 302-3.

previously comfortable existence. Their story begins, as do so many other's, with the introduction of Scottish fur traders into the Cherokee tribe.

The Native American reaction to European intrusion, beginning in the sixteenth century, is an example of how too many details are lost under a broad brush. The response to contact may have been driven by leaders of a particular nation. However, it may also have been dictated at the tribe or clan level. Ultimately, the family or individual had the final say on how they responded to the European incursion. Eastern nations, such as the Cherokee and Creek, had serious schisms centered on the issue of integrating with Anglo tradition and trade. Progressive and traditional bands battled over education, gender roles, treaties, and selling land to Europeans. The progressive Indians either saw utility in establishing relationships or the futility in fighting it. Traditional bands simply saw the evil in maintaining any relationship other than wary observer of the European encroachment.

Generalization also presents problems when addressing specific leaders. Chief James Vann, one of the leaders of the Lower Cherokees, has been a lightning rod of controversy, both inside and outside the tribe. He was a progressive Cherokee who had a multi-faceted persona.[2] He excelled in business and built an empire on his northern Georgia Plantation called Springplace. James is usually characterized as a violent man, prone to alcohol-induced rage. His attacks on Indians and slaves are legendary. Even in

[2] The use of the term "progressive" in this study is an effort to identify Cherokees that were moving steadily away from the traditional culture in which they were raised in. In many Indians, from many Nations, fell somewhere in the middle of the cultural spectrum, with pure traditional and pure progressive being the extremes. Many "traditional" Indians were adopting some progressive practices, while most "progressive" Indians retained some traditional values. The issue is complicated further by the discussion of full- and mixed-blood citizens. There is no easy formula available to catagorize Indians during this time period. Therefore, my use of progressive is meant solely to identify Cherokees that were more willing to acculturate into the European sphere-of-influence, usually to profit economically or politically.

2011, some Cherokee leaders were embarrassed to discuss the chief because of his legendary temper.[3] However, this unfortunate personality flaw was only a small part of who he was. James was instrumental in bringing commerce to the lower Cherokees. He was also valuable to the colonial authorities when conflicts arose between Indians and white settlers. James invited the Moravian Church to establish a school on his property. Although he was not the least bit interested in Christianity, he did allow the missionaries to operate a church that Indians and slaves could attend.

Another source of friction with the Cherokee Nation today lies in the ideology and cultural flexibility exhibited by the progressive leaders during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. James, at the turn of the nineteenth century, was part of a growing population of chiefs and businessmen willing to move away from traditional Cherokee practices to capitalize on the growing European population in the southeast. These "young chiefs" introduced new economic, educational, and gender politics during this timeframe. This, however, may have been the unraveling of the Cherokee in Georgia, beginning in 1830. Progressive leaders saw the inevitability of federal dominance and presidential policy against Indians and signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which sealed the fate of eastern Cherokees. The very changes that James prospered under divided the Nation after his death.

Finally, the story of the Vann family cannot be told without acknowledging the issue of slavery within the Cherokee Nation. Chief James and his son Joseph could not

[3] The author visited the research library at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian, located in Cherokee, North Carolina, in December 2011. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, the governing body of Cherokees who did not remove to Indian Territory, operates the library. The staff at the library was helpful, but admitted that they do not like discussing James' role in the early history of Georgia Cherokees. They believe his reputation feeds into the stereotype of drunken Indians. Unfortunately, this estrangement rendered the archives almost useless as they chose not to retain any documents mentioning James or his business accomplishments.

have obtained their incredible wealth and stature apart from the horrible reality of the "peculiar institution." It is difficult to sympathize with a family that was oppressed when they too were oppressors. As unfortunate as this truth is, it lends even more strength to the argument that the slave-owning community surrounding Springplace should have accepted the Vanns. Yet, while participating in the horrible, demeaning, and dehumanizing practice of forced servitude, the family still could not find favor in the Anglo mindset.

This study will address the relationship between the U.S. and Cherokee Nation during the nineteenth century. Both colonial and later the federal government promised American Indians that acculturating to the "white man's path" would bring prosperity and peace. The Vann family offers a case study of progressivism betrayed. James began an empire that was passed to his son Joseph. Both men did exactly what seemed to be required to exist within the new state and federal structures. Yet the covetous nature of non-Indians made such efforts useless. Natural resources, especially gold discovered in 1829, ensured that Georgian Cherokees would be dislocated at any cost. These same attitudes would result in a series of broken treaties and federal actions throughout the nineteenth century that would eventually result in the destruction of tribal sovereignty as the twentieth century arrived. This study will show that all federal promises were hollow and easily broken. The nineteenth century would prove catastrophic to the Cherokee, and the Vann family.

Chapter One

Review of Literature

Many problems confront historians that choose to study and write about Native Americans.[1] Early accounts written by European colonizers produced inaccurate portrayals of the men and women they encountered while exploring the so-called New World. These writers had no experience with indigenous populations in North America. Therefore, they had to decode everything they saw with European eyes, which immediately led to misinterpretation. Unfortunately, these early biases established a continuous chain of disastrous events for Native Americans as the Europeans slowly extinguished the people and culture that preceded them. Land use, gender, religion, and governance looked different from the systems English, French, and Spanish explorers had known.

These differences prompted new arrivals to conclude that Indians were backward and inferior, leading to policies of wholesale slaughter, dislocation, and poor historical accounts that made their way throughout the colonies and into Europe. The historiographical approach of American Indians has improved immensely over the last century, with more inclusion of sources originally ignored or unknown to early writers. My research includes both Native and non-Native sources, using recent scholarship on gender, religion, slavery, and politics. I have divided the historiography into three

[1] There is considerable discussion at all levels of academia, society, and government regarding appropriate terms used in discussing the indigenous population prior to European contact. Throughout the review of literature and subsequent chapters, I will use American Indian, Native American, and Indian when discussing the collective population of pre-and post-European indigenous population. I will also use tribe, clan, nation, Cherokee, and Chickasaw when discussing specific Indian people groups. In regards to southeastern nations, I will use the term "Five Civilized Tribes," which was contemporary to removal and Dawes time periods. I am keeping with the language used during the majority of the historical period. Finally, I will only use the term "nation" in regards to these tribes. The terms U.S., American, or federal will identify any reference to the post-Revolutionary government.

periods: Early American, Post-Removal, and Modern. The transition between the three periods involves a broader understanding of Native culture.

A major challenge for historians is the relatively late introduction of written languages among the Indians. The Vann family spans two different tribes during periods my research. The entire Vann family self identified as Cherokee prior to 1902, and the particular family line I am tracing switched to Chickasaw as a result of the Dawes allotment process, post-1902. The Cherokee syllabary, written by Sequoyah, was not completed until the early nineteenth century, a period when the Vanns were living in north Georgia, at Springplace.[2] The Chickasaws had no formal written language until the twentieth century. Even today, Chickasaw remains a largely oral language and spelling varies.[3] This lack of standard presents two issues for historians. First, oral history is the only type of organic narrative available prior to the syllabary. The common questions about the reliability and validity of oral histories immediately come into play. Second, non-Indians, as highlighted in this chapter, wrote tribal histories prior to the nineteenth century, presenting serious issues of accuracy and bias.

Contemporary historians face yet another challenge. Who is best equipped to write Native American histories? This question has fortunately spurred Native American writers to take up the task of presenting histories from an Indian point of view. This form of revisionist history, readdressing the past with more sources than previously used, adds depth and flavor to the past, offering information that is both credible and Indian-centric.

---

[2] Cherokee Nation, "Sequoyah and the Cherokee Syllabary," *The Official Site of the Cherokee Nation*, accessed 17 November 2012, http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/Facts/24483/Information.aspx.

[3] Chickasaw Nation, "Language," *The Official Site of the Chickasaw Nation,* accessed 17 November 2012, http://www.chickasaw.net/history_culture/index_644.htm.

This approach also presents a brewing conflict over the viability of non-Indian historians, like myself.

During a presentation held at the University of Central Oklahoma in November 2012, Susan A. Miller discussed the necessity of "decolonizing" Native American history. Miller, (Seminole) argued that Indians are still victims of colonial histories that fail to recognize the true sense of oppression that started at European contact and continue even today. She clearly advocated narratives written by Native historians. She does not, however, appear to dismiss non-Indian researchers. When asked if she could write a definitive historiography of Native writers, she stated that she was retired and the current batch of historians in training must take up the mantle of correcting history. For this task, she made no distinction about Indian or not.[4] The issue of non-Indian historians will continue to be debated, much like the discussions of what to call indigenous people in America.

My research on the Vann family draws from three periods of scholarship. Colonial ethnohistorians such as James Adair wrote the earliest histories. I will refer to this period as Early American literature. The second period of research was written at the beginning of the twentieth century, shortly after the conclusion of the Dawes Commission. Historians during this era include James Mooney, Annie Heloise Abel, Angie Debo, E.E. Dale, Grant and Carolyn Foreman, and Morris Wardell. I will refer to this period as Post-Removal literature. The final period of scholarship is the modern, multi-disciplined histories written in the last half of the twentieth century. These scholars

[4] Susan A. Miller, "Native America Writes Back: Indigenous Voices and American Colonization" (Lecture presented at the Liberal Arts Dean's Speaker Series, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma, 7 November 2012). Dr. Miller is a retired professor of history, last teaching at the University of Oklahoma. I had an opportunity to discuss my research on the Vann family with Miller and she presented some ideas for research and encouraged me, even as a non-Indian, to be diligent in my research and writing, giving honest voice to a people who had been lost in bias and misinformation.

represent a revisionist style scholarship, seeking to revise earlier biased histories that were not complimentary to Native societies. Historians during this period include Theda Perdue, Robert J. Conley, William McLoughlin, Henry Malone, Michael Greene, and recent historians including Tiya Miles, Fay Yarbrough, Claudio Saunt, and Rose Stremlau. I will refer to this period as Modern literature.

One of the earliest histories of the Cherokee came from James Adair (1709-83). Born in Ireland, Adair immigrated to South Carolina as a deerskin trader, first with the Cherokee and Catawbas tribes, in 1735, before living 22 years among the Chickasaws, beginning in 1744.[5] His first contact with the tribe occurred in 1735, and he lived among the people from that point on. He wrote *The History of the American Indians* (1775) and began with an odd pursuit of the Indians' skin coloring. He kept a journal of his time with the Indians and even drew sketches of them. He understood that they were suspicious of white people, and he initially declined writing the book. However, his friend convinced him to publish his notes. Adair agreed, desiring to help others trace the history of the Natives.[6] While the book contains intimate details about the daily lives of the Indians, his observations developed into a controversial conclusion. Adair spent 206 pages arguing that Native Americans are direct descendants from the Hebrew tribes of ancient Israel. He systematically traced traditions and rituals in twenty-three arguments, comparing the Indians with the Jews. He concluded that similarities in tribal delineations, worship, festivals, sacrifices, cleanliness, war purification, and handling of unclean things and the dead link them through heredity. He continues the book with observations on his stay

[5] Charles Hudson, "James Adair as Anthropologist," *Ethnohistory* 24, no. 4 (Autumn, 1977): 311.

[6] James Adair and Samuel Cole Williams. *Adair's History of the American Indians, Edited Under the Auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, in Tennessee* (Johnson City, TN.: Watauga Press, 1930), 3.

with the Katabba, Cherokee, Muskogee, Choctaw, and the Chickasaw Indians.

Unfortunately for Adair, many historians believe his long theory on genetics overshadows his historical research.[7] Still, his work provides valuable details about the daily lives of men and women within the tribe and their contact with the English, French, and the deadly smallpox virus. While his theory of heredity is questionable, the level of detail in his arguments provides an exceptionally valuable insight into the early history of the Cherokee. He gives historians one of the first glimpses into the Cherokee at an intimate level. This information helped me form a foundation to compare early Cherokee with the changes the Vanns brought to their family at the end of the eighteenth century.

John Haywood published an early history of the Cherokee, using Adair's work as a foundation. *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee: Up to the First Settlement Therein by the White People in the Year 1768* (1823) provides another early glimpse of Indians prior to European contact.[8] His work is also suspect due to his support of Adair's "lost tribes" theory of Indian/Semitic origin. The most notable error is his declaration that Cornelius Dougherty was a refugee from England's Glorious Revolution. He claims that Dougherty was part of the court of King James II and fled into American Indian territory to escape death. Haywood is the only writer to provide this information. All other sources indicate that the Irish immigrant came to America as a hunter and trader. Both Adair and Haywood wrote that Dougherty was the first white person to live amongst the Cherokee people, introducing horses to the tribe. James Gilmore's *The Rear-Guard of the Revolution* (1886) adds that he also taught the tribe how to steal horses from

[7] Charles Hudson, "James Adair as Anthropologist," 311.

[8] John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, Up to the First Settlements Therein by the White People in the Year 1768. Including Archaeological, Geological, and Historical Annotations Bringing the Ancient Account into Focus with Present Day Knowledge, and an Introductory Sketch of the Author, John Haywood* (Jackson, TN: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959).

nearby European outposts.[9] It is difficult to know how much impact Adair had on the Dougherty story since very few people write about his stay with the Cherokee. Adair lived with the Cherokee for forty years before writing *History of the American Indian*. Therefore his information appears to be more organic. Whether Dougherty fled England or taught the Cherokee to steal horse is debatable. The assertion that he was the first white contact with the tribe was probably information gained from the Indians and therefore is more reliable.

An abundant source of colonial and early U.S. histories can be found in the many religious journals kept by missionaries assigned to Indian tribes across the country. The writings of the Moravians, a German Protestant denomination, provide a wealth of daily insights to post-contact Cherokee history in the southeast. *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* (2007) is a two-volume translation of the daily diaries of missionary couple John and Anna Gambold, from 1805-1821.[10] Rowena McClinton translated the German text, Theda Perdue and Michael Green were the editors, and the preface was written by then Cherokee Principal Chief Chad Smith. These volumes shine a bright light onto the lives of the Vann family of Springplace, Georgia, and the visitors that came in contact with the Gambolds. While the journals appear to be a treasure chest of information about Chief James and his family, they only cast a narrow beam of light. The missionaries tended to their own business and did not have continual contact with the family. Therefore, only the extraordinary appears on the pages. We miss the daily lives of the family, leading readers to believe that the family was in a constant state of dysfunction. These volumes provide an interesting series of brief snapshots, but fall

[9] James R. Gilmore, *The Rear-Guard of the Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1886).
[10] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

exceedingly short of a constantly updated moving picture. The Gambolds show us the highest highs and lowest lows, but little in between.

Whites pressed Indians into accepting orthodox religion. The Moravians gave us insight into the Cherokee and, more specifically, the Vanns. The Catholic Church dedicated great energy to saving the souls of the natives. Catholic priest Francis Paul Prucha researched the archives of American missionaries and published *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (1975), discussing the "Indian problem" from the Church's point of view. Prucha was ordained in the Catholic Church in 1957, which afforded him the opportunity to research Catholic archives in regards to Indian-missionary relations. Similar to the Moravian journals, these documents portray the Church's assessment of Natives, not necessarily the United States' as suggested in his title. The Church's views and policies vacillated depending on whether Indians had souls that could be saved. However, the primary sources contained in the book add yet another facet to how Europeans viewed American Indians.[11]

Unfortunately, the most damning historical perspective came, not from historians, but from politicians. A steady dose of policies and laws preached a message of intolerance and ignorance. Unfair treaties took advantage of a people rapidly surrounded by unscrupulous land speculators and traders. Prosperity-hungry Anglos wrote the worst history imaginable, the one that is legally binding. My research highlights the various treaties and "Indian law" used to dehumanize and ultimately remove Indians around the continent. The most damaging history from the Early American period was enveloped in statutes, codes, and decrees.

---

[11] Francis Paul Prucha, *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

The second transition of historiography is what I call the Post-Removal period. These writers include ethnohistorians, anthropologists, laypeople interested in telling the Indian story, and trained historians. They represent government agencies (military, Indian agents, the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Dawes Commission members), researchers under the Works Progress Administration, and scholars tapping into the general unrest over Indian policies. They are the first to produce a holistic view of Indians. However, they write in response to the harm of government intervention upon the tribes.

One of the earliest writers of the Post-Removal period was James Mooney. Born in 1861, he was a self-trained historian of the Cherokee and Kiowa tribes. He had an interest in Indian culture, folklore, and rituals as a child. He wrote to the U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology in 1882 and requested a job helping to map North American tribes. He was turned down; however, he was eventually hired into the department as an assistant. This began a lifelong work of drawing, photographing, and writing about Native American culture. Mooney is best known for his research into the myths of various tribes throughout the United States. He published extensively, mostly from an ethnological focus, in publications such as: *Journal of American Folk-Lore, American Anthropologist, The Southern Workman*, as well as many bulletins for the Bureau of American Ethnology.[12]

Mooney's *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee* is considered a seminal work on the tribe's history. Mooney lived with the Cherokee in North Carolina for a time and was

[12] James Mooney "Myths of the Cherokee," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* vol. R (1888): 97-108; "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* part 1 (1900): 3-548; "Evolution of Cherokee Personal Names," *American Anthropologist* vol. II (1889): 61-62; "Indian Shield Heraldry," *The Southern Workman* vol. XXX (1901): 500-04.

invited to many cultural events. This close contact allowed him to gain their trust and write their history. While his other books discuss various rituals, myths, and ethnological issues, *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee* follows the history of the Nation from pre-contact to 1900. Mooney, like Adair, Gilmore, and Haywood, identified Cornelius Dougherty as the first European trader to live amongst the Cherokee.[13] This is significant to my research since Dougherty is the earliest European to marry into the Moytoy, of which the Vanns are descendants.

Mooney never considered himself a historian per se, preferring the label ethnologist – one who studies human cultures, languages, traditions and other traits that help identify and explain different people groups. His work, however is of great benefit to the historical community. Richard Mack Bettis, President of the Tulsa Tsa-La-Gi-Ya Cherokee Community, said in his introduction, "Mooney's descriptions of treaties, his maps and biographical sketches, and his extensive accounts of interaction between the Cherokee and the people of the United States have been found impeccable in their accuracy."[14]

A wonderful source for late nineteenth century information is Annie Heloise Abel. She was infamous for her insistence on archival research. Her primary interest was political policies of both America and England regarding Native American issues. Able did not write specifically about the Vann family, however, her research is valuable when discussing acculturation issues. Among her works pertinent to my research was *The*

[13] James Mooney, *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee* (New Brunswick, NJ.: Aldine Transaction Publishers, 2006), 21. Cornelius Dougherty married into the Cherokee Moy Toy family around 1740 and is the great grandfather of Chief James Vann, the Scot-Cherokee that made the Vanns the richest Cherokee family at the turn of the nineteenth century. Mooney based this information on John Haywood's *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee: Up to the First Settlement Therein by the White People in the Year 1768*, published in 1823.

[14] Ibid., xxi.

American Indian and the End of the Confederacy, 1863-1866 (1925), *The American Indian in the Civil War, 1862-1865* (1919), *The American Indian As Participant in the Civil War* (1919), and *The American Indian As Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (1915).[15] Her works helped lay the foundation for Cherokee life leading up to, during, and following the Civil War.

