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# *Southern Indian Studies*

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# WAR AND THE EASTERN CHEROKEE<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM W. WOOD, JR.

The organization of the Cherokees at the beginning of the historic period was very loose. The nation would have held the balance of power between English, Spanish, and French in the South during colonial days had not that been the case. "We frequently find their kingdom divided against itself," Mooney states.<sup>2</sup> Their homes were more scattered than those of other Indian tribes, and the Cherokee culture emphasized the importance of the individual.<sup>3</sup>

The war organization was likewise loose and dependent upon the individual. When the Red Chief wanted war, he took only those who volunteered because they favored going to war. There was no law to make warriors go to war. The war parties resulting were small by White standards—one numbering 165 warriors was considered exceedingly large. Nevertheless continual warfare was waged with other Indian tribes, and the prestige gained by exploits in war was great. Warriors sat with the Micco (or White Chief) and the counsellors in the daily public square meetings, taking care of complaints. Titles were given to men and to women who distinguished themselves in war. Women were often famous in war and powerful in council.

High though the war prestige was, yet it was not the highest. Timberlake said, ". . . Policy and art are the greatest steps to power."<sup>4</sup> Bartram said that the Micco, if on the warpath, was the leader even above the Red Chief who was the normal war leader.<sup>5</sup>

In declaration of war, entrance into war, conduct of war, return from war, and making of peace ceremonies and forms played a large part. The eagle tail, the divining crystal, the deer tongue (burnt for divination), war paint, the ark (carried by the war party), the river (for plunging into), and many other objects were used in these cere-

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1. This article is condensed from a study called "The Eastern Cherokee Veteran of World War II." The study was made in the fall and winter of 1949-50. It attempted to answer the question: what were the effects produced by World War II upon the Eastern Cherokee veteran?

2. Mooney, 1900, p. 15.

3. Gilbert, 1943, pp. 139-195.

4. Timberlake, 1927, pp. 93-95.

5. Bartram, 1940, p. 390.

monies.<sup>6</sup> Personnel was selected to carry on divination and conjuring for the war party. There were special ceremonies for preparation of warriors going to war and for purification of them after they returned. There was divination concerning peace after war. There was a farewell song to wives and children enjoining them not to mourn, and it was tradition to leave a challenge club in enemy country and to mark victories near the battle site. Scalps were taken as trophies.

War was for the purpose of revenging the blood of Cherokees slain. It was for the purpose of comforting mourners whose friends had not been revenged. Warriors who were killed expected vengeance by their friends. Adair writes of the Cherokee as bloody in revenge, and merciless to enemies.<sup>7</sup> Timberlake calls the people implacable and ruthless to their enemies.

There are other statements about the characteristics of this people. Timberlake notes their hardiness, their pride, their excesses in eating and drinking on occasion, their gentleness to friends, their imitableness, and their ingenuity.<sup>8</sup> He also notes the lack of animosity between rival leaders. There was a celebration at which old wrongs were reconciled. This shows a recognition of the need to forgive. Bartram calls the people grave, steady, dignified, circumspect; slow and reserved in speech, frank, cheerful, humane, tenacious of liberties, secret, deliberate and determined in council, honest, just, and ready to sacrifice to defend territory or rights.<sup>9</sup>

When we consider the above we can see that, though the Cherokee were probably good fighters, yet the nation was not organized for sustained and large-scale war as conducted by the white men. The fact that they used the bow and arrow as well as the gun shows this. They were dependent upon white men for their guns and ammunition. They nevertheless fought fiercely and ruthlessly against the white men on the frontier. They were defeated terribly, and the white man's ferocity caused them later to fear him greatly.

In spite of the unfavorable war experiences of the past, but true to the idea of high honor in war, nearly 400 Eastern Cherokees entered the Confederate forces in the Civil War and a few joined the Union forces. The Confederate Cherokees were said by one writer to

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6. Timberlake, 1927, pp. 59, 103; Adair, 1930, pp. 168-171; Mooney and Albrechts, 1932, pp. 90-91; Gilbert, 1943, pp. 82-83, 350-355.

7. Adair, 1930, pp. 239-266.

8. Timberlake, 1927, pp. 78-109.

9. Bartram, 1940, pp. 380-381.

have been the last Southern troops to surrender east of the Mississippi.<sup>10</sup> It was during the Civil War that Mooney "noted one instance of scalping and the recrudescence of the aboriginal war complex." In the writer's interviews one informant spoke of the last Eastern Cherokee war dance being held at Sylva, North Carolina, under the Southern General Morgan in the Civil War. This was a real war dance of the old kind. He also spoke of the Indians (Cherokees) scalping Yankees in Tennessee and being feared for that. This revival of the old pattern, along with the evidence of a greater conservatism than is normal for the Cherokees, poses this question: was an old war pattern revived during World War II?

The effect of the Civil War upon the Eastern Cherokee is shown in the report for 1875 by the agent W. C. McCarthy. He states, "Previous to the late Civil War they were prospering to a certain extent. But the war, which paralyzed the energies and exhausted the resources of this, in common with other sections of the South, was peculiarly destructive to them.

