



The Resistance of the Cherokee Women Against "The Civilization Program" (1789-1839)  
ROJIYAH, Siti, Prof.Dra. Djuherwati Imam Muhni, MA.,Ph.D

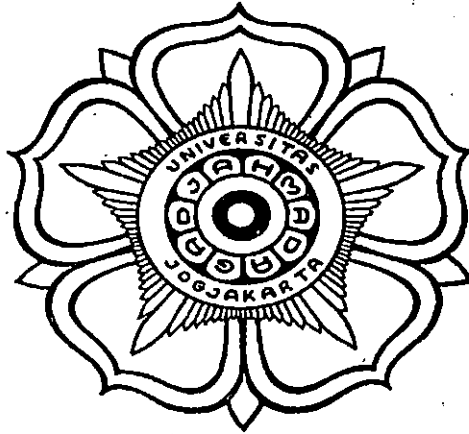
**THE RESISTANCE OF THE CHEROKEE WOMEN  
AGAINST "THE CIVILIZATION PROGRAM"**

UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**(1789 – 1839)**

**A Thesis**

**Presented to the Board of Examiners in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Master Degree in American Studies  
The Department of Humanities**



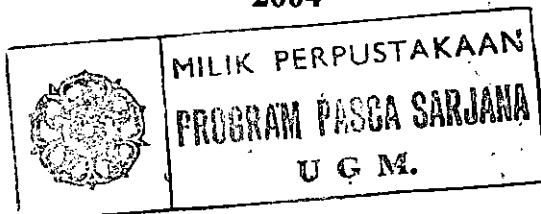
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YOGYAKARTA**

**2004**





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Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

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## **The Resistance of The Cherokee Women Against "The Civilization Program" (1789-1839)**

Dipersiapkan dan disusun oleh  
**Siti Rojiyah**

Telah dipertahankan didepan Dewan Penguji  
pada tanggal **17 Juni 2004**

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Tanggal.....

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In the name of Allah SWT the Most Gracious, I am completely aware that through the Grace and Blessing of God, this thesis has finally been finished.

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This thesis is an effort to find out the roles of Cherokee women in the eighteenth century before the application of the civilization program. The objectives of the civilization program peculiarly for Cherokee women are explored here to reveal the roles of Cherokee women both which were changed or eradicated through the application of the civilization program. This thesis also aims to analyze the result of Cherokee women resistance towards the civilization program.

In order to have a total comprehension on the issue, this thesis applies the interdisciplinary approach and studies the problems from the perspective of sociology, anthropology, literature, and religion. The sociological viewpoints enable the writer to comprehend the behavior and attitudes of Cherokee women in the era before the application of civilization program and when it is implemented. Anthropological viewpoint is used to find out the culture of Cherokees as non-literate society. Economical and political approaches are used to understand the condition of economic and politics when the civilization program took place. Religious perspectives are necessary to know the different viewpoints of Christianity and Cherokees religion especially about the position and men-women relationship. Literary approach is also employed to study the values of Cherokees that was represented in their myth, legend, song, and poetry.

The result of this thesis indicates that the struggle of Cherokee women were successful in many ways, such as in defending their authority of teaching the custom of their tribe to their beloved children, preserving their roles in their fields as farmers, maintaining their participation in society meeting, and persisting their own religion. Their struggles were successful because they had high motivation to preserve their old and traditional culture. Their refusal was influenced by the fact that White's gender norms were not appropriate to them. It was derived from the consideration that their important roles and position would change and vanish. On the other hand, their struggle was less successful in opposing the removal policy. It was not caused by the weakening of their motivation in struggle. The environmental condition or the un-supporting members are the main factor of this failure.

Key words: perspective, preserve, persist, refusal, vanish



Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap peran wanita Cherokee pada abad ke-18 sebelum program civilization dilaksanakan. Tujuan/sasaran dari program civilization terutama bagi wanita Cherokee juga selidiki untuk mengetahui peran wanita Cherokee mana yang akan diubah ataupun dihilangkan. Studi ini juga akan menganalisa hasil dari perjuangan wanita melawan program civilization.

Dengan menggunakan pendekatan interdisipliner, studi ini mengkolaborasikan aspek sosiologi, anthropologi, ekonomi, politik, sastra, dan agama. Sudut pandang sosiologi digunakan untuk memahami tingkah laku dan sikap wanita Cherokee pada masa sebelum dan sesudah pelaksanaan program. Anthropologi diterapkan untuk mencari culture daripada Cherokee sebagai masyarakat yang belum mengenal tulisan. Pendekatan ekonomi dan politik digunakan untuk membantu dalam pemahaman situasi ekonomi dan politik pada saat program diberlakukan. Pandangan-pandangan agama juga sangat penting untuk memahami dua pandangan yang berbeda antara agama Kristen dan Cherokee terhadap posisi dan hubungan antara pria-wanita, sedangkan analisa sastra digunakan untuk memahami nilai-nilai masyarakat Cherokee yang terkandung didalam myth, legenda, nyanyian, dan puisi mereka.

Hasil analisa menunjukkan bahwa perjuangan wanita Cherokee terhadap program civilization dalam beberapa hal berhasil, seperti dalam mempertahankan kekuasaan mereka untuk mengajari anak mereka mengenai tradisi sukunya, mempertahankan peranan mereka di ladang sebagai petani, tetap berpartisipasi dalam pertemuan masyarakat untuk memberikan pendapat, dan tetap melaksanakan agama mereka sendiri. Perjuangan mereka sukses karena mereka memiliki motivasi yang besar untuk mempertahankan budaya tradisional mereka. Mereka tidak mau mengganti konsep gender yang mereka miliki dengan konsep orang kulit putih disebabkan karena konsep gender orang kulit tidak sesuai dengan budaya mereka. Hal ini didasarkan pada pertimbangan bahwa posisi dan peran penting mereka didalam masyarakat akan berubah dan bahkan bisa hilang. Disisi lain, perjuangan mereka juga gagal dalam menolak kebijakan removal (pindah). Hal ini bukan karena menurunnya motivasi namun lebih pada factor lingkungan ataupun orang-orang disekitarnya yang tidak mendukung perjuangan mereka.

Kata-kata kunci: pandangan, memelihara, mempertahankan, penolakan, hilang

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Background of the Study

The Native American was and is one of the people discriminated in America. Once they were considered as uncivilized, savage people, whereas long before Christopher Columbus came ashore in the Carribean, these civilized people had lived there. There may have been as many as 3 hundred different Native American cultures and spoke over two hundred different languages in the continental United States before the whites man arrived in 1492 (Ballantine and Ballantine 17).

Cherokees are a tribal confederacy that consisted of seven clans living in the valleys of rivers in the southern Appalachian mountains of what later became Carolinas. Cherokees also played a major role in the life and culture of the development of what would become the United States of America. They became a partner in the deerskin and war captives trade that provided much profit to the European. They helped the Europeans survive on their land and taught them how to raise corn, beans, and pumpkins as well as tobacco (Driver 16). They also gave permission for them to sit a homestead land without exacting any return (Washburn 127). In the early economic growth of colonial America, they helped develop it by working as slaves on the plantation. They had become slaves after they were sold into slavery (Salisbury 101). They were also subjected to a series of epidemics caused by diseases the Whites brought with them to North America. Despite all this, White



settlers regarded Cherokee as savages, uncivilized, and wild persons who lived in an uncivilized environment, in a state of natural world (Pearce 3).

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In the past Cherokee lived with primitive technologies in hunting and farming. Their lives depended on hunting and farming. There was a gender division of labor and tasks for Cherokee women and men in their society (Perdue 3). Both Cherokee men and women performed different duties, followed different rules of behavior and engaged in different rituals

One of the reasons that Cherokees is interesting to discuss especially Cherokee women is that they had the ability to continue their traditional roles after they faced "the Civilization Program" that was practiced by the United States government. This program aimed to change the traditional roles of Cherokee women by transforming the Cherokee's gender concept to Whites concept. Traditional Cherokee women roles are not similar to Whites women roles because the gender norms between Cherokees and Whites are not the same. This gender concept differs greatly in the role and position they gave to women. Cherokees and most of the southeastern Indian tribes were matrilineal. Women's status was high or central in the tribe. Women had many power and role in their society. They had a responsibility in economy and in the family. In political and religious life Cherokee women also could participate and held important roles (Perdue 38).

In the family life, Rearing and nurturing the children were Cherokee women's responsibility in the family life. In economic life, Cherokee women farmed and men hunted. This division of labor according to the gender based on the myth of Kanati and



Selu that gave the explanation why men and women in their society lived basing on this division.

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In political life, Cherokee women gave their great influence in selecting the chiefs of their tribe and making a decision for their war captives. They also could become a warrior and chief in their tribe, having the same position like the Cherokee men:

Women ruled the house, and their many duties included caring for the home; raising children assisting in planting, cultivation and harvesting; preparing food for domestic and ritual purposes; carrying water; gathering wood; making and caring for clothing; cooking; making baskets and pottery; and performing in certain ritual dances on festival occasions. Selected women shared in council decisions, and Beloved Women determined what would happen to Indian captives (Mails 38).

When the Spanish explorer, Hernando De Soto made contact with them in 1540, the Cherokees established a good relation with them. By 1629 Cherokee began to make a trade relationship with the English, especially the trade of the deerskin and war captives. The level of profit that the European earned from the deerskin and war captives increased the immigration of the Europeans traders to the Cherokees territory. The vast earnings from this trade, therefore, financed much of the development of the early settlements in the Cherokees (Weatherford 85).

By 1700, the wave of the Europeans coming in the southern Appalachians increased rapidly. The three colonizing powers (English, French and Spanish) knew



that whoever was master of the Appalachians might hold the key to further advancement into the continent. These three colonizing power tried to dominate the zone of the Cherokee and the other southern tribes (Creeks; Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles). When the trade of deerskin and war captives declined, Cherokee was in a bad condition because their life depended on this trade. The condition of Cherokee became worst when they entered the French and Indian War (1756-1763) and American Revolution in 1776. During this period, there was a big destruction in Cherokee society. The American colonists destroyed Cherokee towns including cornfields, granaries, and orchards. They also killed thousands of Cherokee warriors, women, and children (Perdue and Green 6).

Cherokees faced uncertain future. Their population once again declined dramatically, and many of them died because of starvation. This condition, therefore, caused a feeling of pity among the Americans colonists and there was a wish to bring these people to a good condition. Since the colonialists believed that these people were savage, uncivilized who lived also in uncivilized world, they wanted to bring them to become civilized people, as Whites. Native Americans, as the colonists believed it at that time, were fully capable of becoming civilized and assimilating into American society as functioning citizens (Perdue and Green 10).

To most Americans, civilization meant contemporary American culture: to be civilized, therefore, Cherokee must dress, think, act, speak, work, and worship the way rural United States citizens, ideally did (Perdue and Green 11). The United States government, therefore, took on task on civilizing the Native Americans. The government tried to convert Cherokees culturally into Anglo Americans (Perdue 109).



To make these efforts go smoothly, and create a piece relationship with Cherokees, the

United State government believed that they should make a treaty with Cherokees. It was the Treaty of Holston which was concluded in July 1791 that became the foundation to realize the civilization idea for Cherokees. This treaty contained the provisions of President George Washington's first secretary of war, Henry Knox. He said that the Cherokees might be led to a greater degree of civilization and to become herdsmen and cultivators. The United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously Cherokees with useful implements of husbandry (Perdue and Green 11). Civilization program, a central feature of the expansion with honor policy devised by Knox and Washington, came into being when the Cherokees desperately needed some alternative to their collapsed economy of deerskin trading. In 1796, Washington addressed his letter to "Beloved Cherokees", and pointed out that the responsibility of farming and husbandry rested on Cherokee men. For women, they should spin wheels and loom so that they could make cloth and they also should weave the cotton. For Cherokees, becoming civilized, they should change their way of life from hunting to farming (Perdue and Green 11).

The United States government also tried to educate Cherokee children in order to bring them to the way of life of civilized people. Many schools were established on Cherokee land and the responsibility for civilizing these children fell to the missionaries (Perdue and Green 43).

In the early nineteenth century, there was the rapid population of American citizens in Cherokees. This condition increased the need of land and thus these Whites wanted Cherokee land for their own citizens. The Whites tried to take Cherokee land



by many efforts, such as intermarriage and removal. The Whites expected that by intermarriage between White men and Cherokee women, the land of Cherokee could be owned by the Whites (Ward 195).

Removal was one of the White's ways to push all of the Native American tribes including Cherokees to move westward into the wilderness of the New World or in what today Northeastern Oklahoma and then they would take their fertile land. Removal, therefore, was the expression of the Whites hunger to Native American lands. With the reason that the United State Government had the moral imperative to protect Native American from deleterious effects of exposure to American frontier settlers, Andrew Jackson built his policy of removal (Perdue 18). Removal, as the United State government believed it, was the way to bring Cherokees into a better condition. It took place in 1838 and was called as Trails of Tears.

The ratification of the Cherokee's constitution and the establishment of Lighthorse were the ways to disenfranchisement of Cherokees women right in political life. In their constitution, women and Black could not participate in politic. Political life was only for men (Kerber and Mathew 12). Whereas the Lighthorse whose duty was to protect Cherokees from the bandits and punished them really eliminated Cherokee's women right, namely their traditional right to decide the fate of the bandits.

To civilize Cherokees, Missionaries had the duty to bring these people to worship their God. They tried to force Cherokees to convert to Christianity and leave their traditional religion (Axtell 51).



against the civilization program, as to why and how they resist.

## 1.2. Scope of the Study

The study will be limited to the resistance of the Cherokee women during the civilization program in 1789, when President George Washington and his secretary announced it to the removal in 1839. The program of the civilization trying to change the role and position of the Cherokee women is one of the important historical facts of the American society. Therefore, in this study, the writer will seek to find out the resistances of the Cherokee women from 1789 to 1839 during which time the program was carried out intensively.

After the application of "the Civilization Program", Cherokee women still persisted their traditional roles. One of the famous Cherokee women, Wilma Mankiller, could show that the traditional role of Cherokee women in political life still existed. As a Cherokee woman, Mankiller could become a chief in Cherokees. She was elected as the principal chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokees in 1985. It became a proof that Cherokees still embodied the traditional values in which they respected the roles of their women in politic. It also represented a reaffirmation of women's power among Cherokees in the present time (Perdue 195).

## 1.3. Objective of the Study

The study aims at 1) Finding out the role of Cherokee women in their family, economy, and politics before the application of the civilization program, 2) Finding



out the objectives of the civilization program which was applied to the role and position of the Cherokee women, and 3) Analyzing the resistance of the Cherokee women toward the civilization program.

#### 1.4. Theoretical Approach

The study will be conducted under the discipline of American Studies. Consequently, this study will follow the theories and approaches proposed by the scholars of American Studies.

Tremain McDowell in his book American Studies (82) says that American Studies moves towards the reconciliation of tenses, the reconciliation of the academic discipline, and a third long range goal, namely a reconciliation of region, nation, and the world. Based on this view, the writer will use the concept of tenses. The reconciliation of tenses means that this study needs to consider the concept of time sequences: past, present, and future. The sequences of past, present, and future are seen as a continuity and an integration. The past experiences affects the present ones, and the present ones contribute to the future experiences.

American studies does not only study the experiences at the past and present, but it also at the future. This study therefore studies the result of Cherokee women resistance towards the "Civilization Program".

The second theory which is applied in this study is the reconciliation of the academic disciplines. This means that this research is based on sociological, anthropological, historical, economical, political, literary, and religion perspectives. The application of the interdisciplinary analysis was in accordance with what Henry



Nash Smith proposed in his article "Can American Studies Develop a Method?" he pointed out that:

"The best thing we can do, in my opinion, is to conceive American Studies as a collaboration among men working from within existing academic disciplines but attempting to widen the boundaries imposed by conventional methods of inquiry. This implied a sustained effort of the student of literature to take account sociological, historical, and anthropological data and methods and of the sociologist or the historian to take account of the data and methods of scholarship in the fields of the arts" (qtd. in Kwiat and Turpick 14).

Sociological approach, to begin with, is employed to reveal the human behavior and the social settings that influence that behavior (Doob 7). Therefore, in this study we can see various attitudes and behaviors of Cherokee women and how the society supports those behaviors.

Anthropology is closest to sociology in theory and research. It has concentrated on the cultures of non-literate societies (Cosser et al. 21). Since this research studies about Cherokees, a society which handed down their culture orally, anthropological approach is also significant to be used to understand the oral tradition which seem to have very deep roots in Cherokees culture.

A historical approach is also important because this thesis relates to the past time. As what was said by Louis Gottschalk that history deals with the past and human individually and particular human action on the line of human development (9-10). The role of Cherokee women before the application of civilization program, the



applications of civilization program, and the resistance of Cherokee women to that program were mainly the data that happened in the past.

Political and economical approaches are employed to elucidate the condition of economics and politics in the eighteenth century. Religious perspectives are also applied for the purpose of getting the information of Christianity and Cherokees religious perspectives especially about the position and men-women's roles. The data would be used to understand the two different perceptions.

In addition, the writer will try to apply literary approach. Some literary works especially Cherokees myth, legend, poetry, and songs are used to show the values in Cherokees society.

### **1.5 Method of Research**

The writer uses library research as the research method in order to find out the data of the traditional role of Cherokee women, the civilization program, and the resistances of the Cherokee women toward that program. The writer makes use of some printed materials containing information related to the topic that she would discuss. The data is gathered from printed materials such as books, magazine, journals, and literary works and other data from the electronic media or the internet.

The printed materials are collected from the different libraries such as the American Studies Library of Gadjah Mada University, Gadjah Mada University General Library, Psychology Faculty Library, and Kajian Wilayah Amerika Library Indonesia University.



## 1.6. Presentation

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This thesis will be presented in five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction presenting the background of choosing the subject, the objective of the study, the scope of the study, theoretical approach, method of research and presentation. Chapter two discusses about the traditional role of Cherokee women in their society before the application of the civilization program especially their role in the family, politics, economy, and religion.

Chapter three deals with the meaning, the causes, the application, and the objectives of this civilization program towards Cherokee women. This chapter also describes its application towards the role and position of the Cherokee women in their tribe. Chapter four discusses the resistances of the Cherokee women against the civilization program. The discussion of the Cherokee women's resistances includes the resistances in the family, politics, economy, and religion. The last chapter, chapter five, is about the result of the research or the conclusion.



## CHAPTER II

### THE ROLE OF CHEROKEE WOMEN

In the records of White traders, colonists, and Native American agents who observed these people in the New World was stated that Cherokee women were slaves, beasts of burden, whores, unfertilized, or simply of no account (Pearce 26). It was their impressions as people who did not know more about the role and position of Cherokee women in this tribe.

In order to obtain complete comprehension of the role of Cherokee women in their tribe, this chapter intends to demonstrate the role and position of Cherokee women. The first part presents a discussion on the Cherokee women's roles in the family life especially in their position as a mother and a housewife. The second part describes the role of Cherokee women in the economic life. The responsibility of Cherokee women in their position as a farmer and a gatherer are chronologically explained. The third part discusses the role of Cherokee women in the political life, especially in their position as a matron and a warrior, and the fourth part is describes the Cherokee women's role in their religious life. All of these discussions focus on the role of Cherokee women before the coming of Whites with their influences, particularly their role before the eighteenth century. That was the period when Whites did not make a regular contact and build a permanent settlement yet in Cherokees land.