E.E. Dale and Gaston Litton also contribute to the Indian participation during the war with their *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (1939).[16] This book is a collection of letters highlighting the daily lives of the Watie family and the Cherokees as a whole from the period of removal to the Civil War. The letters were found in 1919 in a farmhouse previously owned by General Watie and are now housed in the Frank Phillips Collection of Southwestern History at the University of Oklahoma.[17] Dale and Litton added commentary and notes to give the letters' relationship to the period in which they were written.

One of the more intrusive policies against Native Americans was the implementation of the Dawes Commission in Indian Territory, from 1893-1914. Grant Foreman, a lawyer for the commission, provides an interesting view of various tribes in Indian Territory. He graduated with his law degree from University of Michigan and

---

[15] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy, 1863-1866* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian in the Civil War, 1862-1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian As Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

[16] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History As Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

[17] Rupert N. Richardson, "Review of Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family," *The Journal of Southern History* 7 (May, 1941): 261.

began practicing in Chicago. He came to Oklahoma as a field agent for the Dawes Commission in 1899. He gave up the law profession in 1920 to wholly dedicate himself to historical research and writing. He wrote or edited nineteen books, fifty-two articles, and ninety-one newspaper articles. He also directed the effort to compile the 116-volume oral history project comprising the Indian-Pioneer Papers, which I used extensively throughout my research.[18] Foreman received an honorary doctorate of literature from the University of Tulsa in 1932. He was elected Director, Oklahoma Historical Society in 1924. Foreman contributed to the Vann story through his articles in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, including "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma" (1932) and "Reminiscences of Mr. R.P. Vann" (1933).[19] He also wrote many articles about Oklahoma Indian issues in general.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman began her history career assisting her husband, Grant. She moved to Indian Territory in 1897, when President McKinley appointed her father as a judge in Muskogee. She married Grant in 1905 and started translating French documents for his research. She began her own research and writing career around 1930, authoring books on Oklahoma personalities, the printing press, and Indians. She wrote *Indians Abroad: 1493-1938* (1943) and *Indian Women Chiefs* (1954).[20] In *Indians Abroad*, Foreman describes the many occurrences of Indian travel to Europe during the colonial period. These trips had various objectives designed to fascinate European courts

[18] Bob L. Blackburn, "Foreman, Grant (1869-1953)," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/F/FO020.html, (accessed November 28, 2012).

[19] Grant Foreman, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 10 (December 1932); Grant Foreman, "Reminiscences of Mr. R.P. Vann," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11 (June 1933).

[20] Linda D. Wilson, "Carolyn Thomas Foreman (1872-1967)," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/ entries/F/FO019.html, (accessed November 28, 2012).

and societies, and instilling awe in the Indians as they witnessed new cultures and powerful armies. One particular encounter was the visit of Sir Alexander Cuming to Cherokee territory. This event is significant for my research because he convinced the tribe to pledge their allegiance to King George II, important because the French were trying to gain an alliance with southeastern Nations. He dubbed Moytoy emperor of the Cherokee, a designation essentially ignored by the tribe. Moytoy was the lineage that the Vanns married into during the mid-1700's.[21]

Morris Wardell also chronicles the lives of the Cherokee leading up to the war. His book, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907* (1938), discusses the political struggles surrounding the removal through Oklahoma statehood with good detail.[22] However, he appears to favor the federal position over the Cherokee story. Finally, Angie Debo takes Indian history into Oklahoma statehood with her blunt recounting of the allotment process of the Dawes Commission. *And Still the Waters Run* (1940) is a stinging critique of federal Indian policy during the end of the nineteenth century.[23] This book is very helpful in understanding why Indians felt abandoned and cheated by the same government that promised they would be left alone on their I.T. lands. Collusion with the Confederacy clearly played itself out with the Dawes Act (1887) and the Curtis Act (1898), both designed to separate Indian from tribe and tribe from land. Debo studied under E.E. Dale at the University of Oklahoma. Dale took exception to her assessment of the allotment process as harmful to the various Indian

[21] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad: 1493-1938* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1943), 44-45.

[22] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

[23] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run; The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).

nations. The book was rejected by OU Press for its unkind treatment of I.T. politics, clearly intent on statehood. The allotment process played heavily on the Vanns. The family line I followed actually elected to claim the Chickasaws when forced to choose by the commission. This policy did what no other previous one did, separated the Vanns from the tribe they called their own. The federal government had finally realized their goal, the loss of identity for thousands of Natives.

The most current historiographical transition is the Modern Period. The last 50 years has witnessed an explosion of Native American scholarship. Historians ventured into every area of Indian life. Important issues, such as gender, slavery, sovereignty, law, politics, and culture have seen new life as previously ignored or unknown sources are analyzed. A surge of Native authors has also contributed to new scholarship. This interest in rediscovering the Indian past coincides with the turbulent period of the 1960s and 70s, when many marginalized groups found their voice again. Women, African American, Latino, gays, and Indians joined the movement of socially disenfranchised protesters. This era also marked the birth of the American Indian Movement (AIM). The exceptionally turbulent year of 1968 saw the formation of AIM and return of Indian pride and exploration. A new brand of Native history came to the forefront, as revisionism cast a fresh light on the oldest residents of the continent. Scholars took up the cause of redefining the American Indian past. Men and women began uncovering the beauty of an ancient past and exposed the bias of majority rule politics and botched history.

Theda Perdue's *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (1979) and *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (1998) are tremendous

volumes when studying the Cherokees' shift into the Anglo world.[24] In *Slavery*, she gave a deep and detailed look into the existence of slavery, both before and after European contact. Perdue uncovered the method in which slaves were chosen and how they interacted with the clan. She bridges the two periods of slavery, explaining why most people believed it was better to be an African slave under Cherokee ownership than Anglo. Her work was important to the Vann research, giving valuable insight into the odd relationship that James had with his slaves on the Springplace plantation.

Cherokee Women is an insightful look at how the Cherokee interacted with one another prior to contact. Men and women lived incredibly separate lives, knowing little about the other gender's rituals and jobs. While some crossover occurred, for the most part the Cherokee were happy with their gender spheres. Perdue details the role of women, revealing the power and independence they had within the clan and tribe. Women controlled the home and children, a position that all but marginalized the husband's position within the family. Cherokees did not marry within their own clan; therefore, the matrilineal tradition left the man vulnerable to instant divorce and separation from his offspring. The Cherokee belief of female independence adds a curious level of sexual politics, highlighting the complete freedom women had in choosing partners (as many as they wanted) without shame or ostracizing. James Vann flipped this cultural rarity upside-down when he implemented a more Anglo approach to family dynamics. His success was mixed since his earlier wives apparently left him, leaving Peggy as the only wife at Diamond Hill when he is assassinated in 1809. The traditional structure found in *Cherokee Women* shows just how far James led the family

[24] Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979); Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

away from the normal clan-based family politics present at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Perdue also addresses the horrible experience of Jacksonian policy with *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (2005) and *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (2007), both of which she co-authored with Michael D. Green. Perdue and Green taught together at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.[25] The Vanns were less affected by the removal than other members of the tribe. However, this period is obviously important because it set the stage for Rich Joe Vann's escape from angry Georgians and explained the internecine fighting that dominated Cherokee relations in the I.T. almost until the time of the Civil War.

The issue of Christianity weaves itself through the Cherokee history as early as the mid-1700s. William McLoughlin's *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (1986) and *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (1995) discussed the cultural impact of European contact. Christianity played a major role in policy as the federal government grappled with ways to solve the "Indian problem."[26] Missionaries and boarding schools became the go-to method of bringing the Indian along the white man's path. The Moravians were one of the denominations that moved into Cherokee territory to spread the Gospel and "civilize" the natives. Their mission on Springplace plantation provides us with the most intimate portrayal of the Georgia Vanns during the first three decades of the 1800s. McLoughlin discusses the love/hate relationship that developed between the

[25] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005); Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking), 2007.

[26] William McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). McLoughlin was a professor of history and religion at Brown University and wrote many books concerning religion as well at the Cherokee people.

missionaries and Chief James. His broad handling of the church's role in Cherokee acculturation provides the reader with an understanding of why the tribe was quick to adopt many Anglo practices. He treats James Vann with a solid hand of truth when discussing both his talent for commerce and his curse of alcohol.

Izumi Ishii lends some insight to the problem of alcoholism within the Cherokee Nation. *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol and the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation* (2008) and "Alcohol and Politics in the Cherokee Nation before Removal," an article in the journal *Ethnohistory* (2003), challenge the conventional wisdom of Indian alcohol abuse by tracing the history of usage within the Cherokee Nation.[27] She argues that the Cherokees were used as both examples of responsible alcohol policies and then later as the victims of alcohol, depending on what advocates' goals were. Ishii concludes that both the tribe and later temperance leaders desperately tried to regulate the effects on Indians. However, the increasing hostility between Indians and the federal government, as well as campaigns to remove them from their lands defeated efforts to limit these causes. Both of these works are important to the Vann research as James was a heavy drinker and dealt within the alcohol trade in the southeast. Many people, Indian and white, were concerned about James' alcohol use. Georgia, however, did not have any prohibition of alcohol aimed toward the Cherokee. His battle with liquor predated laws designed to separate Indian from alcohol. However, he was a good example of the devastating affects Ishii discusses. His notorious attachment to drink probably would have made any prohibition attempts by state officials dangerous, more so than the perils

[27] Izumi Ishii, *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol and the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2008). Izumi teaches American history for the Department of American Civilization, at Tokai University in Kanagawa, Japan. She studied under Theda Perdue, who supervised her dissertation.

already associated with his drinking. Only the Moravian missionaries attempted to intervene and at great risk to their own safety. James would be a textbook example of Indian weakness in regards to alcohol. One can only wonder how different Springplace would have been had he been able to control his alcoholism or abandoned it altogether.

Finally, Henry Thomas Malone's *Cherokees of the Old South, A People in Transition* (1956) also provides a glimpse into a people stuck between tradition and the desire to live harmoniously with an ever-encroaching white population.[28] The Vanns made every effort to acculturate into the white society rapidly encroaching upon their Georgia land. Religion, alcohol, and gender politics indicate just how far the family was pushing the bounds of what it meant to be Cherokee.

The relationship between Cherokee and Africans has received considerable attention during the past decade. Recent scholarship explores the question of intermarriage as well the question of Indian slaveholders. Following the Civil War, the Cherokee signed treaties that determined the status of freedmen within their territory. This topic has gained new life since the vote in March 2007, removing freedmen from Cherokee rolls. African American relations with Indians must be viewed tribe by tribe. Tiya Miles discussed the role slaves played within the Cherokee Nation during the nineteenth century. These relationships often strayed from subordination to intimacy. She has exploited legal archives to determine which families owned slaves and which had relations that were considered marriage by the Tribe, but not by the federal government. She has elevated the scholarship of Cherokee race relationships by looking at specific families and using them as templates of what may have happened within the more

[28] Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South, A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956).

progressive families in the Nation.

In *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (2005), Tiya Miles follows the struggles of a mixed-race family both during and after slavery. More important to my research is her 2010 book *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*.[29] Diamond Hill is located on the Springplace plantation, where Chief James built his famous mansion, now a Georgia historical site. Miles' book focuses on the lives of slaves owned by James Vann in details all but forgotten before her project. Miles noticed that the historical site made no mention of the Vann's slave. This began a relationship between her and the site's curator to uncover the lives of a hundred black men and women who kept the 800-acre complex going. In both books, Miles takes earlier scholarship, like Perdue's and builds a narrative of Cherokee families that dealt in the African slave trade.

Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country (2006) is a volume edited by Miles and Sharon P. Holland. This compilation of fifteen essays discusses a wide variety of Afro-Indian topics from the Deep South to Hawaii.[30] Claudio Saunt also weighs in on the topic of Indian slave ownership with *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (2005). His book follows the lives of the Creek Grayson family as they interact and produce offsprings of white and African descent. Part of the family disowns the black children while another part lives with the black mother and children. The issue of race within Indian nations will continue to grow as other tribes view the court cases surrounding Cherokee and Seminole

[29] Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[30] Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2006).

disenfranchisement which still continue today.[31]

Finally, similar to this work, two recent works address the Cherokee family dynamics during trying times. Fay A. Yarbrough's *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (2008) follows three Cherokee marriages after 1820, observing how relationships changed over time according to how the tribe viewed itself. She argues that the Cherokee continually tried to place themselves equal to whites and superior to blacks. She believes this explained the use of slaves and intermarriage. *Race* addresses the attempts, good and bad, toward the goal of racial integration and what the Nation was willing to do to survive amidst the changing white perception of Indians.[32] One of the newest contributions to Indian studies is Rose Stremlau's *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation* (2011).[33] Stremlau's book is the product of her dissertation at the University of North Carolina, which was directed by Theda Perdue. She follows the Chewy family through the ordeals of the Dawes Commission in Oklahoma. She wrote mostly about the affects on the family, rather than policy or land loss issues.

Due to the family's importance in north Georgia commerce at the turn of the nineteenth century, local historians and family members wrote many books. Lela Latch Lloyd wrote *If the Chief Vann House Could Speak* (1980), which discusses the construction of the Diamond Hill mansion and tells stories of the Vann family prior to 1834. Most of the book is dedicated to the restoration and present use of the house

---

[31] Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[32] Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

[33] Rose Stremlau, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

through the Georgia Historical Landmark system. Only the first two chapters address the house during the Vann era.[34]

Marguerite McFadden, descendant from Avery Vann's line, wrote "The Saga of 'Rich Joe' Vann" for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1983.[35] This article discusses the Vann family after they relocated to Oklahoma. She describes how Joseph Vann was able to continue the family's prosperous ways, even after the trauma of losing their home in Georgia to the land lottery. Joseph Vann was Chief James' son who inherited the Springplace plantation in 1809. Due to his father's wealth and his subsequent success in business, Rich Joe was able to transfer his family's prosperity to Webbers Falls, I.T. Joe's life is shrouded in fable as many historians replicate a false story of his death in 1844. He died when his steamboat exploded shortly into a voyage from Louisville to New Orleans. Histories that claim he was racing another steamboat immediately draw skepticism, since his grandson R.P. Vann fabricated this story.

One lone book was published that attempted to salvage the reputation of Chief Vann. James W. Bell's *Chief James Vann, Cherokee Patriot* (1999) describes most histories about the famed alcoholic patriarch as white legends, wholly unkind to a man who did great things for the Cherokee nation. Chief James was considered a critical link between the Anglo and Cherokee worlds. Governors and commanders consulted him on varying issues. He also took up arms as invaders tried to squat in or around the Cherokee lands. Bell argues that this made James a Cherokee patriot, not the man who earned the moniker "Crazy Chief Vann." Alcoholism aside, Chief Vann was an industrious mixed-blood who had a large heart. He was also an irrational drunk with exceptionally violent

[34] Lela Latch Lloyd, *If the Chief Vann House Could Speak* (Abilene: Quality Printing Co., 1980).
[35] Marguerite McFadden, "The Saga of 'Rich Joe' Vann," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 61, 1983.

outbursts against whites, Indians, and family alike. While Bell does a good job depicting Vann as a patriot, he will always be remembered as a Cherokee that had few friends and an abundance of enemies.[36]

The amount of information available today on the Indian past is overwhelming, as more family histories tell the stories of heretofore unnamed and unseen American Indians. Each family bears their own witness to the lost past and fresh atrocities suffered since European contact. My research on the Vann family will reveal yet another story of people constantly challenged by the continually moving lines of mistrust and abuse. The following chapters will prove that no matter how accommodating American Indians were to the changing paradigms of government, education, religion, and commerce, they never stood a chance against the land and resource-hungry intruders. Georgia gold and fertile agricultural land proved too strong a temptation for the encroaching whites. Promises of coexistence were trampled by the lust for financial success that awaited the cunning frontiersmen. Gender, slavery, commerce, and politics carried the Vann family in a variety of direction during different periods of American history. The imposed boundaries, however, never stopped moving and eventually the expectations and demands changed one too many times for the Vanns to emerge victorious again. They played a game with ever-changing rules and in the end they lost to a crooked scorekeeper.

The Vann's story of loss must first begin with an explanation of how they succeeded. Chief James received his father's business know-how and expanded into the famous empire know to American Indian experts in the southeast today. That knowledge was passed to James' son Joseph, and he expanded the family business, becoming known

[36] James W. Bell, *Chief James Vann, Cherokee Patriot* (Hodges, SC: Lindy Publications, 1999).

as “Rich Joe.” This saga of conflict between Indian and government begins quietly in Georgia as an empire takes root in the late eighteenth century.

Chapter Two

The Georgia Vanns: Progressive Cherokees and the Building of the Vann Empire (1745-1834)

The Scottish Vann family first married into the Cherokee Nation almost 300 years ago in 1716. John Vann (1700 – 1770) moved to North Carolina as a child and married an unnamed Cherokee woman when he was sixteen years old. Little is known about this marriage except that they had a son named John "Trader" Vann who married Raven Ani Gatagewi Dougherty of the famed Moytoy clan sometime before 1735.[1] Raven was the daughter of a Moytoy mother and Cornelius Dougherty, the first known European (Irish) to marry into the tribe. John and Raven's daughter, Wah-Li, was the mother of Chief James Vann, the man who brought the family completely into the European sphere of influence. James led the family away from the traditions of the Cherokee and ushered them into the nineteenth century as progressive businessmen.

The turn of the nineteenth century brought many changes to the American landscape. The U.S. Constitution was only eleven years old, and the country was beginning its earnest push into the western frontier. Other than the sheer bravery needed to uproot and go forth into mysterious territories, this move also required the attitude that every new inch was destiny and a God-given prize just waiting for the s.[2] Much like the

[1] Chief Moytoy of Tellico was declared emperor over all the Cherokee by Sir Alexander Cuming in 1730. The legitimacy of this title is disputed within the Cherokee Nation; however, it was recognized by the English government of King George II. This was the topic of my research for an Imperialism research seminar at the University of Central Oklahoma in 2013. The product of my research of early colonial ties between the Cherokee and Crown will be the basis of my future dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Steve Sarson at Swansea University, Wales.

[2] Although the term Manifest Destiny was not coined until after the War of 1812, it does represent the idea written in many revolutionary documents of the natural right to break free of the tyrannical rule of King George III and create a new nation, as far as the frontier spirit could take it.

settling of the eastern seaboard, this spirit required an attitude that anyone, or more precisely Indians, in their way was insignificant and definitely not deserving to rule this new land. Indians were clearly marginalized during the growth spurt of the eighteenth century, and they would fare no better in the new century either.

It was easy Anglos to paint all Indian nations with a broad brush of ignorance and savagery since most tribes were uninterested in converting to European ways. However, this generalization was not always the case. Many natives seized the opportunity to blend into the colonial economic culture. James Vann fell squarely into this category. These Indians did not want to lose their identity; however, they did take interest in the commercial opportunities that confronted them. Clans, tribes, and nations struggled with this progressive movement. Nations were split between full blood and mixed blood, progressive and traditional. The Cherokee nation suffered a serious schism with the signing of the Treaty of New Echota in 1835.[3] By this time, the Vanns, under great duress, had already left Georgia. While they were spared the difficult decision of whether to support the treaty, many of their contemporaries had to choose between the traditional life in Georgia and a new opportunity out west. This division would plague the Cherokees until the end of the Civil War.