"Agriculture almost entirely ceased. . . . Soldiers brought small pox. . . ."

The Cherokees participated in other wars besides the frontier wars and the Civil War. Owl states, ". . . they sent six braves to fight for the United States against the Mexicans; they sent 60 able-bodied men against the Germans in 1918. . . ."<sup>11</sup> An informant said that one Cherokee was killed in World War I.

Then came World War II with its tremendous demand for man power. Cherokees were drafted and enlisted voluntarily just as other Americans did. Individuals were assigned to nearly every type of outfit and job. Ranks attained ranged from private to captain, but there was some indication that many Cherokees did not wish the higher ratings. The varied assignments took these men to nearly every area of the world in which fighting took place and to every section of the United States.

It is easy to see that there was exposure to nearly every influence in the world, and this applies not only to mechanical apparatus and technical method but to climate, topography, vegetable life, animal life, and cultural ways.

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10. Stringfield, 1946.

11. Owl, 1929, p. 174.

This service was not without its price in lives lost; of approximately 335 men in service, 16 were killed in action and three more died in the United States. That is a high proportion of both the total Eastern Cherokee tribe and of the Eastern Cherokee servicemen. Below is a comparison of percentages for the U.S.A. as a whole and for the Eastern Cherokees:

	U.S.A.	Cherokee
The percentage of total population which was in service	11.00	9.30
The percentage of the total population killed in battle	.20	.42
The percentage killed in battle of the total number in service	1.84	4.46
The percentage killed in battle from Cherokee having at least $\frac{3}{4}$ Indian blood	—	7.30

World War II was a terrific experience for the Eastern Cherokee veteran. He left the reservation with little experience of the world outside the reservation and the nearby mountain areas. He was in most cases used to a meager livelihood and an uncertain future. Usually he was not well-educated. He went into service, handled strange equipment, met individuals of various backgrounds, acted in large groups, experienced discipline, lived in economic security, moved from place to place, fought, endured hardship, and perhaps was killed. Or he made a good record and returned home gladly.

What seems to have impressed him was the economic security; the order of discipline; the associations with other servicemen; the strange topographies, climate, vegetation, animal life, and cultural ways; and the generally educational aspects of military life. Some evidence indicates that combat impressed him unfavorably and that he desires to forget about it.

When the Cherokee serviceman returned home he was received with gladness, honor, and tolerance of conduct and new ideas. His first reaction was to give vent to his feelings in a readjustment period. This period receded soon as most veterans went to work or took vocation or farm training under the G. I. Bill of Rights. It may have appeared that the veterans had readjusted to the old way of life and

would be satisfied with it; however, successful though the adjustment was (or seemed), it is felt to be only temporary, and restlessness never has disappeared among these men.

The men are changed in several ways. Those who used English poorly improved their usage. They are more interested in group activities and in education for their children. They are neater and probably have fewer of the traditional Cherokee ways. They are more cooperative and helpful, more self-willed, more self-assured, and less shy. They mingle more easily with other people within and without their own groups. Their viewpoints were broadened considerably. Religious interest has increased among veterans, but this is equally true among Cherokees. The effect of service discipline may reveal itself in an increased desire for orderliness and direction in every phase of life. Increased neatness is one visible result at present. These changes have taken place at the same time that the veterans learned more about the character and actions of people other than the Cherokees and the local mountaineers. Along with those characteristics which help an individual in social contacts, there seems to have been implanted in the Indian a germ of initiative for solving his own problems.

In some ways the veterans seem unchanged from before the war service. Their ability to spend money for goods worthwhile according to the American economic concept grew only slightly. In the case of the nearly full blooded Cherokees, very little improvement has been made in the material standard of living. The dissatisfaction with reservation life remained or more probably increased in intensity. The ability to work varied with the individual, but generally seems to have remained about as it was before the service.

There is no evidence of revival of overt aspect of the aboriginal war complex except for divination concerning the war and certain servicemen. There was, however, a resemblance between the ancient war prestige and the high honor accorded the World War II veterans by people at home.<sup>12</sup> Also both adaptability and wholeheartedness were shown in service; this is in ancient tradition. There is no reason to believe that ruthlessness was characteristic of the World War II servicemen, however.

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12. Adair and Vogt, 1949.

Though there were other important effects produced by the war upon the Cherokee servicemen, yet I believe the most important one was in the sphere of human relations. Before the war the usual Cherokee must have looked upon himself as if he were a small factor operating in a world which was only the Cherokee reservation. He felt that if he took an inoffensive role of small responsibility he was doing what was required of him. Problems outside the small ones of home and friends were not for his consideration. Perhaps he thought of his abilities and inclinations as being of another order than those required for community and tribal action today.