## 2.1. Women in Family Life

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### 2.1.1. As a Mother and a Housewife

A Cherokee homestead consisted of several buildings clustered around a small plaza. The basic unit of kinship in Cherokee society was the clan. There were seven clans in Cherokees and all members of a clan came from the same descendant. Because Cherokees were matrilineal – that was they traced kinship solely through mothers, therefore their relatives were those who could be traced through their mother (Perdue 42).

All members of the clan did not live together. They were divided into subdivision which formed the core of a typical Cherokee household or family. Generally, Cherokee households were quite large, by several generations of a family living there (Perdue and Green 2). In these households, the usual residents were a woman, her husband, her daughters and their husbands, her daughters' children, and any unmarried son (2). In these households, the position of women was central. They were the only permanent members there; her husbands were just outsider, that was, they were not kinsmen (Perdue 43).

Ulrich explains that as women, there were two roles that they usually played, namely as a mother and a housewife (9). Although Ulrich explanation mainly focused on the discussions of white women in the early America, this explanation was in accordance with the conditions of Cherokee women. In their households, Cherokee women played many roles as a mother and a housewife. The role of women as a mother, as Ulrich explained it, would be connected with childbearing. Childbearing would bring a woman to spend herself to perpetuate the race, continue the existence of



human beings (9). Childbearing is a biological role that has a relationship with the cycles of reproductive, namely pregnancy, birth, and lactation. These three stages established the parameters of life because the existence of human beings mostly depended on them (144).

When the children grew, Ulrich asserts that they still needed the assistance of their mother to nurture them. Intense nurturing should be done through the watchful of growing children to an old age characterized by economic dependency, religious resignation, and an absorbing concern with the next generation (162). Firm disciplines and rules during the children grew also became a part in nurturing the children (155). As mothers, Cherokee women should practice the roles in childbearing and nurturing. Childbearing and nurturing became the mother's fundamental role in their life (Sorkin and Routledge 154).

The first stage of childbearing became an important moment for Cherokee women. Pregnancy did not bring a mother to be into the seclusion, as it happened when they had menstruation. It just curtailed many of her activities (Perdue 30). During pregnancy, there were many restrictions that should be obeyed by a mother to be.

Many anthropologists had tried to study the restrictions for a pregnant Cherokee woman. One of them was Frans Olbrechts, who studied Cherokees practices regarding the restrictions during pregnancy. For a pregnant woman, if she waded in a river upstream from fish traps, she must spoil the catch and if she looked on a person suffering from snakebite, she was expected not to help him because the victim will die (qtd. in Perdue 31). She also did not permitted to come or attend ceremonies and ball



games or even the sick. The Cherokees did not eat food prepared by a pregnant woman

or walk on a path she had traveled (31). Many similar restrictions also applied to her husband too. Husbands of pregnant women were expected not to play ball and danced apart from other men in ceremonies. They did not dig graves, loiter in doorways, or wear neckerchiefs or folded hats (which caused creases in baby's head). Furthermore, some evidence suggests that her husband did not hunt, fish, or fight during their wives' pregnancies (Driver 433).

Several restrictions on the activities of pregnant women protect the unborn child and aid delivery. Cherokees also believe that certain foods affects the fetus. Raccoon will make the baby sick, for example, and pheasant would cause death. The baby will have a birthmark if a mother ate speckled trout, ridiculously large eyes if she ate rabbit (Perdue 31). The Cherokees also prohibited a pregnant woman from visiting a menstruating women or viewing a corps (31).

Before the delivery, there was a special ritual to guarantee that the children would be delivered safely. This ritual took place in the river. Some sources from anthropologists maintained that Cherokee women traditionally gave birth unassisted in the forest or in a special building. Olbrechts found that four women including a midwife attended the mother in her cabin with all other residents left. While Mooney reported that sometimes the husband or medicine man was present in a special building in the forest although these men carefully stood behind the mother and did not actually witness the birth. Hence Mooney explains that when labor started, the woman drank an infusion of wild cherry bark and various formulas to speed delivery (qtd. in Perdue 32).



During delivery, a woman stood, knelt, or sat, but she never gave birth lying down. All of these had a purpose that the child would fall on leaves placed beneath the mother. Cherokees believed that if the baby, at birth, was caught by someone, there was a bad omen (Perdue 32).

Giving birth was regarded as an important role, as woman's sacred role (Barstow 259). Sacred role dealt with the power of creating a new life for a newborn baby. It also demonstrated that women got a gift of fertility to continue their heritage. After delivery, the mother plunged the infant into the river or waved that newborn over the fire and asked for spiritual guardianship (Perdue 33).

The mother's physical recovery from childbirth was rapid, according to European reports. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, a trader who traveled to Cherokees, observed and reported that Cherokee women were not subject to any of the complaints attending modern childbirth, when delivered. They were often able to be in the field hoeing the next day (qtd. in Perdue 33). Though three days, as observed by Timberlake, was the longest time of a Cherokee mother's illness after delivery. Even a great number of them did not need many hours to have physical recovery, as it was seen by Timberlake that "I have known a Cherokee woman delivered at the side of a river, wash her child, and come home with it in one hand, and a gourd full of water in the other hand (33).

Timberlake's view towards the rapid recovery of Cherokee woman after delivery was opposed by Perdue. According to her, the reports of Timberlake just exaggerated the post - partum activities, because Cherokee women normally curtailed their activities for a period of time following delivery. A woman remained apart from



her family for seven days following delivery, and then she bathed, put on clean cloth

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and returned home (34). Similarly, Driver also asserts that when a baby was born, the pregnancy taboos were still intensified for a period of a few days to a few months (439). Cherokee mother, however, still needed a period of time to recover her physical health after delivery.

When the mother and her baby were at home, the mother and her relatives took immediately steps to nurture that baby. It was not only the mother's responsibility to nurture her baby but also her relatives. This rule was based on the rule of the matrilineal society that the baby or children was not possessed by the mother but also by the clan's of the mother. The mother's relatives who also had a responsibility to nurture the baby were those who could be traced through her. They were the maternal grandmother (mother's mother), maternal uncles (mother's brothers), and maternal aunts (mother's sisters) (Perdue 42).

James Mooney observed the way of Cherokee mother in nurturing their children. All of that mother's treatments for her children were mostly influenced by the myth of the Cherokee society. Cherokee mothers, as Mooney explains it, gave their infants a drink made of pulverized cockleburs and water that was taken from a fall or cataract where the stream makes a constant noise. By doing this action, they believed that their children would learn quickly and retain in memory anything once heard (qtd in Perdue 284). Mothers also rubbed beans on their children's lips to make them look smiling and good tempered or a lizard on their throat and head to make them sleepy quietly (306). They often scratched their children's hands slightly with a crayfish claw in order to produce a strong grip in their children hands (308), and they also bathed the



eyes of their children with water in which a blue jay feather had been soaked there, to make them early risers (424).

Carrying children became one of the mother activities in nurturing. The way of carrying was unique. Cherokee mother often strapped their infants into a kind of portable crib called a cradleboard. It was carried on the mother's back with the infant facing backward, or it could be suspended from a tree or leaned against the house. By carrying this way, they still could finish all of her duty either at home or even in the field. Cherokee women also often carried their youngest children to the fields with them. Placed under the shade of a tree, children in cradleboards could happily watch their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers perform the farming chores (Lafarge 54).

Living in Native American community, Cherokee children entered on the period of childhood with others. Childhood was the period in which children were prepared for their full participation in tribal life. They learned the skills necessary for survival in the wilderness and also the responsibilities that their role as a member of a self-sustaining tribal society demanded. During childhood, Cherokee youth also learned the customs, legends, and traditions of his tribe as well as moral and manners (David 11).

As a mother, a Cherokee woman had a responsibility to teach the customs, legends, and traditions of their tribe to their children. This responsibility was a part of their duty in nurturing the children. They believed that children were the future generation. They became the spirit of this world that would continue their clan. Charles Eastman said that the upbringing of children became the major concern for people everywhere (qtd. in David 70). Native American parents, as Eastman explains



it, wish to imbue in their children a respect for their own values and customs. They also wanted to train or educate their children so that they became capable children (70). Since the responsibility to train or educate their children rested on parents, therefore, the mother took an important role in forming the child's personality and character. The duty to educate children did not only become the mother's responsibility, but it also the responsibility of her clan (Perdue 33).

The method of teaching in Cherokees was the same with the other Indian tribes in North America. They usually used myth, legend, tale, song, and poetry as the means to educate their young. Myth was considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. It deals with the activities of gods, the creation of the world and its inhabitants, and the origin of religious rituals (Brunvand 99). While tale and legend contained values and prohibitions as well as the purposes and functions to teach the Indian youth moral standards such as courage, generosity, kindness, honesty, and also to live a proper according to Native American culture (Manurung 28).

Myth, legend, tale, song, and poetry classified into traditional or oral literature or we called them as folklore (Spiller 703). They were called as oral literature because they were handed down from generation to generation by mouth-to-mouth communication. Native American used oral literature since they did not use written text before the contact with white.

Oral tradition, therefore, was an integral part of the tribal life. The purpose of oral tradition was not just self-expression. It did not just show somebody's voice, gesture, and facial expression. Through oral tradition, the Native American tried to embody, to articulate, and to share reality through their songs, ceremonies, legends,



song, indeed, was power. It seems that the word, in oral tradition, also meant to maintain and prolong the individual life in some way or other-that were to cure, to heal, to ward off evil, and to frustrate death (Astrov 19). The truth they believed should be told through the words in oral literature. These truths included when and how the earth was created, why the twilight was created, why the sky is blue, and how the sun was created. The relation of Native American to the words expressed in Astrov's poem, it was as follows (3):

I am ashamed before the earth;

I am ashamed before the heavens;

I am ashamed before the dawn;

I am ashamed before the evening twilight;

I am ashamed before the blue sky;

I am ashamed before the sun;

I am ashamed before that standing within me which speaks with me  
some of these things are always looking at me.

I am never out of sight.

Therefore *I must tell the truth.*

I hold *my word* tight to my breast.

(lines 1-11)

When a Cherokee mother told a story or sang a song, she saw herself as a culture carrier for her children. She became the narrator or medium to tell the information to her children. She tried to transform the values and belief of her tribe to



her children. She involved herself in that story or song and became a part of the story or song itself.

In the mountains of the East Tennessee, where I come from, stories and the oral tradition are a way of life. Whatever one's individual heritage-Cherokee, Celtic, African, or a combination of the three-we all live by stories. And not only those that humans tell. The Great smokiest and their foothills, themselves, are Story-older than the Rockies, older than the Andes. Veiled in blue haze, whose source remains a mystery, the mountains were never covered by the Ice Age. Their root system of plant and forest has been continuous for millions of years. Mountain people see this ancient web of life with our eyes. We feel it beneath our feet. We know we are part of the story (Awiakta 154).

Davey Arch, a Cherokee descent, explains that the Cherokees used storytelling and communicating in that way in order to educate and even to pass on their history (qtd. in Duncan 75). He further explains several ways that the Cherokees told the stories. In the evening after evening meal, everyone would gather around the elders, and the elders would maybe take down their pipe and smoke a little bit or maybe have some chewing tobacco, relax, and sat around. And then they would start telling the stories (75).

Most of the stories, as Arch explains it, would emphasize the lessons the Cherokee children needed to learn so that they would be able to live as good human beings in this life (qtd. in Duncan 75). One of those lessons was about the law of their tribe. Cherokee mother always taught about the laws of their society or tribe in order to



make their children obeying their tribe laws. The laws of the Cherokee society often

expressed in a legend. One of these laws was about the responsibility for wrongful action. Someone's action should create the balance with the other. If someone did the wrongful action, she or he must responsible toward her or his own action. The Yellow Rattlesnake legend was a legend a Cherokee mother taught to their youth about that law. In that legend it was stated that Cherokee mother killed the chief of rattlesnakes, Yellow Rattlesnake, with a stick. Cherokee mother did this action without thinking because she wanted to safe her children from the rattlesnake's bite. The friends of Yellow rattlesnake could not accept her action and asked her husband that they would send Black rattlesnake to take revenge. The husband immediately accepted their claim and took responsibility for the crime. The rattlesnakes then said that the price they demanded was the life of his wife in sacrificing for that of their chief. (<http://www.cherokeehistory.com/law.html>).

Freeman Owle, a Cherokee man, told that the story of the Origin of Strawberry also has a special meaning and it also usually used to teach Cherokee children (qtd in Duncan 226). It was stated that there was a man, who in their matrilineal society, his wife told him to hunt a deer because this day her mother and grandmother would come and had a dinner with them. Since a mother and a grandmother were very important because they should give respect to them, that man went to forest to hunt a deer. In the forest, he saw a fellow fallen into a ravine and his leg was broken. Looking at that situation, this man went out and help him. It was evening when that man finished in helping that fellow. Then, he returned to household without a deer. Looking that her husband did not bring a deer in his hands, she was angry and run away to the forest. In



the forest she was hungry and took some strawberries there. While she was eating, his husband came and apologized to her. He also told her what had happened. Hearing the explanation of her husband, she realized that she had left in anger and went back to the village with her husband (qtd. in Duncan 226). This story, as Owle explains it, teaches Cherokee children that they should not in the heat of anger, jump up and run away, and also make real drastic decisions or actions at that point (227). Before doing some actions, we should consider it first, and also account the effect of our action. It was also expected that we decide some actions without the emotion and said sorry if we made a mistake to somebody.

When Cherokee children were ready to get married, it was the mother's responsibility to arrange her children marriage. This was not surprising if the responsibility to arrange the marriage rested on Cherokee women because a child belonged to a mother or its mother's clan (Lafarge 53). In arranging the marriage for their children, Cherokee mother should follow the principle of matrilineal descent. The matrilineal system of Cherokees prescribed who could be married and who could not be married. Two people from the same clan were absolutely forbidden to marry (Driver 275). They could not marry people who belonged to the clan of their mother and also the clan of their father (Perdue 42). They should marry another clan. Cherokees believed that all members of the same clan, which passed through the mother, were considered as blood relatives. The marriage with the blood relatives, therefore, was taboo. This taboo kept the bloodline pure and prevented birth defects, which may would have weakened the genetics within the tribe (Driver 275). Cherokee



children, therefore, generally married with members of his or her grandfather clan (Perdue 44).

In the marriage regulation, Cherokees also stressed the importance of female relatives in the man's selection of a mate. When a young man contemplated marriage, he declared his desire through a female relative who conferred with the mother of the women or the bride. If the mother disapproved, she referred the case to her brother or oldest son to say so. If mother's consent was obtained, the young man was admitted. The parents and other relatives of a bride or groom normally had more to do with the selection of a marriage partner because marriage among Cherokees as a family affair (Perdue 43).

The big responsibility of mother in marriage arrangement for her children in Cherokees was the same with Navajo tribe. Whitehorse told the role of Navajo women in the marriage where she lived as follows:

In olden times, Navajo women would scheme to arrange a marriage for their children to someone from a wealthy family. Wealth meant having cows and horses, or a car. A lot of tribal people were material-oriented, and still are. The mother and grandmother would pick the mate for a girl, but they wouldn't force you. They'd ask you if it was okay first. Our tradition was that the man came to live with his wife's family (Whitehorse 57).

The marriage happened when Cherokee girls at a young age, but not before the puberty ceremony. The puberty ceremony was a mark for the girl's first menstruation. When young women got their first menstruation, they considered marriageable. It might take place at twelve or thirteen years of age. For men, they tended to be older,



but probably married at less than twenty years of age on the average (Driver 267).

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When the time of puberty ceremony came, she had completed her domestic training and prepared to be a wife and mother by her mother or the older women or grandmother in her clan.

Most marriages in American Indians were also economic arrangements, including Cherokees. Separate bands usually needed strong men. Since the new husband lived and joined to his wife's band, marriage was also economic asset for the bride's family. The new husband had responsibilities to protect, propagate, and provide meat and fish for his wife's family. Men went to live with their wives when they married was a must for Cherokee men (Lafarge 53). Because Cherokees was matrilineal, a new husband should move from the household of his mother to that of his wife. This principle of matrilineal rules also applied by Apache tribe in the Southwest of North America. When a man got married, he must join in his wife's band:

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girls parents to live. We do this practice because a woman is more valuable than a man. We did it to accommodate the woman. The son - in - law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them (Opler 163).

The rule of Cherokee men to live in his wife household was based on the myth of The Man Who Married Thunder's Sister. In this myth, as explains by James Mooney, there was a warrior fell in love with Thunder's sister at a dance. When she obtained her brother's permission to marry, the warrior accompanied his bride to her



home in the underworld (qtd. in Perdue 43). Cherokees also believed that if this rule was not practiced, there would be a disaster for the bridegroom. This belief, as Mooney states it, was expressed in their myth of The Slant-Eyed Giant. This myth was about the newlyweds who refused to follow established practice. In this myth, as Mooney describes it, a young woman who married a giant despite her mother's objections, and the giant, her new husband, took her to live in his house. The woman's brother, who lived with his wife, tried in vain to convince his sister to return to their mother's house. Unfortunately, his sister persisted her abnormal behavior, and in the end, she never saw her family again (43). For Cherokee men, living in his wife's household became the custom in their tribe.

When the new husband lived in the bride's parents, he was bound by strict tradition and practice. But it did not mean that a wife was superiority to her husband. It was the immediate result of the matrilineal residence that was applied by Cherokees. The result of matrilineal residence is not feminine superiority, but only the superiority of wife's kin (Lowie 191).

The marriage obviously favored the Cherokee female. The groom would give a marriage gift to his bride and her family. The gift was usually in the form of meat, showing that he was a good hunter and capable to support the bride's family. The motive of giving the price occurred as a constant refrain in the utterance where the skillful hunter figures as the ideal son-in-law (Lowie 23). The form of marriage gift was different from one tribe to another. In Apache, for example, the usual gift was a horse or a hide. The amount of the gift represented the wealth of the groom (Buchanan 13).



In a family life, Cherokee women could not be separated with the housework

duties. Their position as housewives tended to bring them into a series of activities in their households. The role of women as housewives, according to Ulrich, was defined by a space (a house and its surrounding yards), a set of tasks (cooking, washing, sewing, milking, spinning, cleaning, and gardening), and a limited area of authority (the internal economy of family)' (9). Cherokee women practiced most of these tasks, which determined their role as housewives.

The every day lives of Cherokee women were strenuous and not extremely colorful. They ran everything. They nurtured and carried the family. They were very responsible for providing food to survive in this life (Whitehorse 56). Their skill in cooking caused European called them as the cooks in their family (Perdue 20). Cherokee women did not serve food three times a day. They just prepare food in the morning, and because they had no formal meals, they would eat when they were hungry (22).

Corn became the staple in Cherokees diet. Cherokee women were very professional in cooking corn. They cooked a variety of corn dishes for their family. They boiled corn first or just ate some fresh or green corn (Perdue 21). In the winter, they would take their dried corn and beans in cribs, soaked in water, and then boiled it (21). They used this corn as ingredients for their bread. Ingredients other than corn were also used for their bread such as chestnut, beans, and pumpkin. They could make tasty corn soup too (21).

Cherokee women also cooked turkey for her family. Those turkeys were caught from the wood near their dwelling. The wild turkeys that flourished in primitive



America were good eating (Katherine 44). Food processing was a part of Cherokee

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women activities in their daily life. When their husband returned from hunting, the Cherokee women also skinned and butchered the animals on the spot where they feel. They cut the meat in long strips, dried it in the sun, or smoked it over fires to purge the moisture and thus preserve the meat (Weatherford 74).

All of the fish and marine mammals brought in by the men of ten processed with the same manner. The women usually used their tools to process those fish and marine mammals brought in by the men. They gutted, scaled, and cleaned the fish, and dried vast quantities of them for the winter. They dried fish under the sun but in the rainy climate of the coastal area, they also smokehouse to preserve tons of fish and other seafood annually. After drying the fish, the women pounded some of them into meal that was full of protein (Weatherford 156). The role of women in providing food for their family was central, without them a family's existence threatened (Buchanan 14).

