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**The Texas Cherokees: A People Between Two Fires, 1819–1840.** By Dianna Everett. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. 173 pages. \$14.95 cloth.

This well-researched book traces the sojourn of a band of Western Cherokee who crossed the Red River into east Texas in 1819, seeking a new place in which they might carry on old traditions. By early 1822, this group of several hundred, led by their chief, Duwali, also known as Bowl, settled in the area of the Sabine, Angelina, and Neches rivers. During the next two decades, these Cherokee witnessed and participated in the unfolding of Texas and Mexican history as they sought to adapt their ways to a new environment and to establish title to a new homeland.

This fine volume is more than a history of the political events in early Texas. Dianna Everett also gives readers insight into the ethos of the Ani-Yunwiya, or the Principal People, as the Cherokee called themselves. From an ethnohistorical perspective, the events surrounding the Cherokee tenure in Texas take on a greater significance. Indeed, the Cherokee played a part in the colonization of Texas and the Texas Revolution, and these roles are examined in the light of Cherokee beliefs and goals.

Duwali led his band into Texas after separating from other Western Cherokee who had already left their aboriginal southeastern homelands to move west of the Mississippi into Arkansas in 1810. This succession of splits was consistent with the Cherokee social value of harmony, a value that helped to maintain amicable relations and lessen acrimony. In keeping with this ideal, consensus was sought in all matters related to the well-being of the group. But the reality was that factionalism in political and diplomatic affairs was strong among the Cherokee, and the ultimate mechanism for preserving harmony was the removal of dissidents.

Everett states that one of the major issues that precipitated the withdrawal of Duwali's band was the rule of vengeance. In traditional Cherokee society, the principal unit of social organization was the clan. In cases where death had come to a Cherokee at the hands of another tribe, it was the duty of the clan to seek revenge for the death. As acculturation and accommodation to Europeans and, later, Euro-Americans set major changes in motion, clan revenge was officially abolished by the Eastern Cherokee in 1810. But for those Cherokee on the western frontier, the

issue remained one of enormous debate and ultimately one of the lines of fracture along which Duwali's traditionalists separated.

During their early years in Texas, Duwali and his followers were seen by Mexico as a convenient buffer between Texas and hopeful settlers from the United States. The Cherokee set out to exploit this position by establishing alliances with other Indian groups to protect themselves and Hispanic settlers from the Comanches and Lipan Apaches. In this way, the Cherokee expected to make their presence essential to the Mexican government and eventually to be rewarded with legal title to their lands. This expectation was never fulfilled, for after Texas won its independence in 1836, the triumphant Texans sought to remove all Indians. In 1839, the Cherokee were forced from the new republic, which became the twenty-eighth state of the United States in 1845.

Centuries of frequent contact with other aboriginal nations had left the Cherokee well accustomed to the accommodation and negotiation necessary in intergroup relations. They maintained a flexibility that allowed them to examine old and new, Cherokee and non-Cherokee, and thus to utilize foreign material goods, associate with foreign peoples, and examine the utility of foreign ideas, albeit from their own cultural perspective. In the years that the Cherokee passed in Texas, they made a concerted effort to adapt to their new neighbors and new circumstances while maintaining their core traditions.

Despite their considerable efforts to remain in Texas, the Texas Cherokee were forced back into Indian Territory in 1839. When the Cherokee were told of their impending removal, a general of the army of the republic of Texas remarked that the Cherokee were caught "between two fires" (pp. xiii, 105). While he meant only that troops were positioned on either side of the Cherokee, his words had greater significance. The Cherokee were caught between the desire to maintain their own cultural traditions and the need to accommodate to the presence of the whites. They were also caught between their ideal of harmonious relations among individuals and the reality of strife-ridden factions that worked against their own goals.

After Duwali and others died in a skirmish with Texas troops, there was a period of dispersal, but, in the end, most of the Texas Cherokee had no choice but to rejoin the other Western Cherokee. There they also encountered those Eastern Cherokee who

had been forced to travel the Trail of Tears to Indian Territory in the interim, and a new phase of tripartite factionalism began. Now, however, there was no longer a place for dissidents to migrate, and the Cherokee endured a long period of interne-cine struggle.

While political relations between the United States, Spain, Mexico, and Texas are not the major focus of Everett's volume, her ethnohistorical perspective provides valid insights into this subject. The history of the Cherokee is corollary to other groups' wars for independence; in the two short decades that the Cherokee took refuge in Texas, they saw Mexico win its independence from Spain and, in turn, Texas win its independence from Mexico. Many of the travails of the Cherokee were a result of being caught in the relations between these two more powerful societies; at the same time, the Cherokee attempted to exploit the tensions between Texas and Mexico, playing one off against the other to further their own goal of securing a land base.

An excellent addition to the *Civilization of the American Indian Series*, this book is particularly enlightening and readable. I strongly recommend it for those interested in American Indian and Texas history. It paints a mural in which events are colored by ethnographic description and consideration of the ethos of the Cherokee. Those who perceive history as something that can be gleaned only from European and Euro-American documents may be offended by Everett's occasional conjectures. These, however, seem well grounded in ethnographic analogy.

There is another point that seems worthy of consideration. Given the differences in policy and overall treatment of aboriginal peoples in the United States in the century-and-a-half since the expulsion of the Cherokee from Texas, versus the treatment of Indian peoples in Mexico during that same time, one wonders how Cherokee history would have read if the Texas Revolution had failed.

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