

Chief Bowles of the Texas Cherokees (& Below) The Cherokees of Texas

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Note: Contrary to the rather, shall we say, Euro-centric viewpoint of the written history of Texas, there are still plenty of Texas Cherokees and their descendants in Texas. The story is a sad one, filled with greed, jealousy, betrayal, murder and atrocity at the hands of white settlers, as the history does reveal. Despite assertions that a treaty was never signed, there were two, and both are on file in the Texas Archives. They simply weren't -- and aren't -- honored. -- PathFinder

Hello and welcome back everyone and welcome to the new members. I hope you find this both interesting and informative. BlackBear



DUWA'LI (Chief Bowles) 1756-1836
Chief Duwa'li Bowles played a prominent part in the history of Van Zandt County, Texas. Duwa'li was born in 1756. He was the son of a Scotch-Irish father and a Cherokee Indian mother. He had red hair, was slightly freckled and his skin possessed a slight coat of tan. In

1794, when Duwa'li was Chief of Running Water, Tennessee the American government had begun to give the Indians annuities and supplies.

Chief Duwa'li and a small group of Indians went to the government post to pick up their allotments. On their way home they met some white traders with their families. The white men traded the Indians some whiskey and the Indians got drunk. The traders then proceeded to trade for all the supplies, giving very little in return. After becoming sober the Indians realized what had happened and asked the white traders to return their supplies but they refused. A battle ensued in which all the white traders were killed. However, the Indians took the white women and children to safety. Later they decided they should leave that country for fear of reprisal.

Duwa'li and his people then settled in the southern part of what is now Missouri where they remained for 18 years. During their stay their numbers increased and the entire area became known as the Cherokee Nation West. In 1811 and 1812 Missouri was shaken by terrible tremors known later as the New Madrid Earthquake.

The Indians believed a curse had been placed on the land so Duwa'li led his people into Arkansas where they remained unmolested until 1817. At this time the government designated the territory between the White and Arkansas Rivers for the Indians and all Indians were ordered to move to that area. Duwa'li took 60 warriors and their families into Spanish-owned Texas. They settled along the three forks of the Trinity River, around Dallas. They soon learned that they had made a mistake. The wild Plains Indians made daring raids and within a short time Duwa'li had lost one-third of his warriors.

They then migrated to the wooded hills section of East Texas and settled north of Henderson. The Mexican government agreed to give them titles to the land, but the titles were not clear. The Cherokees shortly organized about 12 of the weaker tribes into an organization that was later known as The Cherokees and Their Associate Bands.

The Cherokees soon grew in numbers mostly from the eastern refugee Indians and spread into Cherokee and Smith Counties. The Cherokee were different from the wild Indians in that they lived in log cabins, farmed the land and raised livestock. They sold corn to the people in Nacogdoches. They also used guns and were good marksmen. The Cherokee weren't feared until the Texas Revolution against Mexico began.

At that time, Sam Houston and several other Texans made a treaty with the Cherokees which gave them an area north of the Old San Antonio Road and with the Neches River on the west and the Angelina River on the east as the boundary line. The lines extended to the Sabine River. The twelve associated tribes had been promised 1.5 million acres for their home by Texas President Sam Houston. However, after the war, the Republic of Texas Congress refused to ratify that treaty and declared it null and void. Sam Houston always maintained that the treaty was binding.

Shortly after the Republic of Texas was set up, the Indians became concerned about the titles to their lands. In the 2 years of the first term of President Sam Houston, he was able to keep the Indians pacified. However, when Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar became President of the republic of Texas; he had a different attitude toward the Cherokees. President Lamar announced that he was reclaiming this land. After the Killough Massacre, President Lamar ordered two companies of soldiers to occupy the Neches Saline to keep an eye on the Cherokees. Chief Duwa'li made the mistake of forcing them to withdraw.

A Mexican emissary named Flores was killed in a skirmish. He was carrying a letter to Chief Bowles that was interpreted from it's contents to mean that Bowles was in league with Mexican officials.

Sam Houston was not convinced that this was true. President Lamar and his advisers decided that the Cherokees should be removed from Texas. General Albert Sidney Johnston was sent to arrange for their removal, peaceably, it was hoped. Martin Lacy, the Indian agent was sent to confer with Chief Bowles, who lived about 2.5 miles northwest of what is now Alto.

Lacy arrived at Bowles' village with John H. Reagan, Dr. W. G. W. Jowers, and an interpreter named Cordra. Bowles received them politely and seated them on a log a short distance from his cabin near a spring. Lacy accused the Indians of stealing, committing certain murders and of cooperating with Mexican rebels. He also stated that Texans would pay the Indians for the relocating move and for their improvements but nothing for the land. Duwa'li denied the allegations, said the murders were committed by wild Indians. Bowles further stated that he could not give an answer until he had called a council of the Indians. Lacy granted him a week or ten days to give his answer.

When Lacy returned for Bowles' reply, the old chief was very grave. The entire council, with the exception of Big Mush and himself, wanted to fight for their rights. The 83 year old chief said that in the course of nature he probably had few years to live, and he was concerned about his three wives and children. Bowles ended by saying, "If I fight, the whites will kill me. If I refuse to fight, my own people will kill me. I have led my people for a long time and I feel that it is my duty to stand by them regardless of what fate might befall me." July 16, 1839 is the date of the last battle fought between the Texas Cavalry and Cherokee in Texas. The battle began on July 15. On July 16, Chief Bowles signaled retreat, few were left to flee. Chief Bowles was shot in the leg and his horse was wounded. The Chief climbed down from his horse and started to walk from the battlefield. He was shot in the back.

The 83 year old chief sat down crossing his arms and legs facing the company of militia. The captain of the militia walked to where the Chief sat, placed a pistol to his head and killed him. Cavalry members took strips of skin from his arms as souvenirs. His body was left where it lay. No burial ever took place. No funeral service was held for Chief Duwa'li Bowles until some 156 years after his death.

On Sunday, July 16, 1995 descendents of the tribes and their friends met to honor Chief Duwa'li Bowles with a funeral service, and to remember the others whose lives were also lost in this battle. This funeral was held on the site of the Battle of the Neches in Van Zandt County, Texas. On November 25, 1997, the American Indian Heritage Center of Texas, Inc., a Texas nonprofit organization purchased the land where the Battle of the Neches was fought in Van Zandt County, Texas near the community of Redland.

The Story of Chief Bowles

Duwa'li on the St. Francis River The Bowles (Duwa'li, or Chief Bowles), was born in North Carolina about 1756. He was an auburn haired, blue eyed, half blood Scotch Cherokee.

It is said that settlers from a North Carolina settlement killed Bowles father when Bowles was a young boy and that the vengeful fourteen year old killed his fathers murderers. After that he hated all white people. The Bowl was in the prime of manhood age, thirty two, when he became town Chief of Running Water. One of the five lower towns of Chattanooga Tennessee. This became the rendezvous for many Cherokee chiefs. Bowles being one of them and all of them hating whites.