Cherokee mother had activities other than cooking. They made a variety of things that necessary for their household or just did these activities for their own pleasure. They often made their cooking utensils and other pottery from native clay (Perdue 22). They could produce baskets which served as containers and sieves made from swamp cane. They changed a large gourd as water containers and skin to store oil and honey (22).

Cherokee women also had a responsibility to provide wood and water for their households. William Bartram, an anthropologists who observed the Southeastern Native Americans especially Cherokee and Creek in the early eighteenth century,



asserted that women had a good deal of labor such as cutting and bringing home the wood from the forests for winter (qtd. in Perdue 23). Women also always carried water. In Cherokee society, according to Bartram who observed it, it was considered scandalous for men and boys to be seen carrying water. Carrying water, as Cherokees believed it, only associated with fertility that women had and it became a gender specific task (24).

They sewed their clothing from deerskin and produce cane mats and hemp carpet that they painted in bright color as their house decoration. In their household, women carved the soapstone (steatite) pipes that they used in smoking (Perdue 22). All of these duties usually done in a cooperative situation in order to make these labor unheavy.

## **2.2. Women in Economy Life**

### **2.2.1. As a Farmer**

The Cherokees lived in the valleys of the Southern Appalachians with a lot of woods and rivers near their village. Modern archeologists believe that the Cherokees had lived on this land for hundreds or perhaps even thousands of years. The Cherokees believed that they had always been there forever.

Every Cherokee realized that they were merely caretakers of the land. To them, no one could own the land, they could only use or abuse it. They believed that the creator created them and put them in their land. They also believed that they didn't come from another land (Ballantine and Ballantine 23):

When we were created we were



Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004. Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>  
Given our ground to live on and from this time these were our rights.

This all true

We were put here by the Creator

I was not brought from a foreign country

And did not come here.

I was put here by the Creator (lines 1-7)

Living in a land which was fertile and full of woods, the Cherokees depended their life on the two sectors, agriculture and hunting. Both of them provided subsistence for the population. Before the coming of the European, the Cherokees had some agriculture technique that was bequeathed by their ancestor.

By the seventeenth century Cherokee women had developed a variety of crops, including several type of maize, beans, and squash as well as pumpkins, cucumbers, Jerusalem artichokes and tobacco (Salisbury 30). The Cherokees also developed agriculture technique in their fields. They usually applied the multiple cropping in their field. Multiple cropping was the planting of two successive crops on the same fields in the same season. This strategy was designed to produce maximum yields from their fields (31).

The Cherokees, like a people on the southeast, normally farmed on a large scale (Lafarge 12). It was done near their village. The condition of the land in the south that was fertile gave many advantages for the Cherokees. They planted the maize-beans combination in their field. Maize was the name of the Indian corn. Maize or corn, therefore, had the same meaning.



The combination growing between corn and beans were particularly suited to each other. It resulted in higher concentrations of nitrogen in the soil. When corn removes nitrogen from the soil, beans replace that nitrogen quickly and thus had a fertilizing effect. The effect of the combination growing was not just to fertilize the land, but it also gave more protein when they were consumed. When eaten together, the corn-bean combination provided more protein than the two would have separately. Beans contain an amino acid, lysine, which releases much of the corn's protein, zein. Corn contains an insufficient quantity of its own lysine to release the zein (Salisbury 31).

Corn became the chief food plant for the Cherokees. It symbolized the gift that their ancestral mother, Selu, had given them on which they depended for subsistence. The Cherokee usually grew two types of corn in their large fields. They were a flinty multicolored "hominy corn" and a white-grain "flour corn". They planted these varieties in hills about yard apart by dropping seven kernels into a small hole (Perdue 18).

Among the Cherokees, women did most of the planting. They played the chief roles. Before planting, women prepared ground with wooden hoes tipped with bone, flint or clamshells (Henretta et al., 7). Their farming was usually done in the woods where the Cherokees must open meadows or prairies before. Although the primary responsibility for agriculture rested with women, but the men normally help them by clearing the new land, cutting down and burning the trees (Lafarge 44).

Cherokee men were also involved in agriculture works such as in the planting and harvest. When the planting came, Cherokee men helped women plant the large



fields that lay on the outskirts of their towns in the late summer or fall when the

harvest came, once again, Cherokee men involved in the fields work. They joined together with women in the field to harvest their produce. Daniel Butrick, a missionary who was interested in traditional Cherokee practice, observed the cooperation between Cherokee men and women in their field. He wrote as follows:

Anciently it was common for a whole town to enclose a large field, in which each family had its particular share, separated by some known marks. In this all the town, men and women, worked together, first in one part and then in another, according to the direction of one whom they had selected to manage the business, and whom, in this respect, they called their leader (qtd. in Perdue 18).

Between planting and harvest, Cherokee men retired from agriculture and the women tended total responsibility towards the fields. After planting, Cherokee's fields required constant attention such as cultivation. Cultivation consisted of hilling the corn, keeping predators away, and keeping the weeds down. Women did most of these cultivation works. After the corn came up a few inches, Cherokee women hilled it by pilling loose dirt around the roots. Since corn requires a large quantity of water during its growing season, hilling could protect water spreading to another plant. Furthermore, corn has roots that are relatively weak and shallow for its size, and hilling helped keep the stalks from being blown over the wind. Beside that, hilling also protected corn seeds from the birds or other predators. One effect of these hills was to strengthen the plants against winds and birds by allowing the roots to intertwine (Salisbury 31).



To keep predators away, Cherokee women usually employed domesticated hawks to reduce depredations of corn seeds by birds. They also prevented the growth of the weeds by cutting down with their hoes. Louise Phillippe, who toured the Cherokees country in 1796 when he was a refugee from the French Revolution, wrote that Cherokee women dug only the weeds close enough to choke the plant. They did not dig for the weeds that were far from the plant. They usually hoed those weeds with a sharpened stick or stone mattock. They were relatively tolerant towards the weeds (qtd. in Perdue 19).

When the time of corn harvesting came, Cherokee women usually went through the fields collecting the ears of corn in large pack baskets carried on their back. They harvested this corn usually in September or October. By cultivating two acres, women typically harvested 60 bushels of shelled corn-half the calories required by five people for a year (Henretta et al., 7). Roger Williams observed what women did when the major harvest came. The result of his observation was as follows:

“The women of the family will commonly raise two or three heaps of twelve, fifteen, or twenties bushels, a heap, which they drie in round broad heaps; and if she have helped of her children or friends, much more.” much of this harvest was boiled, dried, placed in woven sacks, and stored in underground pits, where it was available for use during the winter (qtd. in Salisbury 31).

After harvesting, the last essential step in raising a crop of corn was storing it and keeping it safe from field mice and other animals. In some places, Cherokee women stored their corn in cribs raised seven or eight feet from the ground on posts which were polished so mice could not climb them. In other places, Cherokee women



stored their corn in special rooms in their houses in which they lived. In this manner Cherokee was able to keep corn from one year to another (Hudson 292).

Besides tended the crops in the large fields, Cherokee women also planted smaller gardens near their homes. It was usually called as "kitchen garden". In their kitchen gardens, they grew corn, beans, peas, and other vegetables. The women often cultivated a third of corn which was small than field corn and ripened in only two months (Perdue 19).

Although women spent more time in farming, they did other activities for supplying their families with the nature bounty. Theda Perdue in her book said that in particular, Cherokee women were prodigious gatherers (20). Throughout the years, they relied on wild plants for seeds, leaves, roots, and stems to add variety to their diet and to help them in their provisions before harvest or if there was a fail corn crop.

Cherokee women usually collected sunflower seeds (*Heliantus Annuus*). From these seeds, they got large quantities of oil from these seeds. The sunflower oil was rich in vitamins and with their hard shells, it would be easy to store for use in winter ([http:// www. Angelfire. Com/oukah-7/-101k.html](http://www.Angelfire.Com/oukah-7/-101k.html)).

Besides collecting the sunflower seeds, women also searched for bee trees and collected honey, and they made sugar from maple sap. In the fall, Cherokee women burned the underbrush in the woods and collected large quantities of nuts, which they used in bread or for oil (Perdue 20).

The responsibilities of Cherokee women in farming and gathering were the same with the responsibility of Cherokee men in hunting. In Cherokee society, they believed that the division of labor based on the gender was in balanced.



## The balance responsibility between Cherokee women and men in the economic

life had its roots in their primal myth of the origin beings, Selu and Kanati. Selu, "the corn mother", represented the relationship of women to the cycles of nature and agricultural production, and Kana'ti, "the lucky hunter," signified the relationship of men with the forests and the harvest of game. This myth also gave an explanation that the division of labor between women and men was in equal or balance. Although there was a different tasks in economic life, but neither less important than the other. The balance position between them was expressed in the end of their myth, Kanati and Selu: " in the upper world, beyond the solid vault of the sky, man and woman sat side by side. In the realm of past time, predictability, and perfection, harmony and balance were restored (qtd. in Perdue 15).

The division of labor according to gender was central to the Cherokee's perceptions of self and society. Women had their own responsibilities in farming and gathering and men also had their own responsibilities in providing meat from fishing and hunting deer, wild turkey and other animals. Hunting parties, according to the Cherokees, were primarily male.

The primary responsibility of Cherokee women and the other native American women in crops, especially in southeastern where the Cherokees lived there, made them called as the America's first farmer (Ballantine and Ballantine 82). This respect was due to the botanical knowledge they possessed. They knew exactly what plants to feed her family. They also knew what plants made the best clothing and dyes, and when to harvest materials for making cordage and weaving textiles. They knew which leaves, bark, roots, steams, and berries could cure disease (82). It also would be the



woman who would plant the seeds, tend the garden, harvest the bounty, and prepare

the meal. Because she enjoyed a corner on botanical knowledge, she was the one to harness the potential of domesticated plants. And for the next hundred generations, she would support thousands of people every year (83).

Many historians attempted to study the reason of why the agriculture was rested on Native American women, especially for those tribes which the subsistence of their life depended on agriculture. Marry Jennison, a war captives of Iroquois, affirmed that economic pursuit such as agriculture could simultaneously accommodate women's childcare responsibility. Agriculture could be carried on more effectively by women with children than hunting or fishing (qtd. in Washburn 31). Then, it was reasonable that most of the Southerners tribes, including Cherokees, gave their women the responsibility in agriculture. There was a correlation between agricultural tasks that was assigned to women with the women's responsibility in childcare. Women could take care their children while finishing their work in the fields and vice versa.

## **2.3. Women in Political Life**

### **2.3.1. As a Matron and As a Warrior**

In general, the basis of Native American government was the clan. It was composed of all who were descended from the same female ancestor (Lawler 124). The Cherokees government, like all of American Indians, also based on the clan. Each of Cherokee clan had its own symbol or mark called the totem. They were Bird Clan (Anidjiskwa), Paint Clan (Aniwodi), Deer Clan (Anikawi), Wolf Clan (Aniwahiya),



The nature of the Cherokees government made participation by women possible. The government that was based on clan mother provides a place for women to participate in the course of their government. The position of Cherokee women in their government was as a matron and warrior.

Each of Cherokee clan was further divided into "lineages", that was, members descended from a common ancestor. Each of this lineage was headed by an older woman, the matron. A group of matron in one clan, therefore, chose one of them as its leader. Thus, these seven women leaders from the seven clans would sit in the Women Council which was headed by the Beloved Women. The position as a matron was respected by the Cherokees since from them the various chiefs or sachems, who would sit in the Men Council, were chosen (Lafarge 53).

Since all positions of leadership were elected in the Cherokees tribe, therefore, everyone including married women of childbearing age nominated candidates for their own chiefs or sachems of each clan. The women of each of the seven clans should elect their own chief or sachem. After choosing one of them, then the matron or the head of each lineage announced her choice to the other matrons of her longhouse, and then to the clan. Undoubtedly the choice was talked over carefully among the women in the Women Council before it was announced because once it was made public, it was almost always ratified (Lafarge 53). These seven women in the Women council became the decision maker to nominate the chief who would sit in the Men Council.



Women could also initiate the removal of the chief. If the new chief did badly,

it was the responsibility of the matron to warn him three times. If he still did not improve, at the fourth time, the matron would tell the council and then this council would depose him. In short, Cherokee women, in their position as a matron, choose the chiefs or sachems, rulers and by their power of recall had a good deal of influence over them (Lafarge 54).

The seven chiefs or sachems from the seven clans who sit in the Men Council must consult their decision or policy with their matron. In making a decision to make a war or a peace agreement, those seven chiefs should discuss it first with their own matron. It was a common custom among the ancient Cherokee that any important questions relating to war and peace were left to a vote of the women (Mankiller and Wallis 207).

The influence of women in the council was the expression of women power in Cherokees tribe. Their influence in the council was the same important with their influence to control the land, property, and children. Cherokee women, as Perdue says it, exerted an important influence in the home as well as in the council house (54).

The Cherokees law was similar to that of the Iroquois or the Five Nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk) that codified the Matron's decision-making in selecting the chiefs (Allen 212):

If a disobedient chief persists in his disobedience after three warnings (by his female relatives, and by one of his fellow council members, in that order), the matter shall go to the Council of War Chiefs. The Chiefs shall then take away the title of the erring chief *by order of the women in whom the title is vested.*



When the chief is deposed, the women shall notify the chiefs of the League... and the chief of the League shall sanction the act. The women will then select another of their sons as a candidate and the chiefs shall elect him (Article 19).

The position of the Matron, according to Allen, implied the idea of the feminist and it became the distinctive feature of the Cherokees tribe and the other American Indian tribes in the southern region that based on the matrilineal descent (221). She also explains that the central position of the clan matrons in the formulation and determination of domestic and foreign policy as well as in their primary role in the ritual and ceremonial life became a portrait of their tribe respect towards women and it became the important attribute of the Iroquois, as of the Cherokees and Muskogeas, who traditionally inhabited the Southern Atlantic region (221).

War in Cherokee society was common. It usually happened to show the strength or power of their tribe to another tribes. Although war parties belonged to male but women often participated with their primary responsibility that was to carry water and prepare the food (Perdue 38). They also had a duty to wait the return of the warriors in order to participate in celebrating the victory in the Scalp Dance (53). In 1751, for example, the colony of South Carolina recorded that there were 12 Cherokee women along with 128 men to go to war against enemy tribes (53).

The Cherokees did not only support the active participation of their women in accompanying their husband or father in a war but more than that the Cherokees also provide a special place for a female warrior, they might entice women becoming



meet with one of these Cherokee women warriors, he estimated her age was one hundred years old. She was very highly respected and loved by the Cherokees. Her name was Chicouchla and she had gone to war against Cherokee's hostility and suffered severe wounds (qtd. in Perdue 38).

Some missionaries recognized the bravery of Cherokee women in the battle. James Mooney obtained the information from a Cherokee medicine man that there was a brave Cherokee women warrior namely Cuhtahlutah (Gatun'lati or "Wild Hemp"). She accompanied her husband in the battle but unfortunately her husband died against the enemy attack. Knowing that her husband died, she collected the other warriors, grabbed his husband tomahawk, shouted, "Kill! Kill!", and then led the Cherokees to victory (qtd. in Perdue 38).

The other Cherokee women warrior who was respected by Cherokees was Nanye-Hi (Nancy Ward). She became a Ghighau or Beloved Women, a position reserved for brave and wise women who have served her people well. The Cherokees chose her as a Beloved Women because of her valor in the Battle of Taliwa (a battle against Creek) in 1775 (Perdue 53). She fought by her husband's side against the Creeks. When her husband, Kingfisher, fell in that battle, she sprang up from behind a log and rallied the Cherokee warriors to fight harder. Taking up a rifle, she led a charge that unnerved the Creeks and brought victory to the Cherokees.

In the powerful position of Ghigau (Beloved Woman) or War Women, her words carried much weight in the tribal government because the Cherokees believed that the Great Spirit frequently spoke through the Beloved Women or War Women. As



(Perdue 53). War Women had the rights to make a decision whether war captives should be killed or to be saved. They had a central role in this drama. When War women concluded that the vengeance to war captives should be in the form of death, the other warriors should carry out her instruction. Mooney explained that the decision of War Women to kill war captives expressed in Cherokee's myth. In this myth, it was shown that there was two women with snakes tattooed on their lips directed the other women to burn the feet of a captive Seneca war chief until they were blistered. Then they put corn kernels under the burned skin, chased with clubs, and ultimately beat him to death (qtd. in Perdue 53).

The decision to save war captives also rested on War Women. Historians collected the records of Nancy Ward, the War Woman of Chota, who save the lives of captives. In 1776, She rescued from the stake Mrs. William Bean, who lived in one of the illegal white settlements along the Holston River in what today northeastern Tennessee. Nancy Ward took Mrs. Bean to her house, learned from her how to make butter. Mrs. Bean, therefore, was restored to Nancy Ward's family (Perdue 54).

The desire of Cherokee warriors to adopt war captives, according to historians, was so strong. The main purpose of adopting war captives was to augment the size of clans decimated by famine, war, disease, or low birthrate. Adoption, as Perdue explains it, was the way to fill particular slots in the matrilineal structure (54). One of the evidence was when the Cherokees captured the physician David Menzies in the mid-eighteenth century. He was captured specifically in order to replace one of Cherokees head warriors who had been killed by the English (54).



The term of war women and beloved women may have applied to the same women. The Cherokees distinguished the use of those terms based on the women's condition, whether she was in pre-menopause or post-menopause. Some evidences showed that Beloved women were elderly while War Women were indeterminate age. According to Perdue, War women probably became "Beloved Women" when they passed menopause (Perdue 39).

Becoming "Ghi-ga-u" was the proud of all Cherokee women. The Cherokees called a war as their "beloved occupation". Some Cherokee wives were also camp followers who remained in the temporary shelter while their husbands did the actual raiding and fighting (Buchanan 39). While some others who were independent and strong became warriors in the fullest sense of the word and were legends among their people like what Cuhtahlutah and Nancy Ward did.

The appreciation of the Cherokees toward war women was so great; even they made a special office to motivate many Cherokee females to become warriors (Reid 187):

The Cherokees were so respectful of their women warriors they created a special office for them called Ghi-ga-u, a word meaning Beloved Woman, Pretty Woman, or War Woman. The war women attended every council and offered advice on strategy and other military matters. They became eligible for the office by their military deeds. Many were also the mothers of warriors. One of their main duties was to determine the fate of condemned captives. The office of Ghi-ga-u served as a powerful impetus for many females to become warriors.



The Cherokee people, as well as other Native American, listened to their women,

respected their counsel and looked upon them as equal. Women held in high esteem within Cherokees that ensured everyone's well being and avoided battles. Involving women in a battle or war was the tendency of most matriarchal societies that was to resolve conflict in a manner far less invasive to the well being of their members than that of patriarchal, or male-dominated societies (Wolf and Baggot 28).

It was a prestige for Cherokee women if they could participate both in the council house and war. The Cherokees usually sang a song to show the tribes proud towards women's role in the political life. By singing a song like the following one, the Cherokees wanted to teach to their generation that there was a harmony in their culture. The harmony in this song meant that there was not the dominance power of men. Harmony meant that Cherokee women and men were equal both in their rights and power especially in the political life. The singer in Native American usually used songs as a way to exert a strong influence to his or her children (Astrov 19), as a result, this song also used for educating Cherokee children about the role of their women in the political life. Marilou Awiakta's "Song of the Grandmothers" gave the portrait of Cherokee women roles in political life. It was as follows (320):

I am Cherokee.