When the Cherokee found himself involved as a serviceman in World War II he became a factor in a large world. He was a small one, but other men were also. He understood that the problems of other men were similar to his own. He was able to do his part as a man and even to assume leadership. He found that aggressive action upon problems was rewarding. Likewise he found that cooperative responsibility for one another within a military organization was rewarding to the group and to him. Upon returning to Cherokee he wanted to isolate himself again from responsibility, but he was no longer content to be an unimportant factor, and he was dissatisfied with results being obtained by those in responsibility. Now the responsible man seemed just another man doing what the Cherokee veteran might do—somewhat better or somewhat worse.

At the time of this study a large number of Eastern Cherokee people live in abject poverty, and no answer to the problem of unemployment is in sight. The Federal Government provides roads, schools, and hospitals, but no money; and the reservation land is nowhere near sufficient to provide for the rapidly increasing population. The tribe governs itself locally, but is hindered by lack of unity among the people, by an antiquated constitution, and by the ponderous character of Federal authority. Future life on the reservation is uncertain. The problems to be solved in the future are numerous, great, and interlocked.

The effect of World War II should be to render the tribe more able to solve their problems. One Cherokee said, "I believe that *now* more than ever, more Indians (veterans as well as others) are beginning to realize that the problem is theirs to work out."

If the maze of problems is perceived as theirs, the veterans have probably developed their initiative sufficiently for leadership to rise

among them. Their increased cooperativeness should produce more unity, and their new breadth of view should bring more wisdom to solution. What will actually happen, of course, only time can tell.

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# NUNUNYI, THE KITUHWAS, OR MOUNTAIN INDIANS AND THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

HIRAM C. WILBURN

During the Colonial period of American history the British Government made every effort to maintain friendly relations with the Southern Indians. This was necessary to hold the frontier against the Spaniards pushing up from Florida and the French pressing in along the Mississippi and its eastern tributaries. The Cherokee Indians held a key position in the consequent international struggle for American soil and so were a special object of British intrigue.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Britain doubled her efforts to maintain relationships with the Cherokees. She supplied weapons and incited them to make all possible trouble on the Southern frontier. This the Indians proceeded to do in a most ruthless manner. Aroused by this action of the Cherokees the four Southern Colonies, Virginia North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, after having been authorized and encouraged by Congress, moved simultaneously and cooperatively against their common enemy, with a determination to punish them to such an extent that they would be unable to make further trouble.

General Griffith Rutherford, after having been commissioned General of the Salisbury District, was authorized by the Security Council to enlist as many men as he thought necessary for the enterprise. He, therefore, immediately raised a force of 2,400 North Carolinians, and crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoah Gap on September 1, 1776, with orders and a determination to cooperate with the forces from the other three states in complete devastation of the Cherokee nation in all settlements, the Lower Towns, Middle Towns, Valley Towns and Overhills. The thoroughness with which he and the other commanders carried out their orders is a matter well known in history.<sup>1</sup> The details of this destructive expedition, and its bearing on the immediate Cherokee vicinity are the subject of this paper.

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1. Mooney, 1900, pp. 48-52.

## NUNUNYI

The old town, Nununyi, seems to have been very well known in the 18th Century; and was evidently a settlement of some importance mentioned by several of the early writers. Its site is marked by a mound of considerable size. It was one of the towns of that group frequently referred to as the "Upper Towns." James Mooney, describes it as: "(NUNUNYI: wild potato place, from nuna, 'wild potato') . . . A former settlement, sometimes known as Potato Town, on the Oconaluftee river, near the present Cherokee Swain County, N. C. A large mound marks the site."<sup>2</sup>

William Bartram in his list of 43 Cherokee towns, all of which he states were inhabited at the time of his writing, May, 1776, includes Nununyi. His spelling, however is N-u-a-n-h-a.<sup>3</sup> Other known references are: Hunter's Map, spelled N-e-w-n-i; and Kitchen's map, also spelled N-e-w-n-i. In the early 1790's the Oconaluftee river was several times referred to in land grants as "Nunai" river, quite probably the White corruption for the word "Nununyi."<sup>4</sup>

The old mound that marks the site of Nununyi is just over one mile above Cherokee on the east side of the river, perhaps less than one hundred feet from its bank. The mound is located near the mid point of a large flat bottom of 60 to 75 acres. At the base of the hill about 800 feet east of the mound is the "clay pit" mentioned by Valentine at the time of his partial excavation of this mound in 1883.<sup>5</sup>

Along the banks of the Oconaluftee, for a distance of as much as seven miles above Nununyi, considerable Indian material, consisting of stone and steatite objects and clay potsherds, has been collected. The most prolific areas are the flat bottom lands about the mouth of Mingus creek, Toe String creek, Bradley Fork and Collins creek.

COLONEL WILLIAM MOORE'S REPORT<sup>6</sup>

Brigade General Rutherford:

Dear Sir,

. . . I enlisted my company of Light horse men, and entered them into service the 19th of October [1776]. From thence we prepared ourselves and

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2. Mooney, 1912, Part II, p. 98.