In June 1794 they attacked some emigrants who were on their way down the Tennessee River to the western settlement at Mussel Shoals. The boat was loaded with valuable merchandise. William Scott, owner of the boat, was aboard along with five other men, three women, four children, and twenty slaves. As it passed down the Tennessee, the Cherokee attacked it. One hundred and fifty Indians then gathered and pursued the boat to Mussel Shoals, where they took it over. The Reverend Cephas Washburn, an early missionary to the Cherokees, recalled that while the Indians were camped on the river, several boats came down the river and stopped at the head of the Shoals. Scott and Stewart had a supply of goods that they wanted to trade to the Indians.

After hearing that the Cherokee had real money they invited them onboard the boat. They gave them as much whiskey as they could drink. The whole time they planned on taking advantage of them after they got drunk. The Indians eagerly bought items at a very high price. They did not stop trading until the money was all gone. After sobering up, Bowles and his men realized that they had been duped by the white men.

Bowles then took all of the merchandise back and tried to get their money back. Bowles was ordered off the boat. The warriors wanted immediate revenge, but Bowles wanted to settle it peacefully. Taking two of his warriors he tried again, warning the traders that they would fight if the money was not returned. Stewart and Scott attacked the three Indians, killing one. Bowles escaped but soon returned and killed the remaining white men on the boat. They did not harm the women, children or the slaves.

Afraid of what his tribe would think about the massacre, since the Cherokee Indians were supposed to be abiding by a treaty of amity with the whites, Bowles and his men descended down the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to the mouth of the St. Francis River in the boats. There they placed all the white women and children in one boat, gave each of the married ladies a female servant, put on board an ample stock of provisions and four strong and able black men and let them descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, the place of their destination.

Bowles and his men then continued up the St. Francis to await results. The Cherokees in Tennessee went to the government and said they had nothing to do with the killings. They placed the entire blame

on Bowles, and said they would help to find and arrest him. When Bowles learned that he was in disfavor of his people, he decided to make his home in Missouri and settled on the St. Francis. In time many more Cherokees joined him. After the government investigated the whole massacre they said it was felt that the Cherokees were fully justified in what they did. Chief Bowles and his people lived in the valley of the St. Francis in southeast Missouri until 1811. During that year there was a violent earthquake. The ground shook and sank in many places. The Bowles and many of his people thought that the Great Spirit was warning them to move. Many then moved to Arkansas. Other Cherokees began to move to Arkansas and by 1813 about one third of the Eastern tribe was living west of the Mississippi.

Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees

83 year-old Cherokee Chief Bowles (Chief Duwali or Bold Hunter) and about 800 Indians (around 600 being women, children, and the elderly) from various tribes including many Cherokees were killed in the Battle of the Neches on July 15-16, 1839, less than one month after Major Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and John Ridge were murdered. Unlike Texas' first President Sam Houston, Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second president of the Republic of Texas, wanted the Indians out of East Texas and the result was a massacre near the Neches River. The historical marker erected in 1936 is 13.5 miles west of Tyler, Texas, off SH 64. Turn right on Van Zandt County Road VZ 4923 and follow the signs for 2.4 miles. Turn right just before the Tyler Fish Farm. If you are driving from Canton, Texas, it is about 21 miles east of Canton and 3 miles north of Redland, Texas. Although President Mirabeau B. Lamar was responsible for the massacre, in 1856, Cherokee Chief Major Ridge's daughter Sarah Ridge was married to her second husband Charles Pix in the home of then Texas Governor Mirabeau B. Lamar.

BATTLE OF THE NECHES

Sam Houston and Mirabeau B. Lamar, the first two presidents of the Republic of Texas did not agree on anything, and the policy of their administrations toward Indians offers ample evidence of their differences -- Houston loved them and Lamar did not. Houston's fondness for the Cherokee grew from his boyhood experiences with them in Tennessee. Raised by a widow and often disapproving older brothers, Houston spent a large part of his younger years living among the Cherokee.

After he left Tennessee late in the 1820s, he again lived with and operated a trading post for Indians in western Arkansas-eastern Oklahoma. Lamar, on the other hand, came from Georgia, where many regarded the Cherokee as enemies because they occupied land by treaties dating from colonial days. Georgians drove them out of their state, contrary to a Supreme Court decision upholding the Indian's right to the land, when President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce the Court's ruling. The Battle of the Neches, fought in Smith and Van Zant counties on July 15-16, 1839, had similar cause.

During Houston's administration, the first for the new Republic of Texas, the president tried vainly to get the Texas Congress to honor a treaty he had negotiated with Cherokees in East Texas that kept them pacified during the Revolution in exchange for title to their lands. When Lamar succeeded Houston he adopted a policy similar to that of his home state -- to chase the Indians out of Texas so their land could be occupied by white settlers. Many East Texans agreed with Lamar. The Cherokee in East Texas were led by Chief Bowl, or Duwali in the Indian tongue. His people had been forced westward before and were unwilling to abandon established homes again.

And so was fought the Battle of the Neches, with the predictable outcome -- surviving Cherokee were driven north into Indian Territory, later known as Oklahoma. Quite a few prominent Texans engaged in the battle, among them Kelsey H. Douglass, former Texas secretary of war and later U.S. Senator Thomas Jefferson Rusk, former interim president of Texas David G. Burnet, later Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston, and later Confederate Postmaster John H. Reagan.

The Texans brought about 500 men to the fracas, the Indians a few more with estimates ranging from 600 to 700. Even so, they were over matched. Bowl, or Duwali, was shot by Henry Conner and Robert W. Smith. Lamar and many other Texans considered this noble work. They had ended Indian difficulties forever in the eastern part of Texas and gained control of additional land for whites to settle. The Cherokee -- and Houston -- had a different view.

San Saba The Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas," by John Henry Brown, L. E. Daniel Publisher, 1988, pages 69-70 (Only 750 copies printed)

After the double defeat of the Cherokees in East Texas, in the battle of July 16th and 17th, the whereabouts of those Indians was unknown for a considerable time. Doubtless a considerable portion of them

sought and found refuge among their kindred on the north side of the Arkansas, where Texas had long desired them to be. The death of their great chief, Col. Bowles, or "The Bowl," as his people designated him - the man who had been their Moses for many years - had divided their counsels and scattered them. But a considerable body remained intact under the lead of the younger chiefs, John Bowles, son of the deceased, and "The Egg."

In the autumn of 1839, these, with their followers, undertook to pass across the country, above the settlements, into Mexico, from they could harass our Northwestern frontier with impunity and find both refuge and protection beyond the Rio Grande and among our national foes. At that time it happened that Col. Edward Burleson, then of the regular army, with a body of regulars, a few volunteers and Lipan and Toncahua Indians as scouts, was on a winter campaign against the hostile tribes in the upper country, between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers.

On the evening of December 23rd, 1839, when about twenty-five miles (easterly) from Pecan Bayou, the scouts reported the discovery of a large trail of horses and cattle, bearing south towards the Colorado River. On the following day Col. Burleson changed his course and followed the trail.