My people believe in the Spirit that unites all things.

I am woman. I am life force. My word has great value.

The man reveres me as he reveres Mother earth and his own spirit.

The Beloved Woman is one of our principal chiefs.

Through her the Spirit often speaks to the people.



In the Great Council at the capital, she is a powerful voice.

Concerning the fate of hostage, her word is absolute.

Women share in all of life. We lead sacred dances.

In the Council we debate freely with the men until an agreement is reached.

When the nation considers war,

We have a say, for we bear the survivors.

Sometimes I go to into battle. (lines 1-13)

The position of Cherokee women as a matron and warrior became an evidence that Cherokee women had the equal position with men both in the council and war. The balance position of Cherokee women and men, as it was etched into the myth of "Selu and Kanati, became the reality in the political life before the coming of White.

#### 2.4. Women in Religious Life

Cherokees and probably other Native American tribes hold peculiar religion. Religion was regarded as relation of man to supernatural personalities with anthropomorphic attributes (Driver 479). Further he pointed out that animism was part of religion ritual. Animism was the belief in spiritual beings or personalities (479). Similarly, Edward B. Tylor's Primitive Culture (1877) stated that animism encompassed belief in souls, ghosts, gods, demons, and other supernatural. Animism, according to Tylor, was believed by Native American tribes (qtd. in Barnouw 291), and as what practiced by Cherokees. They believed that trees, rivers, animals, and plants might have souls and thus should be worshiped.



Cherokees also believed that the Great Spirit created the world, the earth on which they lived. This world was separated into two, namely upper world and under world. The upper world occupied by sun and moon. Sun was the sister of moon. Then, sun made the world of creation by forming the First Man (Kanati) and the First Woman (Selu), causing the plants grow, and breeding the animals. The under world, on the other hand, was occupied by spirits and monster who lived in a chaotic world full of novelty and in rention (Eliade 486).

In the religious life, Cherokee women played the primary role. They usually provided large quantities of food for the quests who came in the rituals or ceremonial (Reichard 343). They cooked that food with other women in their clan.

Cherokees also gave a place for women to become shamans or religious leaders. Women who became a shaman in Cherokees society were considered as sacred (Allen 207). As shamans, they were the intermediatery between the members of her society and the supernatural world, with which she communicated either by talking to the spirits and listening to their replies or undergoing possession (Barnouw 297). Cherokee women shamans could lead the rituals and the ceremonies as well as Cherokee men shamans. They performed healings, hunting ceremonies, vision quests, act of psychokinesis, teleportation, weather direction, etc (Allen 207). The Cherokees women shamans also officiated at burials, births, child naming, menstrual and pregnancy rituals and rites (208). They did much of her duties in the rituals and ceremonies through dancing and chanting, a large part of method, symbols, and the songs she sang. They often transmitted their knowledge to others in ways that they



would use them and much of it she kept to herself. They also shared their knowledge with other shamans (208).

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Barnouw affirmed that although Priests and shamans were both religious leaders, they were still different in various ways. The priests did not have to see the spirits or be possessed by them or had any particular dream or visions. Priests succeeded to an office, while the shamans were more of a self-made man, or a man who had acquired spirits helpers (307). Priest did not depend upon spirit helpers. Since his authority came from the religious order in which he was a part, he was an organization man. He was also more apt to be a full-time specialist than shaman (307).

The role of women in the religious life as shamans implied that Cherokees never interpreted rituals or religious leaders in male-biased terms, they did not see only male in the religious life.



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The Resistance of the Cherokee Women Against "The Civilization Program" (1789-1839)  
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Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004. <https://id.ezproxy.library.ugm.ac.id/>

## CHAPTER III

# THE CIVILIZATION PROGRAM TOWARDS THE ROLE OF CHEROKEE WOMEN

This chapter analyses the meaning of the civilization program. It also tries to explore more deeply into the causes of why this program was applied. This part then attempts to discuss the goals of the civilization program for Cherokee women. In the last part of this chapter, it will try to tell the application of the civilization programs towards the role of the Cherokee women particularly their role in the family, economy, political, and religious life.

### 3.1. The Meaning of the Civilization Program

In the end of the eighteenth century, civilization program became the main topic in the United States. Many historians tried to study the meaning of the civilization program. Civilization, as it was described by Theda Perdue, was a radical transformation of the Native American societies involving the transformation of their government, religion, and economic (110). Further Perdue asserted that the economic transformation should become the first priority in this program. All of this transformation should refer to Anglo-American fashion or mode (110).

Similarly, Prucha, who also studied the meaning of this program, explained that civilization was the acculturation of Native American ways to Whites ways (48), or as Boyer explained it, civilization was the replacement the Native America to Whites ways (110). The range of this civilization program was the culture of the Native



American Culture here referred to the entire life style of Native American (49). The

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culture of Native American, therefore, should be changed to the culture of Whites.

That was why Perdue, as it was stated previously, asserted that civilization was the conversion of Native American culturally into Anglo-American (109).

The idea to civilize Native American was not a new one. In the sixteenth century when Whites came to Carribean, Native America was a creature whose way of life showed that they were not civilized and Christian (Pearce 4). The idea to cail the Native American as savage or uncivilized people, according to Pearce, was based on the culture of Native American which was different from the culture of Whites. Native American became important for Whites consideration was just for showing that they were civilized men and Native American were not (5). Similarly, a sociologist James Axtell also pointed out that Native American was used to symbolize savage people due to the Whites' desire to show civilized men (what) they were not and must not be (241). Further he also asserted that the idea of civilization emerged because of the differences of cultures between two groups (51). These differences of culture involved their custom, technology, government, economic, language, and religion. Because of these differences, there was a tendency that one group would judge that their culture was superior to the other. The sense of cultural superiority towards the other cultural groups happened to Whites. Whites viewed that the Native American in their existing cultural circumstances were inferior to Whites (Prucha 8). Those who supported the idea to civilize Native American usually exposed the differences of culture between Native American and Whites. They compare the culture of civilized and savage or uncivilized people (Perdue 109).



which would be practiced after the Cherokees signed the Treaty of Holston on June 2, 1791. The causes of why this program should be carried out, especially for the Cherokees and how it was implemented will be discussed in the following parts.

### 3.2. The Causes of the Civilization Program Application

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the portrait of the traditional Cherokees was depicted clearly. Women farmed, men hunted, and Cherokees economic depend on both. Men made the bows and arrows, traps, blowguns and fish weirs they used them in hunting and fishing. The women fashioned basket, pots, and other utensils for housekeeping and digging sticks and hoes to cultivate their fields. The Cherokees usually found abundant raw materials, including stone, wood, bone, clay, and various fibers, near at hand in their environment and they did not use metal. The Cherokees lived the way they did like their progenitors (Perdue 65).

The coming of Europeans to Cherokees country created a trade relationship. The first traders probably arrived in the late seventeenth century, but no one seems to have a permanent settlement among the Cherokees until the second decade of the eighteenth century (Perdue 65). In the early trading, British became the first partner of the Cherokees. After mid-century the trading became quite diverse, French and Spain also tried to build a trade relationship with Cherokees. In the early years Charlestown became the trade center between Cherokees and Europeans merchants.

In that trade, European came by bring a variety of new products that were strange for Cherokee such as weapons, tools, clothing, and cosmetics. Cherokees, on



the other hand, provided communities to exchange with those Europeans goods. They were deerskin and war captives.

Cherokee's desire for and dependence on European goods, and European demands for very specific Cherokee products, therefore, laid at the heart of economic change (Perdue 66). Whatever the attraction, the use of European goods became widespread, and gradually the Cherokees became dependent on them. As a result, the demand of the Europeans goods increased annually and it gave a high profit to European traders. The dependent attitudes of the Cherokees towards trade goods expressed in a meeting between a Cherokee headman and Governor Glen in South Carolina. In that meeting, as Perdue explained it, Cherokee headman said that several presents that Whites made such as axes, hoes, knives, guns, and ammunition were always desired by the Cherokees and with those presents, they could kill plenty of deer in which with those skins Cherokee men might buy cloths for their wives, and with the flesh they might feed their children (76). Cherokee women, therefore, became dependent on men not only for their clothing but also for the hoes which they used in cultivating their corn (76).

The level of profit that European earned from this barter was high. Oregon says that the European trader received roughly ten times as much as the paid the Indians for the deerskins, a high rate of return for any business in any era (qtd. in Weatherford 85). Unfortunately the Cherokees did not know that the level of profit that was received by European was high. They always gave a high value for European goods and tried to exchange their deerskins with them. They even was not aware that the values of European goods were cheaper than the values of their deerskin (Weatherford



85). The unbalance price between deerskin and European goods happened in that

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barter system. In 1716, for example, a Cherokee hunter should pay eight skins for a yard of stroud; three skins purchased a hatchet or a narrow hoe; five skins for a broad hoe or a shirt; and one skin was equivalent with thirty bullets, a knife, a pair of scissors, two strings of beads, or twelve flints (Perdue 77). By 1718, the South Carolina commissioners of the Indian trade had developed a more complex pricing system which brought deerskin to become worthless goods. This system caused the price of deerskins dropped dramatically because there was a different price between buckskins and doeskins. The price of buckskins was higher than doeskins. It was difficult for Cherokees men to barter with European because they should hunt more buckskin if they wanted trade goods which had a high price. For Cherokee men, to get a gun they should exchange their seven buckskins (77).

European traders were willing and eager to get the deerskin because these skin were very valuable for the leather industries in Europe. The leather industries would buy these skins because they provide scarce leather for their manufactures to produce continental breeches, saddlebags, bookbindings, and working men's aprons (Axtell 129).

The great demand of European for deerskin, hence, motivated all of Cherokee male to participate in searching for deer. Although the demand for deerskin was seemingly insatiable, but Cherokee men enabled to fulfill those demand. The ability of Cherokee men to fulfill those demands, according to many historians, was supported by many factors. Weatherford presented three factors that supported the successful of Native American to fulfill the European demand for deerskin. Those factors were (1)



Native American hunter knew the land, (2) they understood the behavior of the animals, and (3) possessed the skills and technology to capture them (77). Weatherford further states that Native men's skills and technology in hunting frequently astounded the European explorers. Native America usually used the technique of camouflage and imitation with the skins or antlers. When they did not have a deerskin or antlers, they camouflaged themselves with plants or paint that they wore on their faces and torsos, similar to war paint but in darker camouflage colors rather than the bright reds and yellows of war. Even though the Cherokee hunter men relied heavily on the camouflage techniques, they also crafted a variety of weapons. They usually used the blowguns that made from hollow canes (72).

The success of Cherokee men to fulfill the demand of deerskin could not be separated from the role of their women. The ability of Cherokee women in processing the deerskin into a marketable skin became an important part that could not be forgotten. Cherokee women were the major partners for Cherokee men in supplying deerskin for European. Their primary tasks were dressing and tanning skins (Perdue 70).

The deerskin trade really increased the participation of the Cherokee men as hunters to look for many deer. As the demand for skins escalated, the intensity of the hunting activities was high. As a result, the deer population reduced annually. Beginning in the 1700s, Charles' on merchants exported as many as 121, 355 skins annually, and that number rose steadily. By 1730, those number increased into 255, 000. Between 1739 and 1759, Cherokee hunters alone reduced the southeastern deer population by 1,25 million (Axtell 131).



The other commodity that European traders found desirable was war captives. Before the European bought them, they held no economic value in Cherokee society (Perdue 66). The Cherokees got these war captives when they wage a war with another tribe. These war captives will be killed, tortured, or taken into prisoner (Lafarge 33). The Cherokees tend to kill the war captives if they are men. If they were women and children, they would be eventually adopted into Cherokee society.

The trade of Cherokee's war captives had begun herewith the deerskin trade. European usually bought their war captives from Cherokee warriors and then transported them to West Indies or the emergent North American colonies due to the local demands for labor that later would become slaves in the plantation (Steeg and Hofstadter 6).

The tendency of the Cherokees to capture women and children as their war captives could be seen in the amount of children and women in the slave trade. Wright reported that British colonist enslaved three to five times more native women than men (qtd. in Perdue 68). The small percentage of men as slaves became an evidence that Cherokee warriors often killed their men enemies. The Cherokees and the other tribes often brought the men scalps or heads of their enemy to show their success and brave in defeating the enemy (Lafarge 33).

The number of war captives was inclined to increase since the colonies tried to regulate the Native slave trade. In the early eighteenth century, the number of Indian slave captives was about 1, 400. That number increased annually. By the 1713, when Cherokee was at a war against the Tuscaroras, Cherokee warriors could capture or kill nearly one thousand of Tuscaroras people. Cherokee warriors then sold most of those



war captives, in the slave trade to European (Perdue 67). Their war captives would be exchanged with European goods that were very desirable. The high demand of the war captives motivated the Cherokee men to be active in the warfare and slave trade.

The slave trade dramatically changed the nature of Cherokee warfare. Before the European's coming into Cherokee territory with their slave trade, the Cherokees was at war for defending their tribe or expressing the ability of Cherokee men as warriors. But now, according to Perdue who analyzed it, there was a major motivation among Cherokee men. It was reward joined revenge (68). Beyond their action to revenge towards their enemy, there was a motivation to capture their enemy in order to get the rewards from European. An English woman who captured during the Yamassee War reported that her captor told her that rewards were given to Indians for their prisoners, to encourage them to engage in such rapacious and murderous enterprise (qtd. in Perdue 68). In 1717, Theophilus Hastings purchased twenty-one war captives that he received from one of Cherokee warriors. He had paid those twenty-one war captives with a horse (68). Horse became one of European rewards for their war captives.

The marketability of war captives also meant that the old way of Cherokee society towards their war captives changed. They rarely tortured or adopted their war captives since they gave them a profit. Torturing and adopting, therefore, became less practiced.

After 1730, the Native slave trade declined. Many historians attempt to study the causes of its decline. Steeg and Hofstadter explain that the decline of the Native



American slave trade was caused by a high demand of African slaves. These African slaves would replace Native American slaves in the plantations (9).

By 1754, the Cherokees found difficulties in searching deer. Their participation in a commercial hunting economy had changed Cherokee men's attitudes towards the game. Traditionally, they killed deer for supplying meat for their family or using the skins of those deer to make their clothing. The coming of whites with the commercial hunting economy changed this traditional ways. They now hunted deer not only for a secure subsistence to augment their agriculture, but also for skins to trade to English or French trade goods. This commercial hunting economy, however, undermined an earlier aversion to exploitation of the natural world (Perdue 85). The motivation to exchange deerskin with trade goods created a greedy attitude among Cherokee men to exploit the natural sources that was deer. It was not surprising if the big exploitation of this animal decreased the deer population and as a result, getting a deer in their hunting was difficult.

The greedy attitude to kill as many deer as possible really conflicted with the myth of the Cherokees in hunting. John Mooney, who collected and wrote most of the Cherokees myth, described that in their myth they just allowed to kill only one deer not more. When they hunted or killed this deer, they should say the prayer to ask permission to the Little Deer, a chief of the deer tribe (qtd. in Perdue 84). With the same view, Duncan pointed that when Cherokee men killed deer, they did not waste any kinds of bones or antlers or the meat. They usually killed share the meat with the other member of his lineage. They always killed only one deer. They did not get or killed all the deer out because they believed that "they must save it for the next person



or generation" (129). The commercial hunting economic system, according to Major

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John Norton, had motivated Cherokee men to hunt not only one deer for their need but now it depended on their ability in killing them and for the merchant (qtd. in Perdue 85).

The condition of the Cherokees who faced a difficult situation was aggravated by the existence of other commodities that could replace the position of deerskin in European manufactures. Jack Weatherford said that the declining of the need of deerskin was due to the discovery of Asian umbrella and the rainproof material (84).

The active participation of the Cherokees in the international skin trade and slave trade caused them became increasingly dependent on the trading goods. They had established a crucial link ages with the Southeastern export economy (Hatley 163). Deerskin and war captives were the major Cherokee commodities that could be exchanged with European goods. When the deer population and Native American slave trade declined, Cherokee could not dispose their commodities to advantages.

The American Revolution in 1776 has caused Cherokees into shattered. As mentioned earlier, Perdue and Green stated that American Revolution destroyed both Cherokee country and its population. The American colonists had destroyed more than fifty towns, land waste fields, and killed livestock (7). In 1783, the American and British diplomat signed the Peace of Paris to end the American Revolution. That treaty recognized the independence of the United States and conveyed to the new nation all of England's rights and claimed to the land within its boundaries (7). The territory of Cherokee fell within those border, therefore, it was the United States challenges to



define its authority and determine a set of policies dealing with Cherokee and the others tribes within its border.

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The Treaty of Paris, therefore, insisted the right of the United States to dominate, control, and exploit the indigenous people and their land. The indigenous people here means Native American. The right to dominate, control and exploit towards Native American fell into the United States because the United States won the Revolutionary War. As a result, the United States took over the right of England towards Native and their land. The right to take over the Native American and their land from British was stated in Western law. It was as follows:

According to international law, England had owned the American colonies by right of discovery, a concept that gave Christian European governments the right to claim and occupy the lands of non-Christian and "uncivilized" people... When England lost the Revolutionary War, the United States won, by right of conquest, England's rights, which included sovereign authority over all land and people within its domain (Perdue and Green 8).

One attempt to describe the belief of European to grant themselves legal authority towards the land of Native America as their colony territory was Deloria's theory. Deloria asserts that European viewed the colonialization and invasion of the South and North America as well as the conversion of the indigenous people. The right to make the conversion for the indigenous people was "God-given" right (qtd. in Poupart 144). The belief to make a conversion for indigenous people of America was based on the dogma of Christian church that was eager to exploit the resources of the "New World". This dogma was stated by Pope Alexander in 1493. He said that



European could colonize all newly discovered lands if the indigenous, pagan

inhabitants could be converted to Christianity (144). The Pope also indicates that the indigenous people of the conquered lands fell under the guardianship of the colonials who had divine authority to change the inhabitants (144).

The opinion to change Native American was believed by the United States as the right of conquest (Perdue and Green 8). Because the Cherokees was within the authority of the United States, as a result, it was the right of the United States to convert the Cherokees.

The conversion for the Cherokees and the other tribes of Native American should be able to bring them to a better condition. The English's idea to bring these Native to a better condition was sustained by the idea of order (Pearce 3). The belief that they were the chosen people who bring God's order to create a good condition in the world became the motivation among them to create the conversion in Native America. They would bring this order to chaotic land that was America (3).

From the beginning of the colonial periods, Americans found that in New World, there were savage, uncivilized men who lived in the natural environment. Because Americans believed that they brought God's order to make a better condition, consequently, they knew that the way to make a better condition was by bringing these savage, uncivilized people to become the civilized ones. It was based on their principle that the best way to civilize a world was to civilize the men in it (Pearce 3). The self-consciousness of their civilized heritage, therefore, gave a motivation to strive in bringing these uncivilized men to become civilized people as whites.



The declining of the deerskin and war captives trade, and also the destruction as

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the result of the Revolutionary War brought Cherokee and the other tribe in the Southeastern in a deteriorate situation. This situation was aggravated by the spread of a series of epidemics. All of these conditions aroused the sympathy among Europeans. This sympathy in turn made the European helped Cherokees to life a better life by civilizing them (Pearce 60). Official government policy, of course, operated on this hope. Official organization, missionaries, and individuals advanced the plans for amelioration and civilization for the Native American.

Civilization, therefore, was regarded as the best way to bring the Cherokees to a better condition and to save them from the extinction. As it was stated previously, civilization was a radical transformation of Native American that comprised the transformation of government, economy and religion into Anglo-American (Perdue 110). Economic transformation, therefore, became the first priority that should be done due to the Cherokees collapsed economy of deerskin trading (Perdue and Green 11).