3. Bartram, 1928, p. 301.

4. Title Abstracts Book I, p. 588; Buncombe County Registry, Book IV, pp. 339-341.

5. Valentine Museum Catalog, p. 53.

6. Moore, 1888, p. 89-93.

marched the 29th same instant as far as Cathey's fort, where we joined Capt. Harden and Marched over the mountain to Swannanaoa. . . . We followed their tracks the next day as far as Scots place, which appeared as if they were pushing into the nation before us very fast and numerous. From Scots place we took a blind path which led us down to the Tuckysseige River through a very mountainous bad way. We continued our march very briskly in expectation of getting to the town of Too-Cowee [Stecoah] before night. But it lying at a greater distance than we expected, we were obliged to tie up our horses and lay by till next morning, when we found a ford and crossed the river, and then a very large mountain where we came upon a very plain path, very much used by the Indians driving in from the Middle Settlements to the aforesaid town [Stecoah]. We continued our march along the said path about two miles when we came in sight of the town, which lay very scattered; then we came to consultation to see which was the best method to attack it. But our small army consisting of but 97 men, we found we were not able to surround it, so we concentrated and rushed into the center of the town in order to surprise it. But the enemy being alarmed of our coming were all fled save two, who were trying to make their escape, sprung into the river, and we pursued to the bank, and as they were rising the bank on the other side we fired upon them and shot one of them down, and the other getting out of the reach of our shot, and making to the mountains, some of our men crossed the river on foot and pursued and some went to the ford and crossed on horses and headed him, killed and scalped him with the other. Then we returned into the town and found that they had moved all their valuable effects, save corn, pompions, beans, peas and other trifling things of which we found in abundance in every house. The town consisted of 25 houses, some of them of new erections and one curious Townhouse framed and ready for covering. We took what corn we stood in need of and what trifling plunder was to be got, and then set fire to the town. Then We concluded to follow the track of the Indians, which crossed the river and led us a direct north course. We continued our march about a mile, and there we perceived a great pillar of smoke rising out of the mountains, which we found rose out of the woods, being set on fire with a view, as we supposed, to blind their tracks that we could not pursue them; upon which Captain McFadden and myself took a small part of the men in order to make further discoveries, and left the main body behind upon a piece of advantageous ground until our return. We marched over a large mountain and came upon a very beautiful river which we had no knowledge of. We crossed the river and came immediately to Indian Camps which they had newly left; we went over a second mountain into a large cove upon south fork of said river where we found a great deal of sign, several camping places and fires burning very briskly. Night coming on we were obliged to return to our main body awhile before day. When day appeared we made ready and marched our men until the place we had been the night before. Our advance guard being forward, perceived two squaws and a lad who had come down the creek as far as we had been the night before, and when they perceived our tracks they were retreating to the camp from whence they came which was within three-fourths mile. The signal was given, then we pursued and captured them all three prisoners. Unfortunately our men shouted in the chase and fired a gun which alarm'd them at the camp and they made their escape into the mountains. The prisoners led us to the camp where we found abundance of plunder, of horses and other goods to the amount of 700 pounds. We took some horses belonging to the poor inhabitants of the frontier which we brought in and delivered to the owners. Our provisions falling short we were obliged to steer homeward. That night we lay upon a prodigious mountain where we had a

severe shock of an earthquake, which surprised our men very much. Then we steered our course about east and southeast two days through prodigious mountains which were almost impassable and struck the road in Richland Creek mountain. From thence we marched to Pidgeon river where we vandued off all our plunder. . . .

on the service of the United States

William Moore,

Nov. 7, 1776

### MAJOR JAMES WILSON'S LETTER <sup>7</sup>

Morganton, N. C.

Jan. 23, 1888.

Hon. Kemp P. Battle,

My Dear Sir,

. . . from Swannah their track was near the present location of the Western North Carolina Railroad, going up Hominy to Pigeon then up Pigeon to Richland, camping in a large cove, no doubt site of the present Sulphur Springs, then over the Balsams to Scott's Creek, called after this same Scott, crossing the Tuckaseegee by an old trail just below Webster, and over the Cowee mountain to Too-Cowee [Stecoah] which they destroyed. The town of Too-Cowee, in English, "Hogs' Lard," was situated on lands now belonging to the Hon. W. H. Thomas, for many years the senator from Jackson, and the Chief of the Cherokee tribe, who yet lives at an advanced age, an inmate of the Western Insane Assylum. During one of his lucid intervals he gave me much information. He says the peculiar Council House described was on the exact ground now occupied by his residence. When his cellar was being dug, an old Indian informed him that their chiefs were buried there, and sure enough, their bones with arrow-heads, pottery, &c. were dug up. He also told me that an Indian, endeavoring to escape from the burning town, was shot in the ford of the river opposite his house, fully agreeing with the letter [Col. Moore's] which he had never seen. After leaving Too-Cowee [Stecoah] they recrossed the Tuckaseegee and marched to the next town, now the home of Chief Smith, and known as Qualla. The new river described was, without doubt, the Ocona Luffy. Their route home was up the Soco, and over the high mountains of Soco, Balsam and Richland, to the valley of Richland and the settlement.