On the morning of the 25th, Christmas Day, the scouts returned and reported an encampment of Indians about twelve miles distant, on the west bank of the Colorado River and about three miles below the mouth of the San Saba River (This was presumably the identical spot from which Captains Kuykendall and Henry S. Brown drove the Indians ten years before in 1829). Fearing discovery if he waited for a night attack, Col. Burleson determined to move forward as rapidly as possible, starting at 9 AM. By great caution and the cunning of his Indian guides, he succeeded in crossing the river a short distance above the encampment without being discovered. When discovered within a few hundred yards of the camp, a messenger met them and proposed a parley. Col. Burleson did not wish to fire if they would surrender; but perceiving their messenger was being detained, the Indians opened a brisk fire from a ravine in rear of their camp, which was promptly returned by Company B. under Capt. Cleindenin, which formed under cover of some trees and fallen timber; while the remainder of the command moved to the right in order to flank their left to surround them; but before this could be executed, our advance charged and the enemy gave way, and a running fight took place for two miles, our whole force pursuing. Favored by a rocky precipitous

ravine, and a dense cedar break, the warriors chiefly escaped, but their loss was great.

Among the seven warriors left dead on the field were the Chief John Bowles and 'The Egg.' The whole of their camp equipage, horses and cattle, one man, five women and nineteen children fell into the hands of the victors. Among the prisoners were the mother, three children and two sisters of John Bowles.

Our loss was one Toncahua wounded and the brave Capt. Lynch of the volunteers killed - shot dead while charging among the foremost of the advance. The prisoners were sent under guard commanded by Lt. Moran to Austin, together with important papers found in the camp. Col. Burleson made his official report the next day to Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston, Secretary of War, from which these details are derived. He then continued his original march, scouring the country up the Pecan Bayou, then across to the Leon and then down the country. Several bodies of Indians were discovered by the scouts - one being large, but they fled and avoided the troops. Two soldiers deserted on the trip, and both were killed by the hostiles. Among others in this expedition were Col. William S. Fisher, Maj. Wyatt, the gallant Capt. Matthew Caldwell, Lt. Lewis, Dr. Booker and Dr. (then Capt.) J.P.B. January, who died in Victoria, Texas, a worthy survivor of the men of '36. A few months later, after an amicable understanding, the prisoners were sent to their kindred in the Cherokee Nation, west of Arkansas."

Note from Blackbear The pictures from this and all future issues will be uploaded to Yahoo.. This is mainly for those who get the digest version which doesn't have any pictures. Yahoo/My Groups/TA_DreamCatcher/Photo <http://www.rootsweb.com/~txvanzan/duwali.htm>

John Dunn Hunter/Fredonian Rebellion The Texas Cherokees - A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840 by Dianna Everett
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All apparently misunderstood the motives of Fields and the Cherokees, and all assumed the worst. It might be appropriate to note that their judgments were based less on fact than on fear and prejudice and, perhaps, on prior experience. Nonetheless, they would continue to worry about the safety of the frontier settlers because they did not receive the truth about the Cherokee's scheme.

At this juncture, an adventurer named John Dunn Hunter came into the Cherokee country. His arrival and, subsequently, his well-intentioned interference in Cherokee politics were to have unfortunate consequences. John Dunn Hunter came to Texas in 1825. Possessing a remarkable affinity for Indian life, he claimed to have been captured at infancy and raised a Cherokee. He said that he had been befriended by an Englishman and given a good education; then he lived with the Osages. It is true that Hunter had traveled widely in the United States and in England, where he had been lionized as a "white savage."

Embued with a desire to "save" Native Americans, he wanted to move them out of the path of white settlement by promoting settlement west of the Mississippi River, and he intended to help them become "civilized" and able to live with a world ruled by whites. In 1825, with this goal in mind, he traveled through Missouri and Arkansas looking for a place to relocate the Quapaws and other tribes. In the autumn of 1825 he had come to Texas in search of a refuge for these peoples.

Hunter was quickly accepted by the Cherokees, who saw in him a ready diplomat who might advance their interests. Attending the council of twenty tribes in November 1825, he appears to have presented himself as a representative of the Quapaws and other tribes residing north and east of the Red River. Fields and Hunter must have instantly agreed on the viability and political expediency of relocating large numbers of U.S. Indians in Mexican Texas. In December 1825 Hunter began a trip to the Mexican capital in search of both a land title for the Cherokees and a tract on which he could settle the Quapaws. The Cherokees financed the excursion, for they had found in Hunter a delegate who could obtain a passport and who, by virtue of his international reputation, might be able to sway the Mexican government in the tribe's favor and bring the Quapaws into Texas as another barrier to American settlement.

Following Hunter's departure, in December Fields, Duwali, and four other headmen visited Nacogdoches, spoke to the alcalde, Samuel Norris, and once again expressed their good intentions. Declaring their friendship for the Mexican government, the chiefs reported that several thousand Shawnees were on their way from the United States with the intention of settling in Texas.

Investigating the story, the alcalde learned, no doubt by surprise, that twelve tribes of U.S. Indians were on the verge of entering Texas. Apparently, the Cherokees' resettlement efforts were about to be

successful. Page 41 John Dunn Hunter returned in May [1826], perhaps in time to attend the council and impart the disappointing news that his mission had failed. In return for a grant of land in Texas, he had offered to bring thirty thousand Indians into Mexico to establish communities for border defense, British *charg'e d'affaires* Henry George Ward had promoted Hunter's cause and assisted him in writing a petition to present to President Guadalupe Victoria.

Victoria was intrigued by the prospect of having thirty thousand border guards, but U.S. Minister Joel Poinsett, who apparently had the ear of those in power, managed to thwart the plan in order to keep Texas open for purchase by the United States. Hunter presented his petition in March; caught between two nations' maneuverings, it was rejected.

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During the autumn months the Cherokees had been courted by Benjamin Edwards. The empresario's brother had been busy, trying to muster support among the Edwards colonists, but he had only been able to secure the loyalty of thirty men. With uncharacteristic perspicacity he saw an opportunity to involve the Cherokees in the controversy and thereby bolster his forces. The council allowed Fields and Hunter to open negotiations with Edwards, who was able to persuade at least some, if not most, of the Cherokees to support him.

On December 21 several Indian leaders went to Nacogdoches, met with leaders of the Fredonian Republic, as Benjamin Edwards had styled it, and signed a treaty of friendship and alliance.

Fields speech during the assembly gave some idea of his people's temperament in these trying times: *In my old days I travelled 2000 miles to the City of Mexico to beg some lands to settle a poor orphan tribe of Red people that looked up to me for Protection. It was Promised lands for them after staying one year in Mexico and spending all I had I then came to my people and waited two years and then sent Mr. Hunter again after selling my stock to Provide him money for his expenses when he got there he stated his mission to government they said that they knew nothing of this Richard Fields and treated him with contempt - I am a Red man and a man of honor and cant be imposed on this way we will lift up our tomahauks and fight for land with all those friendly tribes that wishes land also If I am Beaton I then will Resign to fate and if not I will hold lands By the forse of my Red Warriors.*

Fields and Hunter then pledged the Cherokees to aid the Fredonians in evicting the unwelcome occupants of the grant. In return, the Cherokees were to receive title to all of Texas lying north of a line drawn from Nacogdoches westwards to the Rio Grande. Richard Fields, John Dunn Hunter, Nekolakeh, John Bags, and Cuktokeh signed for the Cherokees.

