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The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution. By Tom Hatley. New York and Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1993. 320 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Shortly after the establishment of Charlestown, the colony of South Carolina issued a permit to export several Seraqui (Cherokee) slaves to the West Indies. The colony soon followed this with an attack on the Cherokee, probably for more slaves and access to gold mines. After such a rocky start, it is no wonder this tribe chose to keep their distance when South Carolina later requested trade relations. Although commerce did begin between the two by the turn of the century, the Cherokee contribution was insignificant prior to 1715, when white agents began a systematic attempt at expanding that tribe's trade. Within a decade or two, both societies became somewhat dependent on the increased commerce.

By the 1740s, the Carolinians realized the additional significance of the tribe as a buffer against enemy Indians and the French. Yet the English traders continually mistreated the Indians, overcharging for their goods, and the colonists constantly edged closer to Cherokee settlements. In spite of these provocations, the Cherokee kept the peace until some Cherokee were murdered in Virginia during the French and Indian War and Cherokee women were abused and mistreated by the staff of Fort Prince George. Two wrongs made a right in eighteenth-century Cherokee thought, and tribal chiefs went to Charleston to make certain the conflict was over and peace would be preserved. The ambitious governor of South Carolina, however, was bent on war, and he took the peace delegation hostage. This action led to the devastating Cherokee War of 1760–61, in which the hostages were killed and most Lower, Middle, and Valley settlements of the Cherokee destroyed. The Cherokee spent the following decade in a deliberate attempt to replenish the Cherokee population and in trying to reestablish good relations.

One method of preserving peace and harmony with the white population was land cession. Yet these cessions restricted tribal residential and hunting areas and helped change prevailing Cherokee thought, which equated elders with virtue and honor. When elders ceded land to Richard Henderson and others in the 1770s, the young Cherokee believed they had been sold out; equating elders with virtue and honor no longer applied. The tribe became divided by age and status. Older leaders remained in the established towns, while the younger ones moved to the newly created

Chickamaugua towns and continued to fight the whites until 1794. Of course, the whites retaliated without any concern for which Cherokee they raided, so peaceful Indians often suffered.

The Dividing Paths traces the interaction of the Cherokee and the South Carolinians from the settlement of Charlestown in 1670 to the first treaty between the newly independent Americans and the tribe in 1785. Hatley covers this period with an experienced and questioning eye. Using official colonial records, journals, diaries, and other primary sources, he weaves together a complex picture of Cherokee and white governments. He traces the relocation of the Lower Towns, forced to move because of war and disease, and discovers their resettlement at Aurora, which was perhaps the easternmost settlement of the Cherokee in the eighteenth century, a cite that most Cherokee histories ignore.

Hatley discusses the role of Cherokee women in farming, trading, hunting, mediating, and warfare, as well as the bonds they formed with Carolina women. He cites several occasions prior to the well-known Nancy Ward incident at the beginning of the American Revolution when Cherokee women warned of impending attacks by their tribe. In one instance, a Cherokee woman walked ninety-six miles to warn "the white women who had been so good to her" (pp. 89-90).

Dividing Paths also touches on Cherokee relations with other tribes. Sometimes traditional enemies acted as friends. For example, during the Cherokee War of the early 1760s, the Creek repeatedly invited a Lower Towns chief to come with his "whole town and settle among them" (p. 159).

Although *The Dividing Paths* is admirable in scope and new insights, it has some shortcomings. Previous accounts of the Cherokee War give conflicting numbers for the chiefs and warriors who visited Charleston in 1759 and later became hostages. Hatley does not settle the problem. Rather, he adds to the confusion by mentioning, at one point, fifty-five Cherokee of whom seventeen were headmen (p. 114); later he talks about "the three headmen" (p. 115), and finally twenty-two headmen (p. 121). Another minor problem concerns omissions. Although Hatley usually gives an excellent description of participants, he fails to describe or even name Richard Coytmore, who helped precipitate the Cherokee War of the 1760s. Hatley makes a brief reference to the Cherokee delegation to London in 1762 but not to their trip in 1765. There is also an occasional error in dates. For example, the Battle of Taliwa is listed as 1751 instead of 1755.

Still, these faults are minor, considering the wealth of information the author provides. This is much more than a narrative of Cherokee or colonial history. It is a demographic, agricultural, political, gender-oriented ethnohistory revealing new ideas about the interrelationship of white and Cherokee society, and it is better than any previous work. This will be required reading for any serious student of Cherokee and colonial history.

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The Founders of America: How Indians discovered the land, pioneered in it, and created great classical civilizations; how they were plunged into a Dark Age by invasion and conquest; and how they are now reviving. By Francis Jennings. New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1993. 457 pages. \$27.50 cloth.

The occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Columbus "discoveries" has inspired many authors, in and out of academia, to write and edit books and articles that reexamine the exploits of Columbus and other explorers and/or evaluate the impact of Europe on the New World. Many of these publications are synthetic endeavors, although they may offer new insights and approaches, even revisionist theories and arguments. As the publisher notes of *Founders*, this volume belongs to this so-called encounter literature, but, although Columbus plays a pivotal role once Europe enters the scene (chapter 9), the timeframe of this book begins before Beringia. To be sure, its author is revisionist, argumentative, and critical of narrow interpretations; readers unfamiliar with Jennings the ethnohistorian, now director emeritus of the Newberry Library's Center for the History of the American Indian, should quickly recognize that he likes to provoke, to incite, to argue, but in a friendly, heuristic way. He is most willing to depart from traditional rhetoric, a viewpoint he shares with several other scholars also interested in "encounter" (e.g., Alfred Crosby). Even older volumes (e.g., William Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier* [1928]) precede Jennings's questioning approach to standard Indian-white history. Initially, he feared "ridicule at the mistakes inevitable upon going so far out of my snug specialty, but curiosity changed my mind" (p. 19). At times, of course, those fixed on the scientific method may contend that, with limited