The same heavy-handed policies enacted on Indians, who wished to remain traditional and desired only to be left alone, were impressed on those who took up the new, progressive lifestyle. They chose to walk the "white man's path" and were still crushed under the envious, land-thirsty ambitions of the European invaders. Some Cherokee families and clans pursued the new path of economic involvement, pushing

[3] Oklahoma State University, "Treaty of New Echota, 1835," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* accessed 3 July 2012, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/che0439.htm.

against the conservative leanings of their more traditional tribesmen. With this treaty, the progressives found themselves enemies of both their tribe and the very people they sought to associate with, the white businessmen. Some became incredibly rich and powerful. Yet they were quickly consumed by the harsh policies of racism that would violently rip them from their homes beginning in 1830's. They modernized their ways, as the whites demanded, and yet were still prejudiced upon because of their skin color and tribal lineage. The Vanns made the transition into the white economic culture and became the richest Cherokees of their time.[4] They were an excellent example of blending progressive innovations with traditional Indian ways and culture. This chapter will evaluate the mounting Indian policies in Georgia by using the Vann family experience as a template of the evolving Native interaction with Anglo traders and politicians. Ultimately, however, even when nineteenth century Indians did everything required of them, they still suffered under anti-Indian policies and nearly lost everything to an ever-increasing Anglo militancy in the Southeast.

Like many eastern Indians, the family that eventually took the Anglo name of Vann accepted European traders into their clan in the eighteenth century. The Vanns were fur traders that migrated south to make new fortunes. The family's first contact with the Cherokee Nation was John "Trader" Vann, who married Raven Ani G Dougherty sometime in the mid-1700s. While John was the first Vann to marry into the Cherokees, Raven's family was already on the road to Anglicizing when another European trader, Cornelius Dougherty, married into the clan around 1740.[5] Historian James Adair placed

[4] Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 63.

[5] Cherokee Heritage Documentation Center, *Moytoy – Generation 3*, accessed 20 June 2012, http://cherokeeregistry.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article &id=151&Itemid=228

Dougherty's arrival in Cherokee territory between 1730-35.[6] Dougherty supposedly escaped with James II during the Glorious Revolution and fled to America. He became a pelt trader and was credited with introducing horses to the Cherokees.[7]

Raven and John Vann had a daughter named Wah-Li who also married a Vann named Joseph. This marriage was the point when the Vann heritage overtook the Indian linage, and the family embraced the patrilineal system. Chief James "Ti-Ka-Lo-Hi" Vann, son of Wah-Li and Joseph, was responsible for the final transformation that anchored his lineage firmly into early progressive Cherokee lore. James chose to favor the Scottish Vann heritage and raised his family accordingly. James' life is the natural place to begin the comparison on how state and federal policies not only transformed progressive Indians, but also eventually turned on them, setting up the incredibly sad story of Cherokee removal starting in 1830.

Progressive Cherokees in Georgia demonstrated the evolving cultural picture at the turn of the nineteenth century. Commerce, language, religion, slavery, education, and gender roles were rewritten in the eighteenth century to reflect the adaptation of Indians to Anglo social systems. The role of Cherokees liaising with the federal government was contentious since the tribe did not designate negotiators. However, a few chiefs emerged as powerful traders, which put them in the position to speak on behalf of the tribe in their region. The U.S. was aware of the need for land and saw the contentious relations

---

[6] James Adair and Samuel Cole Williams, *Adair's History of the American Indians, Edited Under the Auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, in Tennessee* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1930), 238.

[7] John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee: Up to the First Settlement Therein by the White People in the Year 1768* (Nashville: George Wilson, 1823), 233. I have not been able to substantiate this claim through various sources on the Glorious Revolution or James II. In *The Rear-Guard of the Revolution*, James Robert Gilmore mentions Dougherty's contribution to introducing stolen horses to the Cherokees. However, Gilmore refers to him as a "lax-principled Irishman." See James Robert Gilmore, *The Rear-Guard of the Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1886), 25.

between the tribe and encroaching settlers. War became common as whites chased Indians off their land and tribal warriors retaliated with attacks on towns and settlements. The Cherokee, similar to other tribes, did not recognize private property, which put them at odds with farmers and ranchers moving into their territory.

Many treaties were signed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which were designed to establish sovereign boundaries and conditions of trade with the Cherokee Nation as well as minimize the violent confrontations. The first treaty to affect the Cherokees in Georgia was the Treaty of Augusta (1773) that ceded over two million acres of tribal land to relieve indebtedness to white settlers.[8] The next major agreement, the Treaty of Hopewell, was signed in 1785. The treaty established a prisoner exchange between the U.S. and the Cherokee and proclaimed that the Indians were to be treated as any other citizen in regards to the investigation and punishment of crimes. The tribe was also granted access to Congress whenever and for whatever reason deemed necessary by the tribe. Finally, the agreement gave the tribe permission to regulate their territory, including extinguishing squatters as they saw fit.

Georgia ratified the new U.S. Constitution on 2 January 1788. By virtue of this action, Georgia was no longer allowed to dictate treaties with the Indian tribes within their borders without the involvement of federal negotiators. This became apparent after the state legislature passed the Georgia Act of 1789. The lawmakers empowered Georgia to sell parts of Indian land to private companies. President Washington questioned the legality of the law and consulted with Secretary of War Henry Knox, Attorney General Edmund Randolph, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of State

[8] William L. Anderson and James Allen Lewis, *A Guide to Cherokee Documents in Foreign Archives* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1983), 340.

Thomas Jefferson. These men determined that Georgia violated the Constitution and had to recuse itself from negotiations between the companies and the tribes. Jefferson was quick to defend previous treaties of all states prior to their ratification of the Constitution. However, Indians were now a federal issue and the states no longer enjoyed the right to take unilateral action without consent of the U.S. government.[9]

The Treaty of Holston, a federal treaty signed in 1791, established new boundaries for the Cherokees. This agreement guaranteed payment to the tribe for all lands that members had to vacate pursuant of the agreement. They also agreed to a $1000 annual payment to the tribe for as long as the treaty was in effect. A federal road transited the region covered under the agreement and Article 5 ensured the safety of those travelling on it as well as using the Tennessee River. Similar to the Treaty of Hopewell, another prisoner exchange was implemented and the rules of law and squatters were reaffirmed. The major difference between the treaties was Article 14, which established a plan for civilizing the tribe. [10]

James Vann was not a signatory on any of these treaties. He did, however, sign the Treaty of Tellico on 24 October 1804, which ceded land in Georgia to the U.S. government in return for goods and annuities.[11] The Treaty of New Echota of 1835 damaged the Cherokee Nation the most. The progressive chiefs wanted to enter into an agreement to surrender all land east of the Mississippi River, move west, and live in safety that was promised by the government. Their actions were based on the ever-

[9] Freeman, Douglas Southall, *George Washington A Biography, Vol. 6 Patriot and President* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), 258-9.

[10] Yale Law School, "Treaty with the Cherokee 1791," *The Avalon Project*, accessed 20 July 2012, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/chr1791.asp.

[11] The Cherokee Heritage Documentation Center, "Treaty of Tellico," *Treaties*, accessed 20 July 2012, http://cherokeeregistry.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=222&Itemid=301.

increasing anti-Indian legislation being drafted at the federal and state levels. President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law on 28 May 1830. The Georgia legislature passed the Acts of Georgia on 21 December 1830, allowing a land lottery for whites to purchase parcels of Cherokee land.[12] The lottery followed Georgia's proclamation in December 1828, that gave the state jurisdiction over all Cherokee territories within the state's boundaries. These series of laws dissolved the Cherokee Council and placed travel restrictions on all whites in Indian inhabited areas.[13] Georgia began a systematic squeeze that eventually resulted in the Trail of Tears in 1835. The mixed-blood chiefs no longer saw hope in remaining on their land. They believed the best option was to move west before white settlers took matters into their own hands. Against the wishes of full-bloods, the progressive chiefs sold all Cherokee lands with the Treaty of New Echota.[14]

This treaty eventually opened the door for the infamous "Trail of Tears." Chief John Ross, who led the traditional full-blood Indians, was staunchly opposed to the treaty. A schism occurred, and the progressives were named the Treaty Party, while the traditional tribe members aligned under the Ross Party. Animosity between the two groups ran high before and after the Trail of Tears. Three signatories of the Treaty of New Echota were assassinated in Indian Territory in 1839. Stand Watie, a signer of the treaty and famous Civil War general, barely escaped assassination.[15] All of these treaties

[12] Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South, A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 211, n. 28.

[13] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 176.

[14] Oklahoma State University, "Treaty with the Cherokee 1835," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, accessed 20 July 2012, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/ treaties/che0439.htm.

[15] Allen Ross, "The Murder of Elias Boudinot, " *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 12, No. 1, accessed 15 July 2012, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/che0439.htm.

occurred as some Indians made great strides to Anglicize their families and clans. Chief James Vann was one of those men who saw a future in walking the white man's path.

The Vanns' prominence in north Georgia placed them at the center of cultural change and political negotiations. The one thing that set James Vann apart from traditional Cherokees was his plantation at Springplace. He named his homestead Diamond Hill, and it stood guard over 800 acres of cultivated property. Eventually, a mansion, built to resemble upper-class European homes, was erected on the property, where it still stands today as a Georgia State Historical Site.[16] This property became the center of his empire. James inherited his father's trading post and expanded the family business by building another store amongst the Alabama Cherokees. He traded corn, horses, cattle, and hogs and operated ferry services across the Chattahoochee River.[17] It became clear that James had every intention to make his fortunes the European way. James, like other progressive Indians, was encouraged in his financial pursuit by representatives of the federal government. Indian agents and even the first president sought ways to integrate Indians into the white economic system. George Washington wrote a letter to the Cherokees in 1796, encouraging them to become part of the lucrative trade system:

> Some of you already experience the advantage of keeping cattle and hogs; let all keep them and increase their numbers, and you will have a plenty of meat. To these add sheep, and they will give you clothing as well as food. Your lands are good and of great extent. By proper management you can raise live stock not only for your own wants, but to sell to the white people. By using the plow you can vastly increase your crops of corn. You can also grow wheat (which makes the best of breads) as well as other useful grain. To these you will easily add flax and cotton which you may

[16] State of Georgia, *Chief Vann House Historical Site*, accessed 2 July 2012, http://www.gastateparks.org/ChiefVannHouse/.

[17] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 46; Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 4.

> dispose of to the white people, or have it made up by your own women into clothing for yourselves. Your wives and daughters can soon learn to spin and weave.[18]

In this statement, Washington appeared to appreciate the contributions Indians could make to the colonial economy. He did not appear to show any malice toward the Cherokee or indicate his desire to see them subjugated. Washington then instructed his agent to provide all of the necessary tools and training to bring the Indians out of their savage ways. Unfortunately, the path Washington begged the Indians to walk did not deliver them from their "ignorance" or "savagery." Instead it led to systematic abuses brought on by broken treaties and widespread mistreatment after Washington's death. However, for the time, it seemed to be a genuine appeal to join the whites.

The population of the new states was expanding, and Washington saw the need for Indians to supplement American agriculture. This move into the trade markets would naturally bring Indians into contact with white society in a way that Washington hoped would civilize them and make them good neighbors to the ever-encroaching settlers. James was already part of the trading system when this letter was written.

Anxious to see Cherokee children get a quality education, James lobbied for a Christian school run by the Moravians. The church was searching for a new location within Cherokee Territory. He told them that the Upper Town Cherokees had more people than the Lower Towns; therefore, they should focus on Springplace as their next project.[19] The mission opened in 1801 and was in fully operational by 1805.[20] This relationship was tremendous in that the missionaries kept daily journals that provide most

---

[18] John Clement Fitzpatrick and David Maydole Matteson, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, Vol. 35* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1931), 194-198.

[19] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 46.

[20] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume 1, 1805-1813*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 22.

of the history we have about James, his family, and Springplace. They were eyewitnesses to everything that was good and bad about the chief. The journals display James' strength, but also they show that he was violent, prone to drunken rages, and yet hospitable when sober. They opened the journal on 1 January 1805, dedicating their work to educating the Cherokees that had accepted their presence:

> In the morning on the 1st, we dedicated ourselves anew to our Savior, to be his property. We asked Him in a prayer that He would soon open the door of His reconciliation and discover that they have a Savior, Who wants very much to accept them as His children.[21]

James stipulated that the mission be a source of education first and foremost. This entry, however, showed the missionaries saw their role as Gospel-bearers. Their hope would evade them for nine long years. Chief James was adamant that he did not need their religion, and this undoubtedly had a chilling effect on their work in the area. While the mission taught children and ministered to the Indians around Springplace, not until 13 August 1810 did the mission celebrated their first convert.[22]

James was indeed a complicated man. He was clearly bridging the gap between progressive and traditional. While he took the family to the edge of assimilation, his son Joseph made the final leap. James built a fortune, and Joseph would expand the empire into Indian Territory. James was traditional in some ways, Joseph in less. Both father and son practiced polygamy. Both owned large holdings of slaves. However, James' relationship with his slaves was more traditional than Joseph's. James practiced slavery similar to the Cherokee tradition of *atsi-nahsa'i*, the ancient concept of "one who is

[21] Ibid., 41.
[22] Ibid., 36.

owned."[23] He would get drunk and play music with his slaves., but no records indicate that Joseph did the same.

Cherokee slavery, prior to European contact, looked very different from the African slavery of whites. *Atsi-nahsa'i* was the system of using war prisoners in the tribe. Warriors would capture rival warriors and a series of decisions determined the prisoner's fate. They could be used in negotiations, sold to other tribes, or taken to the capturer's village.[24] Interestingly, the Cherokee warriors did not choose the fate of the captured enemy once they returned to camp. Based on the Cherokees' matrilineal system, the women of the tribe determined the captured warrior's fate. One interesting ritual occurred if the tribe lost a warrior during the fight. The captive was presented to the lost warrior's mother and she decided his fate. Based on the mother's decision, he was adopted into the clan to replace the dead warrior, turned into a slave, or executed.[25]

When a prisoner was adopted into the clan, he literally became a family member and was treated as such, clearly a practice unfamiliar to the Europeans. The prisoner cast into slavery had no rights of clan membership or hope of release. The owner would use the slave in any manner and could kill the slave for any reason, with no consequences. While this system looks very similar to European methods, there was a stark difference between the two.

Under *atsi-nahsa'I*, Cherokee slaves were usually treated very humanely. Slaves only worked when the owner worked. They were not slaves for economic reason, since

---

[23] Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 4. An interesting aspect of *atsi-nahsa'I* is the word applied to anything owned by the Cherokees. Therefore, the slave bore the same label as a dog, cat, bird, or any other animal the Cherokees had in the village. The use of this term for slave clearly denotes the utter lack of say in their live or death.

[24] Ibid., 7.

[25] Ibid., 8.

Cherokees did not usually trade outside the clan. Families farmed and hunted what they needed to survive. Once this was accomplished, the work ceased until the next growing or hunting season. When there was no work to be done, the slave rested like the rest of the family. Surplus was not a motivating factor to the Cherokee; therefore, there was no need to work year-round.[26] One serious issue between *atsi-nahsa'I* and African slavery was value. Indian slaves had little to protect them, including value of labor. Since Cherokees did not participate in the marketplace, they simply did not need their slaves. Their value was tenuous at best. African slavery, however, was built around the market. Slaves were very valuable in the labor they performed. While their life could be taken at anytime, it had a clear economic impact on the master. He paid money for his slave, made money off of his slave, and would have to buy another one if he killed the slave. While both styles of slavery were horrid, at least the African slave had a reasonable chance of surviving a violent master. Of course, this so-called value is subjective in interpretation. Slavery, regardless of its form, was not to be enjoyed, rather simply endured.

James Vann straddled the line between Cherokee and European-styled slavery. He owned over one hundred African slaves and they were clearly an economic factor in his plantation operations. He also treated slaves humanely through parties and music. However, he had no problem killing a slave who crossed him or was simply in the wrong place while he was drunk. An example of his random bouts of violence occurred on 8 March 1805. Cherokee chief Chuleoa visited Springplace with brandy to sell. James bought some for one dollar a quart. Later that night he decided to burn down all of the slaves' houses. Two houses were destroyed before one of the Moravian missionaries and

[26] Ibid., 12-18.

a few other men were able to stop him.[27] The incident highlighted the constant danger at Springplace when James received fresh shipments of alcohol. His drunken rages were legend and knew no color boundaries. He would shoot anyone in his way, whether he was white, slave, or Indian, family, friend, or stranger. However, slavery was not the only area that James was redefining for his family.

One of the ways the Cherokees attempted to accommodate the influx of whites was through family relations. The Cherokees had a set hierarchy within the clans. Women owned all property, except the tools men used in hunting. Women were the stable factors in the tribe. Men went off to hunt or make war with other tribes. Both activities were risky; therefore, the Cherokees placed the responsibility for the home and gardens with the women. Unlike the Anglo tradition, once the couple was married, the man would move in with the woman. This was especially important if the woman ever decided to leave her husband. She would simply move the man's belongings out of the house, and he was no longer welcomed. Since the role of the man was so precarious, the Cherokees traced their lineage through the mother's blood. Children always belonged to the mother's clan, which was different from the father's since intra-clan marriages were prohibited. Therefore, the closest male relative to the children was not the father, but was their maternal uncle.[28] The common thread throughout Cherokee history is that the man left his family to join his wife's clan. However, this changed when Chief James married his wives. They left their families to join James at Springplace. By moving into his house,

[27] McClinton, ed., *The Moravian Springplace Mission*, 48.
[28] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 42.

the women immediately lost a built-in support system that existed since they could remember.[29]

Another factor that changed with James was the role women played in the home. Cherokee women owned everything because they lived where they worked. They were responsible for farming, weaving, and raising the children. All of these activities were anchored with the home. This, however, was stripped from James' wives because of his slaves. These workers tended the fields, cooked the food, cleaned the house, and attended to any other chore that needed to be done. The Vann women were left with very little to do once they moved to Springplace. Everything they knew changed. They had no contact with their family or the land they had been raised to cultivate. The Anglicizing of James Vann had a depressingly adverse affect on his wives. To make matters worse, James traveled extensively for trade and council business, leaving the women with little to do, no family contact, and now no husband to keep them company.

James' power to persuade also extended beyond his family. The United States was anxious to build a road that would transit through Cherokee territory in Georgia. The chiefs came to Springplace to discuss the idea of the new Federal Road. Many were against the idea because they felt it would be a highway that the whites would use to take over Cherokee lands.[30] James saw the potential to capitalize on the traffic and was credited by Indian Agent Jonathan Return Meigs for gaining approval by the Chief's Council to build the road through Vann's property. Once the road was completed, Vann built a store and public house along the route on his property.[31] Interestingly, Meigs and

[29] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 54-55.
[30] Lloyd, *If the Chief Vann House Could Speak*, 7.
[31] Ibid.