Since the economic of Whites became the standard or measurement in civilization, consequently, Cherokees economy should be transformed into Whites economic that was dependent on agriculture. They should become civilized in Whites man's pattern of subsistence that was agriculture (Prucha 40).

In the theories of sociology, the idea to civilize Native American by teaching Native agriculture, as the way of civilize life, was influenced by Scottish theories of man and society. Benjamin Rush proposed one of those theories. He asserts that all mankind divided into three groups. They are (1) the savage (uncivilized) man, lives by fishing and hunting, (2) the barbarian by pasturage, and (3) the civilized man by



agriculture (qtd. in Pearce 110). Agriculture, Rush believed, was the true basis of national health, riches, and populousness (110). For Cherokee, to become civilized people, they must shift from hunting to farming.

It was Thomas Jefferson's great friend, John Adam, who encouraged the effort of the government to change the way of life from hunting to farming. Further he suggests that the fact gathering of Native American life should support this effort in order to proof that the way of life of Native American really showed the way of life of savage people. The idea that Native American was savage people, according to him, was just a hypothesis that called for proof (qtd. in Pearce 105). That hypothesis, therefore, should be proof based on the fact. He wrote a note in the margin of his copy of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality (1926). His note itself embodied the praise for the agrarian over the savage, hunting way of life (104):

Reasoning from a State of Nature are fallacious, because hypothetical. We have not facts. Experiments are wanting. Reasoning from Savage Life do not much better. Every writer affirms what he pleases. We have not facts to be depended on.

Proof itself required the facts observation, analysis, classification, and summing up of what had been observed. The hypothesis should be proved in fact (Pearce 105).

The facts of the hunting way of life of Native American should be gathered and disseminated to proof that hypothesis. By proofing the hypothesis of Native American way of life, it was expected that the efforts of white to civilize the way of life would get many supports. Thomas Jefferson, who encouraged Americans to go systematically after the facts, wrote at length on the Native in his Notes of the State of Virginia



(1784). His notes itself outlined an American idea of savagism. The description of the

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Native in his notes is mainly factual and manifest Jefferson tremendous interest in the Native of North America and his desire that the Native should be studied closely and exactly. Jefferson's more general interest in Native is treated in the sixth section. Here, in his notes, he comes to a consideration of Buffon's theories. George Louis Leclere Buffon was a French naturalist who gave a portrait of Native American in North America. The description of Buffon's which was written in 1749, therefore, was used by Jefferson as the foundation to show the evidences that Native Americans was reasonable to be regarded as savage people. Native Americans, according to Buffon in Jefferson's notes, were better accustomed to running, less sensitive, neither hair or beard, unintelligent, cowardly, no vivacity, no activity of mind, and they all lived in the isolated mode of life with his eagerness for hunting and for games of chance (qtd. in Baym et. al 646). The woman, as Buffon explains it in Jefferson's notes, are submitted to unjust drudgery. It was very different with the civilized people who always replace their women in enjoyment of their natural equality (647). These women were very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and hunting, as a result, child bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. When they were in hunting and war parties, they were exposed to numerous hazards, to excessive exertions and to the greatest extremities of hunger. Their children, when they were in those parties, were left in house with badly fed or not fed at all, thus, this generation became less active and this would bring into the perish of their generation (648). The man in Indian society is less strong than the White men, but Indian women are stronger than white men because the woman is habituated to labor and formed by it, as



happens to our men. Because an Indian man was lazy in working, as a result, his hands and wrist was small (648). Indian women had learnt the practice of procuring abortion by the use of some vegetables. No wonder then, if their multiply less than we do (648). All of these data about the way of the savage people life, furthermore, was used as the references in Jefferson's mind to compare the life between the savage and civilized people.

Official government, therefore, attempted to collect information on Native American. Native American agents were set out to gather as much as information as they could. The details information of Native American life in North America were generally valued by the prejudice of men who were looking to see savages (Pearce 107). Most of the reports concluded the way of Native American was based on hunting and warfare, the simple pattern of the way of life of savagism (108). But ironically, the data collection of Native Americans in Plain and Eastern Woodland were mixed and Whites observers just made a conclusion based on the portrait of Plain Native Americans way of life, that was hunting and warfare. These observers did not expose the way of life of Southeastern Native Americans which was very different with those who lived in Plain. The portrait of the agrarian people as much as hunting people in Southeastern North America did not describe it in their reporting data. The prejudice over Native American was still the same. They all conclude that Native American was everywhere essentially the same, they were hunter (109).

The portrait of hunting way of life became the symbol of the savage people. Most writers or travelers on Native American had ended their reports by summarizing that hunting was Native American subsistence. Even those who had lived with Native



American and regarded themselves well still reported on the Native way of life

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with the same conclusion. The Moravian missionary, John Heckwelder, who traveled to Cherokees and lived with them for a while, like many others, concluded that the core of Native American life was its hunting culture and the quality of that life was pathetically simple (qtd. in Pearce 115).

Native American agent covered their description with the picture of hunting way of life. By doing this, it would create an image that the life of all of Native Americans was based on hunting, and of course the efforts of the United State government to bring these savage people into agrarian or farming would get supports. John B. Wyeth expressed the desire of the government to change the way of life of these savage people to the way of life of civilize people in his poem (qtd. in Pearce 109). It was as follows:

Oh happy-if he knew his happy state,  
The man, who, free from turmoil and debate,  
Receives his wholesome food from Nature's hand,  
The just return of *cultivated land*.

(John B. Wyeth, "Unhappy Hunter", lines 1- 4)

Native Americans hunter who depend their subsistence on hunting must leave it. They must turn their hunting ground to the agriculture area in which they were supposed to cultivate on it.

The issue of land also became one of the factors in the application of the civilization program. The United States government wanted to take Cherokees land.



The government thought that Cherokees' land which was fertile would give the advantages to the development of the United States. An agricultural boom that happened after 1812 and the agricultural technologies that were applied by Cherokees and the other eastern tribes increased the coming of Whites to the eastern land. These factors raised Whites population. Their population jumped from 40.000 in 1810 to 445,000 in 1830 (Perdue and Green 15).

The enormous growth, therefore, increased the demand for the land from Whites to Native American, especially eastern tribes. By the reason of making a room for a burgeoning population of American citizens, the United States government justified the removal for the eastern Native Americans. The eastern tribes, including Cherokees must move to land farther the West. The removal was regarded as the way to civilize Native Americans. "Civilization" meant that the United States government gave their assistance to bring these Native Americans into a better condition that was exist in the region west of the Mississippi (Perdue and Green 117).

Based on the discussion above, the declining of deerskin and war captives trade, the American revolutions, and the spreading of epidemics are the factors which caused the United States Government applied the civilization program. Those factors made Cherokees' economy was worst and since the United States Government believed that agriculture was the way of life of the civilized people, they forced Cherokees changed their way of life from hunting to agriculture. The condition of land in the eastern region of the Mississippi that was fertile was also one of the factors in the application of the civilization program. The United States government viewed that land would give Whites many advantages for developing their nation.



### 3.3. The Objectives of the Civilization Program for Cherokee Women

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Historians and sociologists had made a number of attempts to study the goals of the civilization program for Cherokee women. Karen Anderson and Theda Perdue studied that Native American faced intensified efforts by Whites to civilize them through a process of gender-specific acculturation or the transformation process of gender conception (Anderson 37 and Perdue 112). Whites' efforts to civilize Cherokee women by applying the acculturation of gender conception was based on the reality that Cherokee women had a central position in this tribe. They had the authority and a significant role in the family, economic, religion, and political life. The Cherokees were woman-centered society or a matriarchal society. The matrilineal culture of this society was not the same as what Whites society exercised, since the Whites were patriarchal. There was a difference form of society between Cherokees and Whites, as a result, Whites encouraged the shifting of the form of Cherokee society into their own form. Matriarchal society should be shift to patriarchal society through a transformation process of gender conception (Allen 22 and Anderson 38).

The transformation or acculturation process of gender conception became the ultimate way to civilize Cherokee women. The goals of this process, according to Anderson who observed it, included the abandonment of their traditional values and activities, subordination to and economic dependence on husbands, and the loss of the crucial authority over their children (Anderson 37). For men, Whites urged the assumption of power over women and children that were ostensibly to be secured by masculine privilege in a capitalist economy and in political life (37).



The efforts of Whites to civilize Cherokee women by undermining the traditional position of these women in their matriarchal society was due to the desire to claim patriarchal power as they constructed in their own society (Anderson 38). They wanted to change the gender role hierarchy of the Cherokees and then substitute it by whites gender role hierarchy that placed male with his superiority status, and his ability to control the economic system, laws, and social institution (Hees and Ferree 28).

In the early America or colonial era, America had been set up the ideology of men and women. The meaning of ideology about men and women was the terms and assumption by which Americans think about women and men, the notions Americans have about what was appropriate demeanor for women and men, and the ideas Americans had about the kind of roles it was normal for women and men to assume and the kind of goals women and men should have for their lives (Kerber and Mathews 14).

Based on his observation, the French observer Alexis de Tocquville reveals that there was a definite male and female gender role. The ideal man for America was creative, competitive, practical, successful, and individualistic. Man should be superior to woman or his wife in all aspects. Economic, politic, and the other formal structure should be remained under the control of men (Hees and Ferree 28). As for the woman to meet the criteria of the so called ideal, she should to be the support system for man and was expected to be cooperative, oriented toward people, and concerned with nurturance and peace making. She was to be sensitive and uphold moral and religious truths. Her main concern in life was supposed to be her husband and family.



Intellectually, women were viewed as inferior to men (27). Women in the colonial

period would not be appreciated if they worked or produced outside the home. If they worked outside the home, it was seen as an extinction of their basic role as wife and mother. Women also should inferior morally and physically. Women in early America were not considered equal by any stretch of the imagination (Hees and Ferree 28). Because the definite gender role of the Cherokees was different with Whites, it was not surprising if Whites wanted to convert the Cherokees based on this ideology.

Many psychologists said that the desire of Whites to transform the Cherokees to their culture that justified the higher status of men was influenced mostly by their religious ideology. By understanding this dogma it could give a clear reasoning of why whites wanted to place women inferior to men in this life (Hees and Ferree 24). The codification of the high position of men could be seen in the Book of Genesis that expressed the beliefs of Jewish and Christian about gender differences. Eve is depicted as being made by God from Adam's rib and thus she was seen as an appendage to be used for his pleasure (24). Eve is further devalued when she was seen as the cause of humankind's original sin. She tempted Adam to eat from the forbidden "fruit of knowledge," and they subsequently expelled by God from the Garden of Eden for disobedience. Eve was not seen as inherently evil (24). The serpent – a thinly veiled allusion to the Devil- tempted her originally, and so she was seen as weak and foolish, the unwitting instrument of man's downfall. There was also a sexual allusion in the "eating of the fruit of knowledge," so that Eve was also seen as a sexual temptress (24).



fathers in their later writing. The scriptures emphasized the link between sexuality and sin and showed that men who were made in the image of God the father as the ultimate authorities in all matters. It was Saint Paul's letter that addressed to Corinthias (qtd. in Hees and Ferree 28):

For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man creator for the woman; but the woman for the man (1Corinthians 11:7-9)

This was interpreted that women were not only inferior but also disdained, particularly because of their link with sexuality and evil. Women were presumed to have an insatiable sexual nature and always tried to tempt men from their spiritual duty as Eve had tempted Adam in the Garden of Eden (Hees and Ferree 24).

The belief of Jewish and Christian about gender differences underlined the idea that women are sinful, secondary, and inferior beings who should submit to men. As Christianity spread in New England, the words of Saint Paul justified the curtailment of women's legal rights and set a pattern for women's subordinate position. Whites's obedience to practice this belief could be seen in the diary of Elizabeth Goodell that portrait her subordinate position to her husband. When she and her husband lived in New England in 1710, she wrote that if her husband was angry with her, she could not say anything. She was frightened that if she argued, her husband would kill her or her children or hurt her creatures (qtd. in Ulrich 100). As an ideal woman in the early America, a woman also should obey whatever her husband required. She must help her



husband in whatever condition. It was a diary of Daniel Black's wife that described how she must obey her husband's request to go to their field for a scythe even though she was sick (107). Women should obey what was stated in Genesis 2:18: "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him." (106). The desire to practice the belief about gender difference, however, not only for themselves but also for Native American who was regarded as uncivilized people. For the Cherokees, to be civilized meaning that they should transform their hierarchal social structure that legitimized the status of women higher than men's status, contrary to what was exercised by the Whites, in which the men held higher position than woman.

So it can be concluded that the objective of the civilization program for Cherokee women which helped by the United States Government is to change or transform the position and the roles of Cherokee women to be inferior to their men. The Government also aimed to eradicate the role of Cherokee women in economic, politic and religion because the United States Government thought that the women should only concern with the reproduction process and domestic activities.

### **3.4. The Application of Civilization Program**

Since the Cherokee placed women at the center of their society, they became the objective of this civilization program. The application of these programs included many aspects of life where Cherokee women play a significant role in it. The application of the civilization programs on family, economy, politic, and religion will be discussed briefly in this chapter.



### 3.4.1. Civilization Program in the family

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#### 3.4.1.1. Taking Over the Responsibility of Teaching

In the colonial eyes, the culture of Cherokee was regarded as the culture of savage people, meaning the culture and lifestyle of uncivilized people. They lived in uncivilized environment which was full of forests and animals in it. The Cherokee children did not go to school or attended other educational institution. The young men went to the forests with their father, grandfather or uncle to hunt some animals for their dinner. While the young female helped their mother or grandmother in their field, taking care of their agricultural plants.

The way to educate children according to English missionary showed that Cherokee was really a savage people. They did not send their children to the school; they even let them to live in a natural life. The methods of the Cherokee parents to educate their children were very different with the European. Cherokee children, like the other Indian children, learned more by free imitation and less by conscious instruction than children in the modern western world (Driver 465). They learn the skills which were necessary to survive in the wilderness by observation and imitation or on teaching by a parent or other older person. They never went to school or taught by a teacher. What they learn was from their family and environment.

At an early age Cherokee children began the preparation for their future social roles. Boys were trained in the skills of the hunter and warrior. Girls learned to cook, to make clothes, and to build shelter. Both of them were instructed in the legends and traditions of their people.



In teaching how to be a good hunter, a Cherokee boy was given a small bow and blunt arrows as early as five years of age and then instructed in their use. His good teacher was his father, but his grandfather as well as other older relatives might substitute if the children were fatherless. As the boy grew older and more skilled, he would accompany his father on the hunting and would be allowed to kill the animals. Similarly, little girls were encouraged to help their mother or grandmother in cooking, making clothing, skinning and butchering, and distributing meat (Driver 467).

Cherokee parents never gave punishments to their children. They avoid the punishment because they wanted their children to love them and to regard their home as a refuge from the outside (Driver 458). The Moravian missionary John Heckewelder who observed the way of educating the children among American Indians in the Southeastern and Northeastern North America said that:

Parents had rather make good the damage than punish the children, for the reason that they think the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity. The Indian parent did not attempt to establish his authority by harsh or compulsive means, no whips, no punishments, no threats are ever used to enforce commands or compel obedience (qtd. in Washburn 13).

Cherokee parents usually used traditional literature (myth, legend, tale and song) to teach their children. They believed that through these literatures they could transfer the values of their tribe to their children. The way of teaching that focused on direct learning and the use of the traditional literature were an effective method in Cherokee. But this method, according to Christian missionaries, showed the method of



teaching in a savage people. They called it as a teaching method of a savage people because the method was different from white's method of teaching that applied in the formal institution learning for their children.

In order to bring American Indians to the habits and manners of civilized life, the English missionaries tried to educate the Indians children to the ways of the White man. By the early 1700, at least fifty missionaries had been sent to the Cherokee in southeastern to take charge of thirty Cherokee children who were being educated into Christianity and civilization (Pearce 9). Money also was being collected in England in order to build some schools for the Indian children in the Southeastern North America, including Cherokee children.

Education for Cherokee children became the government program. By 1819, President James Monroe visited the American Board's Brainerd Mission and praised their plan of instruction. In their plan of instruction it was stated that the Cherokee children were taken into their families, and taught to work. This was, the president believed, the best way and perhaps the only way to civilize and Christianize the Indians (Perdue 161). Consequently, education became a means to civilize the Cherokee. Missionaries, therefore, had a great motivation to establish schools for Cherokee children. There was a competition between French and British missionaries to civilize the Cherokee. Both of them believed that the way to bring American Indian to the habits and manner of civilized life was by education. Education, according to British and French, would bring these savage people to become civilized people.

The missionaries felt that they had a responsibility to civilize these savage people by building some schools for Cherokee. Udall stated that the responsibility



obligation of the White missionaries to educate the American Indian including

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Cherokee children was based on their fundamental philosophy. Their philosophy stated that the condition of the Indian should be improved and corrected by a superior White father (qtd. in David 144). As a result, missionaries who came in Cherokee worked hard to teach Cherokee children so that they would become the civilized people.

Some of Cherokee leaders, such as Little Turkey began to praise the benefits of White education and supported the school establishment. In 1801, Moravian missionary established the first schooling day. In 1803, Reverend Gideon Blackburn gave his support in the establishment of schools for Cherokees and affirmed that Cherokee children were "the key to the problem of civilizing the tribe" (qtd. in Woodward 123). As the generation who would continue the existence of Cherokees, they must be socialized to White's culture. The expectation was that these children would leave their own traditional culture or even did not know their own culture. If Whites could form one generation of White-cultured Cherokees, they believed that this generation would bequeath White's culture to the next generation of Cherokees, and so forth.

In educating Cherokee children, one primary concern of the Moravians was to instill a work ethic into what they considered to be "a lazy culture" (Spring 66). The concept of "lazy culture" of Cherokee, according to Louis Philippe who visited the Cherokees in 1797, dealt with the culture of Cherokees in which all of work done by the women. Cherokees women assigned not only households tasks, but they also must plant, tend and preserve the corn, beans, and potatoes. Whereas Cherokee men just



smoked peacefully and had no role in cultivating gardens or fields (qtd. in Perdue 23).

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Missionaries, therefore, tried to erase the lazy-culture by intending to make Cherokee boys as farmers and girls as submissive housewives. Missionary educators, however, felt that the Cherokee's traditional gender roles must be partially reversed in order for the tribe to shrug off its "lazy-culture" (Spring 66).

In the schooling days, it was expected that every day the Cherokee children came to this school to learn many academic subjects. Unfortunately the day school did not success. Most of the Cherokee children did not go to the school regularly. Even, the greatest number of them came to school at noon. The reason of these that was they must help their parents. Boys went to hunt with their father or uncle and girls stayed at home to cook or harvest the agriculture plant. When the Cherokee festivals came, most of the Cherokee students were absent from school.

To solve the problem of irregular attendance that made the education program to civilize the Cherokee failed, some planners suggested the establishment of a boarding school. By taking Cherokee children in a boarding school, it was expected that Cherokee children would learn seriously without disruption from their environment. But more than that, the purpose to establish the boarding school was to separate Cherokee children with their society especially with their parents (David 145). It was done in order to lessen the influence of their parents and society.

Theda Perdue stated that one of the primary objectives in establishing these boarding schools among the Cherokee was to give to Cherokee children the knowledge that was calculated to make them useful citizens. In order to accomplish this objective, the children should be removed as much as possible from the society of the natives,



that are, their parents (190). Minimizing the influence of the Cherokee parents that taught Cherokee children values of their tribe was the aim of the establishment of these boarding schools.