Yours very truly,

Jas. W. Wilson

### INTERPRETATION OF THE MOORE ACCOUNT

Neither the name of the town, Nununyi, nor any of the others that were destroyed on the Oconaluftee river, was mentioned by Col. Moore, in his report; but interpretation of his account leads to the conclusion that he did visit it, and destroyed what he found there at the time of his expedition. And the official reports state that all the towns on the Tuckaseegee and Oconaluftee rivers were destroyed.

7. Wilson, 1888, p. 93-95.

The main body of Rutherford's army, after leaving the Richland creek area, had proceeded down Scott's creek, and crossed the Tuckaseegee (evidently September 7 or 8) at or near the present location of Webster, N. C.; thence southward (evidently up Savannah creek) across the Cowee mountains to the Middle Settlements on the upper Little Tennessee river, and to the Valley Towns on Valley river, in the vicinity of the present Andrews and Murphy, N. C. Mooney says that 36 towns in all were destroyed, including those on the Tuckaseegee and the Oconaluftee.<sup>8</sup>

There is lack of agreement among historical writers as to the order in which this very destructive campaign was carried out. But from a study of the reports of the participating officers and accounts given by Mooney,<sup>9</sup> by Swain,<sup>10</sup> and by T. Roosevelt,<sup>11</sup> it appears that the main body of Rutherford's army crossed the Blue Ridge September 1, completed its destructive work in that month, and returned and disbanded in October.

Moore's account states that he enlisted his men on October 19, 1776, and started his march on the 29th of the same month, both of which dates were after Rutherford's return.

There it seems probable that Rutherford must have failed to learn about and to destroy these towns on the Tuckaseegee and Oconaluftee. Hearing of them during or after his return, it seems likely that he may have ordered Col. Moore to enlist his company of men, proceed back across the Blue Ridge, and complete the destruction he had, seemingly, overlooked.

At any rate, it seems that Col. Moore knew of the existence and general location of the town, Too-Cowee (Stecoah); but he had to go on an exploration trip and "find" the Oconaluftee and the settlements located upon it.

Col. Moore followed the route previously traversed by Rutherford and his army, via Scott's creek, to the fork on Tuckaseegee near Webster. Here he crossed the river, and followed it down on the south side, whereas, Rutherford had continued southward up Savannah creek. He says he crossed a "very large mountain," (a spur of the Cowees) at the base of which he came upon "a very plain path much

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8. Mooney, 1900, p. 49.

9. Mooney, 1900, p. 205.

10. Swain, 1852, pp. 132-136.

11. Roosevelt, 1905, p. 301.

used by the Indians driving in from the Middle Settlements to the aforesaid town "Stecoah."

This is the path, a part of which was traveled by William Bartram on the opposite side of the Cowee mountains on his afternoon's excursion with a white trader whose name he does not give, on May 22, 1776, just five months prior to the expedition of General Rutherford. Bartram traveled from Cowee village (now West's Mill) on the Little Tennessee river, northeastward up Cowee creek and Beasley creek, to and through Leatherman Gap, into the flat, parklike area from which flows the head streams of Yularka creek. Here were kept the very fine horses described and admired by Bartram. Nearby was the "sylvan scene, Cherokee virgins and matrons," gathering wild strawberries, all of which he so charmingly described.<sup>12</sup>

Moore and his men now followed this trail, still down the south side of the Tuckaseegee, he says "about two miles [as a matter of fact over 3 miles], when he came in sight of the town." This was Stecoah, about one mile above the present town of Whittier, N. C., where at a later date was the residence of Col. William H. Thomas.<sup>13</sup>

After destroying the town of Stecoah as described in his report, Col. Moore led his men directly northward along a trail (still identifiable) to the top of a hill where "we perceived a great pillow of smoke." Here, he left the main body of his men on a piece of advantageous ground and proceeded ahead, with Captain McFadden and a few men for the purpose of exploration, across the ridge, and to the Oconaluftee river which he had not previously known about, and to Indian Camps which they had newly left.

This town was, no doubt, the ancient Cherokee village, Oconaluftee, where, in 1883, representatives of the Valentine Museum explored what they called "the Birdtown Mound." In all likelihood it is the town "Cunnulrasha" of the Kitchen map.<sup>14</sup>

The account now says that "we went over a second mountain into a large cove, upon the south fork of said river where we found a great deal of signs, several camping places, and the fires burning briskly." The "second mountain" was the ridge just southwest of the present Cherokee. Highway NC 107 passes through a gap in this ridge. In

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12. Bartram, 1928, pp. 287-290.

13. Mooney, 1900, p. 205, 532.

14. Valentine Museum Catalog, 1898, p. 49; Pl. 3.

Cherokee mythology this ridge is referred to as Nugatsa'ni.<sup>15</sup> The large cove, as Major Wilson says, was without doubt, the area occupied by the present school and Government Agency at Cherokee. Chief Smith, mentioned by Wilson, formerly owned and lived upon the land now occupied by the school.

Night coming on, Col. Moore now returned to the main body of his men where he had left them "on a piece of advantageous ground." The following morning he retraced, with his army, the route that he had explored the day before, destroying, no doubt, everything in sight, just as he had done at Stecoah. He states that he led his men as far as he had been the night before.