Vann had a connection through Charles Hicks, who was the uncle of Vann's third wife Peggy and also the interpreter for Meigs. Meigs saw the utility of this relationship and leveraged it to gain approval for the road and no doubt Vann did the same thing.

The plans for the new road were solidified in 1805 with the signing of the Treaty of Tellico, which opened Cherokee County.[32] While the completed Federal Road brought a period of prosperity for some Cherokees, including the Vanns during the early decades of the nineteenth century, it eventually doomed them. The same road that the traditional chiefs protested against became the route for the Indian Removal Act of 1830 implemented by President Andrew Jackson, which forcibly removed the Cherokees from Georgia in 1835. The very road that Vann lobbied for eventually sealed his son Joseph's fate of fleeing Georgia in 1834. This is yet another example of the Cherokees cooperating with the Georgia government, only to be harmed later.

James saw the utility of integrating his business and family into the Anglo culture. Religion, however, was one idea James never accepted. Oddly enough, he did build a cooperative relationship with the Moravian church, yet he saw the partnership strictly along the lines of education, not spiritual affairs. Whites were anxious to Christianize the Cherokees to get them on the white man's path. They believed that a good dose of God would chase the savage out of them.[33] Many denominations were tapped to take on the role of evangelizing the Indians. One method for carrying out evangelism was through education. Missionaries would establish schools and teach the Indian children English

[32] Ted Ownby and Davis Wharton, "Development of a Historical Context for the Federal Road in North Georgia," *Georgia Department of Transportation,* assessed 10 June 2012 http://www.dot.state.ga.us/travelingingeorgia/FederalRoads/Documents/Phase%20I%20Final%20Report%20Word%20III.pdf.

[33] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 2-3.

using the Bible. James, as a shrewd businessman, saw the opportunity to get a school on his property, even if it carried Jesus onto his land.

His acceptance of the Moravians had it limits though. James made religion strictly off limits in his personal life. His temper and delight with alcohol built a wall that Christianity never pierced. One of the missionaries wrote in the journal about a meeting he had with James after he had beaten his wife and threatened his mother. When the missionary began talking about the abuse, James grabbed a bottle of whiskey and chugged down as much as he could in one breath and then proclaimed it was his home. He stated that he did not believe there was a Jesus Christ, which led the missionary to conclude, "the Devil has so possessed and bound Vann" that he was beyond human help.[34] The missionaries were always prepared for the unexpected when James was in town. James' mother, Wah-Li and wife Peggy often sought refuge at the mission when he flew into drunken rages. Many entries in the journals reveal that the missionaries often became mediators in family disputes.

However, it is important to remember that James did not hold anything personal against the missionaries. He often lent them slaves to do work around the school and generously provided them with food and other staples when it was necessary to sustain the mission. James believed in the school and let Indians and slaves worship there on Sundays, although he was not willing to do it himself. The missionaries never gave up on their attempts to convert him. Although they had seen the worst of humanity in his eyes at times, they still mourned his death when his enemies killed him in 1809.

> In this man one could see an amazing example of the indescribable tolerance and patience of God toward his enemies! Oh! God alone knows

[34] Ibid., 77.

> how we poor children felt on receiving this abominable news. How sincerely we would like to have seen this man, who had been a longstanding enemy before his demise, become a friend of Christ.[35]

The schism between the traditional and progressive Cherokees was built on the desire and ability of one group to assimilate and the other to stand steadfastly against the changing culture. James and Joseph Vann are clear examples of what could be accomplished by adjusting lifestyles and economic outlooks. The changes that James brought to the family demonstrated that some Indians were willing to walk the path of European influence. He was a shrewd businessman and manipulated opportunities to increase his wealth and standing amongst the tribe. This adjustment clearly had positive and negative affects. Peggy Vann suffered the most in the family. She was out of her comfort zone at Springplace. She grudgingly accepted the white ways of overseeing the plantations, rather than having an active part tending to the homestead. Had James avoided Anglo ways, he would have lived on her property and mingled with her clan. Instead, she was living with his family and felt the brunt of isolation that came with it.

Slaves also suffered from the progressive path James chose. Regardless of how well he might have treated them, compared to his white counterparts, they were still living their lives at his mercy. His explosive violence and jealousy over possessions placed their lives in danger at the drop of a hat. This threat was magnified when James was drunk. However, it was the peaceful periods of drinking with his slaves that indicated he still had not crossed completely over to the white perception of Africans. His son Joseph would end the practice of socializing with his slaves.

The final indication that the Vanns no longer followed traditional roles came at James' death in 1809. His will left almost everything to his favorite son, Joseph, instead

[35] Ibid., 303.

of the wife having full ownership. The tribe realized the lengths James had gone to integrate with the white culture, but this step was too much for them. His will was simple:

> 1st, I hereby give & bequeath unto my beloved wife, Peggy, Daughter of the late Walter Scott, decd., all of my household furniture. 2 – All the rest & residue of my property, which I shall or may die possessed of by that whatsoever it may or wheresoever it may I give and bequeath unto my natural son, Joseph, to have and to hold forever.[36]

James' assets were substantial. When the "Chiefs in Council" read his will, they intervened with a rare decision to modify the document and distribute the wealth in a more traditional manner. It was clear that the Council considered James was too progressive; however, they did not want to completely go against his wishes:

> Whereas a National having been held at the place & the will of James (Ti Ka Lo Hi) Vann dcsd having been read to the Chiefs in Council & it appearing from the face of the will that all the property was left to one child named Joseph Vann, but the Chiefs think that all the children are of one father who ought to receive some share of the property & also the widow ought to share alike with the other children & to remain in the house as long as she pleases & no doubt Joseph Vann will agree with the Chiefs in opinion when he comes to years of maturity…The executor shall allow the greatest share to Joseph Vann & after which you are allowed to the other children & widow such share of the property as you may judge right…[37]

The Council's decision on 17 April 1809 did not completely discount James' non-traditional wishes since they did allow the home and land to remain with Joseph, as long as his mother could live there with him. The debate over the will highlighted the changing paradigm of Cherokee land ownership and the property rights of women. Their ruling indicated that the Council was moving toward Anglicization, though they were not quite there yet. James' departure from tradition was not only limited to his family. He

[36] James "Ti Ka Lo Hi" Vann, Transcript of the Final Will of James Vann, Gordon Vann Personal Collection, Kingston, Oklahoma.

[37] Ibid.

made many decisions that put him at odds with other chiefs and indicated friendship to the whites.

Unfortunately, no amount of "progress" seemed to help the Vanns. Despite James' and Joseph's efforts to integrate into the white culture, they lost everything on the Springplace plantation in 1834. Colonel Bishop and members of the Georgia Guard chased the Vanns from the Springplace mansion after the state's land lottery occurred. Ultimately, Joseph settled in Tennessee before making the family's final move into Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma.[38] The *Atlanta Constitution* placed the loss in concrete terms in an article written in 1979:

> Their holdings include the Chief Vann House, 800 acres of land under cultivation, 42 cabins, 6 barns, a sawmill, grist mill, five smokehouses, blacksmith shop, shop and foundary, trading post, a peach kiln, whiskey still, 1,113 peach trees, and 147 apple trees. Shortly before his death in 1844, the Federal government finally paid Joe Vann $19,605.00 for all his North Georgia property.[39]

The family survived the move west and prospered with new businesses. He even built a replica Springplace mansion in Webber's Falls, Oklahoma, as a memorial to what was lost in Georgia. Unfortunately, the family lost their mansion a second time when Union forces torched the house during the Civil War.[40]

Unfortunately, the Vann family, like many other progressive Indians, suffered under the prejudicial policies of a nation starved for land. The eastern Cherokees, prior to removal, had accomplished many "civilizing" transitions. Sequoya finished the Cherokee syllabary in 1821.[41] The creation of this alphabet opened the door to other important

---

[38] Lloyd, *If the Chief Vann House Could Speak*, 11.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] James Mooney, *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006), 101.

advances such as the founding of the first American Indian newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix,* in February of 1828 and the Cherokee Constitution, which was ratified on 26 July 1827. [42]

The actions of the U.S. government and the white neighbors in the beginning of the nineteenth century clearly indicated that the Indian was a hindrance to the expansion of the nation's economic desires. Regardless of the Indian's progress in education, religion, economics, and peaceful pursuits, they were doomed to a life of subjection, broken treaties, and multiple relocations. Much like the experiences of other non-white populations in America, the promises of the government were hollow and callously broken. The interest of the new nation was never a peaceful coexistence with the Cherokee, or any other tribe. Whites invaders could not exterminate or relocate the Indians fast enough for their economic gains. Cherokee families like the Vanns gambled on Anglicizing, and lost at the hands of an unwilling American population. Chief James was clearly conflicted about his role in the Cherokee Nation as well as in the white world. His hybrid existence confused cultural roles and place him at odds with all sides of the acculturation debate. The somewhat positive overtures by Washington, Madison, and countless bureaucratic go-betweens only resulted in the eventual destruction of the people who preceded them in the "New World." Apparently, no amount of assimilation could alter the path that was destined for the Indians to tread.

[42] Ibid., 103-4.

Chapter Three

The Moving Vanns: Sudden Relocation to Indian Territory and the Trauma of the Cherokee Civil War (1834-1861)

Georgia, like other states, was anxious to resolve the "Indian problem." In other words, the state wanted the Indians relocated so that the white citizens could have the fertile farmlands of the Cherokees. The discovery of gold in the region in 1829 helped Georgia's determination of ridding the Indians. Even Joseph Vann's wealth and power was not enough to save his plantation from the encroaching settlers. He was chased out of his house and off the property in 1834.[1] He abandoned Springplace and relocated his family to Hamilton County, Tennessee, where he owned another house. Rich Joe was determined to continue his entrepreneurial ways and accumulated 35 buildings, a mill, ferry, and 300 acres of cultivated land within a year of fleeing from Georgia.[2] He also established a racetrack, where his prize horse, Lucy Walker beat all challengers. The thoroughbred mare also produced foals that Joe sold for up to $5,000 each. His limited time in Tennessee continued to add to the family's wealth, even in the face of his sudden departure from his childhood home.

Vann made many trips into Indian Territory over the next year to find suitable land to relocate. Once he selected property, he took his wife, Jenny Springston, and her children west while his other wife, Polly Black, and her son David remained behind for a little while longer. Polly and David did eventually join him in Webber's Falls, I.T. Joseph maintained two households, one for each wife. Jennie lived in a replica of the Springplace Mansion built before her arrival in I.T. Polly lived in a log cabin a few miles away from

---

[1] Lloyd, *If The Chief Vann House Could Speak*, 10-11.

[2] Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 125.

the mansion. Although the cabin was comfortable and fit for a Vann, it was not the mansion.[3] The Springplace replica was burnt down during the Civil War; however, the mansion in Georgia is still standing as a historical monument.[4]

Vann was well known for his business sense as well as his duty to the Cherokee Nation. He and his family appeared to have escaped the controversy surrounding the Treaty of New Echota of 1835. While the Vanns were well acquainted with the Ridges and Waties, Joseph had good relations with the Ross Party. His cousins, Joseph Teaultle Vann and David Vann, held many important positions within the Cherokee Nation, both in Georgia and later in Indian Territory. Principal Chief John Ross complimented Joseph Teaultle Vann in a letter to William Wilkins on 1 June 1844, stating that Joe "occupied stations of the highest honor and trust among the Cherokee People. Besides other offices, Mr. Vann has occupied that of a Chief among the 'Old Settlers' previous to the Act of Union {July 12, 1839}, and also since that time, under the present Government."[5] He was a member of the Cherokee Constitutional Convention (1827), the Assistant Chief for the Old Settlers (1839-40), ran and lost against John Ross for Principal Chief (1843), became a member of the Cherokee Supreme Court (1847-51), and was elected Assistant Principal

[3] Marguerite McFadden, "The Saga of 'Rich Joe' Vann," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 61 (Spring 1983): 74.

[4] Linda Mayes Miller, "Webbers Falls," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, unknown date, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/W/WE007.html; Internet; Assessed 24 October 2011.

[5] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross, Volume II 1840-1866* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 205. Having two important Jo seph Vanns in the Cherokee Nation at the same time has made research a little difficult. However, most letters written by Chief John Ross appear to reference Joseph Teaultle Vann, who was quite powerful in both pre- and post-removal Cherokee politics. Rich Joe appears to have been contempt with making fortunes rather than policies. Rich Joe's son, David, is also different from the David Vann frequently mentioned by Chief Ross. I have not found any letters, newspaper articles, or decrees that seem associated with Rich Joe's David. His son does appear in newspaper articles and Civil War records pertaining to salt mining, however, he does not appear to have held any Tribal government positions. To make matters even more difficult, Rich Joe had another son named Joseph who is referred to as Young Master Joe by the freedmen in the *WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives*. The *Narratives* refers to Rich Joe as Old Master Joe.

Chief twice (1859-62 and 1867-71).[6] David spent much time in Washington City as a negotiator for the Nation, both before and after removal. He was also a member of the Ross Party, serving as Treasurer at various times, both in Georgia and Oklahoma. Rich Joe's relations were apparently stronger than friendship since Chief Ross never mentioned him as being associated with the Treaty Party.

The Treaty of New Echota (1835) sold the Cherokee's Georgia land to the government and created a bloody schism between the traditional and progressive chiefs. John Ross believed the treaty was illegal and led the federal government to uproot all Cherokee at will. His followers were predominately traditional full bloods and took the name Ross Party. Those who signed the agreement were mostly progressive young chiefs and became known as the Treaty Party under the leadership of Major Ridge.[7] Ridge, Stand Watie, and about 450 other party members received their money for the treaty and departed Georgia for the I.T. on 3 March 1837. They were able to leave on their terms and timetable, joining the Old Settlers in Honey Creek, I.T., before the Trail of Tears. The Ross Party however was determined to keep their lands and stayed in Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Ross hoped to negotiate a deal that would satisfy the federal and Georgian governments, allowing them to remain behind in peace.[8]

Ross and the traditional chiefs were proven correct about the scheme of the government when President Jackson authorized the complete removal of all southeast tribes in August 1836. The Ross Party was captured and led out of their homeland on the

[6] Moulton, *The Papers of John Ross*, 2:83.
[7] Mooney, *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee*, 115.
[8] Wilfred Knight, *Red Fox: Stand Watie and the Confederate Indian Nations during the Civil War Years in Indian Territory* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1988), 32-34.

Federal Road that cut through the old Vann property. The Trail of Tears had begun.[9] The voyage west gave the traditional band plenty of time to foment hatred toward the Treaty Party, which had sold the Nation out and escaped the torture of the removal. This anger would explode once the survivors of the forced march arrived in Park Hill, I.T.

An immediate fight for power erupted once John Ross arrived in I.T. He forced his way into leadership, since the traditional band outnumbered the already present Old Settlers and Treaty Party. Once Ross was elected Principal Chief in I.T., the traditional Indians went on a revenge spree.[10] Blood vengeance was nothing new to the Cherokee. Traditional law obligated clan members to avenge a family member's death. According to Cherokee belief this it is what kept the universe balanced. Legend said that the nation would be off balance when murder was not revenged. The retribution killing closed the loop of justice and the two clans could live at peace again. The legal threat of this "blood law" served as the chief form of protection for the tribe. Each member understood that the consequences of spilling someone's blood meant they or another member of their family would also die at the hands of the offended clan.[11]

Those who survived the Trail of Tears saw the need to avenge the death of those who did not survive the forced march. The old blood law would be enforced at the highest level of Cherokee society, against the leaders of the Treaty Party. The traditional law was also coupled with a Cherokee Council law written in 1829 that imposed the death penalty on anyone who sold their land to whites without tribal permission. The

---

[9] Angie Debo, *History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 117-19.

[10] Brian Hicks, *Toward the Setting Sun: John Ross, the Cherokees, and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Alantic Monthly Press, 2011), 315-22.

[11] Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 5-6.

Council passed the 1829 law after it became apparent that native lands were in danger of "legal" encroachment according to new white laws. Major Ridge was a signatory of this law. Therefore, when he signed the Treaty of New Echota, he violated his own rule. Ross called the treaty illegal based on the 1829 Council law, but the US senate ratified the treaty after a short debate. The Ross party would not forgive the Treaty Party for the calamity brought upon the nation. With both tradition and written law in hand, the violence began.[12]

A coordinated series of assassinations on 22 June 1839 eliminated Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot. A fourth target, Stand Watie, narrowly escaped his death when he arrived at Elias' house too late. Friends had notified him that the order to kill Treaty Party leaders was being fulfilled. He raced to his brother's house on a borrowed horse, but he was not in time. He boldly rode through the deadly crowd in front of Elias' house. Apparently no one was brave enough to attack him. He alone survived the wrath of the full bloods.[13]

Watie consolidated power within the Treaty Party and organized assassins to reap retribution on the Ross Party. Ross sent out a plea to General Matthew Arbuckle, commander at Ft. Gibson, for assistance in stopping the pending Watie retribution. Arbuckle called for a meeting between the parties, which Ross declined to attend. He instead called his own meeting on 1 July 1839 in which he offered a full and complete pardon to all men who assassinated the Treaty Party leaders, "as if the act or acts…had

[12] Wilfred Knight, *Red Fox*, 35.

[13] Kenny A. Franks, *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation* (Memphis: Memphis State University, 1979), 54-56.

not ben committed."[14] He also extended the possibility of pardon toward the Treaty Party if they confessed to the crime of selling their Georgia property and agreed not to hold any position of power for five years. Watie, to no one's surprise, declined Ross' offer.[15]

The next seven years were filled with political assassination between the two parties. The Vann family was not caught up in the dispute because they had left their Georgia property prior to the Treaty of New Echota being negotiated. The Vanns were recognized as Old Settlers since they headed west prior to the treaty.[16] Those who moved after the treaty were typically identified with either the Ross or Treaty party label. No records have been found showing how the Vann family viewed the internecine conflict. Since the Vanns served under General Watie's leadership during the Civil War, it is a good indication that their relationship with the Treaty Party was probably strong.

US Secretary of War Joel Poinsett was desperate to stop the fighting inside the Cherokee Nation. He ordered General Matthew Arbuckle to resolve the issue. Arbuckle considered arresting Ross and negotiating wholly with Joseph Vann since he was viewed as a reasonable Old Settler. However, the general determined that detaining Ross would only make matters worse.[17] Indian Agent Montfort Stokes, acting on behalf of the federal government, which no longer supported Ross' leadership, helped Joseph call a council meeting on 15 January 1840. Ross had been called to Washington for meetings, allowing Stokes and General Arbuckle the opportunity to resolve the crisis. Despite many council meetings between January and October the two sides made no significant progress.[18] As a

---

[14] Wilfred Knight, *Red Fox*., 42.
[15] Ibid.
[16] William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 21.
[17] Ibid., 23.
[18] Ibid., 26-30.

matter of fact, the situation turned for the worse when William H. Harrison became president. Harrison died a month into his office and his replacement, John Tyler, decided not to pursue peace within the Cherokee Nation.[19]

The killings only ended after the federal government announced a treaty between the groups in 1846.[20] Unfortunately, a treaty with the whites did not figure into the "balance of the universe" theory of blood law. The matter simply was not settled to Cherokee standards. It would reappear again in a short fifteen years. It seemed that blood law would never be satisfied. The unfortunate lottery incident in Georgia seemed to have spared Rich Joe the difficulty of choosing sides in the conflict. However, this did not mean that his life was an easy one once he settled in Webbers Falls.