These boarding schools provided an elementary education for girls as well as boys. They learnt reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography and history. They also must dress uniform and wore a hat, a customary that was strange for Cherokee children. Boy's long hair, a proud as Indian children, was cut.

Cherokee children should also learn the Bible. They competed in spelling bees and memorized the Bible's verses. One honor student got a graduation award for committing to memorize 359 verses of the gospel. The poor students, who could committee memory only thirty-nine verses, got a hit from their White teacher. They also got Christian names from their teacher. They trained to be punctual, neat and obedient. In short, the teachers were, in the boarding schools, training all of the young Cherokee child to be non-Indian in every way, hopefully before the student followed his/her Indian predisposition (Boyer 117).

Those boarding schools also gave a domestic lesson for girls. A Baptist missionary told that at the American Board Schools, the Cherokee girls showed specimens of knitting, spinning, mending and fine needlework. The Cherokee boys, in the other hand, must learn the way of farming. The missionaries believed that teaching the domestic tasks for the girls and the ways of farming for the boys was one way to civilize Cherokee. The civilized people, in Euro-American eye, placed women in the house with all of their domestic tasks and male in the farming:



## Mastery of the domestic arts was essential part of the girls' education

because, all the females needs is a proper education to be qualified to fill any of the relations or stations of domestic life. The children at the mission schools performed a variety of tasks, and the division of labor approximated that in a typical Anglo-American farming family. The boys chopped wood and plowed fields, and the girls milked, set tables, cooked meals, washed dishes, sewed clothing, knitted, quilted, did laundry, and cleaned the houses (Perdue 162).

Cherokee child, furthermore, were really separated from their parents and their society. When they stayed in these boarding schools, they moved far enough away from the influence of their family. They even could not meet with their family, their mother and father easily, because these schools would take them away from their parents for ten months (Boyer 117).

### 3.4.2. Civilization Program in Economic

#### 3.4.2.1. Changing the Division of Labor and Promoting the Cult of Domesticity

In the economic life, Cherokee women were farmers and gatherer, while Cherokee men were hunter and fisher. The Cherokees divided this labor division according to gender and it was based on their center myth. This myth explained that there was a balance position of Cherokee men and women in the division of labor and defined what kind of labor that Cherokee men and women should do. Their ancestor had practiced this division of labor in their society since the ancestral time (Perdue 14).



the Cherokees economic system to White's system, started to erase their traditional division of labor. Beginning with the signature of the Treaty of Holston in 1791, the Cherokees faced the intensive efforts of White to civilize them. The first step applied in this program, especially in economic life, was shifting the hunting way of life to agriculture. It was expressed in the content of the treaty that consisted of President Washington's first Secretary of War, Henry Knox. This treaty explained that the federal government would furnish the Cherokees with "implements of husbandry" and send residential agents to give instruction in how it was practiced in the Cherokees. As a result of this "help", according to Knox, "the Cherokees may be led to a degree of civilization" (Perdue and Green 11). The agriculture, therefore, was substitution of hunting.

Becoming civilized was not only shifting from hunting to farming. It also meant that the responsibility of agriculture rested on men. It was what civilized people constructed in their society on White's perception: Whites men worked in the fields and the women in the houses (Atwell 241). In 1796, George Washington sketched out the key provisions of the civilization program in a letter addressed to Beloved Cherokee. In his letter, he pointed that: " You now see that the game with which your woods once abounded, are growing scare now, and you know that when you could not find a deer or other game to kill, you must remain hungry"(qtd. in Perdue 112). To prevent the Cherokee from the starvation, Washington suggested that: "Some of you already experience the advantage of keeping cattle and hogs." The Cherokee should take the advantage of keeping cattle and hogs to replace hunting. He also encouraged



other Cherokees to follow the examples performed by Whites. "Let all keep them and

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increase their numbers, and you will have plenty of meat. To these, you must add sheep that will give you clothing as well as food " (111). Furthermore, he also encouraged commercial agriculture and the cultivation on the fiber crops. In the agriculture, he recommended the use of plow to increase the harvest of wheat, as the main ingredient of bread. Meanwhile, flax and cotton were the fiber crops that might be dispose to white people or as the material for their clothing (111). Up to this point, Washington's instruction was un-gendered. It belonged to all Cherokees. On the contrary, he then approved Cherokees to cultivate the fiber crops: "You will easy add flax and cotton which you may dispose of to Whites people; or have it made up by your own women into clothing for yourselves. Your wives and daughter can soon learn to spin and weave" (111). This statement was addressed to Cherokee women that women's work in a civilized society were spinning, weaving, and sewing. By stressing the word of "Your own women...your wives and daughters", this statement also indicated that women were treated as merely the property of men who both headed households and governed the nation (qtd. in Perdue 112). That word was a dismal sign to Cherokee women. President addressed Cherokees women only through men (112).

The intention to place women in a subordinate position to men and economic dependence on her husband was clearly clarified in this letter. That instruction also implied that animal husbandry and farming were male responsibility in a civilized society. President expected Cherokees men to take up the tasks and adopt the work habits which was constructed in the United State while women would become helpmates, mere auxiliaries (112).

In the same year, President sent agents for the Southern Indians to speed up the application of civilization program. It was Benjamin Hawkins who was appointed and he became the Principal Temporary Agent. One of his jobs was teaching the construction of White's plantation form model which employed slaves labor in the plantation and the use of the hoes and plows. He must also advise the Cherokees to follow Whites ways to keep livestock, grow corn, cotton, and flax (Woodward 139).

Mary E. Young, a feminist who observed the application of civilization program for Cherokee women, pointed out that the efforts of Whites to place Cherokees women at home with domestic works (spinning, weaving, and sewing) was caused by the disagreement of Whites towards the role of Cherokee women in the economy. Whites seemed troubled, particularly by the responsible and independent economic position of the traditional Cherokee women (qtd. in Kerber and Mathews 149). They regarded that all of the traditional activities of Cherokee women as unsuitable one. Women, in Whites eyes, should be in home with their domestic works.

America's mission to transform Cherokees women in the home had entailed the elaboration of a "Cult of true womanhood" or "female domesticity" (Kerber and Mathews 149). This cult domesticity would bring women back to her private sphere. Woman's sphere involved rearing the children, nurturing, and domesticity (149).

The cult of female domesticity, however, tried to erase the role of Cherokees women in the agriculture as farmers. It was expected that they would transgress what Selu, their ancestral mother taught. Selu taught the Cherokee women that they should become farmers and responsible to their fields which gave them corn as their subsistence.



### 3.4.2.2. Promoting the Private Property of Land and Removal

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Felix S. Cohen's Federal Indian Law (1940) asserted that the American Indian had no conception of private or exclusive individual ownership of land. There was, according to Cohen, "No form of real or personal property right in the whole range of ownership forms known to our legal system that has not been lodged in some Indian tribe" (qtd. in Washburn 32). The truth of Cohen's assertion then was attested by the anthropological studies. An anthropologist Harold Driver, who analyzed the culture of Indians of North America, pointed out that "property", in Native America, "might be owned by a single individual, two or more individuals, an entire community, or a tribal group"(245). Driver's assertion showed that the property was based on the nominal owners, whether those nominal owners was an individual or a group. Further he described that if the nominal owners was a group, the property normally bound by the traditions of customary use held by member of a kin group, whether these kin groups was single family or a lineage segment. Then, this kin group usually depended upon whether descent and resident were determined through the female and male line (269). The term of "ownership" itself contained three main aspects. They were privilege of use, privilege of disposal, and privilege of destruction (269).

In the relationship with the ownership of land, the Cherokees had a concept by themselves. The Cherokees regarded that they only had the right to use their land, and this right belonged to the entire members of their clan. It also could be said that land, for Cherokees, was the communal property. Since Cherokees was matrilineal, the right to use the land belonged to the female descent and the right to use or to farm in that land could be inherited to the members or the generation of the same clan (Perdue



136). ~~Cherokees would not allow all of the members of the clans to sell or to give the~~ land to whomever they desired (Boyer 98). This principle was also applied for the chiefs or the sachems of their clans. The same attitude was still persisted for the chiefs or sachems: "No chief had the right to sell a whole nation's land" (98). Chief and individual did not have a prerogative to sell their land. Land, as Cherokees believed it, was their "mother earth" (Perdue 119). For them, their land was not a commodity to be bought, sold, or rent.

The concept that land belonged to the mother clan did not give the sense that the Cherokees did not have a private property. They still had a private property. Perdue affirmed that Cherokee women as well as men owned their private property. Clothing, jewelry, and items of personal use traditionally belonged to an individual (137). Cherokees also associated the private property with the deacease or the control toward things. The crops that women produced were the private property of Cherokee women because they controlled those crops starting from the planting to harvesting (Perdue 24). Meanwhile, deerskin and fish were men's private property because the death of deer or fish was a result of men's work (137).

Cherokees concept towards land was different from White's concept. Cherokees regarded that land should belong to the clans of mother, or it could be said that land was owned by a group of people not by an individual. On the contrary, Whites viewed that land should belong to an individual as a private property. White's principle towards land, as it was stated by Thomas Jefferson, was in accordance with the agrarian idealism in which men should have a natural right to their land by occupation and labor. If men had a private property to the land which they work on it,



they would achieve status and dignity by exercising that right and would become

freeholding farmers (qtd. in Pearce 67). This Jefferson's belief was derived from the Lockean theory of the free individual and the metaphysics and sociology of his freedom. For Lockean, man would achieve his highest humanity by taking something out of nature and converting it with his labor into part of himself. His private property became his means to social maturity in an agrarian society. It also gave him stability, self-respect, privacy, and became the basis for civilized society itself (68). The Lockean theory, therefore, became the foundation to civilize Cherokees. This theory encouraged Americans to bring Cherokees as the savage people to follow their principle as civilize people towards land as their private property. The desire to bring Cherokees and the other tribes of Native American to change their attitudes of land was explicitly stated in the words of the Secretary of War, Henry Knox, in 1789, " a love for exclusive property" (68).

The duty to promote private property of land to Native Americans, including Cherokees, rested on Whites. James Hall's Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West (1835) stated that: "Americans have a duty, as it were, to create rights for savage" (Pearce 72). Further Hall pointed out that Americans should tutor Native American into a sense of private property (72). Americans then tried to find the ways to bring Cherokees to a condition in which they elevated the private property of land. Intermarriage, therefore, became the way to erase the Cherokee's concept of the land ownership. Robert Beverly's History of the Present State of Virginia (1705) and John Lawson's New Voyage to Carolina (1708) affirmed that intermarriage of Whites and Native Americans was the way to civilize Native Americans (qtd. in Pearce 43-45).

there was a hope that Whites could take Cherokees land. By intermarriage between Cherokee women and Whites men, the property of women automatically would give to her husband, including the right to use land and it meant that intermarriage would eliminate the matrilineal control over the land (McLoughlin 330). Cherokee women who married with White men would move in with them. Their children began to inherit their fathers' lineages and wealth, as a result, this would create a patrilineal society (Perdue 147). In the mean time, the intermarriage between Cherokee men and White women was also expected to weaken the principle of matrilineal descent (147). The descent line would trace through Cherokee men. These men would control their wives, and it was expected that they would have the power over their wives and children, as it was practiced in Whites society.

The purpose of intermarriage that wanted to eliminate the matrilineal power, therefore, was in accordance with the purpose of the civilization for Cherokee women. As it was affirmed previously by Anderson that civilization program was aimed to bring Cherokee women to give up their traditional values that was their matrilineal principles (37).

The intention of Whites to civilize Cherokees through intermarriage was proposed by Agent Meigs to Cherokees. He said that intermarriage was a way to promote the rapid acculturation. By intermarriage, the acculturation of Cherokees to Whites ways would be fast (qtd. in Perdue 147). In 1808, he announced his support to intermarriage: "I encouraged marriages between White men and Cherokee women. I



always have and shall do it because I conceive that by this measure civilization is farther advanced than in any other way..." (147).

Beside intermarriage, removal also became the way to take over the land of Cherokees. The idea of removal was based on the British colonial view that: "the Indian land was to be considered as conquered territory" (Pearce 54). British colonials, therefore, believed that they had a right to remove Native Americans who live on their conquered land. Whites regarded that they were the chosen people who would farm the land and were obligated to take over Native Americans land (Pearce 20-21).

The removal for all of the Cherokees was practiced in 1838-1839. Before the removal itself, there were many events that preceded the application of the removal. After the Treaty of Holston, Cherokees began imitate White's way of life. They adopted White's technology in farming, as a result, there was an agrarian boom. The transportation revolution happened, and the development of a national market changed rapidly (Perdue and Green 15). This condition attracted Whites to come to Cherokees land and then it caused a big population growth. Whites population itself increased from barely 40,000 in 1810 to 445,000 in 1830. Whites population filled up Ohio, Tennessee, and Georgia, as the land of Cherokees. This enormous growth gave an effect to Native Americans that: "there was the intensively pressure on the tribes to sell more of their land" (15). The Southeastern tribes such as Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws who lived within the borders of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee received the intense pressure from Whites to sell their land.



After 1812, the pressure on those southern tribes increased. It was due to their

The Resistance of the Cherokee Women Against "The Civilization Program" (1789-1839)  
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attitude that they felt reluctant to sell their land to Whites (Perdue and Green 16). Andrew Jackson, the commander of the army's Southern district and a negotiator in Native Americans treaties, suggested a solution for this problem. He said that the sensible way to get land from the Southern tribes that refused to sell was "to take it" (qtd. in Perdue and Green 16). Further he affirmed that negotiating treaties with Native Americans was impossible. Their nations were not sovereign and the United States should not pretend they were. Congress should treat Native American as subjects and legislate their territory boundaries. Congress should also exercise its right eminent domain to seize the millions of acres where Native American wandered over and hunted on it (16). If the tribes resisted on the government confiscation over their land, Jackson pointed out that: "the arm of government was strong enough to force their compliance" (16). Unfortunately, congress rejected Jackson's recommendation in 1812.

By 1789, Henry Knox and George Washington suggested the purchase policy for Native Americans land. They declared that as the White population increased and approached Native Americans territory, "the new purchase of Native Americans land should be made" (qtd. in Pearce 56). Similarly, President Thomas Jefferson, in 1803, contemplated to acquire Louisiana, but he did not remove Native American who lived there. He exchanged that land with the tract of land west of Mississippi. In this case, he made the purchase policy as the way to get Native American land (56). Furthermore, he suggested that Congress should practice what he did towards Cherokees and Coctaws (Perdue and Green 16). Like Jefferson, Knox and Washington



never made removal as a key feature in their Native Americans policy. They still believed that Native American, including Cherokees, could be civilized and would blend into American society (16).

The purchase policy, according to Roy Harvey Pearce, was the possible way to conceive or remove Native American to a place where they would be out of civilization's way where they might have a chance to survive as savages (56). Pearce viewed that the purchase policy still made Cherokees moved west, leaving their homeland (56).

The War Department clerk Thomas L. McKenney, who mainly responsible for administering Native Americans policy, viewed that purchase policy would not solve the problem of American citizen that asked for Native Americans land. Native American who refused to sell their land would create serious problem for the United State government. That problem was called by McKenney as a "crisis in Indian affairs" (qtd. in Green and Perdue 16). By mid 1800, McKenney, President James Monroe, and John Quincy (Monroe's successor), and many others turned to the idea of removal as the solution for this crisis (16).

For many years, the United State government officials attempted to convince tribal leaders to agree to the removal policy. Treaties with the Cherokees in 1817 and 1819, the Choctaws in 1820, and the Creeks in 1826 all contained the provisions to encourage these tribes to move west. The government set aside land in the region west of Arkansas where later it was called as Indian Territory (Perdue and Green 17). Although many treaties were made, but there was only small group of the tribes who move to that new land. Most of them did not agree to leave their homeland and move



Dahlonega, Georgia (Jahoda 41). This gold discovery caused the hunger of Whites for Cherokee land increased. Because of this condition, federal official realized that the voluntary migration of small group of Native Americans would not achieve the government's goals (Perdue and Green 17).

The hope to remove all of Native American, therefore, rested on Andrew Jackson. Andrew Jackson won the presidency election in 1828. Many Southern voters expected that this new president would expel Native Americans moved from their land. With the two themes, Jackson built his defense to remove Cherokees to Indian Territory. They were the sovereign rights of Georgia over the Cherokees and the moral imperatives of Whites man to protect Native Americans from the deleterious effects of exposure to American frontier settlers (Perdue and Green 18). On December 1835, a removal treaty was made. Because Cherokees believed that the leaders should represent a consensus, they send their leaders, and asked them to oppose the removal and resist towards the United States and Georgia. Their leaders were John Ross, Major Ridge, John Ridge (Major Ridge's son), and Elias Boudinot (Major Ridge's nephew).

In that consensus, John Ross found himself confronting with Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot. These men were agree with the removal policy. When John Ross returned to his home to find Georgia militia who imprisoned his wife, Quatie, and his two children, these three Cherokee leaders signed the Treaty of New Echota (Jahoda 219). There were five points in this treaty. They were (1) The cession of all the Nation's lands in the East to the United State government, (2) Cherokees got additional lands west of the Mississippi in what today northeastern Oklahoma, (3) The



payment of five dollars to the Cherokee, (4) The arrangement of transportation to the West, and (5) The United State government provided subsistence aid for one year in their new homeland (Perdue and Green 20).

The removal made Cherokees especially women lost their land in which they dependent their life on it. They could not farm on their forefathers land as what Selu taught it since the ancestral time.

### **3.4.3. Civilization Program in the Political Life**

#### **3.4.3.1. Deleting the Active Participation in the Council and War**

Cherokees had a government system which was based on the clan. This system provides a place for women to have active participate in the political activities. The position of Cherokee women in their political life was as a matron and warrior. In their position as a matron, women could choose their chiefs or sachems who would lead their tribe. In the position as the Beloved Women or War Women, they had a power to determine the fate of war captives. As Beloved Women, they had the right to make a decision whether war captives should be killed or to be saved.

The form of Whites government was different with Cherokees form. In Anglo-American tradition, the right to participate in political activities such as jury duty, office holding, and voting was for men. Politics was considered as "a male domain", whereas women were simply not political beings (Kerber and Mathews 12). Further Kerber and Mathews described that in Anglo-American's view the right to participate in political activities, to vote and to hold the office, was "conditioned on the holding of property" (24). When a woman married, any property that held by that woman



would be passed to her husband's control, the woman would own both his own property and his wife's property. It therefore seemed logical to Whites that political rights be granted only to men (24).

Through the civilization program, Whites intended to bring Cherokees to their government pattern that eliminated the active participation of women in the political life. The first step happened in 1796 when President Washington instructed Cherokees to send their representatives to annual meeting where they could meet with the United States agents and "talk together on the affair of your nation" (qtd. in Perdue 112). It implied that he did not expect those representatives to include women (Perdue 112).

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Cherokees started to adopt White's system of politic. Political power in the Cherokee shifted from local or town councils to the national council. The National Council started to lessen the town councils (Perdue 144). The National Council's decision to decrease the amount of the town councils was influenced by the fear of some misionaries who affraid if Cherokees made a meeting, they would practise their religious rituals (145). Whatever the reasons, the waning of town councils did not a bode well for Cherokee women. Town councils had permitted women some indirect participation in the national government, because town councils determined the representatives who would sit in the national council (145).

In 1820, the National Council started to undermined the authority of local town councils by creating eight judicial districts and asking to these districts to elect their delegates to the National Council. Each district must sent four delegates. In 1821, the National Council established a National Superior Court to hear appeals from the



district courts. The position of delegates and courts should be in the hand of male. Still in the same year, Cherokees elected the Principal Chief, John Ross. This new male structure, as it was affirmed by Perdue, virtually eliminated women from any role in "choosing representatives, arbitrating disputes, or meting out official justice" (Perdue 145).