The Cherokees probably held a large council to consider this important decision. Fields and Hunter, both consummate diplomats, no doubt played up the tribe's recent failures with the Mexican government and by doing so convinced many of the tribe that uniting with the seemingly powerful Fredonians would solve all difficulties.

Through the joint offices of Peter Ellis Bean, acting as an agent of the Mexican government, and Jose Antonio Saucedo, most of the Cherokees were dissuaded from adhering to the treaty. While Duwali and other chiefs at first may have been persuaded by Field's demands for an alliance with the Fredonians, and the customary unanimity may have prevailed in the council autumn of 1826, by the first of the new year a factional split had surfaced. With the Mexican army en route to attack Fredonians, Hunter and Field's machinations no longer seemed to offer much advantage.

Bean's and Austin's arguments and Saucedo's promises had the desired effect, and opponents of the Fredonians held sway in the council. In early February, as Saucedo's army approached Nacogdoches, no Cherokees appeared to reinforce Edwards' minions, and the rebels fled across the Sabine. Page 47- 48 Duwali was now left to prove to the victorious Mexican authorities that the Cherokees' momentary intransigence was not to be taken as a disloyal act. Again the elders met in council. What transpired can only be imagined, but it resulted in an order to execute Fields and Hunter. Fields headed for American territory, but was captured and executed after crossing the Sabine.

Hunter escaped but was pursued by a force of Americans, including some of Austin's militia led by Bean. They failed to capture Hunter, but he was later apprehended at the Anadarko village and killed.

Duwali and Gatunwali came into Nacogdoches on February 28 to report the execution to the Mexican authorities, bringing with them one of Hunter's guns and a Fredonian flag said to have been hanging in Fields' house. In April the general [Anastasio Bustamante]

commended Duwali and Gatunwali ("Bowl" and "Big Mush") to the Supreme Government for their prompt action in the affair.

Civil Chief Duwali and the council sent Hunter to Mexico City to be their advocate, although he, too, was unfamiliar with Mexican law and political manipulation and fell victim to international political maneuvering. After failing in his mission, Hunter persuaded the council to ally with the Edwards brothers and their cohorts in a scheme that was bound to backfire, as Mexican authorities did not brook rebellions of this sort among resident foreigners. The only effect of Cherokees involvement in the Fredonian rebellion, if it even deserves the appellation, was that Americans in east Texas learned to distrust them. Even Austin did nothing more to help them before he died.

Fields pitiful protests about "poor Indians" notwithstanding, it was evident to Mexican officials, empresarios, and settlers alike that the Cherokees were a diplomatic and military presence henceforth to be watched and feared.

I hope you have enjoyed this issue of Dream Catcher.
Catcher Issue #447

Dream

**Chronicles of Oklahoma June, 1923 THE LAST OF THE
CHEROKEES IN TEXAS, By ALBERT WOLDERT, M. D. Tyler,
Texas**

It was not until spring of the year 1836 that the separate political destiny of the State of Texas was decided. Mexico still laid claims to all of Texas, while a treaty made by a commission of Texans and the Cherokee Indians and their associated tribes involved a wide strip of rich territory in eastern Texas, lying north of the old San Antonio road (Camino el Real), between the Neches, and Sabine river, and in the original Spanish grant of Filisola. Historic events, occurring in the early part of the year 1836 and subsequently, came on with such rapidity that only fragmentary statements as to precise dates and places were preserved as a matter of history, thus leading to considerable confusion as to the definite localities where important battles were fought between the Texans and the Cherokees, and ending in the expulsion of the latter from Texas forever.

The histories of Texas being written at the present day are entirely too silent regarding this entire matter, and some of them dismiss the subject in only a few brief lines. It has occurred to the writer that at least one of the greatest battles ever fought with the Indians in Texas, in which about 800 Indians were engaged on the one side, and about

500 Texans on the other, with many casualties, should receive greater attention by historians of the present day. The name of one Indian—Chief Bowles, of the Cherokees—stands out prominently in these historic events, and the writer has paid particular attention to him.

On account of the importance of this subject and, in order to record the events in chronologic order, the author has devoted much time in endeavoring to secure correct data from elderly persons now living and from libraries situated in the states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Texas, and from numerous histories of Texas, and such data is embodied herewith.

The Cherokees

According to Starr the name "Cherokee" is derived from the word "a-che-la" meaning fire, and the word "ah-gi", he takes. The expression has its origin in the belief that the Great Spirit gave to this tribe a sacred fire with the admonition that they were to keep it perpetually burning, and that on this fire the "kutani" or priests were to offer sacrifices.

As to the origin of the Cherokees, Powell states: "That the Iroquoian stock to which the Cherokees (Chalagues) belonged had its chief home in the north, its tribes occupying a compact territory which comprised portions of Ontario, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania almost to the latitude of Washington.

Another body including the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and perhaps also the Meherrin, occupied territory in northeastern North Carolina and the adjacent portion of Virginia. The Cherokees themselves constituted the third and southernmost body. They were the mountaineers of the South occupying the territory along the Alleghanies from Kanawha and the Tennessee almost to Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland range on the west, a territory upward of 40,000 square miles. Echota on the south bank of the Little Tennessee river was considered to be the capital of the Nation. Hereditary wars with the creeks, and along their boundaries with the Tuscaroras and Catawbias, kept them constantly engaged." Starr says: "That the religion of the Cherokees was an obscure polytheism.

The sun, their superior diety, was called. 'The Apportioner,' dividing time into day and night, giving the four seasons, as well as the giver of the 'divine fire' of their ancestors. Ranking as their gods were the 'Long Man,' the representative of the water; the 'Red Man,' representative of the east, possibly from the rising moon. 'Little Man,'

who lived in the thunder; 'Little People,' fairies in the rocks of the cliffs, etc. Conjurors were many among these aborigines and the Cherokees believed that through the mystical efforts of these persons they could cure diseases (snake bites), cause rain, produce death and harm to any one with whom they became displeased, without regard to distances."

The First Cherokees to Enter Texas

In the winter of 1819 and 1820 Chief Bowles (or Bowl) led sixty of his warriors, probably of the hunter class of Indians, and their families from Arkansas into Texas, these being the first civilized tribe of Indians, perhaps, to find their way into this state. According to King: "In the year 1822 a convention was made between the Cherokees and the empire of Mexico by which the Cherokees in Texas were permitted to occupy and cultivate certain lands of eastern Texas in consideration of fealty and service in case of war. Neither the empire, however, nor its successor, the Republic of Mexico, would consent to part with sovereignty in the soil, and persistently refused any other rights than those of domicile and tillage."

It should be recalled to mind that until the year 1824, Texas had been a province of Mexico with a department representing its capital situated at San Antonio. In that year the State of Coahuila and Texas was created, much against the will of the citizens of Texas, but it so remained until the year 1835. Shortly before the year 1835 important events began to occur in rapid succession in Texas. Her people had grown restless under Mexican misrule and oppression, and with a spirit of revolution began to organize and, on November 13, 1835, through their general council or consultation, created a provisional government. The day previously Henry Smith was elected governor, and James W. Robinson, lieutenant governor of Texas.