After this destruction by Col. Moore, Nununyi was never rebuilt, except, perhaps a few individual cabins. It is interesting to note here, that, according to the Rutherford pay list, John Walker, the father of Felix Walker, and Joseph Dobson were members of this expedition.<sup>16</sup> These persons, Felix Walker and Joseph Dobson, some 18 years later, were the first whites to obtain grants of land at, and just above, Nununyi. Two of Walker's grants in their description called for the notable Poplar Corner Tree.

According to the Wilson letter, Colonel Moore, after destroying Nununyi, marched up Soco creek and across the intervening mountains to Richland creek. In this, I think Major Wilson is incorrect. Moore says that he marched directly eastward "and lay upon a prodigious mountain." This was undoubtedly the present Swain-Jackson county line, along which an old trail (still identifiable) leads. This trail crosses the Balsam range at Soco Bald and goes thence to Soco Gap where it intersects the Soco creek trail which Major Wilson indicated was followed by Col. Moore. And this Soco Gap trail is the road mentioned by Moore as being "in Richland Creek Mountain."

### THE FIRST WHITES AT NUNUNYI

Tradition says that two white men were living at Nununyi as early as 1765. One of these, named Holland, was a mineral prospector; the other, named Lyons, was a trader. It is reported that Lyons died here a short time before the removal in 1838. The large river bottom in

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15. Mooney, 1900, p. 528.

16. Soldier List Cherokee Expedition under Rutherford.

which the mound at the site of Nununyi is located is still known as the Holland Field. In consideration of the statement of William Bartram about a trader named Calahan having been living with the Cherokees at Cowee for "many years" prior to the time of his visit there in May, 1776, the tradition does not seem unreasonable.<sup>17</sup>

The ancient and populous towns of Nucasse, Whatoga, Cowes and Jore that were visited by Bartram and so charmingly described by him, lay, as the crow flies, approximately twenty miles south by southeast from Nununyi, and a direct and well beaten trail connected the two areas. From Nununyi this well beaten trail continued up the Oconaluftee river to the junction of the Raven Fork with the main stream. Here the Raven Fork Trail branched off, the main trail continuing up the Oconaluftee and across the Smoky Mountains at Indian Gap.<sup>18</sup>

Since the Revolutionary War period, there has existed a friendly relationship between these, the mountain Indians, and the State of North Carolina. This relationship is evidenced by frequent references in literature, as well as by a great number of legislative acts designed to provide for and to encourage the Cherokee Tribe, and especially the Eastern Band, since its separation from the main tribe at the time of the removal in 1838.<sup>19</sup>

### THE KITUHWAS

The whole Cherokee Nation is governed by seven Mother Towns, each of these towns chuse a king to preside over them and; he is selected out of certain Families, and they regard only the descent by the Mother's side.

The Towns which chuse Kings are Tannassie, Ketooah, Ustenary, Telli-quo, Estootowie, Keowee, Noyehee, whereof four of the Kings are dead, and their places are to be supplied by new elections.

The Kings now alive are the King of Tannassie, in the Upper Settlements, the King of Ketooah in the Middle Settlements, and the King of Ustenary in the Lower Settlements.

There are several Towns that have Princes, such as Temmasso one, Settacho one, Tassetchee one, Iwassee one, Telli-quo one, Tannassee two, Connostee one, Cowee one.<sup>20</sup>

In consideration of this extract from Cumming's *Journal* it should be remembered that Nununyi was less than seven miles from the "Mother Town"—Kituhwa, spelled in the account K-e-t-t-o-o-h.

17. Bartram, 1928, p. 286.

18. Bartram, 1928, pp. 284-302.

19. Wheeler, 1851, p. 206; Ramsey, 1853, p. 276; Arthur, 1914, p. 594; Acts of North Carolina Legislature 1778, 1783, 1789.

20. Cummings, 1928, p. 122.

Mooney states that Kituhwa was the original nucleus of the Cherokee settlements, and that among these, the mountain Indians, was to be found the most conservative element of the Cherokee. Among these, also, he states, have been kept the ancient and secret things.<sup>21</sup>

The Cherokee Indians now living on the Qualla Boundary in this area are mainly descendants of the Kituhwas, or mountain Indians. It was not an accident that Tsali and his outlawed band, and the notable Sub-Chief, Utsali, with his one thousand or more followers sought refuge in the friendly confines of the mountains at the head of Oconaluftee river and Deep Creek.

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21. Mooney, 1900, pp. 12, 15, 182, 396, 525.

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## PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO ARCHAEOLOGY

GEORGE E. FAY

Photography plays an important role in archaeology, in restoration and reconstruction of the historical past. Photographic illustrations make permanent record of the materials uncovered in excavation work, supplementing and authenticating written reports.