Joe had two enterprises to keep him busy. He continued to farm, like the family did in Georgia. He also operated a steamboat business that regularly ran between the I.T., Kentucky, and New Orleans. He utilized his large holding of slaves for both ventures. Joe did not treat his slaves like distant family, the way his father had. He appeared to treat them more in the manner of the white farmers. Therefore it is not surprising that he would have the same issues with resistance that other non-Indian slave owners had. This was evident when slaves from his plantation rebelled and caused quite a stir on 15 November 1842. Tiya Miles, Daniel Littlefield, and Lonnie Underhill attribute the Vann slave revolt to the presence of free Seminole blacks in the Webbers Falls area. The escaped slaves joined other escapees from the Creek Nation and killed a Delaware Indian and a white man who were returning runaway slaves back to their Choctaw owners.[21]

---

[19] Ibid., 30-31.

[20] W. Craig Gaines, *The Confederate Cherokees: John Drew's Regiment of Mounted Rifles* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 3-6.

[21] Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 170-1.

Principal Chief John Ross wrote a letter to the National Council advising them of the slave rebellion and escape. He stated that about thirty slaves stole firearms and other articles from a store and then engaged in a gunfight with the sheriff. The lawmen had to retreat from the engagement because they were outnumbered and outgunned; however, the slaves lost fourteen runaways in the fight. The slave reportedly stole mules, horses, clothing, and other articles from homes as they escaped south. He called for the formation of a posse to pursue the runaway slaves and advised the council to notify US Agent Pierce M. Butler, and the Creek and Choctaw Nations of the situation so that they could form their own patrols.[22] John Drew headed up the Cherokee posse and pursued the slaves through Choctaw country. His men caught up with the runaways thirteen days after there escape, 280 miles away from Webbers Falls. Drew reported that the slaves were starving and happy to be "rescued." The runaways were back in Webbers Falls on 7 December 1942.[23]

Ms. Betty Robertson, a freedwoman recalled that Rich Joe did not punish the slaves who rebelled. Instead, he made them work on his steamboat, the *Lucy Walker* so that he could keep an eye on them. She stated that Rich Joe's son, Little Joe, was much kinder to the slaves than his father. This could probably be explained by his age. He was too young to work the business and had time to spend with her when she was not working. Betty's father, whom she only referred to as Pappy, was one of the slaves who

[22] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 154-55.

[23] Mles, *Ties That Bind*, 172. Celia E. Naylor gives an overview of the escape and the work structure Rich Joe used for his slaves in her book *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). She quotes freedmen as estimating Rich Joe's slaves at over 300 when he died in 1844. (88)

rebelled. He died when the *Lucy Walker* exploded in 1844.[24] Rich Joe also died when the ship was destroyed on the Ohio River, just outside Louisville, near New Albany, Indiana.

The explosion of the ship on 23 October 1844 resulted in many stories about Joseph and his actions that day. R.P. Vann, one of Rich Joe's grandsons, perpetuated a false story about the ship's demise. During an interview with Grant Foreman, in 1932, R.P. explained that the explosion was the result of a race on the Ohio River. He claimed that Rich Joe was drunk, saw a riverboat ahead, and determined that his boat would catch and pass it. He rushed below deck and ordered the slaves to boost the fire in the boiler. The slaves claimed the boat was travelling as fast as it could and anymore fire would cause the boiler to explode. Supposedly, Joe pulled out his pistol and threatened to kill them all if they did not put more fuel in the fire. One of the men threw a side of meat into the fire, ran above deck, and dove into the river just as the boiler exploded. This fortunate slave, according to R.P. was the only survivor of the disaster. He was later fished out of the water and taken back to I.T. Vann claimed that this version of the story was told to him personally by the slave, and that it was the true and correct account of the maritime catastrophe.

The explosion account of R.P. did not line up with the eyewitness accounts of what happened on the river. It is not known if he truly believed the slave's story or simply made up the entire tale. Unfortunately, there are other stories about the Vann family in Indian Territory, told by R.P., which have since been disproven.[25] Lucinda

---

[24] T. Lindsay Baker and Julie P. Baker, *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 355-58.

[25] The most egregious story, found in chapter five, is his account of the shooting of Belle Starr's husband, Sam. R.P. interjects himself into the story, as a member of the posse that his brother, William, led. Unfortunately, his versions of history have been widely proliferated, obviously due to his relation with many of the famous Vanns. Regrettably, what should be an excellent source of information is now considered suspect, with most research bypassing his writings altogether.

Vann, slave of Jim Vann, the engineer on the Lucy Walker when it exploded, told another story of questionable truth. She claimed that the rescuers found an arm at the explosion site that was claimed by the Vann family as Rich Joe's. She said that the arm was kept in a jar of alcohol, and the family would show it to visitors.[26]

Fortunately, the explosion captured the headlines of many newspapers, which gave a more accurate portrayal of the events that led up to the disaster. The ship had just left Louisville, Kentucky, on its way to New Orleans. Over one hundred passengers were aboard as the boat as it passed through New Albany and Louisville, which are situated across from each other on the Ohio River. The sun was beginning to set when the *Lucy Walker* began having mechanical problems. The crew stopped the engines and attempted to make repairs. Apparently the water in the boilers got too low and blew within five minutes of shutting down. L. B. Dunham, captain of the U.S. snag boat *Gopher* was two hundred yards from the ship when the boilers exploded. He recounted that the air was filled with people and body parts. One man was blown straight up 50 yards and punched through the deck of the sinking ship when he landed. Another man was cut in half by shrapnel from the disintegrated boilers. Captain Dunham immediately steered his ship toward the burning vessel to render assistance. He came across survivors in the water and rescued them with a hook. He estimated that fifty to sixty passengers were killed or missing. There were some fifteen to twenty who were seriously. He delivered those he rescued to New Albany and continued his rescue and recovery mission. The ship sunk within minutes of the explosion.[27]

---

[26] T. Lindsay Baker and Julie P. Baker, *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 439.

[27] "Terrible Steamboat Explosion!" *The Columbia Democrat*, 2 November 1844, 2.

Newspapers reported within a week of the explosion that the death toll increased to 80-100 passengers. The ship's record book was destroyed in the explosion, so it is difficult to know exactly how many people were aboard at the time of the disaster. It is estimated that approximately 130 people were on the ship when the disaster struck.[28] The mayor of Louisville committed $1,000 of city money to help cloth the survivors and meet other needs as a result of the disaster.[29] Reports in Bowling Green newspaper, *The Radical*, indicated that two slaves were plucked from the water by unknown white men, taken to the shore, and never heard from again. The slaves' names were Ned, twenty-three years old, Roy, thirty-five to forty years old, and Bob, twenty-five to thirty years old. Interestingly, boys playing in the river in 1903 found a carpenters chest stuck in the mud that belonged to the *Lucy Walker*. This renewed the search for the ship's safe that reportedly contained $20,000 in gold.[30]

Rich Joe's son, Judge Vann, assumed responsibility for the plantation after his death. The widow Jennie Springston Vann married a man named Mitchell. David "Da Vis Se Ka" Vann was the son of Rich Joe and Polly. He was a young teenager when they relocated to I.T. He was raised in the patrilineal tradition and continued it with his family. He married Nancy Mackey Talley (1822-79) in 1844. This was his first marriage, however it was Nancy's second, as she was a widow, her first husband being Joseph Talley. Interestingly, Joseph Talley was the son of Samuel I. Talley, Ti Ka Lo Hi's

[28] "Still more of the Lucy Walker – Recovery of the Dead," *Sunbury American and Shamokin Journal*, 16 November 1844, 1.

[29] *New York Daily Tribune*, 14 November 1944, 2.

[30] "Disaster Recalled, Relic of the Lucy Walker Found Near New Albany," *The Paducah Sun*, 17 September 1903, 3. Research has not found any mention of the safe's recovery.

overseer at the Spring Place Plantation. He was just as violent with the slaves as Ti Ka Lo Hi.[31]

Nancy was the daughter of Sam Mackey, the owner and operator of the Mackey salt works.[32] Interestingly, more information exists about her than her husband. Very little is known about David, other than he went into the salt business after marrying Nancy.[33] He enrolled in the Confederate Army on 12 July 1862 and attached to the Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, 2 Regiment, Company F. The salt business was so important to the Cherokees that Stand Watie released David from his duties on 1 December 1862 to continue his work at the Drew Salt Works outside of Gore.[34] A lawsuit on behalf of the Mackey family confirms that male dominance existed at all levels in the Vann family. Samuel Mackey, Nancy's father, died in 1839, and there was a dispute over how his fortune would be handled. Court papers in *United States ex rel Mackey v. Cox* (1855) list Nancy, not as Samuel's daughter, but as the wife of Samuel's son-in-law, Joseph Talley. This is continuing evidence that the Mackeys and Talleys were Cherokee families operating under the Anglo tradition of male dominance.[35]

---

[31] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 83.

[32] Mary Mackey Willison, interview with Effie S. Jackson, September 30, 1937, interview 7716, transcript, *Western History Collection,* University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK. Available from http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/papers/7716%20Willison.pdf; Internet, Assessed 5 March 2011.

[33] There is much confusion when researching David because of a very prominent great uncle, also named David. The first David Vann was the nephew of Ti Ka Lo Hi and became famous for his career as a negotiator in Washington D.C. on behalf of the Cherokees. He was a member of the Treaty Party and therefore had much written about him in Cherokee newspapers. Unfortunately, many people have mistaken him for the son of Rich Joe and this has made my research with the living members of the Vann family difficult.

[34] *Confederate States of America, 2 Cherokee Mounted Volunteers Muster Roll, 30 June 1863;* available from www.footnote.com/image/161660727; Internet; Accessed 11 June 2011.

[35] *United States ex rel Mackey v. Cox*, 59 U.S. 100, 18 How. 100, 15 L.Ed. 299 (1855); available from http://www.utulsa.edu/law/classes/rice/ussct_cases/ US_ex_rel_Mackey_v_Coxe_1855.HTM; Internet; Accessed 21 November 2011.

Chapter Four

Vann Deconstruction: The American Civil War, Slave Emancipation, and the Death of the Vann Empire (1861-1865)

The Civil War affected many social structures in the South as soldiers were locked in a battle with other Americans. This conflict was not limited to the white population. Southern American Indians were caught in the same struggle, if not worse. Only twenty-five years earlier the tribes had finally recovered from their removals during the late 1830s. Old wounds were almost healed between progressive and traditional bands, especially within the Cherokee Nation. The progressive Indians had begun the process of acculturating into the white community. They adopted slavery, private property ownership, and Christian education. The traditional members held to their customs and objected to what they saw as the diminishing value of their past. The Vann family fell wholly in the progressive circles, making a fortune off of Anglo-style business and family structures. The social structure of the Cherokee was at risk. The war created yet another tear between tribal members favoring the Confederacy, those favoring the Union, and yet others appealing for neutrality. The Vann family's prominence began to erode after the death of Rich Joe. The Civil War and emancipation of slaves delivered the final blow to the crumbling empire.

As stated earlier, Rich Joe and his families escaped the Georgia removal policies prior to the Trail of Tears.[1] Establishing a new life in Indian Territory included carrying over the vestige of slave ownership. He had over one hundred slaves working his

[1] For the purpose of clarity, I will refer to James' son Joseph as "Rich Joe." There is another Joseph, Rich Joe's cousin, who will play a political role in the I.T. under John Ross. I will refer to this Joseph by his full name. He lived through the Civil War and was Assistant Principal Chief both prior to and following the war.

property and steamboat business. His descendants continued slave ownership making them a natural ally with the Confederates when secession happened. The Vanns, and their in-laws, promptly took up arms in defense of the southern way of life. Serious consequences followed their decision to join the Confederacy. Their homes and livelihoods were destroyed, and the Vann financial empire crumbled by the time the war ended in June 1865. The Vanns were no longer the richest Cherokees in America. The road from tribal prominence to commonplace Indian began during the Civil War and ended with the Dawes Commission in 1903.

The explosion of the *Lucy Walker*, which took Rich Joe's life, had a significant impact on the family. The remaining family continued its agricultural business using slave labor. Joe's children grew up and married, never straying far from the Webber's Falls area. Their marriages and old Georgia friendships would play an important part in the storm that was brewing between the North and South. These blood alliances would manifest themselves eventually into the gray uniforms of the Confederate Army. The Civil War placed Ross and Watie at opposite ends of the leadership spectrum once again.

As slave owners, the Vanns had a vested interest in fiery debate over free and slave states. They did not appear to be caught up in the earlier Cherokee civil war between the Ross and Treaty parties, however, they would definitely take sides in the War Between the States. The grievances of the secession states were pretty straightforward. The Civil War was a fight for their cherished way of life. The South saw the North as a threat to their economic prosperity.[2] The official Cherokee view of the conflict was a different story altogether. They did not even live in a state much less one

[2] James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford Press, 1988), 91-93, 149.

that Jefferson Davis should have any desire to lead. John Ross believed that the tribe was best served by remaining neutral. Indian Territory was outside the scope of the conflict and he believed it should stay that way.[3]

However, members of the Old Settlers and the Treaty Party were sympathetic with the southern cause since many within their ranks owned slaves, or at least approved of slavery. This stance placed them in direct conflict with the full-blood Cherokee called the Keetoowahs, who were also known as the Pin Indians. Oddly, John Ross also owned a large number of slaves himself. This placed him in a peculiar position with the Pins, the abolitionist missionaries who were spurring the Cherokee to denounce slavery, and the progressive Indians who owned slaves like he did. Regardless, Ross stood against secession and Cherokee intervention. Ross was not alone in his apparent contradictory lifestyle. Chief Opothleyoholo of the traditional Creek Nation also owned slaves, yet he spurned the Confederacy.[4] Both Ross and Opothleyoholo were able to separate their slave ownership from any perceived loyalty to the secessionist's cause. Since slavery was an old, non-European tradition, Ross did not see any connection to the South based solely on this issue. The Tribe's relationship with the South was difficult, especially in light of the removal. Georgia did no favors for the Cherokee; therefore he saw no contradiction of owning slaves and disowning the South. Southern states, after all, stole their lands and murdered their people. He saw no need for loyalty, especially since they no longer lived within southern territory. Watie and his followers would not take the same view.

---

[3] Franks, *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation*, 114-17.

[4] Frank Cunningham, *General Watie's Confederate Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 36-7.

As the North and South separated, old wounds from the removal resurfaced. Confederate States of America (CSA) President Jefferson Davis saw an opportunity to enlarge his Trans-Mississippi force by capitalizing on the renewed schism between traditional and progressive Cherokee. The tribe was in a difficult situation based on their territory's location. Southern slave states were to their east and south. Free Kansas was to their north and the divided state of Missouri bordered their northeast corner. Indian Territory was surrounded on three sides by belligerents. Unlike the internal fighting of the past, this external conflict was none of their doing. Yet they quickly saw their land becoming a battleground when Kansas and Texas began their engagements.

Another issue the Cherokee had to consider was their sovereignty. Would the Confederate government be friendlier to the tribe if it won the war? Would the Confederacy attack them for their land if they remained neutral? The federal government had already proved unworthy of Indian trust with the countless broken treaties of the past. Would Davis actually respect the Indians and give them the peace they always wanted? Ross also questioned the wisdom of turning their backs on a federal government that still owed them five million dollars in land payments from terms negotiated during the removal. Confederate military agent Albert Pike had promised that the CSA would take up the responsibility for these payments. However, could Ross trust a brand new government whose inauguration was ushered in through war?[5]

Harder still was the question of which side could win. Siding with the losing force would inevitably harm their already shaky standing with the whites. Ross's greatest concern was shielding his people from the wrath of both sides during and after the war.

[5] Cunningham, *General Watie's Confederate Indians*, 44-45.

He saw the conundrum and believed that neutrality was the best policy. Watie, conversely, saw no such problem. He was southern in birth, in industry, and soon in military alliance.

President Davis knew the struggles the various tribes were dealing with. It would be his job to sell them a southern solution. He realized that if the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw Nations sided with the Union it would separate part of Texas from the rest of the secessionist states. This was not acceptable and he enlisted the help of Brigadier General Albert Pike by assigning him the duty of recruiting the Indian Territory to join the southern cause.[6] Pike already had a pathway to the progressive Cherokee. He knew that the federal government was not supporting Watie in his battle against Ross. Pike quickly assured him that the Confederacy would stand behind him with political support and more important, military protection.[7]

Watie accepted a commission in the Confederate Army on 12 July and became a colonel for the CSA. However, Watie did not speak for the entire Cherokee Nation, and Ross had declared neutrality on 17 May. Ross even raised a Home Guard to protect the territory from Southern and Northern invaders. He also communicated with the other tribes and attempted to build an alliance of neutral nations. Pike's job would require him to avoid the obstacles already in place because of the personality clash between Ross and Watie. His new recruitment job would not be easy.[8]

Pike made quick duty of his new assignment and initiated a string of treaties between the Confederate government and the various tribes in Indian Territory. With

---

[6] Fred W. Allsopp, *Albert Pike: A Biography* (Little Rock: Parke Harper Company, 1928), 184.
[7] Knight, *Red Fox*, 62.
[8] Ibid., 61-65.

each victory, Pike would send word to Ross. He hoped that the chief would see the futility of resisting the Confederates, especially as other tribes joined the war. Pike secured these alliances beginning with the Creek on 10 July 1861, the Seminole, Comanche, and Wichita on 12 August, the Osage on 2 October, and the Seneca and Shawnee on 4 October. However, John Ross was not convinced and believed the white man's fight was none of the Cherokee's business. Negotiations went on for days as Pike detailed how the federal government had abandoned and cheated the Cherokee on many occasions. Ross's attempt to build an Indian coalition failed, and he finally agreed to a treaty with Pike on 7 October 1861. The chief still believed in neutrality, but saw the futility of fighting a force that had them bound on the north, east, and south.[9]

Joseph Vann was the Assistant Principal Chief under Ross when the Cherokee Council met in August to discuss ending neutrality. The tribe was just as divided as the United States. After much debate, Ross wrote his opinion about abandoning neutrality saying; "The time has now arrived when you should signify your consent for the authorization of the Nation to adopt preliminary steps for an alliance with the Confederate States upon terms honorable and advantageous to the Cherokee Nation."[10] It would take another six weeks before Ross and Pike could finally sign an agreement that was advantageous to both sides. Joseph Vann resigned as Assistant Principal Chief in 1862 and joined Stand Watie on the battlefield.[11]

The treaty contained fifty-five articles, including the agreement that Cherokee soldiers would not be called to fight unless I.T. soil was invaded. Ross also insisted that

[9] Allsopp, *Albert Pike: A Biography,* 186-7.
[10] McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears*, 183.
[11] Ibid., 188.

non-Indian forces could not be stationed within Cherokee territory, except for a few leaders. Ross wanted to protect his boundaries and did not want his soldiers fighting battles on other states' behalf. The treaty stipulated that the Cherokee warriors were to remain posted inside their territory and stop Kansas from moving south. This article would be broken early in the war, especially when Stand Watie's regiments took part in the Battle of Pea Ridge in northwest Arkansas in March of 1862.[12] However, this was not the first occurrence of Cherokee troops outside of I.T. Prior to the agreement joining the South and the Cherokee, Colonel Watie had already fought in Missouri during the battle of Wilson's Creek with his "independent" warriors. Nearly 1,000 Cherokee and Choctaw soldiers fought in this Confederate victory.[13]

The Vanns, as expected, enlisted with the Confederate Army once Ross signed the treaty with Pike. David Vann, Rich Joe's son with Polly Black, found work at the Drew Salt Works and another works on the Dirty Creek prior to the war. He married Nancy Mackey in 1844. She was the daughter of Samuel Mackey, Cherokee owner of the Mackey Salt Works.[14] His experience with salt mining would come in handy for filling Watie's war chest. Very little is known about David other than his parents, wife, and death. The Union Army knew that the various salt works were a major source of funding for Watie's Cherokee regiment, and would need to destroy them as they came across them in battle. The works around Webber's Falls were destroyed shortly after the Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge. Northern loyalists controlled the other salt works in

[12] Knight, *Red Fox*, 65-69.
[13] Cunningham, *General Watie's Confederate Indians*, 38-40.
[14] Mary Mackey Willison, "Interview with Effie S. Jackson," September 30, 1937, interview 7716, transcript, *Western History Collection,* University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, accessed 13 September 2012, http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/papers/ 7716%20Willison.pdf.