At last the Mexican authorities began to realize the possible loss of sovereignty of one of its richest possessions, which it sought to fortify by calling to aid the Cherokee Indians, together with their associate tribes, also regarded as adherents of Mexico and looked upon by those in authority in Mexico as being only tenants or occupants of the soil at the will of the sovereign. The Texans, having made rapid strides in growth and development, now realizing their own power, and with the hope of achieving complete independence began to exhibit a more defiant attitude toward Mexico, at the same time endeavoring to win the favor and allegiance of the Cherokees.

With the view of obtaining a better understanding between the whites and Cherokees (and with the associate bands of the latter), Governor Henry Smith on December 28, 1835, commissioned General Sam Houston, Colonel John Forbes and John Cameron, Esq., to meet and form a treaty with the Cherokees and associates for the purpose of effecting a mutual understanding with the Indians, including their rights as occupants of the soil. This commission met with the Cherokees and their associates and concluded and signed a treaty with the Cherokees and their twelve associate bands then residing in Texas.

On behalf of the Texans this treaty was signed by General Sam Houston and Colonel John Forbes; while the following named represented and signed for the Indians: Colonel Bowles, Big Mush, Samuel Benge, Osoota, Corn Tasele, The Egg, John Bowl and Tenuta, this commission from the Indians representing the Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Quapaws, Buloies, Iowanes, Alabamas, Coshaties, Caddos of Neches, Tamocuttakes, Untangous, "By the head chiefs and head men and warriors of the Cherokees as elder brother and representation of all other bands agreeable to their last council, done at the village of Colonel Bowl on the 33rd day of February, 1836."

In substance this treaty recited: That the parties declare that there should be a firm and lasting peace forever, and that friendly intercourse shall be preserved by the people belonging to both parties. Also that it was agreed and declared that the before-mentioned tribes of bands shall form one community, and that they shall have and possess the lands within the following bounds, to-wit: lying west of the San Antonio road and beginning on the west at the point where the said road crosses the river Angelina and running up said river until it reaches the first large creek below the Great Shawnee village emptying into said river from the northeast, thence running with said creek to its main source, and from thence a due northeast course to the Sabine river, and with said river east. Then starting where the San Antonio road crosses the Angelina river, and with said road to a point where it crosses the Neches river and then running up said river in a northwesterly direction. Generally speaking, this territory granted the Indians in this treaty comprised the whole area of what is now Smith and Cherokee counties, also the western portion of Rusk and Gregg counties and the northeastern portion of Van Zandt county, Texas.

In this treaty Article VI provides: "It is declared no individual person or member of the tribes before named shall have the power to sell or lease said lands to any person or persons not a member or members

of this community of Indians, nor shall any citizen of Texas be allowed to lease or buy land or lands from any Indian or Indians." In part Article VII stipulates: "That the Indians shall be governed by their own regulations and laws within their own territory not contrary to the laws of Texas."

The powers conferred upon General Sam Houston and Col. John Forbes in making this treaty with the Cherokees and their associates may be indicated in the following letter from Hon. Henry Smith, first temporary governor of Texas, in part as follows: "San Felipe, December 18, 1835. "Gentlemen of the Council: "I further suggest to you the propriety of appointing commissioners on the part of this government to carry into effect the Indian treaty as contemplated by the convention. I would therefore suggest the propriety of appointing General Houston of the army, and Col. John Forbest of Nacogdoches, who has been already commissioned as one of my aides. These commissioners would go specially instructed, so that no wrong could be committed either to the government, the Indians or our individual citizens. These agents going under proper instructions would be enabled to do right, but not permitted to do wrong, as their negotiations would be subject to investigation and ratification by the government before they would become a law. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant, "HENRY SMITH, Governor."

This territory of about fifty miles long and about thirty miles wide, set aside by this treaty, was to be the circumscribed hunting grounds and home in Texas of that principal and formidable band of Indians who had turned their faces towards the Southwest. Here in this narrow confine of a few miles, under the shadow of the hickory, oak and pine, they might erect their wigwams and crude log huts and dream if they would of the lands left behind, of the mountains they had often climbed in search of the bear, the turkey, and the deer, of the rivers flowing swiftly over the gray flinty rocks at the foot of the Ozarks and Alleghanies; and, if they had possessed the advantages of a more enlightened race, they might have called to their minds the days that had long gone before when their proud but savage ancestry had wandered at will over a large portion of the American continent, governed not by the pale face, but by their own peculiar customs and nature's laws.

Whether or not it was at this conference (February 23, 1836) at a later date General Sam Houston, probably as a testimonial of his good will, presented to Chief Bowles a military hat, a silk vest, a handsome sash, and handsome sword. At the time this treaty was made and signed by

the contracting parties (February 23, 1836) representing Texas, and the Cherokees, Texas was still a provisional government only, but assuming sovereign rights.

Two months after this treaty was made with the Indians, the battle of San Jacinto was fought (April 21, 1836), Texas won its independence from Mexico and proclaimed itself a republic.

On the first Monday in September, 1836, General Sam Houston was elected president of the Texas republic, receiving a total of 5,119 votes out of a total of 6,640 votes cast. The policy of President Houston towards the Cherokees was friendly, fair, and generous.

In the year 1837 this treaty (of February 23, 1836), made in good faith by Houston and Forbes with the Indians, came before the senate of the republic of Texas, which rejected it. Therefore, according to King: "In 1838 President Lamar directed attention of congress to this act of the senate and to the further fact, that Mexico had never, under any form of government, either conveyed or promised to convey as allodial property any portion of the Texas territory then, or at any time occupied or claimed by the Cherokees." The Indians, therefore, though having the protection of the treaty, were still without title to the lands on which they lived.

Some Customs and Mode of Life of the Cherokees of East Texas

History does not seem to give an account of the proportion of Cherokees in Texas who lived in houses such as crude log huts and those who lived in tents. On account of them living to a large extent the life of hunters, and like Indians of other tribes many of them doubtless lived in tents composed of three poles tied together at the top, and covered with hides of various animals such as buffalo, bear, and deer, and so arranged that these wigwams could be taken down, and ready to be moved within ten minutes time, according to Mr. T. H. Singletary.

Mr. Bum L. Walker, an aged and estimable citizen of Tyler, informed the author that the Indians of east Texas planted and cultivated only a few acres or "patches" (of usually five or six acres) in corn which they cultivated in crude hills made with a hoe. After gathering the corn they prepared it for food by mixing it with lye to make what they called "soffica." This they would eat either hot or cold, by means of a spoon made from the horn of a cow, and eating it three times a day.

The Indians seldom used salt with their food. Meats, such as buffalo, they would cut into long strips an inch or two wide and about half an inch thick, and hang it up to dry. After drying this meat would be eaten without cooking it.

While the Indians seldom used salt in their food, some of them must have regarded it as having considerable value, since Chief Bowles for a time made his headquarters near the Neches (or Hotchkiss, but now called Brook's) saline, in Smith county, apparently about the years 1837 or 1838. Their pottery (often decorated) was made of the clay obtained from the banks of creeks near their villages, which clay being baked turned it into various shades of brown or red, depending upon the percentage of iron contained in the clay. The author has found numerous specimens of this Indian pottery about one-third mile west of the Neches saline (Brook's saline) prairie; also about one mile east; and about two miles southeast of the same; also near what was once probably a Delaware Indian village about three or four miles northwest of Chandler, Henderson County, Texas.