Photographing a skeleton, a collection of pottery vessels or assorted potsherds, or even the ruins of an Indian pueblo offers ordinary problems like those of any photographer. The selection of photographic equipment depends upon the money available, personal preferences, and the conditions under which the camera will be used. The needs of the amateur archaeologist or the "relic" collector may be satisfied by the less complex box or folding-type cameras, without adjustments for lens openings, proper exposure, and focusing. But the advanced professional may use the reflex, speed graphic, and other cameras built to produce the finest in picture results.

The purpose of photography in archaeology is to illustrate the important features of excavations, with regard to associated artifacts. While it is not a necessity that everything be photographed, it is better to have a surplus of illustrations than a lack. Once a site is excavated, there is no way of going back to correct mistakes. It is wise to have a general idea of what is needed to complete a report, and then to take pictures for it as the work progresses. An over-all study of the site to be excavated and a review of other written reports should give an idea of what photographs are necessary.

It is helpful to keep a file of pictures as taken during field work. This will furnish what has been photographed in chronological sequence. A simple form for labeling each picture might include the following:

Date.....

Subject Matter:.....

Location: Site No.....

Gradient Square No.....

Shutter Opening: .....

Exposure Time: .....

Instantaneous.....; Time ....., Bulb.....

Distance from Subject: .....

Conditions of Weather Prevailing:.....

Time of Exposure: .....

Film Roll (Pack) No. ....

Remarks: .....

Name of Photographer: .....

The details are thus carefully recorded for future use.

A numbering system is needed for the photographs. Occasionally several angle shots will be made of the same artifact or feature, and in a description of these views it is important that the shots be not confused. Therefore, set up a system whereby a number appears in each photograph. For example, picture No. 26 may present the exterior view of a house wall, while picture No. 27 presents an interior view of the same wall. With a number showing in the picture and a coinciding description in a notebook or on a label, there is no confusion in interpretation of the material. It is also important to include in the photograph some object which can be used to point out the size of the artifact. Such an object might be a paint brush, a trowel, or a ruler with well-defined lines. Then a close-up shot does not misrepresent or distort the features.

If excavation work is being carried on in a bluff shelter or cave, usually some means of artificial lighting must be found. In some caves the solution may be to use a longer exposure time or time-exposure. Otherwise flash equipment is needed to provide the necessary light. This is, of course, expensive. If your camera uses a bulb of, say, size 11, it is possible to purchase a socket-screw which can be inserted in the flash gun so that a smaller size bulb (0) can be used, with saving in space, as well as in expense. Perhaps if the project is large enough a system of flood-lights can be set up on battery current.

The film to be used depends on the subjects to be photographed, the camera, and the light conditions. Orthochromatic film (*e.g.*, Kodak

Verichrome) has sufficient speed (50) for average use, and permits photographs to be made on cloudy days. Verichrome has an adequate latitude of exposure, and responds well to color filters. Panchromatic film (*e.g.*, Plus-X, Super-XX) has the advantages of great speed (80-125), fine grain, and complete color sensitivity. However, Super-XX film should not be used in box cameras with comparatively slow shutter speeds, because of the danger of overexposure. For extreme microscopic fineness, the panatomic-X type film is good, as it permits a picture to be enlarged many times its size, with graininess so negligible that the original sharpness of detail and brilliance of contrast are retained.

Color photography helps illustrate many features of an excavation which cannot readily be shown in black-and-white. For instance, ash areas on adobe packed construction are separated by natural color lines. Occasionally a photographer will have pictures in color, of which he would like black-and-white prints for record purposes. There are a number of easy ways of making black-and-white negatives from the colored transparencies, from which subsequent prints or enlargements can be made.

Often the subject matter may need differentiation from its background because of a lack of color contrast. This can easily be accomplished by sprinkling a small bit of common facial powder around the object, with care to spread it evenly and free of the feature.

One may photograph the archaeologist as well as an artifact. Interesting pictures can be taken of an archaeologist uncovering an important artifact, or in an illustrative position pointing out the good and bad methods of excavation techniques. In the latter shots, it is wise to keep the focusing point concentrated on the subject matter itself.

Occasionally the use of an extension tube on your camera adds photographic possibilities. To bring out details in the construction of a fireplace or the concentration of a mass of charred corn adds clarity to scientific reports. Photomicrography is another fascinating branch of photography of value to science. For example, the magnification of woven specimens will reveal styles of weaving and otherwise hidden details. A simple photomicrographic outfit can be constructed by making a stand to hold the camera firmly in position to the eye piece of a microscope. The standard procedure is to place the subject to be photographed in its position and properly illuminate the surface by adjust-

ing the mirror and light source. Once the camera is affixed, care should be exercised that neither the camera nor microscope is jarred. The picture is taken by a "time" exposure.

Sometimes an archaeologist may investigate further through the aid of X-rays. Perhaps this use is best known in association with Egyptian and Peruvian mummies. An X-ray photograph will reveal the contents of the wrappings, without the necessity of having to remove the burlap and colored cloth. However, X-rays can be used on other miscellaneous occasions with equal value. For example, a decorative ornament may consist of several parts, the construction of which could be studied by X-ray views, without need to destroy the artifact by taking it apart. Likewise studies can be made of metal objects in analysis of metallic content; this is closely associated with microscopic studies.