Cherokee Territory and these were left standing. Unfortunately, no records survived the Union razing of the salt works or Webbers Falls, and any potential information about David's life seems to have been turned to ashes.

David enlisted with the 2nd Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Company F, on 12 July 1862. Shortly after his enlistment, Colonel Watie relocated him back to the mines to continue manufacturing salt in December of the same year.[15] David remained at the salt works until the Union Army overtook Webber's Falls in 1863. Some women and children moved from Webbers Falls when the war began. Many families remained in the town until fighting moved too close for comfort. Ella Flora Coodey recounted listening to cannon fire from her Webbers Falls home during the Battle of Honey Springs in July. The Confederates lost the battle and the Union forces overtook Webbers Falls in August, burning it to the ground.[16] Rich Joe's replica Springplace mansion was destroyed in the fire. Those who stayed until the end relocated south to Fort Washita in Chickasaw Territory, while others travelled as far as Preston, Texas, to escape the fighting.[17]

David fled south to Fort Washita with his family for refuge. He then moved his family over to Tishomingo, the Chickasaw capital, and decided to open a store. He traded Confederate money for $20,000 in gold and headed to Jefferson, Texas, to buy stock. The man he bought his supplies from offered him a place to sleep for the night and David accepted. This turned out to be a terrible decision because the merchant murdered him

---

[15] CSA, "Company Muster Roll dated 30 June 1863," *Fold3 – Historical Military Records*, http://www.fold3.com/image/#20|161660727, 10 June 2011. This muster card shows David's enlistment date, as well as the annotation of being released from duty to return to the salt works.

[16] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Early History of Webbers Falls*, 471.

[17] Oklahoma Historical Society, "Civil War Refugees," Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/ entries/C/CI013.html, accessed 10 September 2012. This source specifically mentions the movement south, to Ft. Washita, Tishamingo, and north Texas, by Cherokee and Creek citizens.

during the night to keep the money and supplies. He buried David's body in Jefferson and nothing came of the murder until 1867 when David's son William found Spy and killed him.[18]

William Vann, David's son, also enlisted with the Cherokee Mounted Volunteers. He was originally assigned to the 1st Cherokee Mounted Volunteers until the 2nd Regiment was formed. He then moved to the 2nd Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Company F, and served with his father, David.[19] Major Israel Vore, William's uncle and David's brother-in-law, led the regiment. Little is known about William's service other than he fought at the Battle of Pea Ridge, was shot on 11 November 1862, and participated in a raid on a Union supply train during the second Battle of Cabin Creek, capturing almost 400 wagons.[20]

The Battle of Pea Ridge was outside the terms of the treaty that Pike and Ross agreed to. However, Watie, Cherokee 1st Regiment commander Colonel John Drew, and Creek 2nd Regiment commander Colonel Chilly McIntosh were ordered to move toward Fayetteville on 3 March 1862. The combined Indian force joined General Ben McCulloch's force on 5 March and marched toward a Union force encamped at Leetown, Arkansas. Watie's men dismounted, while Drew's forces remained on horseback. They charged the Union position across open ground, yelling loudly. The northern soldiers

---

[18] Grant Foreman, "Reminiscences of Mr. R.P. Vann, East of Webbers Falls, Oklahoma. September 28, 1932," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11 (June 1933): 841. A second source also describes the robbery and William's response. It is undated and has the title "Regarding (D-156) David (Dave) Vann (married Nancy Mackey)." It appears to be part of a genealogical research project. It references R.P. Vann, a book called the *History of Oklahoma* (pages 1876-77), and personal interviews, including Gordon Vann, whom I've also interviewed for my thesis research.

[19] CSA, "Company Muster Roll dated 30 June 1863," *Fold3 – Historical Military Records*, http://www.fold3.com/image/#20|161661042, accessed 10 June 2011. This muster card shows William's enlistment date, as well as the annotation of being wounded.

[20] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of Its Development* (Chicago: The American History Society, 1916), 5:1876.

immediately fled, leaving their artillery behind. Unfortunately, Watie and Drew's horses did not have harnesses to drag the artillery to safety. The men dragged the cannons into nearby woods as another federal battery opened fire on the field they had just taken. Their position was indefensible and Watie withdrew his men back to Van Dorn's headquarters. The Cherokee's final mission at Pea Ridge was to take the high ground, along the ridges flanking the Southern force, to cover the Confederate withdrawal.[21]

William's injury occurred just east of the I.T. boundary in Siloam Springs, Arkansas. Company F of the Union's Tenth Kansas Volunteer Infantry came across William's company as they were camped out at Hilderbrand Mill. The officer in charge of the 30-man Cherokee team received word of the approaching enemy. However, in an effort not to look worried, he ordered his men to eat breakfast. Within minutes the Confederate troops received fire and had to fall back into their defensive position in the nearby hills and bluffs to protect their post. The Kansas infantry ended their attack after two engagements. Their lieutenant reported that his men were "driven in after having remained a short time by a body of rebel cavalry, showing the enemy to be strong and on watch." Six of William's team members were killed in the skirmish. Obviously the Union officer did not know the small size of the Cherokee regiment he fled from.[22] The firefight eventually claimed a seventh life. William died fifty years later at the age of sixty-seven. His obituary listed the cause of death as a bullet lodged in his breast from his Civil War days, presumably during the skirmish at Siloam Springs.[23]

---

[21] Franks, *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation*, 124-25.

[22] Whit Edwards, *The Prairie Was on Fire* (Oklahoma City: The Oklahoma Historical Society, 2001), 34.

[23] *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 March 1911.

William Vann was involved in raiding operations in an effort to divert or capture Union supply wagon trains. Cabin Creek was the site of two engagements with the federals over supplies. The first was on 1 July 1863. Watie's troops had trapped a wagon train at a fording site. The north opened artillery fire, but was unsuccessful at uprooting the Indian force. Watie held his ground, awaiting reinforcements from Arkansas. However, recent rains had flooded the Grand River, and his support was cut off from Cabin Creek. A second attack was successful as Union troops waded across the creek and formed a battle line that pushed Watie and his men away from the train. The Union pursued the Indians for about five miles, before returning to their primary responsibility, getting the wagon train to Ft. Gibson.[24]

David's brother, James, had joined Colonel John Drew's regiment as the adjutant in October 1861.[25] However, his service did not last long. On 8 December, only two months after joining Drew's regiment, James, along with a major portion of Drew's enlisted men deserted Camp Melton and joined Creek Chief Opothleyahola's Union Indian force.[26] Interestingly, John Ross addressed Drew's regiment on 19 December to rally the forces and accepted James' resignation with no punishment the next day.[27] James would eventually become a captain in the Union Army as the commander of Company A of the 3d Kansas Indian Home Guard.[28]

The Vann's involvement also included David's brother-in-law, Israel G. Vore. Israel married David's sister Sallie and was a very respected merchant in Webber's Falls.

---

[24] Ibid., 140-141.
[25] Gaines, *The Confederate Cherokees,* 18.
[26] Ibid., 47.
[27] Ibid., 57.
[28] Ibid., 123.

He owned two stores, one in Pleasant Bluff and another in Fort Smith. After the war, he partner with Jess Chisholm selling supplies and foodstuff along the Chisholm Trail.[29] His reputation for handling merchandise won him the rank of captain and the position of Quarter Master in the 1st Cherokee Regiment, under General Cooper, on 7 November 1861. He was promoted to major in 1862 and appointed adjutant and quartermaster under Cooper. Vore was selected by General Steele to become the CSA Creek Agent in September 1863.[30] Moty Kanard, the Creek leader, advocated for over a year to get Vore appointed. Kanard even appealed to President Davis to speed up the selection as stipulated in the treaty allying the Creeks with the Confederate cause.[31] The only battle that Vore is known to fight in was the Battle of Honey Springs. Sallie, Israel's wife, helped store valuables and war materials in their home during the war. A Union officer went to investigate the home and was found dead the next morning in her front yard. [32] The man who was killed was known for coming into the town, attempting to help the Vann's and Vore's slaves escape to the Union headquarters.[33] The Union Army went to Webber's Falls and burnt down the entire city in retaliation, after winning the Battle of Honey Springs.

Joseph Absalom Scales, David's son-in-law, was placed in charge of recruiting a company under the command Major Frye. Joseph was made a captain and eventually

---

[29] L.W. Wilson, "Interview with Joseph Albert Scale," date unknown, *Western History Collection, Indian Pioneer Papers,* University of Oklahoma, 17-18.

[30] CSA, "Untitled Personnel Sheet," *Fold3 – Historical Military Records*, http://www.fold3.com/image/#75435083, accessed 10 November 2012. The document is a typed list, in chronological order, detailing all the duties performed by Major Vore while assigned to the 1st Cherokee Regiment, Cooper's (D.H.) Command. It has a date of 1865 and is signed at the bottom with the initials JNB.

[31] Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*, 107-109

[32] Wilson, *Interview with Joseph Albert Scale*, 19-21.

[33] Ella Robinson, "Life and Experiences of a Cherokee Indian Woman: Interview with Mrs. Ella Coody Robinson," *Western History Collection, Indian Pioneer Papers*, University of Oklahoma, 20.

worked his way up, becoming the Adjutant General for Stand Watie. Captain Scales fought in three battles, one at Ft. Wayne on 22 October 1862, then Ft. Davis on 27 December 1862, and finally Honey Springs on 17 July 1863. All were losing efforts for Watie's Indian Regiment.[34] However, Watie would not be judged in history by his losses.

Watie's reputation had grown during the 1863 campaigns, to the point that he was promoted to Brigadier General. His ability to lead guerrilla forces made him a very feared man in the northeast I.T., southern Kansas, and Missouri. The Cherokee Regiments were released from regular service and given the freedom to roam I.T. as a guerrilla force, striking whatever targets of opportunity they could find.[35] A second engagement at Cabin Creek occurred on 19 September 1864. This fight fared much better for Watie. He was notified of a Union wagon train bivouacked at the home of Joseph L. Martin. Brigadier Richard Gano directed Watie's men to the left of the property, while his men lined up on the right. William Vann was a member of this ambush force. The firefight started about three in the morning, but Watie had trouble locating the Union's position. Eventually, after a very long exchange, Watie was able to drive the Northern defenders away from a portion of the supply train. He captured 130 wagons before daybreak. He was joined by Seminole troops from the Twenty-ninth Texas Regiment once the sun rose. They open a fierce artillery barrage on the northern troops and their commander, Major Hopkins, directed a "general stampede" retreat. The fleeing soldiers destroyed 250 wagons. The total loss to the Union was 380 wagons and 740 mules, valued over 1.5 million dollars. William Vann's earlier bullet wound obviously was no hindrance on this night.[36]

---

[34] Wilson, *Interview with Joseph Albert Scale*, 5-7.
[35] Franks, *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation*, 157.
[36] Ibid., 171-172.

Things did not always go smooth for Watie while under Confederate service. He confronted Southern commanders numerous times, complaining that the Indian forces were treated as expendable. Pay was slow, clothes were scarce, and the Union army was allowed to set up force in Indian Territory without any fight from the Confederacy.[37] Watie was concerned that the lack of engagement had allowed the federals an opportunity to strengthen Ft. Gibson at will. He clearly understood the problem of straying from the treaty. The Cherokees were supposed to defend I.T.; however, the higher command had them scattered too thin to protect their homeland.[38] Watie's men remained loyal to the Southern cause, even in the midst of these difficulties.

Their new role as guerrilla fighters suited their fighting style. They struck fear into the hearts of Kansas's troops when rumors spread that the general was coming their way. The Union could never feel completely safe during their occupation of the I.T.[39] Every wagon train had to be on constant guard against Watie's men. However, the Union gained indisputable control over I.T by 1865 and the Cherokee regiments had to take on the full-time role of harassers in their own homeland.

The most notable image of Watie was his determination to fight to the end. He was so successful that he was credited as the last Confederate general to surrender. Robert E. Lee surrendered on 9 April 1965 and this began a cascade of surrenders over the next two months. General Watie was last to put pen to paper, surrendering on 25 June 1865. His signature had been contingent on promises by the federal government to protect the Cherokee and restore them to pre-war position as far as treaties were

[37] Ibid., 141-143.
[38] Ibid., 143.
[39] Ibid., 176.

concerned. The Cherokee promised to immediately cease offensive operations against the government and white settlements surrounding the I.T. Watie's signature also benefited the Seminole, Creek, and Osage Nations. The war was over and refugees were soon flocking back home, if they still existed. The scarred earth and destroyed towns were not the only casualties of the war. The larger task of rebuilding the Cherokee Nation lay ahead.[40]

Chief Ross was evacuated to Philadelphia in July 1862, effectively leaving General Watie the resident Chief of the nation.[41] However, only the Southern Cherokees and their allied tribes recognized this position. Ross made Lewis Downing acting Principal Chief before leaving to go north. The conflict over who was really in charge did not draw traction until the war was over. Who would sign all the official documents in Washington? The federal government was not satisfied with John Ross, even though he was reelected Chief as soon as the war concluded. They believed he was a southern sympathizer and therefore not worthy to sign the documents. Watie knew that Ross had abandoned the southern cause, but put up no strong defense as long as it hampered Ross's plans. Watie signed all preliminary documents, but it was eventually decided that Downing was the true leader. This may have occurred because Watie was pressing for an independent southern Cherokee Nation. The federal government decided that the nation would remain whole, effectively stripping Watie of his Principal Chief title once and for all.[42]

---

[40] Ibid., 180-82.
[41] Gaines, *The Cherokee Confederates*,115.
[42] Ibid., 203-09.

The messy issue of the release of slaves was tackled by the Fort Smith Council, which met from 8-21 September 1865. Each tribe was reminded of the treaties they entered in to with the Confederate states. Based on these treaties, the Council declared that all the Tribes had forfeited any claims to past annuities and land deals. However, the federal government was anxious to enter into new treaties to preserve the peace between Indians and whites. All Indian Nations had to agree to remain peaceful with the government. All Tribes had to release their slaves unconditionally. It was their responsibility to incorporate the Freedmen into their nation with equal rights and provisions. The freed slaves must be treated like original tribal members.

The treaty also required that I.T. open up lands for new Indian immigrants, especially from Kansas. There was a provision that all the Nations would fall under a single Indian government. However, the details would have to be worked out by the U.S. Senate in the future. Finally, the treaty guaranteed "No white person, except officers, agents, and employes [sic] of the government…will be permitted to reside in the territory…."[43] Blacks could live in the territory as free people. The rolls of each tribe suddenly swelled with this new treaty. The Treaty of 1866 specifically called for a unified Cherokee Nation, with all parties receiving amnesty. Everyone who supported the South was welcomed back to Tahlequah. The treaty was signed on 17 July and John Ross died on 1 August. The difficult job of rebuilding was made easier with Ross gone. Watie had no more axe to grind, except he refused to support Ross's son in the general election of 1867. Lewis Downing supported the southern Cherokee's desire to receive complete amnesty. He was rewarded with Watie's whole-hearted support of his campaign.

[43] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian Under Construction* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), 188-89.

Downing defeated Ross to become Principal Chief, perhaps Watie's final blow to John Ross's memory. Animosity had the potential to tear the Cherokee Nation apart after the war. Lewis Downing stayed true to his word and graciously received all Cherokees back into the Nation.[44]

The Vanns, like so many others, survived the Civil War only to face an uncertain future. William entered into politics under the Lewis Downing Party and served on the Cherokee Council as well as sheriff. He was a popular lawman and will be remembered for his pursuit of the Belle Starr gang. He registered his family as Chickasaw during the Dawes Commission, moved south to Woodville on the Red River where Lottie and the children received land allotments. He lived out the rest of his life in relative obscurity. David's widow, Nancy, moved back to Webbers Falls and rebuilt her life there. Stand Watie built a new home near Ft. Gibson. Tragedy dogged the general as he was broke and both of his sons died of sickness. Watie eventually succumbed to a life of hard work, success, and misery, dying on 9 September 1871 at the age of 61.

The Civil War was a destructive force that pit brother against brother throughout the South. The Cherokee fared no better than any other Confederate state. Cities were destroyed, fields trampled, industry crippled, and slaves lost. The Vann's livelihood was dependent on slave labor, and the effects of the Civil War ran deep in the future of the family. They survived the federal removal policies of the early 1800s. They escaped the internecine warfare between the Ross and Treaty parties during the 1840s. They even survived the war itself. Other than David dying at the hands of a crooked merchant, everyone returned to his or her homes when the last surrender from Stand Watie was signed. However, the blow that devastated the agrarian family was the consequences of a

[44] Ibid., 210.

southern loss. Slavery was now outlawed and farmers had to pay their labor, regardless of color. Morality had caught up with economy. Regardless of how well Indians treated their slaves, they had to go it alone now. The "peculiar institution" had breathed its last despicable breath.

The Vanns would survive to see another harvest, but their status as the richest Cherokee family disappeared along with slavery. They would continue to work the land, both farming and ranching, however the salt works were destroyed. The family had truly passed form extraordinary merchants to commonplace Indians. Family fortune was forever lost as they joined their kinfolk in the sea of ordinary.

Chapter Five

The Adventures of William and Lottie: The Blending of Heritage Through Love and the Dawes Commission (1866-1902)

The South faced major changes after the Civil War, which also affected the Cherokee. Tribes were forced to reconcile differences that had occurred as a result of slavery and taking different sides during the war. The Vanns, like other progressive Indians, had to restructure their livelihood. Cherokee towns had to rebuild after the Union forces ravaged them. However, the changes that faced the tribes would be more ominous that those they had already endured. The government had designs on Indian Territory; and the Indians would once again see promises broken and land stolen as the nineteenth century came to a close. Reconstruction treaties, the Dawes Act, and the Curtis Act devastated the tribes as land and sovereignty was taken and room made for settlers and ultimately statehood.