According to Mr. Ludwig Anderson, an esteemed citizen of Cherokee County, the Indians who had formerly lived near what is now his residence, about three or four miles southeast of the Neches saline, were friendly with the whites and would not tell a lie. If they borrowed a gun to go hunting, they would take good care of it and would always return it in good order. They would not wantonly kill and destroy game, and would never kill more game than was actually necessary to supply their immediate needs. Mr. J. E. Arnold stated that it was the custom of the Indians to locate their grave yards about two arrow shots down stream from their villages.

Methods of Electing Their Chiefs

For the purpose of holding elections, and previous to the year 1831, Starr says that "All of the voters were notified to meet at a certain place. A couple or more of their leading men would each announce in a tone that could be easily heard the name of the favorite candidate. Each nominator then stepped off a few steps from the crowd and called for those who preferred this candidate to join him. The nominators then proceeded to an audible count of their partisans. The candidates were then brought back and the election proclaimed. After 1821 the elections (in what is now Arkansas) were held on the second Monday in July. The First and Second Chiefs were to receive a salary of one hundred dollars each and the Third Chief was to have an annual salary of sixty dollars. Their tenure of office was to be for four years. The western Cherokees were in constant war with the Osages until

1821 or 1822, and for that reason it was necessary to elect three chiefs so as to preserve their executive line of succession even though the First and Second Chiefs might die or be killed."

Chief Big Mush

The Cherokee chief who exercised authority in civil matters during the days of Bowles was Gatun-wa-'li (bread made into little balls or lumps), or Big Mush. History makes only brief mention of this Cherokee chief. His home was said to have been situated at one time in the northwestern part of Rusk County and perhaps later a few miles south of Rusk, Texas. From the fact that he was closely associated with Chief Bowles in the year 1827, and became the chief in civil matters, he must have had considerable influence with the Cherokees. It is known that he was one of the signers of the treaty made with General Sam Houston, John Forbes, Bowl and associates, dated at the village of Colonel Bowl, on February 23d, 1836. Powell states that Big Mush was killed in the last battle with the Cherokees, on July 16th, 1839, and on the same day Bowles was killed.

Some Historic Events Occurring Previous to the Expulsion of the Cherokees from Texas

In 1826 many of the white colonists who had settled in Texas under the grant issued Hayden Edwards who, taking advantage of the temporary hostile attitude of the Indians in not securing titles to the lands on which they lived, formed a mutual league with the Cherokees to act in concert with them in starting a revolt against the Mexican government, with a view of obtaining their independence.

John Dunn Hunter and Richard Fields represented the Indians in this union effected with the whites at a general council lasting three days, those taking part in this league being subsequently known as the "Fredonians." But this "Fredonian" enterprise owing to the adroitness of Pedro Elias Bean (Ellis P. Bean), the loyal Indian agent of the Mexican government at that time (1826-1827), was of short duration. The Fredonians were soon conquered and disbanded.

In regard to this affair, Yoakum says: "The Fredonians thereupon sent an express to Aes Bayou for assistance, but Bean had dispatched an emissary (December 26th, 1826) in advance to these people promising them pardon and lands. They also sent an express to the Indians but Bean likewise anticipated them here, and had promised the Cherokees and their associates that they should have the lands they applied for. Colonel Bean through the instrumentality of John Williams, Elliott and others succeeded in detaching the Indians from

the whites. These agents for their services received each a league of land. Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter remained friendly to the whites through promises of land to be granted by Mexico, succeeded and faithful to their agreement, while it appears that Bean, in detaching from this union two principal chiefs, namely Bowles and Big Mush. Shortly after the Fredonian rebellion (1826-27) both Hunter and Fields were assassinated, and Bowles became principal chief of the Cherokees (1827)."

In 1831 General Teran executed an order addressed to the proper Mexican authorities which in part read: "I pray your Excellency may be pleased to order that possession be given them (Cherokees—W) with the corresponding titles." But this order was never executed and instead of receiving titles from Mexico to the lands on which these Indians lived, they were as usual again rewarded with only glittering hopes and gilded promises.

In 1836, and apparently only a few days previous to the battle of San Jacinto, a committee representing the citizens of Nacogdoches was sent into the Cherokee country to ascertain the feeling of the Indians, and Yoakum states that "Bowles, principal chief, advised the agent to leave the country as there was danger. As to the suspicion that he (Bowles) might lend his assistance to the Mexicans, he became indignant at the suspicion of his good faith and pacific intentions and sent in his denial." Subsequent history proved that none of the Cherokees joined the Mexicans to assist Santa Anna just before the battle of San Jacinto. As to the good faith of the Cherokees towards the whites, and their fidelity to treaties made, General Sam Houston who was then (January 29th, 1855) in the United States Senate said: "The Cherokees had ever been friendly, and when Texas was in consternation, and the men and women were fugitives from the myrmidons of Santa Anna, who were sweeping over Texas like a simoon, they had aided our people, and given them succor—and this was the recompense. They were driven from their homes and were left desolate."

Bowles' Sword

The tradition of Bowles' sword has been furnished me by the following citizens of Henderson, and Rusk County, Texas, namely: Mr. John Arnold, Dr. W. P. White, Prof. C. A. Lanier, and Capt. W. A. Miller.

When Bowles was slain upon the battlefield of July 16th, 1836, his sword was awarded to Capt. Robert W. Smith on the same day, and Smith afterwards turned this sword over to Clinton Lodge, No. 23, A. F. and A. M., of Henderson, Texas, where it was used as the tiler's

sword of that lodge. Afterwards this sword was loaned or presented to Colonel James H. Jones of Henderson, Texas, who carried it with him through the Civil War, and who later returned it to the lodge at Henderson from whom it had been obtained. About the year 1890, or 1891, this sword was presented to judge Will H. Barker of Oklahoma, to be turned over to the Cherokee Nation, the capital of which in 1890 and 1891 was Tahlequah.

After receiving the sword Judge Barker who was then speaker of the lower house of the Cherokee legislative council, presented the sword to the Cherokee Nation, his eloquent oration being printed in both the English and Cherokee languages. The sword was subsequently placed in the archives of the Cherokee Nation, probably Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

A description of Bowles' sword has been given me by John Arnold, Esq., and Dr. W. P. White of Henderson, Texas, as follows: The sword of Bowles was made of steel and was about three feet and two or three inches in length, the blade being dull and about one and one-quarter inches in width. It was not a double-edged sword, the back of blade being thickened. The point of the sword was dull and had a long tapering tip or curve to it. The hilt of the sword was made of brass with a brass shield of about three inches in length, the hilt of the sword being somewhat enlarged inside the shield so the hand could grasp it the more tightly. There were no inscriptions or decorations on the sword. It was a military sword, and somewhat tarnished by age.

