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After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880. By William G. McLoughlin.

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effect a crash course in the function and areal distribution of a variety of artifacts commonly found in Midwestern archaeological sites, will become a handy reference. Based on analysis of the independent variables, Brown determined that, among sites in the Prairie Peninsula, both direct and indirect adaptations "relate to specific contexts that have widely different distributions. Further, it is apparent that an attempt to mold this geographic situation into a single monolithic classification would founder" (p. 189). Rather, distinct but overlapping adaptive areas and areas of interaction are perceived that unite local traditions and override distinctions founded in direct adaptation to the natural and social contexts. Brown designates this phenomenon "the Prairie Peninsula interaction sphere" (p. 191).

Brown's volume concludes with an adaptationist perspective that he now admits is dated, but the work as a whole is not. Archaeologists now working in the Midwest are still treading ground first walked by Brown; only now are the cultural mechanisms responsible for the Prairie Peninsula interaction sphere beginning to emerge (e.g., Emerson and Lewis, eds., *Cahokia and the Hinterlands*, 1991; Stoltman, ed., *New Perspectives on Cahokia: Views from the Periphery*, 1991).

This work was written before the "summer of love" and Woodstock, at a time when the sexual revolution was in its infancy. There is now a new generation about the land who would do well to read Brown's thirty-year-old tour de force. In the process, they might get lucky and discover sex. Older scholars will probably realize anew how subliminally dependent they have been on this succulent first fruit of the New Archaeology.

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**After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880.** By William G. McLoughlin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 470 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$17.95 paper.

This posthumously published narrative by William G. McLoughlin offers an interesting historical analysis of United States-Cherokee Nation relations. McLoughlin's stated emphases are the relative

impact of racism on these relations, the role of slavery within the Cherokee republic, the nature of tribal sovereignty as defined from the Anglo-American perspective, and internal political machinations among various Cherokee factions. The political factions among the Cherokee during this period include the "Old Settlers" and the emigrants of the Trail of Tears or, as McLoughlin notes them, the Ridge-Watie faction and the Ross party. Throughout the historical study, it is clear that McLoughlin empathizes with the Cherokee people. In his preface he states, "No one can study the Cherokees without coming away with due respect for their dignity, their familiar commitment, their intelligence, and their profound generosity of spirit" (p. xv).

McLoughlin's study begins with the United States Supreme Court decision enunciated by Chief Justice John Marshall in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). In the Whig tradition, surprise and consternation are expressed about "Jackson's denial of Marshall's decision . . ." (p. 2). However, there should be no surprise that Jackson is not bound by the Supreme Court decision, for there is no constitutional basis to compel the executive branch to accept Marshall's decision. The Cherokee Nation is forced to march into Indian Territory along with other nations from the Southeastern United States and the Old Northwest.

In the turmoil that surrounds the Trail of Tears, the growing factionalism among the Cherokee is drawn into bold relief. The clan system comes under attack by the Ross party majority in the Cherokee Nation, and new expressions of opposition emerge. McLoughlin examines the faction composed of the Southern Methodist Episcopal churchmen and the Old Settlers. Among these, he highlights Sequoyah as a leader and an educator and as the inventor of the Cherokee syllabary. McLoughlin also emphasizes the political and military role of Stand Watie. However, he fails to give attention to the leadership roles of such men as Black Fox and John Jolly. Although he evaluates the place of the American Baptist and the emigrant in Cherokee affairs, paying particular notice to John Ross and Lewis Downing, McLoughlin only mentions Cõrn Tassel in passing and does not include the Traditionalists in his understanding of Cherokee concerns. He places no importance at all on the role of Little Pig or on the ceremonial centeredness of the Cherokee people in this period surrounding the Trail of Tears, when the foundations of the Cherokee Nation west of the Mississippi River were established.

McLoughlin's story focuses largely on the work of the Emigrant or Ross party in Cherokee political issues. This is consistent with the historical judgment expressed in his earlier works, *Cherokee Renaissance, 1794–1833* (1986), and *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones* (1990), both published by Princeton University Press. The Emigrant factions' development of the Cherokee Nation is a common thread that runs through the three works. This emphasis on progress and democracy provides a consistent underlying theme through Cherokee history. McLoughlin, however, has praise only for those personalities—Ross, Downing, and Charles Thompson (the latter two are Cherokee Baptist preachers), and the Jones brothers—who served as Baptist missionaries to the Cherokee people. These are the persons and parties who turned out to be successful in fighting for the Anglo-American values that promote assimilation. These leaders' ability to adapt to an Anglo-Saxon Protestant point of view provides a model for American Indian policy.

As McLoughlin traces the lines that offer an explanation within the Whig tradition, his analysis of Cherokee concerns leads him to believe, "Those of mixed ancestry were more interested in impressing whites with their own progress than in promoting the 'Keetoowah' sense of harmony at the center of the traditional Cherokee ethic" (p. 95). Oddly, most of the people whom the author follows—Sequoyah and John Ross, for example—are of mixed Anglo-Cherokee heritage. The very people who provide a sense of center—Corn Tassel, Dutch, Little Pig—are rarely, if ever, mentioned. The Ross party used tradition when it benefited them, as in the murders of Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot. But they cannot be considered the carriers of the Keetoowah traditions of the Cherokee Nation. This fact is sometimes lost in the narrative, because class analysis and racial analysis are offered to provide a frame of reference of the Cherokee people. McLoughlin makes only a few references to clan relationships and tribal town concerns.

McLoughlin focuses on the fact that, as Cherokee sovereignty was challenged in the latter half of the nineteenth century, corporate intervention increased in the Cherokee Nation, in the conflicts involving the Watie and Boudinot Tobacco Company and the negotiations arising from railroad construction. These efforts are covered well by H. Craig Miner in *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865–1907* (1976).

McLoughlin is clear in his judgment of the relationships between the various American Indian tribes and the United States. He states, "With the last of the Plains Indians (under Geronimo) defeated in 1886, the white citizens of the United States could now claim that the territory of the United States from coast to coast belonged to them to do with as they pleased" (p. 366). His reference to the Plains Indians being "under Geronimo" does not make sense. The statement that the "white citizens" could claim all of the territory of the United States as theirs confuses the issue further. The United States used negotiations and waited for a vote of the Cherokee people to enforce the Allotment Act of 1887 within the tribal jurisdictional area. The reservations remain the land base for sovereign tribes, duly agreed to in treaty and recognized by law.

McLoughlin concludes, "Though they [the Cherokee people] have legal recognition as a tribe and elect their own chief, they lack sovereignty" (p. 380). He appears to accept United States-Indian relations in the same terms as scholars such as Francis Paul Prucha in *The Indians in American Society* (1985) and Wilcomb E. Washburn in *The Indian in America* (1975), whereby the vision of the American Indian people is caught up in the "American" fabric of life. This is at variance with scholars such as Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle in *American Indians, American Justice* (University of Texas Press, 1993), and Charles F. Wilkinson in *American Indians, Time and the Law* (1987). These authors hold a broader vision of tribal sovereignty, which was recognized in international law long before there was a United States government. These tribes have retained sovereignty through a variety of negotiated means down to the present.

McLoughlin's Whig interpretation of Cherokee history has sought the "roots" and "anticipations" of American Indian incorporation within the body politic of the United States. This historical interpretation caters to present preoccupations rather than illuminating the past in its own terms. *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokee Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* facilitates a reconciliation of the past and present in terms of United States Indian policy.

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