William Vann moved into Chickasaw Territory after the war. His mother lived near Tishomingo after David was murdered for $20,000. He met and eventually married a young lady named Lottie, a Chickasaw from the powerful Willis family. There are no records of the marriage or how long they stayed in southern I.T. before returning to Webbers Falls. Here he began a career of service within the Cherokee government, representing the Canadian District. He served with the Cherokee National Council; however, he was best known for his time as a Cherokee sheriff.

Post-Civil War I.T. was famous for lawless gangs roving through the territory robbing banks and rustling cattle and horses. One of these famous criminals was Belle Starr. Early in his career William had an encounter with Belle that can only be described

as odd. He led a posse, which searched Belle's home one day looking for stolen property. They ransacked the cabin and William came across a bag full of eyeglasses. Ms. Starr returned home while they were still in the house and became enraged with her unexpected company. William, a good-humored man, placed three or four of the spectacles on his nose, walked up to her, and said, "Mistress Belle Starr, I believe?" She was so angry that she covered her face and broke down in tears. She reached for her revolver, but deputy John West disarmed her before she could shoot. The posse apparently found nothing in the house because they left laughing at what just took place.[1]

William came close to capturing Belle's husband, Sam, on 16 September 1887, when his posse spotted him riding Belle's favorite horse Venus. William wanted to split the group up and surround Sam; however, posse member Frank West said the outlaw would never surrender peacefully. Frank drew his revolver and fired numerous shots at Sam. The horse fell to the ground and Sam, who was unconscious, rolled away from the horse. William and West rode over to discover that the horse was dead but Sam was alive. They left some deputies with the body and went to a nearby farmhouse to get a wagon and find a place to treat Sam's wounds. They wanted to take him to jail alive for questioning. Sam regained consciousness and overtook the deputies left behind to guard him. He escaped on one of the posse horses and vowed to get revenge on West for killing Belle's horse.[2]

American Indians were dealt a series of blows beginning in 1887. The federal government began viewing the Indian Territory as the next area for annexation. The treaties that gave them land west of Arkansas were void following the Civil War. The

[1] Glenn Shirley, *Belle Starr and Her Times: The Literature, the Facts, and the Legends* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 191-192.
[2] Ibid., 206-7.

tribes that were removed from the southeast in the 1830s had found themselves faced with a difficult choice. Many within these tribes had owned slaves and felt a certain kinship to the Confederacy. This decision not only allied them with the losing side, but also placed them in the unenviable position of having new treaties drawn up that were not as generous as the removal agreements. The 1866 Treaty with the Cherokee required the tribe to give up land, annuities, free all slaves and grant them citizenship if they chose to remain within Cherokee territory. The treaty also required that they allow citizens from other Indian nations to be settled within their territory as deemed necessary by the U.S. government.[3] Article 26 of the treaty guaranteed the Cherokee that their lands would remain unmolested by outsiders. While the government reserved the right to place military installations on Cherokee property, they promised that the soldiers would be useful in preventing non-Cherokees from using the land remaining once the treaty went into force. This Reconstruction Treaty, though damaging to the Cherokee, was not without reason. The Nation, even though severely divided, had chosen to rebel against the U.S. government and was now forced to suffer the consequences. What followed was neither justified nor deserved.

The government became increasingly interested in turning the territory west of Arkansas into a state. This obviously presented a problem since the relocated tribes occupied the region. The Forty-Ninth Congress passed *An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians of the Various Reservations*, better known as the Dawes Act of 1877.[4] The legislation was designed to, once and for all, force Indians to "civilize" by living off of private property granted under the Act. The government also

[3] *Treaty With The Cherokee*, U.S. – Cherokee Nation, July 27, 1866, 14 Stats., 799.

[4] *An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians of the Various Reservations*, U.S., December 6, 1886, 24 Stats., 388-91.

benefitted from Dawes by purchasing all un-allotted land as allowed under Section 5 of the agreement. Indians that received land under the allotment system received full U.S. citizenship in accordance with Section 6.

The Five Civilized Tribes did not actually receive allotments under this Act. Tribes, including the Cherokee, were not receptive to this push to break up their various territories. The government was anxious to assume control of the Cherokee Strip and offered the nation $1.25 per acre. The Cherokee were not interested in selling the land since they received some income by taxing cattle ranchers who grazed in the Strip. The land issue stalemated in Washington as the Cherokee battled with Congress over the land. Frustration over the lengthy negotiations resulted in authorization of the Cherokee Commission, also known as the Jerome Commission, on 2 March 1889 with the mission to purchase land in I.T. at the cheapest price they could negotiate.[5]

The various nations continued to refuse selling their land. As a result, the Dawes Commission was established on 1 November 1893 with the responsibility of taking a census of the tribes to determine citizenship within the various Nations, as well as newly establish citizenship within the U.S. federal system.[6] Subsequently, The Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes was established to negotiate citizenship and allotments for the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole Indians. Tribes soon realized that allotments were going to occur, either voluntarily or by force. Pleasant Porter, an executive officer of the Creek Nation stated that the tribes truly had no real options as far as allotments were concerned. He said, "There were only three ways to resist: by fighting,

[5] William T. Hagan, *Taking Indian Lands: The Cherokee (Jerome) Commission, 1889-1893* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 8-17.

[6] Kent Carter, "Dawes Commission," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture,* accessed 2 June 2013, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/d/da018.html

which would have meant destruction; by emigration, which would have lost their country and would have found no place to go; and by passive resistance, which would have been futile." Congress also strengthened their hand by passing the Curtis Act of 1898, effectively ending tribal sovereignty. Given these options, Porter and the other Creek officials chose to surrender to the legislation.[7] The Cherokee continued to fight until an agreement was finally reached in 1902.

The awarded acreage, however, was not divided up evenly. Many Cherokee were awarded 110 acres while others received no land. The spread was even wider in the Chickasaw territory, ranging from 160 – 4,165 acres. Therefore, the average award for Chickasaws was 360 acres.[8] The allotment system simply was not equal for all Indians. The actual amount of acreage depended on how much land the Nations controlled and how many people would ultimately be granted allotments within their boundaries. The initial goal allowed 160 acres to be awarded to each head of household and then smaller sections awarded to single Indians and children. However, the condition of the land was also considered. Rich agricultural land was awarded in smaller parcels than land with less growing potential. Regardless of the land awards, the whole idea of surrendering communal lands for private property caused great protest and resistance.

The allotments served to separate the individual Indian from the larger community. Indians were forced to adopt private property ownership. The Act thereby attempted to whittle away at the Indian's reliance on the tribe. As shameful as this idea was, it paled in comparison to what Congress did in 1898. The Curtis Act effectively

---

[7] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), 32-3. The Curtis Act did not affect the Seminole since they agreed early in the negotiation process to sell their land to the government. The other tribes were compelled to end their standoff if they wanted to avoid the harsh penalties of the Act.

[8] Ibid., 50-51.

disintegrated the authority of all tribes and their government. Tribal courts were abolished, schools placed under federal control, and the president had the ability to appoint and remove leaders within the various Nations' government structures.[9] As far as the Indians were concerned, the federal government had removed the last barrier to allow settlers into the I.T. and negotiate statehood. Cherokees in I.T. were now at the mercy of the government and adopting American ways was no longer a choice. The Tribe finally agreed on allotments after the Curtis Act was passed, since it appeared that they no longer had any real authority or voice in the matter.[10]

William and Lottie, like other Indians, were suddenly faced with a dilemma. The Dawes Commission had changed everything, and the family had a choice to make. The Vanns had made their fortune off of the land and they faced losing their livelihood if they did not play by the new emerging rules. Registering for the Dawes census appeared to be the only option they had. William could only claim Cherokee blood, however, the children were both Cherokee and Chickasaw. William's application did not present any problems for the commission. He was listed on the tribal roll of 1880 as well as the Cherokee census of 1896. His quick approval was evident by his Dawes number of 101, on Cherokee Nation card 26. Lottie and the children's status was, however, a different story.

William and Lottie were married in Chickasaw Territory sometime after the Civil War, between 1865 and 1868. Marriage papers cannot be found; however, records indicate William fought for General Stand Watie during the war and moved to join his mother after the Cherokee surrendered. William stated during his Dawes Commission

[9] Angie Debo, *The History of the Indians in the United States* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 308.

[10] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 34.

deposition in May 1902 that he moved back into Cherokee territory with his wife in 1868.[11] All indications point to the family reintegrating back into Cherokee life, and there is no indication that Lottie pursued her Chickasaw heritage once they moved north. Lottie was listed on the 1880 Roll of the Cherokee Nation and received the Cherokee Strip payment in 1894. Their children were also listed on the 1880 Roll. William claimed that the entire family, including Lottie, was recognized as citizens of the Cherokee Nation after 1868.[12] This would become a problem as the commission negotiated with the Cherokee and Chickasaw tribes to establish the legal bloodline and residency of the family.

During her deposition, taken the same day as William's, Lottie claimed that she and the children had always been recognized as citizens of both nations.[13] The examiner, Harry C. Risteen, advised Lottie that Congress ruled, on 28 June 1898, that Indians with dual citizenship must choose which nation they would become a permanent member and resident. Lottie answered that she and the children chose the Chickasaw nation. The examiner then asked, "Do you relinquish for yourself and your minor children all right title and interest you may have in and to the property and tribal funds of the Cherokee tribe of Indians?" Lottie answered, "Yes sir. I relinquish my rights." Mr. Risteen asked if she made this declaration on behalf of her children also. Lottie answered, "Yes sir." William Sr., however, would retain his Cherokee citizenship. They appeared to have agreed that the rest of the family would forever be registered as Chickasaw. This was a

---

[11] Department of the Interior, *In the Matter of the Application for Enrollment as Citizens of the Chickasaw Nation of Lottie Vann, and Her Children, David Vann, Ellen Graves, Jim Vann, Georgia Lynch Vann, Lolo Vann and William Vann, and Her Grandchild, Arthur Vann, May 6th, 1902*, accessed 9 July 2012, http://www.fold3.com/image/63710925/.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Department of the Interior, *In the Matter of the Application of Lottie Vann for the Enrollment of Herself and Her Two Children, Lolo and William Vann, as Citizens by Blood of the Chickasaw Nation, May 6th, 1902,* accessed 9 July 2011, http://www.fold3.com/image/63710904/.

stark departure from the patrilineal culture the Vanns had lived under since James' decision in the late 1700s to step away from the Cherokee tradition of matrilineal descent. William's descendants would now be forever linked with Lottie's Chickasaw heritage. He would be the last recognized Cherokee in his line.

The Dawes Commission presented some Indians with a wrenching decision about their family's future. A review of the application reveals that William's answers changed over a period of four years. The records do not reveal why the family struggled over their tribal declaration. Likely this decision was made easier knowing that Lottie and the children would gain a larger allotment with the Chickasaw Nation than with the Cherokee. Short of new discoveries of journals or letters, it may prove impossible to know why the family vacillated during the half-decade process of negotiating citizenship. The decision to allow Lottie and the children to become permanent Chickasaw never changed. However, the evidence they produced did change from the beginning of the process to the end. During a sworn deposition taken 24 November 1898, William stated that Lottie had never been enrolled in the Cherokee nation.[14] However, during his sworn deposition on 6 May 1902, he claimed that she was on the Cherokee roll of 1880. This discrepancy may explain why the application took so long to be approved. The Vann's case became a legal argument and attorneys representing the family and the Chickasaw Nation battled over which nation Lottie and the children could claim.

The Chickasaw lawyers objected to Lottie's choice to leave the Cherokee tribe and claim her blood right. They were not denying her Chickasaw heritage; instead, they were arguing that her residency in the Cherokee nation made her ineligible to return to

[14] Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, *In the Matter of the Application of Lottie Vann, et al, for enrollment as Chickasaw Indians, 24 November 1898*, accessed 9 July 2011, http://www.fold3.com/image/63710998/.

her home tribe. Mr. W.B. Johnson, representing the Chickasaw, argued that the law was clear that no Indian could claim citizenship in a nation in which they did not reside. Mr. Potter, the Vann's lawyer, conceded that the family lived in Cherokee Territory, however that should not trump blood rights. Potter argued that the residency provision should be determined on a case-by-case basis, instead of using it as a blanket rule. He reasoned that Congress could not possibly have intended on denying any Indian already residing in Indian Territory their right of citizenship, regardless of what nation they were currently living in. He believed the stipulation was designed to prevent Indians from other US states from suddenly claiming citizenship to gain new land inside the I.T. in which they never lived. Potter argued:

> In construing any law we have got to look at the conditions that it was intended to meet, the remedy it was intended to afford. It is a fact of current knowledge that there were a class of people who were seeking to claim the benefit of citizenship in these nations without assuming the burdens, the actual burdens of citizenship, by living here. In other words, they were living beyond the limits of this Territory and seeking to claim the rights of citizenship. Congress aimed this provision of the law at that class of people, and it certainly never was intended to prevent a Chickasaw from registering as a Chickasaw because he happened to live in the Seminole country, or in the Creek country or Cherokee country.[15]

Potter went on to argue that Johnson's interpretation of the law made sense if someone living in Texas wanted to suddenly claim residency and citizenship in the Oklahoma Chickasaw tribe. He believed that more preference should be given to Indians lived inside the boundaries of the I.T. As long as an Indian met this requirement then living within a particular nation was moot. Mr. Johnson was not swayed. When asked if he had anything else to say about the subject, he responded, "No sir, I believe not. I think

[15] Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, *In the Matter of the Application of Lottie Vann, et al, for enrollment as Chickasaw Indians, 24 November 1898*, accessed 9 July 2011, http://www.fold3.com/image/63711005/.

the language is plain. It does not make any difference whether they live in Texas or the Cherokee Nation. The language is plain, and there can be no doubt of its meaning in my mind."

The argument over residency was pretty straightforward. The Vanns believed they were eligible because they lived within the I.T. The Chickasaws, on the other hand, rejected the argument outright. The deposition, however, took an interesting turn when Commission member, A. S. McKennon, asked if the children were on both rolls. William acknowledged that they were indeed registered in both tribes. However, he then added, "My wife never drawn [*sic*] any money in the Cherokee Nation." Lottie had received Cherokee Strip money in 1894, just four years before this meeting. William may have determined that admitting this payment would hurt Lottie's chance of gaining her permanent citizenship in the Chickasaw Nation.[16]

The Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes considered the arguments in 1898 and subsequent evidence produced in 1902 to reach their decision of Lottie Vann's application. At a meeting, held in Muskogee on 25 February 1903, the commission granted Lottie her request and ruled that she and the children would be registered under the Dawes Act as Chickasaw.[17]

It is interesting to note that the Vann family moved out of Cherokee territory in 1899 and settled Chickasaw Territory, in the town of Woodville. This move was designed to thwart the residency argument of the tribe. A ranch hand recounted that the move took about six week as William and Lottie moved a large herd of cattle and horses from

[16] Ibid.

[17] Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, *In the Matter of the Application for the enrollment of Lottie Vann, et al., as a Citizen by Blood of the Chickasaw Nation, 25 February 1903*, accessed 9 July 2011, http://www.fold3.com/image/63710993/.

Webbers Falls to their new home in Woodville. There were eight wagons in the train and William had a large stash of money hidden in a chest that he and Lottie rode in. There were many reports of robbery in the I.T. at this point, but William slept in the wagon every night and they were never robbed.[18] The move apparently worked. However, the decision still was not final.

Upon receiving word of the commission's decision, the Chickasaw Nation had fifteen days to appeal the judgment. There are no records indicating that the nation took advantage of this offer. Oddly, the hold up in final judgment came from the Cherokee Nation. Apparently, the Vanns submitted applications to both nations as insurance that Lottie and the children would be enrolled one way or the other before the commission ended its task. A flurry of letters were sent between the Choctaw – Chickasaw Enrollment Division and the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in 1904, trying to rectify the applications of the newly awarded Chickasaw citizens. William, Jr. and Lolo were indeed eligible to become citizens by blood in the Cherokee Nation. The Enrollment Division sought clarification from the Commission on what to do with the applications. A letter dated 11 March 1904 stated that Emmet Starr had appeared before the Commission on 30 June 1902, to attest to the Cherokee bloodline of Lolo and William, Jr. The Muskogee committee had determined that the problem should be forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior for final determination. Finally, on 12 July 1904, the Secretary made the decision that Lottie and the children were permanently enrolled as Chickasaws, and the applications for Cherokee citizenship were denied. Lottie was granted Dawes

[18] W. A. Arnold, "Interview with O.G. Anderson," unknown date, *Western Heritage Collection*, University of Oklahoma.

Roll # 4639, Lolo # 4641, and William, Jr. # 4642 on Chickasaw Roll Card #4672. The ordeal was finally over.

The Reconstruction treaties required the various tribes to grant citizenship to slaves owned by Indians. This citizenship was carried over into the Dawes period. Some of the Vann slaves stayed in Oklahoma after the war, making them eligible to claim "permanent" citizenship in the Cherokee Nation during the allotment process. Florence Vann, slave to Rich Joe, and later his son Joe, Jr., successfully registered her husband and children under the Dawes process in 1903 and 1905.[19] Betty Robinson also registered as a Cherokee Freedman in 1904.[20]

The Vann family was granted land in the Chickasaw Territory in the vicinity of Woodville. Lottie's allotment was along the north bank of the Red River with Lolo and William's allotments situated along the top of her boundary, moving north into Woodville. The family had a home within the incorporated boundaries of Woodville, as well as a farm on their allotted land. William and Lottie's children would live on their allotted land until 1944, when Oklahoma voted to flood the land from Woodville south to the Red River to create Lake Texoma. The Dawes debacle and subsequent legislation to flood his allotted land drove William Jr. to reject his Indian heritage and raise his children as white. William Jr. chose the route of many Indians in Oklahoma. Identifying with their Indian roots presented more trouble than many felt it was worth. It took five decades before William Jr.'s offspring would seek to reestablish connection with their Chickasaw heritage. The federal government attempted to mend the distrust with the tribes by

[19] T. Lindsay Baker and Julie P. Baker, *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 303.

[20] Ibid., 358.

allowing them to reassert their sovereignty in 1934 through the Indian Reorganization Act. The reemergence of a strong Chickasaw Nation convinced many wayward members to come home to the Tribe.

Conclusion

The plight of American Indians is well documented. Native history, however, is far from complete as new scholarship pursues their story from the vantage point of women, slaves, and men who lived through the deception of acculturation. The Vann story is familiar to many families who lived through similar experiences as America spread its reach south and west during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. British, French, Spanish, and ultimately United States laws and treaties made the indigenous life difficult to maintain as so many cultures attempted to dominate and shape Indian culture. Whether traditional or progressive, the American native population found itself the target of politicians, religious leaders, and greedy land prospectors. Tribal degradation and the Indians' near extinction bears witness to centuries of abuse from their powerful foes from Europe.