Death of Bowles

As to the death of Bowles, the Hon. John H. Reagan possibly gives the best and most accurate account, as follows: "Chief Bowles displayed great courage in these battles. In the second engagement he remained in the field on horseback wearing a military hat, a silk vest and handsome sword and sash which had been presented to him by General Sam Houston." ("He was mounted upon a very fine sorrel horse 'paint horse' with blazed face and four white feet—"

History of Texas, by John Henry Brown, p. 163).

"He was a magnificent specimen of barbaric manhood and was very conspicuous during the whole battle, being the last to leave the field when the Indians retreated. His horse had been wounded many times and he shot through the thigh. His horse was disabled and could go no further and he dismounted and started to walk off. He walked forward a little and fell and then rose to a sitting position facing us and

immediately in front of the company to which I belonged. Then as he sat up with his face toward us, I started to him. with a view to secure his surrender. At the same time my captain, Bob Smith, with a pistol in his hand, ran toward him from farther down the line. We reached him at the same instant, and realizing what was imminent, I called 'Captain, don't shoot him.' But he fired, striking Bowles in the head and killing him instantly. (Note—the pistol used was a single barrel pistol with flint-lock—W).

I had been so impressed with a manliness and dignity of Chief Bowles in the Consultation which preceded the war, and with his conspicuous bravery in battle that I did not want to see him killed, and would have saved his life if I could.

"It ought to be said for Captain Smith that he had known of the many murders and thefts by Indians and possibly did in the heat of battle what under other circumstances he would not have done, for he was esteemed as a worthy citizen.

"That night (after the battle) we could hear the hum and bustle of their camp the greater part of the night and the next morning they were gone."

Editorial Note—With reference to the finding of flint arrow points and fragments of broken pottery on certain sites supposed to have been occupied by the Cherokees in eastern Texas, it is well to bear in mind the fact that such articles may be of prehistoric origin.

The Cherokee people had been in contact with traders from the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard for a full century before Bowles and his band came to the country west of the Mississippi. Among the earliest wares received in barter were knives, spear heads and arrow points made of iron or steel. Indeed, certain Indian craftsmen in various tribes, soon became adept in the manufacture of such articles, using old hoop-iron and other castoff fragments of metal. Inasmuch as the fullblood Cherokees of the present day have lost even a tradition of the use of arrow points fashioned from flint, chert or other stone, it may well be doubted whether any of the warriors of Bowles' band made and used such points for their arrows. Moreover, it is authoritatively stated that the Cherokee people had lost or discarded the primitive art of making pottery by the time of their migration to the present Oklahoma, so it is not certain that the art was still continued by the people of Bowles' band.

All of Eastern Texas was included in the habitat of the Caddoan peoples of a comparatively recent prehistoric period and these Caddoan peoples excelled in the manufacture of pottery. As the ruins

and remains of Caddoan villages are very common in that part of Texas, the numerous, low, circular mounds each having been formed as the result of the collapse of a timber-framed, dome-shaped, earth-covered human habitation, it is not uncommon to find fragments of their earthenware scattered over some fields.

Note from Blackbear The pictures from this and all future issues will be uploaded to Yahoo.. This is mainly for those who get the digest version which doesn't have any pictures. Yahoo/My Groups/TA_DreamCatcher/Photo <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v001/v001p179.html>

The Killough, Wood, and Williams Massacre

In October, 1920, the author through the courtesy of Mrs. W. F. Partlow of Mt. Selman, Texas, obtained the following original account of the Killough, Wood, and Williams massacre, written by Mr. W. B. Killough (son of Mr. Samuel Killough, who was killed, together with several members of his family) and who while an infant was rescued by his mother during the massacre on October 5th, 1838. Mrs. Killough escaped with her infant son into the woods, being finally taken through the woods on foot to Ft. Lacy, near Alto, a distance of some forty miles.

The account of Mr. Killough, describing the massacre, given almost verbatim and without special effort at correction, is as follows: "I was born in Mardisville, Taladoga County, Alabama, September 26th, 1837. Father moved to Texas the same year, stopping where old Larissa now stands, the 24th day of December, 1837, it being some forty miles from any white settlement—Lacy's fort being the nearest.

They built houses, cleared land and made a crop. Everything went well until the fall of 1838 when the Indians began to give trouble. The Killoughs and connections left, but on making a treaty with the Indians they returned to gather their crops and stock. They had finished all except about two hours in Uncle Nathaniel Killough's corn, so, as they would not be out long, they concluded they would leave their guns at home. They had been in the habit of taking them, and stacking them in the field.

About one o'clock they started for the field. On their way the larger portion had to cross a creek. In passing through the swamp they were attacked by the Indians and all killed except Nathaniel Killough, his wife and child. He was watering his horse. He lived on that side of the

creek. On hearing the firing he rode to the house and tried to get his wife and child up on the horse. But they pursued him and he had to leave the horse and take to the cane. Ire made his way to a friendly Indian, and got another horse and made their escape to the fort. That baby girl which was about one year old is still living. She is the wife of Doctor G. M. Mathis, of Garden Valley, Smith County.

Samuel Killough, my father, lived on the northeast side of the creek. When mother Narcissa heard the firing, she taken me up and started to see who was killed. She was joined by Aunt Jane, (wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.) and her brother Williams. He took me to carry, for mother was very weakly, her standing weight being ninety-four pounds. They went but a few steps when they saw the Indians coming. Handing me to mother he said: "Here, take the baby, I must go." They swept by the man and shot him down a few yards from them. They found father in a small branch beyond the main creek, where he fell. The balance they failed to find except grandfather, Isaac Killough, Sr. He was lying in his yard and grandmother was all alone.

"In this massacre there were eighteen killed and taken off. Wood, a brother-in-law of the Killough's, his wife, five children, a Miss Killough, sister to father, were all taken off and were never heard of. The girls were about seventeen years old. Williams and Miss Killough were to have been married soon. After trying to get grandfather in the house, and failing, he being a very large man, they covered him up with quilts, laying rails on the side to hold them down. They turned their steps to east, returning to father's they found everything torn up and strewn over the yard. After sometime taken up in consultation, there being three women—Mrs. Urcery Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Mrs. Jane Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.; Narcissa Killough, wife of Samuel Killough (my mother).

"As the Indians sent for them while they were at the house to go to Sam Benge's, their chief, about two miles north. The first two mentioned were in favor of going—Narcissa told then they could go but she would die first. So one of them Indians sent for them—Dog Shoot by name—told them if he had a gun he would kill them. The male portion being dead they did not bring their guns. Narcissa sent them after their guns, and while they were gone she took her baby boy and started on a long journey of forty miles without anything to eat, among savages and wild beasts.

"They hid in the grass near where Larissa now stands until night came. They could hear the Indians yelling and see the smoke from the house, which on returning, not finding the women, they set on fire. When night came they started for Ft. Lacy, travelling as best they

could, as they had to leave the path often as Indians were coming up all through the night. There was one serious draw-back to them—one that might have proven fatal to them at any time. They had an infant one year and eight days old, and a small fist dog along. The cry of one or the bark of the other would have been fatal, but it seems that both knew there was something wrong, for when they would stop the dog would hover under their skirts like he was trying to keep out of danger. In starting they did not know what to do with the dog. They could not leave it, and didn't have the heart to kill it, nor anything to kill it with.