In 1827, Cherokees drafted the new constitution. This new constitution, according to Allen, "disenfranchised women and Blacks" (37). It could be seen in the content of this constitution that "No person shall be eligible to a seat in the General Council but a free Cherokee male citizen who shall have attained to the age of twenty-five years; the descendants of Cherokee men by all free women except (of) the African race ..." (Reid 61). The political activities composed exclusively of men. There was no place for Cherokee women in the political activities. Civilization program tried to wipe out the right of Cherokee women to vote their sachems or chiefs and delete the central authority of a matron.

Whites also wanted to erase the role of Cherokee women in the war. Traditionally, Cherokees went to a war to avenge relatives who killed by enemy. The death of kin was a family matter, not a foreign issue. Because Cherokees was matrilineal, war itself directly concerned women (Perdue 88). It was reasonable that war and women had a relationship. Women always perpetuated clans and lineages. If one of members of her clan died because of killing, she would take a revenge on the killer. The attack on one member of a lineage meant an attack on that lineage, clan, and even tribe (88). Although not all of Cherokee women became warrior, Cherokee



permitted their women to become a real warrior, fighting with the enemy such as

Nancy Ward.

In 1808, Cherokees formed The Lighthorse or the National Police Force. It was

Cherokee military unit which had a duty to protect the Cherokee against bandits

(Perdue 139). The establishment of the Lighthorse took over the responsibility of the

retaliation which traditionally rested on Cherokee women warriors.

### **3.4.4. Civilization Program in the Religious Life**

#### **3.4.4.1. Bringing to Christianity**

Traditionally, Cherokee women involved in religious activities. Their role in

the religious life was important as well as in the family, economy, and politics. Whites

with their civilization program wanted to lead these people to Christianity. In Whites'

view, Cherokees were pagan and their beliefs in rituals are primitive (Allen 96).

Whites could not understand why they must worship the spirit of animals or plants

before hunting or cutting took place.

In the nineteenth century, Whites wanted to civilize Cherokees by bringing

them to Christianity. The task of accomplishing this objective fell largely to Protestant

missionaries. To civilize Cherokees, these missionaries must convey the concept of

alien to Cherokees particularly through the original sin and human depravity (Perdue

168). Missionaries should endeavor to explain and enforce the doctrine of sinfulness

women who brought evil into the world as what Eve did (171). In addition to this

objective, the missionaries also must teach the hierarchy of men and women based on

the doctrine of Christianity. Christianity emphasized that men's place was above



women. Her proper place was in her home in which she could make a heaven from the outside world through her piety, morality, and love (Perdue 159). She was regarded as weak, submissive, charitable, virtuous, and modest. Her mental and physical activities were limited in keeping the home in order, cooking, bearing, and rearing the children. She urged to avoid books, and such activities which might overtax her weak mind. She also must serve her husband willingly, since she was by nature his inferior (Kerber and Mathews 37).

Whites believed that women were supposed not to be the priests or religious leaders. It was in accordance with the Apostle Paul's doctrine which stated that a woman was to "hold her tongue in church and be careful not to teach nor to usurp authority over the man. She must to be in silent" (Kerber and Mathews 37). Whites regarded that intellectual activities such as becoming a priest with the duty to preach the Gospel was not suitable for women. Consequently, missionaries did not also agree with Cherokee women shamans, and they also wanted to bring them to Christianity and force them to leave their position as shamans. Missionaries asserted that Cherokees women shamans were "influenced by Satan and therefore unable to perform the necessary function of womanhood" (45).

Missionaries, thus, tried to associate the doctrine of Christianity to Cherokee women. They usually held regular service, met privately, and even itinerated through out the nation on horseback (Perdue 167). This duty to Christianize Cherokee women did not only rest on men (priests). Women also involved in this ministry. The missionaries often visited Cherokee women with their wives to accompany them in



preaching the Gospel. William Chamberlain, for example, requested a "woman saddle" for his wife so that she could visit her "female neighbours" (Perdue 167).

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the missionaries enforced the Christian doctrines especially the doctrine of the original human sin and the hierarchy of men and women. Missionaries regarded that the doctrine of Cherokee religion which placed women in a balance position with men is not in accordance with their religion. This missionaries also thought that becoming a shaman was only appropriate for Cherokee men not women. Missionaries interpreted religious leaders or shamans in male-biased terms.



## CHAPTER IV

# RESISTANCES

## TO THE CIVILIZATION PROGRAM

The word "resistance" is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as the effort made by groups to resist. In this chapter, the writer seeks to discuss the efforts of Cherokee women to resist the civilization program which was applied by the United States government.

### 4.1. Cherokee Women's Resistances

The attempts to civilize Cherokees caused resistances among Cherokee women. They resisted the changes or the transformation in the civilization program because this program took over the right to teach their children, robbed them of economically productive roles, diminished their control over economic resources, eroded their domestic power and political influence, removed them from their land in order to facilitate white exploitation of these area, and intervened their religious belief systems. Cherokee women resistances will be discussed in this chapter. They were as follow:

#### 4.1.1. Resistances to the Civilization Program in the Family

Whites through the civilization program wanted to transform Cherokees to their own culture. They viewed that White's education would bring Cherokees, especially Cherokees children to give up their traditional lifestyles (Poupart 144). Since the

find the solution to socialize White's culture. The solution was the establishment of boarding schools to indoctrinate their culture. This school could be used to separate Cherokees' children with their parents and society, at least for ten months.

As Cherokee children grew up in boarding schools, Cherokee parents and community were displaced from child nurturing responsibilities (Poupart 144). This condition made Cherokee parents to be sad, especially Cherokee mothers. They could not meet their children every time they wanted. They could not teach the values of their tribe, one of Cherokee mother's duties in child nurturing. They also lost somebody who could help them in finishing their tasks in field and house. But the most terrible thing was the lost of traditional values that was taught to their children. Blackbird, one of Cherokee children, wrote a poem that expressed his lost life as an Indian child because of the destruction of his traditional values in these boarding schools. Blackbird's "In Poignant" was rich in detail (qtd. in Boyer 121):

Oh my destiny, my destiny  
How sinks my heart  
As I behold my inheritance  
All in ruins and desolation  
It is gone, gone forever,  
Like a spirit passed  
The red man will never live happy (lines 1-7)

Blackbird, in line 3, 4, and 5, told that the inheritance, in this case was the traditional culture of his tribe that was given or taught by his mother or father, gone. It was

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Cherokee children that their culture was bad. They, therefore, must adopt White's culture and values. All of this made him as a Cherokee boy unhappy.

Education was not universally praised or accepted among the Cherokees. Cherokees' resistances to this kind of schooling were understandable. The missionaries taught the concept of work that conflicted with the traditional gender role. These schools were offered to the ultimate eradication of all traits of Indian cultures such as songs, dances, stories, and religious activities (Poupart 144).

Native Americans resistances, as it was affirmed by Anderson, grew as more boarding were opened. Cherokee parents especially mothers routinely hid their children from the federal Indian agents or missionaries who would take their children and put them in the boarding schools (45). Rebecca Nuegie, a Cherokee girl, told her autobiography when she was six years old. In every morning, Whites officers walked up on the trail to "get" the Cherokee children, and in every morning too, her parents tried in different ways to hide her from these officers. Sometimes, in the early morning she and her mother must try to find a place where they could hide all day there (qtd. in David 148).

Taking Cherokee children from their schools usually practiced by Cherokee parents. They took their children due to calendar of their religious community or the bad treatment of the teachers. Cherokee mothers often came to school and took their children when their community would hold the religious ceremonies such as Green Corn Ceremony (McLoughlin 140). Besides that, they would come to schools to take their children when they knew their children were punished. It was the story of Lone



Wolf, a Cherokee boy, who was caught by his teacher when he tried to run away from his missionary school. When he got a strapping with a leather belt, his mother came, and told sharply to this teacher that "among my people, children were never punished by striking them...kinds words and good examples were much better" (qtd. in Nabokov 220). Then Lone Wolf's mother took him and never came back again. Perdue asserted that one of the reason to resist usually due to the abuse in the missionaries schools. Many Cherokee parents told to Moravian missionaries that they would send them no children for the fear that they might abuse to their children (Perdue 173).

Cherokees mothers or women mounted aggressively and continuous opposition to missionaries and school. The missionaries and school had attacked the Cherokee tradition that their ancestors handed down to Cherokee women. They seemed to take their children whenever they wanted to. Moravian missionaries always complained about this. A Moravian missionary wrote that: "it is very painful to us that the children are taken from us often when they are just beginning to be accumulated" (McLoughlin 140).

Cherokee mother also tried to throw away what the missionaries taught to their children. The way of dressing and table manner etiquette, according to Cherokee women, was a form of a direct affront to their daily lives. Soon after their children returned to their longhouse, Cherokee mother usually instructed their children to dress themselves in Indian style (McLoughlin 140).

Besides those Cherokee's mother's resistances, Cherokee children themselves were disobedient when the missionaries started to teach them about White's work



ethic. Young girls usually run away from the missionary schools when their teacher started to indoctrinate them with the message that they must not continue the "uncivilized" work in which their mothers practiced (McLoughlin 140). They returned to their longhouse and did not have any attention to come back to their school.

Hiding children from Indian agents, taking their children from school and instructing their children to practice their traditional customs were the forms of Cherokee mother resistances towards White education style.

On the other hand, most of Cherokee parents who had enthusiasm for missionary schools also opposed. They regarded that education only for their sons, not for their daughters. They were far more likely to send their sons rather than their daughters (Perdue 172). Cherokee mothers never intervened or forced their daughters to go to schools. When American Board Missionaries complained about this, Cherokee mother pointed out that their daughters attended school or stayed at home as they choose (173). These mothers did not support their daughters to attend schools because they needed their daughters to assist them in carrying out all of the labor in the field and house. Meanwhile, they send their son to school because they assumed that education was appropriate for only their sons. They believed that commerce and politic, the pursuit of men, demanded an education, whereas farming and housekeeping did not (173).

Cherokees women resistances towards White's education showed that they wanted to persist their traditional culture. They did not agree if their children were set apart from them. It could be understandable if they resisted because as a mother, they had the responsibility to nurture their children by teaching the values of their tribe.



They wanted to socialize the principle of matrilineal that placed women at the center of the society. They did not send their daughter to schools because they wanted to continue their culture which placed women in the field and at home.

In 1821, Sequoyah or George Guess returned to Cherokees from Arkansas. He was a Cherokee man who became the member of Anisahoni Clan. He created an alphabet with 86 characters. Each of these characters corresponded to sounds in the Cherokee language and this made Cherokee language to be learned easily (Foreman 11).

Sequoyah's invention spread through the Cherokees. A Moravian missionary described that: "the alphabet was soon recognized as an invaluable invention... in little over a year, thousands of hitherto illiterate Cherokees were able to read and write in their own language, teaching each other in cabins or by the roadside" (Foreman 11). This invention gave the Cherokees the advantages. They could read and write in their language easily, and as a result, Cherokee mothers could teach their children to write and read by themselves. They taught their beloved children at home and did not need to send these children to the missionary schools for learning how to read and write.

It showed that White's intention to transform Cherokees to their culture by giving education for their children did not success. The resistances of Cherokees parents gave the effect on the degree of success of this program. Between 1809 and 1829, there were only 3.2 percent of Cherokee children who attended the boarding schools (McLoughlin 172). It implied that Cherokee parents, especially mothers, still persisted their traditional custom in teaching and they did not have a high enthusiasm to send their daughters because they wanted to protect them from the eradication of



their traditional matrilineal culture in these schools. They also wanted to save their

children from the corporal punishment. Giving good examples and advising in good words were the best teaching method among Cherokees.

The unsuccessful efforts of the United States government to transform Cherokee culture to Whites culture through their education efforts for the Cherokee children was implied in Lewis Cass's essay. He was the governor of Michigan Territory between 1813 and 1831 who supported the removal for Cherokee. In Removal of the Indians (1830), he pointed out that: "many of Cherokees were carefully taught at our seminaries of education in the hope that principles of morality and habits of industry would be acquired and that they might stimulate to a better course of life" (qtd. in Perdue and Green 109). Unfortunately, as it was explained by Cass, all of these were just "unsuccessful and unproductive efforts" because Cherokee's moral and intellectual were still equally stationary, never changing with the change of circumstances (109). In other words, it could be said that the civilization program which wanted to destroy the important authority of Cherokee mother over their children through education was less successful.

This failure, therefore, was used by Cass to justify that the removal for Cherokees needed to be done. He viewed that Cherokees and other tribes must be forced to go out from their lands. These uncivilized people cannot "live in contact with a civilized community" (Perdue and Green 107).

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that Cherokee mothers resisted the civilization program in three ways. They are hiding their children from the government agents, taking their children in the boarding school, and preventing their



daughter to go to those schools. These mothers also tried to teach writing and reading

by using Sequoyah alphabet. The main motivation of Cherokee mothers in this resistance is protecting their authority to teach their culture to their children.

#### 4.1.2. Resistance to the Civilization Program in Economy

After years of sporadic warfare, Cherokees settled down to peace under The Treaty of Holdson. This treaty implied that Cherokees began a massive program of cultural assimilation into Whites culture. In the economic life, Cherokees should transform their ways of life from hunting to farming. They should depend their subsistence on agriculture and livestock in which the responsible on them imposed into Cherokee men. For Cherokee women, they should be like white, middle class women seemed to be, at home and culcted the domesticity works. They also instructed to become good industrious housewives through their skills in spinning and weaving the cloth.

In 1796, Benjamin Hawkins wrote a letter for President Washington about the respect of Cherokee women towards civilization program in the economic life. The Cherokees, as it was described by Hawkins, would follow the advice of the great father George Washington. They also would plant cotton and prepare spinning as soon as they could make it. Then they wished that they would get some wheels soon. They also promised that they would take care pigs and cattle (Woodward 139).

Cherokees, like most other Native Americans, did not reject nor accept the civilization program wholeheartedly. They simply adopted some aspects of policy that seemed to address their particular set of problems. Because their major economic



problem due to the declining of deerskin trade and as a result they could not take the advantage from it again, Cherokees tried to accept policy which appropriate with this problem. Cherokees accepted many technological innovations for agriculture and domestic manufacturer offered by Indian agents. They also interested in the new animals species for completing the collection of their livestock. Cherokees started to resemble Whites in the model of agriculture, livestock, and domestic manufacturers (Perdue 116).

In the fall 1796, when Hawkins visited Cherokees, he met a group of Cherokees women. They informed him that they had performed most of labor in agriculture and livestock. They generally made plenty of corn, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, cymbkins, gourds, watermelons, and onions. They also raised hogs, cattle, and a great poultry. Metal hoes and plows, which were introduced by the agents, seemed to make their job in agriculture easier. This innovation, therefore, increased their agricultural products. These women also already planted the cotton seeds in which it would be used as the ingredients of their cloth (Perdue 116).

The increasing of the agriculture products could not be separated with the role of African American slaves. Cherokees started to adopt the model of White's plantation that employing African slaves. Cherokees became aware that the use of slaves in their plantation was highly profitable (King 111).

The surplus production created a new change for Cherokee men. Before the declining of deerskin trade, they worked in the fields only for clearing new ground, felling the trees, and assisting women in the large harvest. Mark Van Doren's The Travel of William Bartram (1928) assisted that the civilization program had brought



Cherokee men were more fully integrated into their work with women. They together had "picnicked in Elysian fields" (qtd. in Pearce 143). There was a transition period in which men prepared the ground with the plows. Whereas, women still continued to perform more traditional task such as hoeing (Perdue 127). This innovation brought men involving in the phase of agriculture which never done before.

Cherokee women raised livestock too. The command to keep livestock was not strange for them because traditionally they kept their hogs in the stables close to their house and feed them by the product of farming and gathering. The introduction of horses, cows, and also sheep completed their animals' collection. The responsibility to keep these animals rested both on men and women.

Since the hunting had nearly disappeared in 1805-6 from their country, Cherokee men had found the new use of their hunting grounds, which was the land that they did not cultivate. They simply restocked their hunting ground with cattle, hogs, horses, and sheep. These animals became the substitution of the deer that could supply their main food from agriculture. Women, on the other hand, also raised the cattle and hogs near their house. Both men and women became stockbreeder. By the end of the eighteenth century, Cherokee women showed that they were well acquainted with the principles of animal husbandry. They also knew how to use the animals. Nancy Ward learned how to make butter from Mrs. Bean, her war captive. She also knew how to supply their people plentifully with meat of cows and hens (Perdue 116). Then, she taught these skills to other Cherokee women in her tribe. As a result, their prosperity increased.



these women welcomed the gifts. Benjamin Hawkins found that many Cherokee women were eager to receive these implementation and instruction (qtd. in Kerber and Mathew 151). Although spinning and weaving were strange for women, but they could acquire these new skills quickly. Their ability to learn with great facility could not be separated from their ability in dressing deerskin that had been practiced for along time. Since cloth was easier to work into garment than skins, women did not find serious problem in making cloth by spinning wheels and looms.

By 1800, spinning, weaving, and sewing became a part of household duties. Moravian missionaries pointed out that the enthusiasm of women towards "cult of domesticity" was high. It was proofed by a lot of women came to Indian agents and asked many spinning wheels and carried it on their backs to their homes (Perdue 117). Women still made household utensils, mats, quilts, baskets, and even dressing deerskins. Their traditional household activities persisted.

As the late 1829, over thirty years after the inauguration of the civilization program, many missionaries complained that Cherokee men did not fully occupy themselves in farming. These men always went to the fields after their women. They helped women to cultivate the grounds by plowing but after the seeds were raised, they tend not to care these plants. It was Cherokee women who responsible to keep it. The greater part of the agriculture labors still felt upon the women. Further, these missionaries estimated that only one-third of the Cherokee men farmed (Perdue 128). Clearly, the government and the missionaries were not successful in bringing about the



The aversion of women not to leave their traditional labor as farmers had rooted on their belief. The centerpiece of their belief stated that tilling the fields and harvesting the land's bounty were the identity of Cherokee women (Perdue 158). If this identity disappeared, they could not be called as Cherokee women.

The introduction of new animal species and spinning wheels and looms precisely increased the prosperity of Cherokees. They could get many profits from their products. Cloth, textile, and a large numbers of livestock were sold by Cherokees men to the merchants. The responsibility to sell the goods still rested on men. It was an evidence that traditional role of Cherokee men that was dealt with the outsider continued. They still became the major player in the trade of the agriculture products, animal husbandry, and domestic manufactures. Cherokees women continued to be women according to their old definitions, and men continued to be men. What Selu and Kanati were taught was still continued after putting the civilization program into effect.

The ability of women to produce many products that could be sold to merchants and to serve food for their family showed that they did not depend economically to their husband. Whites failed to transform the position of Cherokee women to be dependence on their husband. Women needed their husbands to sell their product and men depended on women for their products. There was the balance where both of them interdependent each others.



was stated in the Treaty of Holston surprised the Indians agents. Women's adaptations perfectly comprehensible because farming, tending livestock, and making cloth had long been part their world. For centuries, Cherokee women involved in these three activities as their ancestor had. Women envisioned that "civilization" brought improvement, not change their culture. Women had been quite successful in transforming White's culture in agriculture, livestock, and domestic manufacturers.