James Vann's attempt to harness the power of his Scottish and Cherokee heritages provided a successful, though short-lived life. When James died, in 1809, at the age of forty-three, he was in the midst of his well planned and expanding fortune. He sought more avenues of wealth as evident by his successful service business to travellers along the Old Federal Road that cut through his north Georgia estate. He had truly transformed the land and fledgling enterprises left by his father, who he died in 1800. His mother, Wah-Li, lived on the 800-acre plantation in her own house after the passing of her husband. James, however, had established himself as the master of the operation. There are no indications that Wah-Li ever attempted to control the land or business after John Joseph died. We will probably never know if her quiet existence in the background was of her own choosing or the result of the strong-willed son's decision to turn the corner

away from traditional Cherokee clan relations to the European-styled patrilineal family schema. Either way, his actions would change the family and take them straight into the heart of two conflicts; loyalty to tribe and victim of country.

James was spared the soon-coming onslaught of state and federal desires upon his land. Only twenty-five years separated his death and the violent loss of Diamond Hill. Just prior to his assassination, he was basking in the victory of negotiating the path of the federal road through his property, which ushered a new business of hospitality for white travellers, providing food, drink, and lodging. Little did he anticipate that they very road that brought him new prosperity would also be the path the government would lead his people out on during the infamous Trail of Tears. President Andrew Jackson's removal policy would rob James' offspring of the land he turned into a commercial empire. Desperately needed farmland and the discovery of gold would seal the Cherokee's fate east of the Mississippi River beginning in 1835. The lure of a permanent homeland in the west motivated Major Ridge, Stand Watie, Elias Boudinot, and many other progressive Cherokee to sign the Treaty of New Echota (1835); the land deal that opened the way for the massive Indian relocation that followed shortly thereafter. A shocking act of economic imperialism separated man from land, leaving many dead along the journey to their new home in the Indian Territory.

Equally stunning is the precedent the Removal Act of 1830 established. The federal government now knew they could overwhelm the Indian population at will, establishing forced treaties and abandoning the same as they saw fit. The relocated tribes did experience twenty-five years of relative peace in their new homelands. Border adjustments had to be made in the beginning to accommodate newcomers moved into the

I.T., but for the most part the tribes were left to begin their new life. The Cherokee did experience a short civil war between the Ross and Treaty parties over the devastating effects of the Treaty of New Echota. These tensions, however, were eventually relieved while towns and fortunes were built. Rich Joe Vann, son of James and victim of the violent takeover of Diamond Hill, quickly established his new commercial interests; which were mainly farming, riverboat transport, and horse racing. The wealth of the family was concentrated in his hands following James' death. This would change in 1844 when his ship, the Lucy Walker, exploded on the Ohio River, shortly after departing from Louisville, Kentucky. Everything he owned was split between his two families; and the empire was now splintered. Twenty years later this fragmented empire would burn under the angry hand of the Union Army during the Civil War.

The War Between the States added a new dimension to the Indian plight. The Cherokee were split over loyalty to the Confederacy and a policy of neutrality. Principal Chief John Ross believed the Civil War was a white man's fight and should remain so. Stand Watie, under the watchful eye of Confederate recruiter Albert Pike, believed otherwise. The wounds of the short-lived Cherokee civil war were suddenly reopened, which once again dividing Indian brother from Indian brother. Officially, the tribe became an armed agent of the Confederate States of America, although this was in no way representative of the tribe as a whole. Support for the southern fight rested mostly with slave-owning Indians, including the expanding Vann family. This decision would prove catastrophic for the Cherokee Nation. Cherokee territory all but disappeared when the CSA lost the war. The tribe's claim to the fertile northeast swath of Indian Territory

shattered under federal decree when all Indian treaties were nullified at the end of the war.

It is tempting to believe that had the tribe remained neutral they would have been spared the devastating loss of sovereignty beginning in the late-1880s. This, however, would not explain the government's action against tribes that did remained neutral or even fought on the Union side of the conflict. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 and the Curtis Act of 1898 once again proved that the government was willing to place Indian welfare aside to appease the growing hunger for land and resources. Regardless of how a tribe participated in the Civil War, or even if it avoided fighting altogether, the federal government flexed the same muscle that powered the removal policy over fifty years earlier. Historians could argue, quite successfully, that the Cherokee brought these actions upon themselves by siding with the CSA. This argument, however, would be shallow after considering the time that had pass following the war. The Dawes and Curtis Acts were calculated laws designed to resolve the "Indian problem" once and for all. In other words, separate the Indian from their communal land and you separate him from the Tribe. Separate the Indian from the Tribe and you now force his hand to finally acculturate into the acceptable norms of American life: private property ownership and loyalty only to the federal government, and later the state of Oklahoma.

The Civil War was a mere scapegoat for a broader policy for the federal government to legally gain Indian Territory for further national expansion. The Vann family was split apart by these actions. Some of the family during the Dawes Commission enrollment period registered as Cherokee by blood, while others followed blended blood, by marriage, into the Chickasaw Nation. William Vann, Cherokee sheriff,

councilman, and grandson of Rich Joe, followed the latter path for his family. He was still a blood relative to his Cherokee family, but his children were separated by land and tribal affiliation. The Vann family now walked two separate paths, Cherokee and Chickasaw. This division continues to exist today. The family members that remained Cherokee are all but unaware of the family within the Chickasaw nation. Some family reunions have brought passing meetings, but only names are remembered. Today's Vanns are either Cherokee or Chickasaw, an artificial boundary that has seemingly separated the old clan.

In many ways, the Vann family's experience represents all that was wrong with the many federal policies toward the Indian nations. James built an empire through his cooperation with White traders and politicians in Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. He brought Christian education onto his land so that the children in north Georgia and southern Tennessee could be successful in the rapidly changing environment of the new United States. He opened his land to development that favored US expansion and became a mediator between White settlers and encroached-upon Indians. His commercial enterprises benefitted Indian and White alike, and yet the removal policy violently severed his lineage from their land. He used African slave labor, like colonists and early republic farmers, and still he was seen as simply Indian, unworthy of protection or land. He transitioned his family to the European's traditional patrilineal family paradigm, to the detriment of the women in the clan. James and his son Joseph were just like any other successful White Georgian farmer or businessman, except for the Cherokee blood running through their veins. It was the blood that changed everything.

This research highlighted the many ways Cherokee men and women adapted to the influx of European settlers. Progressive Cherokee families sought out ways to trade with Whites, expecting to be equals. Yet the growing nation found itself intolerant of the Native population standing in its way imperial domination. The Vann family is a perfect example that no amount of acculturation could save them from the American appetite for land and resources located within traditional Indian territories. Federal policies were not tailored for the benefit of American Indians. Some may have provided temporary relief; however, the government's eye was always focused on the ultimate prize of ridding the land of Indians. Promises were broken and any misstep by the Indians would quickly be used against them. Americans ruthlessly pursued policies to dominate and defeat the Indians, and no amount of acculturation could save them. As long as Natives were on valuable land, the federal government would spare no expense to move or exterminate the offending tribes. Any attempt to coexist with white America was useless in the face of persistent bigoted policies.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adair, James, and Samuel Cole Williams. *Adair's History of the American Indians, Edited Under the Auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, in Tennessee.* Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1930.

Baker, T. Lindsay and Julie P. Baker. *The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. *In the Matter of the Application of Lottie Vann, et al, for enrollment as Chickasaw Indians, 24 November 1898.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1898.

Confederate States of America. "2 Cherokee Mounted Volunteers Muster Roll, 30 June 1863," *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations Raised Directly by the Confederate Government*, < www.footnote.com/ image/161660727 >; Internet; Accessed 11 June 2011.

_____. "Untitled Personnel Sheet," *Fold3 – Historical Military Records*, http://www.fold3.com/image/#75435083, accessed 10 November 2012.

Department of the Interior. Examination by the Commission, November 24, 1896. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1896.

Department of the Interior. *Examination by the Commission, 6 May, 1902*. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1902.

Department of the Interior. *In the Matter of the Application for Enrollment as Citizens of the Chickasaw Nation of Lottie Vann, and Her Children, David Vann, Ellen Graves, Jim Vann, Georgia Lynch Vann, Lolo Vann and William Vann, and Her Grandchild, Arthur Vann, May 6th, 1902.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1902.

Department of the Interior. *In the Matter of the Application of Lottie Vann for the Enrollment of Herself and Her Two Children, Lolo and William Vann, as Citizens by Blood of the Chickasaw Nation, May 6th, 1902.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1902.

Department of the Interior. *Letter to the Choctaw-Chickasaw Enrollment Division, 28 November1903.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1903.

Department of the Interior. *Letter to the Cherokee Enrollment Division, 2 December 1903.* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma History Center, 1902.

Edwards, Whit. *The Prairie was on Fire: Eye Witness Accounts of the Civil War in the Indian Territory*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 2001.

Fitzpatrick, John Clement, and David Maydole Matteson. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, Vol. 35.* Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1931.

Ford, Worthington Chauncey. *The Writings of George Washington Vol. II, 1758-1775*. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1889.

Gilmore, James R. *The Rear-Guard of the Revolution*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1886.

Haywood, John. *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee: Up to the First SettlementTherein by the White People in the Year 1768*. Nashville: George Wilson, 1823.

Hunt, Gaillard, ed. *The Writings of James Madison, Volume II, 1783-1787*. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1901.

Kingston, Oklahoma. Gordon Vann Collection

McClinton, Rowena, ed. *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume 1, 1805-1813*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

Mooney, James. Historical Sketch of the Cherokee, 2nd ed., New Brunswick: AldineTransaction, 2006.

Moulton, Gary E., ed. *The Papers of Chief John Ross, Volume II 1840-1866*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy, 2nd ed.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Robinson, Ella Coody. Interview by Ella Robinson, May 6, 1938, Western Heritage Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Scales, Joseph Albert. Interview by L.W. Wilson, date unknown, Western Heritage Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Vann, R.P. "Statement by R.P. Vann," *Judy Lewis Personal Collection*, Owasso Oklahoma.

Vann, Sma. Interview by James R. Carselowey, May 26, 1937, Western Heritage Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Willison, Mary Mackey. Interview by Effie S. Jackson, September 30, 1937, Western Heritage Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Cherokee Documents/Archives

James Vann Will, Springplace, Vertical Files, Cherokee Indians, Vann, 1809, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Treaties

"Treaty with the Cherokee, 1835. Dec. 29, 1835. 7 Stat., 478. Proclamation, May 23, 1836." In Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II Treaties, edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: GPO, 1904.

Government Documents

U.S. Congress. *An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians of the Various Reservations*, U.S., December 6, 1886, 24 Stats., 388-91.

U.S. Congress. *The Curtis Act*, June 28, 1898. 55th Congress, 2nd Session., 1898.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. *United States Constitution*. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html

Court Documents

United States ex rel Mackey v. Cox, 59 U.S. 100, 18 How. 100, 15 L.Ed. 299 (1855); available from http://www.utulsa.edu/law/classes/rice/ussct_cases/US_ex_rel_Mackey_v_Coxe_1855.HTM.

Newspapers

The Columbia Democrat, 1844.

Daily Oklahoman,1911.

New York Daily Tribune, 1944.

The Paducah Sun, 1903.

Sunbury American and Shamokin Journal, 1844.

Secondary Sources

Books and Articles

Abel, Annie Heloise. *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy, 1863-1866*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1925.

_____. *The American Indian in the Civil War, 1862-1865*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1919.

_____. *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919.

_____. *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915.

_____. *The American Indian under Reconstruction*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1925.

_____. *The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*. New York: AMS Press, 1908.

Allsopp, Fred W. *Albert Pike: A Biography*. Little Rock: Parke Harper Company, 1928.

Anderson, Mabel Washbourne. *The Life of General Stand Watie: The Only Indian Brigadier General of the Confederate Army and the Last General to Surrender*. Pryor, OK: Mrs. Mabel W. Anderson, 1931.

Anderson, William L. and James Allen Lewis, *A Guide to Cherokee Documents in Foreign Archives*. London: The Scarecrow Press, 1983.

Conley, Robert J. *The Cherokee Nation: A History.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2008.

Conley, Robert J. *The White Path.* New York: Doubleday, 1993.

Cunningham, Frank. *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Dale, Edward Everett, and Gaston Litton. *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.

Dale, Edward Everett and Morris L. Wardell. *History of Oklahoma*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948.

Debo, Angie. *And Still the Waters Run.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940.

_____. *History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

Denson, Andrew. "Remembering Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* 14 (Winter 2008): 85-101.

Eppel, Jess C. *Battle of Cabin Creek, September 18, 19, 1864: Called 2nd Battle of Cabin Creek, Indian Territory*. Muskogee: Hoffman Printing Company, 1964.

Fischer, LeRoy H. *The Civil War Era in Indian Territory*. Los Angeles: L.L. Morrison, 1974.

Fischer, LeRoy H. and Jerry Gill. *Confederate Indian Forces Outside of Indian Territory.* Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1969.

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. *Indians Abroad: 1493-1938*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1943.

Foreman, Grant. *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933.

_____. *A History of Oklahoma*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942.

_____. *The Five Civilized Tribes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

_____. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.

_____. "Reminiscences of Mr. R.P. Vann, East of Webbers Falls, Oklahoma. September 28, 1932." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11 (June 1933): 838-844.

Franks, Kenny A. *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation*. Memphis: Memphis State University, 1979.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. *George Washington A Biography, Vol. 6 Patriot and President*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954.

Gaines, W. Craig. *The Confederate Cherokee: John Drew's Regiment of Mounted Rifles*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

Hicks, Brian. *Toward the Setting Sun: John Ross, the Cherokees, and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2011.

Hudson, Charles. "James Adair as Anthropologist," *Ethnohistory* 24, no.4 (Autumn, 1977): 311-328.

Ishii, Izumi. "Alcohol and Politics in the Cherokee Nation before Removal," *Ethnohistory* 50:4 (Fall 2003). http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid= aaf71be0-9cae-40e2-8ad83c6e24e19b6f%40sessionmgr112&vid=2&hid=122

Ishii, Izumi. *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol and the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Justice, Daniel Heath. *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Knight, Wilfred. *Red Fox: Stand Watie and the Confederate Indian Nations during the Civil War Years in Indian Territory*. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1988.

Lloyd, Lela Latch. *If The Chief Vann House Could Speak.* Abilene: Quality Printing Co., 1980.

Malone, Henry Thompson. *Cherokees of the Old South, A People in Transition.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956.

McFadden, Marguerite. "The Saga of 'Rich Joe' Vann," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 61 (Spring 1983): 68-79.

McLoughlin, William G. *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

_____. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

_____. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

_____. "Thomas Jefferson and the Beginning of Cherokee Nationalism, 1806 to 1809." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 32 (October 1975): 547-580.

McLoughlin, William G. and Walter H. Conser, Jr. "The Cherokee in Transition: A Statistical Analysis of the Federal Cherokee Census of 1835." *The Journal of American History* 64 (December 1977): 678-703.

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford Press, 1988.

Miles, Tiya. "'Circular Reasoning': Recentering Cherokee Women in the Antiremoval Campaigns." *American Quarterly* 61 (June 2009): 221-243.

_____. *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Miles, Tiya, and Sharon Patricia Holland. *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Miller, Linda Mayes. "Webbers Falls," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/W/WE007.html>; Internet; Assessed 24 October 2011.

Mooney, James. *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee*, 2nd ed., New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006.

Naylor, Celia E. *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Outram, Dorinda. "The Essence of Mission: Conversion and the Child-Like Heart on the Georgia Frontier." *Reviews in American History* 38 (September 2010): 455-461.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

_____. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society. 1540-1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy. 2nd ed.* Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Reed, Marcelina. *Seven Clans of the Cherokee Society*. Cherokee, NC: Cherokee Publications, 1993.

Reese, Linda W. "Cherokee Freedwomen in the Indian Territory, 1863-1890." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 33 (Autumn 2002): 273-296.

Ross, Allen. "The Murder of Elias Boudinot, " *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v012/v012p019.html.

Saunt, Claudio. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Shirley, Glenn. *Belle Starr and Her Times: The Literature, the Facts, and the Legends*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.

Spencer, John D. *The American Civil War in the Indian Territory*. New York: Osprey Publishing, 2006.

Stremlau, Rose. *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Thoburn, Joseph B. *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of Its Development*. Chicago: The American History Society, 1916.

Wardell, Morris L. *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.

Weaver, J.F. *Gen. Stand Watie: An Act in His Early Career that Showed the Stuff of Which He was Made*. Thoburn Collection, box 36, file 8, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Wheeler, John F. *Death of General Watie: A Brief History—His Life—His Connections—The Boudinot and Ridges Families—Events of His Latter Days*. Thoburn Collection, box 36, file 8, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Wilkins, Thurman. *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People.* New York: MacMillan Co., 1970.

Wishart, David M. "Evidence of Surplus Production in the Cherokee Nation Prior to Removal." *The Journal of Economic History* 55 (March 1995): 120-138.

Woodward, Grace Steele. *The Cherokees*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Wright, Muriel H. *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation*. Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Co., 1940.

Wunder, John R. "Native American History, Ethnohistory, and Context." *Ethnohistory* 54 (Fall 2007): 591-604.

Yarbrough, Fay. "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Social History* (2004): 385-406.

_____. *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Young, Mary. "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic." *American Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1981): 502-524.

Websites

Armstrong, Kerry M. "Descendants of James Logan Colbert: Forth Generation," *Chickasaw Historical Research Page*, unknown date, <http://www.chickasawhistory.com/ colbert/i0001081.htm#1081 > (1 January 2011).

Blackburn, Bob L. "Foreman, Grant (1869-1953)," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/F/FO020.html, (accessed November 28, 2012).

Blount, William. *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 – 1875*. http://memory.loc.gov/.

Cherokee Heritage Documentation Center. *Moytoy – Generation 3*, http://cherokeeregistry.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=151&Itemid=228.

Cherokee Nation. "Sequoyah and the Cherokee Syllabary," *The Official Site of the Cherokee Nation*, Accessed 17 November 2012, http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/Facts/24483/Information.aspx.

Cherokee Nation. "Treaty of Tellico," *About the Nation*, accessed 20 July 2012, http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/Facts/24472/Information.aspx.

Chickasaw Nation. "Language," *The Official Site of the Chickasaw Nation,* accessed 17 November 2012, http://www.chickasaw.net/history_culture/index_644.htm.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. "Allotment," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, unknown date, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/a/al011.html.

Miller, Linda Mayes. "Webbers Falls," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, unknown date, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/W/WE007.html.

Oklahoma Historical Society. "Civil War Refugees," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/ entries/C/CI013.html.

Oklahoma State University. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*. http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/.

Ownby, Ted and Davis Wharton. "Development of a Historical Context for the Federal Road in North Georgia," *Georgia Department of Transportation,* 2007, available from http://www.dot.state.ga.us/travelingingeorgia/FederalRoads/Documents/Phase%20I%20Final%20Report%20Word%20III.pdf.

State of Georgia. *Chief Vann House Historical Site*, accessed 2 July 2012, http://www.gastateparks.org/ChiefVannHouse/.

Willison, Mary Mackey. "Interview with Effie S. Jackson." By Mary Mackey Willison. *Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK*. http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/papers/7716%20Willison.pdf .

Wilson, Linda D. "Carolyn Thomas Foreman (1872-1967)," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/F/FO019.html.