Aerial photography is an additional source of information on archaeological sites. Some occupational areas are imperceptible from the ground either because of their covering too large an area to be fully recognized or because their remnants are rather indistinct. An aerial photograph will then possibly reveal a more geometric pattern, showing elements never recognizable from a ground view. Similarly aerial pictures can show complete excavation views where an elevated point is not to be had for regular picture-taking. In many areas airplanes are used for locating possible archaeological sites, particularly in areas where jungle growth or other factors make land travel difficult. In addition, aerial photography is important in showing topographical conditions of the immediate area being occupied.

Photography has a definite and important place in archaeological investigations. It provides descriptive pictures of excavated artifacts and features, and so supports any completed written report.

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## A NEW BOOK WORTH READING

### DETERMINISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

THE SCIENCE OF CULTURE: A STUDY OF MAN AND CIVILIZATION. By Leslie A. White. New York: Farrar Straus, 1949. xx, 444 pages. \$6.00.

One measure of man's progress is his increasing recognition of his own insignificance. Primitive man believed that by the proper rituals he could influence the gods and through them the forces of nature to do his bidding. With cultural advance came science, with its non-anthropocentric view. As science invaded first one field and then another, man's confidence in his omnipotence began to shrink. In astronomy, chemistry, physics, and biology, he learned that the external world operates in conformity with its own laws and not in random, unpredictable and coercible fashion. Contradictory though it may seem, this recognition of his ineffectuality gave man his first real security. If the weather, the chemical reactions and the paths of the planets are determined by invariable factors, then they can be predicted. Man no longer lives at the mercy of the whims of gods and spirits, but in a world of uniform principle and predictable phenomena.

The necessity of recognizing himself as no more the master of the universe than is the lion or the ant has dealt a severe blow to man's ego. The belief that his world was the center of the universe and that it was created and populated for his benefit gave him a sense of importance. He has fought against the loss of this feeling even in the face of the knowledge that it is compensated by the ability to predict events and an increase in psychological security. Science has forged steadily ahead, however, until there now remains but one important class of phenomena commonly regarded as subject to man's will, and that is culture. Even here, the certainty that this is so is giving way to doubt.

Leslie White's book is the first systematic presentation of evidence to support the thesis that culture, like the planets, the elements and the realm of living things, operates independently of human control in accordance with laws of its own. In a series of essays he discusses the origin of culture as a uniquely human phenomenon and shows how it has evolved as the amount of energy available per capita for culture-

building was increased first by the domestication of plants and animals, then by the use of fuels (coal, oil, gas), and now by the harnessing of atomic power. This relationship of energy potential to cultural advance, he expresses as the basic law of cultural evolution.

After defining and illustrating the concept of culture in detail, White devotes the body of the book to a documentation of his argument that it deserves recognition as the subject matter of a distinct science, which he calls "culturology." Illustrations of phenomena that cannot be satisfactorily explained except on a suprapsychological or cultural level are the "Great Man" and incest taboos. By assembling pertinent biological, psychological and culturological data and attempting to account for these phenomena in terms of each set of facts, White demonstrates that only the culturological explanation leaves no loose ends of contradictory or omitted evidence. A "Great Man" is seen to be an expression of a cultural situation rather than its cause, and the prohibition of incest is understandable only on a cultural level, as a means of making cooperation compulsory and human life more secure. The culturological point of view is further exhibited in "The Locus of Mathematical Reality," "Cultural Determinants of Mind," "Culturological vs. Psychological Interpretations of Human Behavior" and "Man's Control over Civilization: an Anthropocentric Illusion."

The concept of cultural determinism, with the consequent negation of free will, is fundamental to a science of culture. The recognition of culture as a phenomenon that can be studied independently of human beings and that operates in terms of its own laws cannot be reconciled with the doctrine that man is the master of his fate, any more than the science of astronomy can embrace the notion that the stars and planets leave their courses to signal human events. It is here that the science of culture meets its greatest opposition. Many people feel that if they are deprived of the belief that man controls his culture and can use his influence to build a better world, they are deprived of the motivation and justification for existence. Is there a possibility that, once we achieve an understanding of cultural laws, we will be able to exert some control over the future course of civilization? White thinks not. The best we can hope for is accurate prediction of things to come, but if this knowledge can be used to reduce the suffering and bloodshed that now result from futile attempts to halt cultural advance, that will be a significant gain.

This is not a book that will meet with immediate and universal acceptance. It will be criticised as dogmatic, irreligious and uncompromising, but science is always criticized, and the same remarks have always greeted new theories. Those wedded to the doctrine that man's will is free or that his destiny lies in the hands of the gods will be antagonized by the cultural determinism they find here, but those who are dissatisfied with the standard explanations of the behavior of men and nations or who can open-mindedly examine new points of view will find much to provoke interest and thought and to bring order out of the seeming chaos of the modern world. Some will perhaps agree with the reviewer that it is exciting to be a witness to the growth of this new science, which promises to make important contributions.

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