Women, therefore, still continued their resistances when the United States government wanted to take their land. Intermarriage and removal were the ways to take Cherokees land. The intention of Whites to take Cherokees' land was a portrait of their manifest destiny. Manifest destiny, as it was described by Cartney, was the idea that Whites Americans were destined not only to control and civilize the North American continent, but it was also to share "the earth surface" (12). The belief in manifest destiny to share the land, therefore, was used as a reason for taking Cherokees' land. Whites believed that their efforts to take Cherokees' land was "the will of God" (12), and as a result they did not feel guilty in taking that land.

As it was mentioned previously that marriage, in White's culture, automatically would give a husband the privilege to acquire the property of his wife. Intermarriage between a Cherokee woman and a white man, as it was expected by Whites, would transform the property of land to that White man. Traditionally, Cherokee women owned household, children, and land. If a White man could marry a Cherokee woman, the right towards the land would be hold by her husband, a White man. When a White man had the right for that land, he was supposed to own it as his private property.



The religious principle was the foundation of Whites to own the Native American land as their private property. In the eyes of Christians, the best way to make the soil fertile was to own it as private property. If a man did not own it as private property, it would scare the land. Men would wonder and escape from the fetter of nature. They did not love their newfound place and thus unwillingly to remain in the eyes of the Creation (Hine 4). Private property and land tenure, in fact, were the other ways of rooting a person to a place (4). Private property of the land caused White settle permanently on Cherokees land and thus they would claim that they also had a right towards that land.

Cherokee women who had a White husband tend to be more likely to have property separated from their husband. Cherokee women's property could not be controlled or disposed by their White husband. Unfortunately, the number of women who held property separate from White husbands was difficult to determine (Perdue 152). For land in which Cherokee women only had a right only to use it and then they wanted to persist this principle. By 1823, they send a petition to the National Council that insisting that the land still remained " the property of the nation" (155). Land, according to Cherokee women, could not be passed from a Cherokee woman to her White husband because land was not the property of one woman, but it belonged to all of Cherokee women.

Cherokee women also protected their ancestor's land by maintaining their protection to their daughters, especially in arranging the marriage for them (Anderson 45). They did not wish their daughters would give their land to White husbands. Most



Women's fidelity to their land was also expressed in their resistance when the policy of land cession and removal took place. When the land cession and removal happened, Cherokee women became the "pawn in the struggle" (Allen 37). A group of Cherokee women attempted to assemble their strength by holding a meeting in their own council and made some petitions for their National Council. In the removal crisis of 1817-1832, women made three petitions.

These two petitions was presented to the National Council which was composed solely of men. Nancy ward seemed to have inspired and led these meetings to make the petitions. In these petition, Cherokee women positioned themselves not as the holder of the individual property on the land, but as mother who had the duty to save their land for their next generation.

The first petition was written on May 2, 1817. In this petition, Cherokee women acknowledge the source of their power: "The Cherokee ladys now being present at the meeting of the chiefs and warriors in council have thought it their duties as mothers to address their beloved Chiefs and warriors now assembled" (Perdue and Green 124). Guiding to the members of the National Council as "our beloved children," they established their faminal connection to Cherokees homeland: "We raise all of you on the land which now have, which God gave us to inhabit and raise provision ... If a father or mother was to sell all their lands which they had to depend on, which their children had to raise their living on, which would be bad indeed and caused them to be removed to another country." They unyielding opposed land cession



and removal. "We do not wish to go to over the Mississippi, but this act of our children would be like destroying your mothers." They also recognized that it was their duty "to interfere in the disposition of their land into a small tract" (124).

In that first petition, women also argued the men not to sign the land cession and removal agreement: "keep your hands off paper talks and not to put your hands to paper for it would be impossible to remove us all" (Perdue and Green 124). They also threatened their beloved children if they still sold their land to Whites, their mothers and sisters would like "to forwarn you all not to part with our lands". At the end of this petition, Nancy ward asked to her grandchildren in the National council that as warriors, they should take a pity and listen to the talks of their sisters. Because she was too old to fight with White, she transferred the struggle to her beloved children and believed that these children would "do well on their land" (125).

The next year, the National Council met again to discuss not only the cession of their land but also the possibility of allotting Cherokees land to individuals. The allotment would destroy common ownership of land because it would divide the Nation into parcels and assign individual ownership to each parcel (Perdue 156). Once again, Cherokee women reacted. In this second petition which made on June 30, 1818, women affirmed their relationship to the land and to common title: "The land was to us by the Great Spirit above as our common right, to raise our children upon and to make support for our rising generations" (Perdue and Green 125). They also addressed the members of the National Council again as "our beloved children, the head and warriors", and urged them "to hold out to the last in support of our common



rights"(125). As Cherokees, the first settlers, and as "mothers", these women "claimed the right of the soil"(125). Women also protested that removal precisely would bring them to "the savage state again", and it was very "dreadful" for them (125).

The second petition also expressed the incomprehensible of Cherokee women towards the policy of their father, the president who wanted to remove them after they precisely were able to become civilized people (Perdue and Green 125). They said that:

"Our father the president advised us to become farmers, to manufacture our own clothes, and to have our children instructed. To this advice we have attended in everything as far as we were able. Now the thought of being compelled to remove the other side of Mississippi...it appears to us that we...become too much enlightened to throw aside of privileges of a civilized life."

When Cherokees were not being civilized people because of their way of hunting life, Whites tried to bring them into a culture of civilized people. But, when they could become civilized the president exactly wanted to turn them back to be uncivilized people by sending them to a wilderness country, and telling them that there was a good hunting in the Arkansas territory (Jahoda 240). That was why Cherokees and the other Native American could not understand their president.

The effect of the women's protest in 1817 and 1818 was difficult to determine. In 1817, the Cherokees still continued to cede tracts of land in Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, and in 1819, they even made a larger cession (Perdue 157). By 1831,

Cherokee women made by two communities of women who resided in Salequoree and PineLog. The language of the third petition was more polished and the tone more deferential, but the message still echoed the earlier petition. They said that: "We sincerely hope that there is no consideration which can induce our citizens to forsake the land of our fathers of which they have been in possession from time immemorial" (Perdue and Green 126). Although whites were placed Cherokee men as the fathers of the Nation, but once again, women described a familial bond to the land. As mothers, they argued against any actions which would "compel us, against our will, to undergo the toils and difficulties of removing with our helpless families hundreds of miles to unhealthy and unproductive country" (126). They also expected that their fathers, Cherokee men, should take "deep consideration to sell their homeland" (126).

Women's petition seemed not to be heard by their men in the National Council. In December 1835, a small group of men signed a removal treaty. There were not women's names on that document. Cherokees must move to west, and it was called as "Trail of Tears", or a direct translation from Cherokees was "The Trail Where They Cried." Many women, children, old men, and women died on that journey and they were buried. Most of Cherokee witnessed this tragedy, but they could not do anything. A quarter of Cherokees died during this long journey. The sadness surrounded the heart of Cherokees, and it was expressed on Louseno's song. It was as follows (qtd. in Balantine and Balantine 293):

All was failing

My home, I was sad to leave it



Have been looking for,  
Sending my spirit north, south, east, and west

Trying to escape death,

But could find nothing,

No way of escape (Lines 4-10)

In line 4, it seemed that all of Cherokees' effort to adopt Whites culture was useless. They hoped that the emulation of some economic aspects, such as using the tools, slaves, and acquiring weaving and spinning, would cause the United State government to recognize them as a civilized people and thus allow them to remain in their ancestral home, the mountain area where Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina met. Unfortunately, the government decision still remained the same. In line 5, 9, and 10 expressed that they must move, no members of Cherokees allowed to stay and they did not have the others ways. They must leave their forefather land, and that was the only way to continue their life.

Women's effort was unsuccessful. They could not defend the land where the blood of the first women, Selu, had soaked on it and caused the sprang of corn and beans (Perdue 158). It was a tragedy. When Cherokees was sad, Georgians sang a happy song. They were success to get Cherokees land. When the removal took place, Georgian sang the latest song as follows (Jahoda 224):

All I want in this creation

Is a pretty little girl and a big plantation

Way down yonder in the Cherokee Nation



fertile for their plantation and contained gold could be got only in Cherokee. Now, their dream came true.

The resistance of Cherokee women in defending their motherland was not success. This unsuccessful resistance was influenced by the attitudes of Cherokee men who did not support their resistances. The Cherokee men leaders signed the removal treaty on December 1835. These leaders did not hear the voice of Cherokee mothers who wanted to save the ancestral land for their children. The struggle of Cherokee women showed that these women tried to keep on what their ancestral mother taught, that was as Cherokee women, they must save the land for her children, the next generation of Cherokees.

#### 4.3. Resistances in the Politics

The disenfranchisement towards Cherokee women in the political life decreased the avenues to participate in it. The construction of eight district councils made the town council disappeared. Traditionally in the town council, there were members of seven clans, and every individual derived his or her political alignment from membership in one of their clans. The disappearing of the town, therefore, make women could not participate in the council, both to vote or held the nation. The establishment of the National Superior Court wiped out the position of women as the advisors to their men chiefs. Meanwhile, the ratification of the Cherokee constitution that eliminated Cherokee women from the political activities made these women difficult to continue their traditional culture in politic.



American Board missionary Daniel Bultrick in 1824 visited Turkey Town and looked that there were women, men, and children attended the local meeting. Some of Cherokee people still involved their women in their local meeting (Perdue 144). Some meetings in which women still participated could survive because outsiders did not normally attend it and as a result women could participate. They also rarely deliberated held the local meeting in front of non-Cherokees (144). They seemed to meet secretly and tried not to involve Whites in their local meeting. In 1822, Reid estimated that one third or more of Cherokees continued their traditional political activities in which their women were allowed to give their voice in their meeting (30).

The effort of the United States government in diminishing the role of Cherokee women in political life was not successful. Some of these women still give their participation in the society meeting. It become evidence that Cherokees still honor and respect the voices of their women in solving the problem for their tribe.

#### 4.4. Resistances in the Religion

Missionaries tried to Christianize Cherokees. They believed that they had a moral duty to bring these pagan people to the Gospel. They taught the doctrine of Christianity to Cherokee women, men, and also children. They forced Cherokees to adopt Christianity. In missionaries' perspective, to civilize Cherokees meant converting them to Christians (Axtell 51).

The conversion in the religious aspect was slow. After missionaries worked nearly a decade, they could Baptist just one Cherokee, namely Margaret Vann (Perdue

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must change the belief of Cherokees in their own religion and brought them to the Gospel.

One factor that caused the missionaries' efforts became less successful laid on the different concept in the story of the world creation. There was a great different principle in the world creation story between Judeo-Christians and Cherokees.

Cherokees believed that the Great Spirit created all things as beings of equal value (Allen 56). The Great Spirit positioned human beings, animals, and plants were in balance, did not create human beings was higher than animals or plants. Animals and tree was the same or even some of them had greater privilege than humans (57). Deer and corn, for example, were regarded as sacred in Cherokees society. Cherokees always held rituals to apologize the spirits of deer before they hunted the body of those deer or to ask permission to the spirit of corn before planting in order to get success in the harvest.

Cherokees saw that all creatures as relatives and the relation between these creatures were the central. There was a balance position between these three creatures which was expressed in their myth Kanati and Selu: the First Man and Woman: "in their belief system, women balanced men just as summer balanced winter, plants balanced animals, and farming balanced hunting" (Perdue 13). Cherokees believed that men did not dominate women and women did not subservient to men. Men had no power over women and no control over women's activities and vice versa. The Great Spirit created the different arena of power for women and men. It had existed since the beginning of time.



On the hierarchical God commanded first; within the limits of those commands, men ruled and women was subject to man, as are all the creatures for God had brought them to Adam for him to name (Gen. 2: 19-24, 3:16). In this scheme, the position of man (Adam) was higher than woman (Eve). He dominated his wife. Plants and animals were created just for men to be eaten (Gen 2:9).

Christians also believed that Lord created a perfect environment for his creatures. He arranged it to the benefit of Adam and Eve. He only asked that Adam and Eve should forebear from eating the fruit of one particular tree: "But one of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shall not eat..." (Gen. 2:17). Adam and Eve disobeyed the God. Eve more than Adam should bear sin because she tempted Adam to eat the forbidden fruit: "for hers was the greater sin" (Allen 58).

The Christians' creation story which stressed the origin sin because of the influence of Eve, Adam lost his primitive purity was so foreign for Cherokees especially women. Cherokees women could not accept the concept that the First Woman, in this world, brought evil. In their creation story, the First Woman or Selu gave them corn and beans for the children not sin. From Selu's blood, the corn sprang and her children could get a source for their subsistence:

"When you have killed me, clear a large piece of ground in front of the house and drag my body seven times over the ground inside the circle, and stay up all night and watch, and in the morning you will have plenty of corn ... and then they (Selu's children) began to drag Selu's body over the circle and from her blood sprang corn" (Perdue 14).



caused Cherokee women did not interest to the Gospel. They could not accept if the concept of their First Woman who gave them corn must be changed by the concept of Christianity in which the First Woman gave sin. In addition, the concept which placed of men was higher than women also became the factor for Cherokee women to reject the gospel of Christianity.

William Mc Loughlin affirmed that the different position of the First woman and what the First woman gave to her children became the causes of Cherokee women not to abandon their belief in Selu, their corn mother (qtd. in Perdue 171). Cherokee women were not eager to follow the preaching of the Gospel. They still wanted to profess their own religion.

Samuel Austin Worcester in the Cherokee Phoenix (1830) asserted that the missionaries were less successful to bring Cherokees to Christianity and it was proved by the collecting data that "only 1000 of 15,000 Cherokees in the missionaries era joined to churches" (qtd. in Perdue 171).



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Before the United States government applied the "Civilization Program", Cherokee women performed many roles in many aspects of life such as in the family, economy, politics, and religion. Cherokee women played different roles from what Cherokee men did. The division of labor between Cherokee women and men was based on gender which had root in their myth Kanati and Selu. Cherokees appreciated their world as a system of categories that opposed and balanced one to another. The balance required by Cherokees was the awareness that in women and men relationship oppression towards women or men might not exist. Balance meant that men did not dominate women, and women were not subservient to men; men had no power over women and no control over women's activities. Women had their own arena of power, as what men did.

This study reveals that Whites want to civilize Cherokees by shifting the culture of Cherokees to Whites culture especially from their matrilineal culture. To achieve this objective, Whites tried to change the gender conception and substitute it by their own gender norms. Whites attempted to force Cherokee women to perform many roles and activities as what was exercised by Whites women. They also wanted to place Cherokee women in the subordinate position to Cherokee men. Cherokee women must economically depend on their husband. Their active participation in the political and religious life must be rubbed out. Their authority towards their children



should be removed. As a result, Cherokee women assaulted this program in many aspect of life in which they acted essential roles there.

From the data gathered, the writer concludes that the Cherokee women's struggle toward the "Civilization Program" in 1789 to 1839 were successful in many ways, such as in defending their authority of teaching the custom of their tribe to their own children, preserving their roles in the fields as farmers, maintaining their participation in community meeting to evoke their aspiration, and continuing their own religion.

The degree of success of the Cherokee women's resistance in the family life especially in protecting their power to socialize their custom to Cherokee children was reflected in the percentage of Cherokee children's attendance to the boarding schools. It was only 3.2 percent of Cherokee children who came to those schools after Cherokee mother made an attack on that program. In economic life, Cherokee women still went to their fields and put into practice the field works. The expectation that Cherokee men were able to change the position of Cherokee women as farmers did not come true. It was only one-third of Cherokee men who became farmers (Perdue 128). In the local meeting, however, Cherokees permitted their women to attend. They respected for their women's suggestion in solving the problems of their tribe, and in religious life, it was only 1,000 of 15,000 Cherokees who were interested to the gospel.

The reluctance of Cherokee women to substitute their culture to Whites culture proved that Cherokee women had high motivation to preserve their old and traditional culture. Their unwillingness was influenced by the fact that White's gender norms



were not appropriate to Cherokees. It was derived from the consideration that their important position and power would change and vanish.

It can also be concluded that Cherokee women met the unsuccessful resistance especially in opposing the removal policy. This disappointing effort was not caused by the weakening of Cherokee women's motivation in their struggle. It was more influenced by the environmental condition or the people around them who did not support their struggle. Cherokee men leaders did not listen to the voice of Cherokee women who asked them not to give their motherland to Whites. These men still signed the treaty of removal. They must move to the west and leave their land that absorbed Selu's blood. The land that gave them the source for Cherokees' subsistence since the ancestral time. Cherokees women could not resist the expansion of the United States on their land.

Finally, regardless of how successful or not the resistance of Cherokee women towards the civilization program, the story of their struggle is one of the historical experience of American society. Native women became the major players in the great historical drama during the early America.



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## KANA'TI AND SELU: THE FIRST MAN AND WOMAN

There were a hunter named Kana'ti and his wife, Selu. They had one son whom they often heard playing with a mysterious child who came from the river. The parents conspired with their son to capture his playmate and bring him home to live with them. Although Kana'ti and Selu tamed the child from the river, he was often unruly and mischievous, and so they called him "Wild Boy".

In this family, Kana'ti provided the meat and Selu contributed corn and beans, but no one else knew the source of the food. One day the boys followed Kana'ti into the forest and discovered that he kept the game in a hole. They secretly watched their father release a buck from the hole, shoot it with an arrow, and take it home for dinner. The next day, the boys tried to imitate Kana'ti, but they became excited and confused, and they accidentally allowed all the animals to escape. As a result, according to the myth, Kana'ti and all men who followed him on the earth have had to hunt throughout the forest for game to feed their families.

The boys returned home hungry, and so Selu went to the storehouse to get corn and beans for their dinner. At Wild Boy's instigation, they spied on her and discovered that by rubbing her stomach and armpits she filled a basket with corn and beans. They decided that she was a witch who must be killed. Selu knew their thought and, reconciled to her fate, told them: "When you have killed me, clear a large piece of ground in front of the house and drag my body seven times around the circle. Then drag me seven times over the ground inside the circle, and stay up all night and watch, and in the morning you will have plenty of corn.

The boys killed Selu and began following her instructions. They grew tired, and instead of clearing all the ground in front of the house, they prepared only seven spots, which explains why corn grows only in a few places in the world. They began to drag Selu's body over the circle, and from her blood sprang corn. Failing once again to follow their mother's instructions, the boys dragged her body only twice over the circle, and so the Indians still cultivated their corn but twice a year. The boys did



watch the corn all around the field. In the morning it was ripe. Strangers came to get some of the grain, which was unknown to all other peoples, and the boys told them to plant the kernels and stay awake each night of their return trip. For six nights, they followed these instructions, and each morning they had ripened corn. On the last night of their journey, however, the strangers went to sleep and the corn did not sprout. Consequently, Indians must tend their crops carefully through half the year instead of for just one night.

When Kana'ti returned home and discovered what the boys had done, he vowed to leave home and go to the Wolf people. Wild Boy changed himself into a tuft of down that fell onto Kana'ti shoulders so that he could eavesdrop when Kana'ti arrived at the council house of the Wolf people. The Wolves admitted Kana'ti to their council and agreed to his request that they "play ball" against his "two bad boys"-that is, kill the miscreants. Because Wild Boy knew the plan, the boys were able to outsmart the Wolf people and defeat them.

They waited for their father, but he did not return home. After a while, they went in search of him. They finally caught up with Kana'ti and joined him on his journey where they had adventure with a panther and with cannibals, but ultimately the boys lost sight of him. Then they came to the end of the world. They waited until dawn when the sky rose up to let the sun out, and they slipped through to the other side: "There they found Kana'ti and Selu sitting together." In the upper world, beyond the solid vault of the sky, man and woman sat side by side. In the realm of past time, predictability, and perfection, harmony and balance were restored.