"The third day in the morning as they had been without anything to eat, they concluded they would travel by day. They had hid in the daytime. They had not gone far on hearing a noise behind them they looked and there stood an Indian with his gun to his shoulder ready to shoot. As some of the women screamed he ran up and showed them there was no powder in the pan—all guns were flint and steel then. The path forked at that place and he wanted them to turn to the left in a dimmer path. They refused to go at first. He could not speak English so he had to use signs.

"As they would not go he got in the trail ahead of them and loaded his gun. They concluded it was death anyway so they started his way. They had not gone far before they came to an Indian hut and about 200 Indians painted. They were killing a beef. They were carried to the hut and put in—the same Indian sitting in the door with his gun. There was a negro woman came in. Mother asked her some questions. She gave no satisfaction. They then gave them something to eat—the first they had in forty-eight hours. They sent off for an interpreter and when he came he told them that they were safe. Had they gone half a mile farther we would have all been killed, as the Indians in the town were on the warpath. That's where the painted warriors were from. He also told them that the whites had a great many friends among them, and they knew there were three women trying to make their escape and they had placed guards all over the country to find them if possible, but, as they had traveled only by night, they did not find them before.

They were kept there until the next morning when they were furnished with horses and sent to the fort. The Indian that captured them rolled up in his blanket with his gun laid across the door all night.

"This place is about four miles west of where Rusk now stands. They came very near being shot at the fort as it was night. All excited, they were hailed three times; finally they answered: 'Women from the

Saline,' just in time to save themselves. There was an amusing incident happened while we were in the fort. It was reported the Indians were coming. Mrs. Box got Johnny Box (her husband) down and commenced to beat on him, saying at the top of her voice: 'Pray, Johnny Box, do pray, if you ever did pray, pray now, for the Indians is coming.' We stayed in the fort about a month, then went to old Douglass, then mother and I soon left for Alabama. Will state that there were whites with the Indians in the killing of our family. There was one by the name of H—— from Taladega County, Alabama, that my family knew. "In about five weeks after the Killoughs were killed, General Houston sent General Rusk up and drove the Indians back, and buried our dead. Uncle Nathaniel Killough was with them. He was wounded in the Kickapoo fight being shot through the shoulder."

The following is a copy of the petition of Nathaniel Killough to the Congress of Texas, December, 1838, asking for relief for his losses: "To the Honorable House of Representatives and the Senate of This Republic, in Congress assembled: The petition of Nathaniel Killough humbly showeth unto your honorable body that he is now and has been for some time past, a citizen of Nacogdoches County; that during the past summer petitioner, together with his father, Isaac Killough; his brothers, Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, and Isaac Killough, Jr., and his brothers-in-law; George W. Wood and Owen C. Williams, resided near the Neches river in said county, and we were at that time engaged in the pursuit of agriculture; and that, at their residence, they were on the 5th of October last, attacked by Mexicans and wild Indians, and that Isaac Killough, Sr., Allen Killough, his wife and five children; Isaac Killough, Jr., George W. Wood, his wife and two children; Samuel Killough, a daughter of Owen C. Williams, and Elizabeth Rollough were killed as your petitioner believes. Your petitioner would also show unto your honorable body that at the time his relations were murdered, the Mexicans and Indians took and destroyed all the property of your petitioner and his relatives, and that the property of your petitioner so destroyed consisted of household furniture, farming utensils, and arms of the value of \$2,000; 500 bushels of corn worth \$1,000; a carriage worth \$200; a wagon worth \$250; two horses, one of great value, both worth \$700; a number of cattle worth \$150; the entire loss of your petitioner being \$4,300; that that Isaac Kollough, Sr., lost property of the same description of the value of \$2,500, and that Allen Killough lost \$3,000 worth of property; Samuel Killough lost property worth \$3,700; Isaac Killough, Jr., lost property worth \$700; George C. Wood had property destroyed worth \$2,400, and that Owen C. Williams last property worth \$2,300; and

the value of the before-mentioned has been entirely lost to your petitioner and to the heirs of his relatives; and that every possible effort has been used by your petitioner to recover the property mentioned, but that your petitioner has been unable to recover any of said property. In consideration of the premises, your petitioner prays that your honorable body will grant to him and Owen C. Williams and the heirs of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, Isaac Killough, Jr., and George C. Wood such relief as a sense of justice may dictate; and that your honorable body will duly consider the prayer of your petitioner; and that your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray." (Signed) NATHANIEL KILLOUGH. (Nacogdoches, Dec. 26, 1838).

Chief Bowles of the Texas Cherokees (& Below) The Cherokees of Texas Reprinted by permission of Black Bear, The Asylum.com Note: Contrary to the rather, shall we say, Euro-centric viewpoint of the written history of Texas, there are still plenty of Texas Cherokees and their descendants in Texas. The story is a sad one, filled with greed, jealousy, betrayal, murder and atrocity at the hands of white settlers, as the history does reveal. Despite assertions that a treaty was never signed, there were two, and both are on file in the Texas Archives. They simply weren't -- and aren't -- honored. -- PathFinder Hello and welcome back everyone and welcome to the new members. I hope you find this both interesting and informative. BlackBear DUWA'LI (Chief Bowles) 1756-1836 Chief Duwa'li Bowles played a prominent part in the history of Van Zandt County, Texas. Duwa'li was born in 1756. He was the son of a Scotch-Irish father and a Cherokee Indian mother. He had red hair, was slightly freckled and his skin possessed a slight coat of tan. In 1794, when Duwa'li was Chief of Running Water, Tennessee the American government had begun to give the Indians annuities and supplies. Chief Duwa'li and a small group of Indians went to the government post to pick up their allotments. On their way home they met some white traders with their families. The white men traded the Indians some whiskey and the Indians got drunk. The traders then proceeded to trade for all the supplies, giving very little in return. After becoming sober the Indians realized what had happened and asked the white traders to return their supplies but they refused. A battle ensued in which all the white traders were killed. However, the Indians took the white women and children to safety. Later they decided they should leave that country for fear of reprisal. Duwa'li and his people then settled in the southern part of what is now Missouri where they remained for 18 years. During their stay their numbers increased and the entire area became known as the Cherokee Nation West. In 1811

and 1812 Missouri was shaken by terrible tremors known later as the New Madrid Earthquake. The Indians believed a curse had been placed on the land so Duwa'li led his people into Arkansas where they remained unmolested until 1817. At this time the government designated the territory between the White and Arkansas Rivers for the Indians and all Indians were ordered to move to that area. Duwa'li took 60 warriors and their families into Spanish-owned Texas. They settled along the three forks of the Trinity River, around Dallas. They soon learned that they had made a mistake. The wild Plains Indians made daring raids and within a short time Duwa'li had lost one-third of his warriors. They then migrated to the wooded hills section of East Texas and settled north of Henderson. The Mexican government agreed to give them titles to the land, but the titles were not clear. The Cherokees shortly organized about 12 of the weaker tribes into an organization that was later known as The Cherokees and Their Associate Bands. The Cherokees soon grew in numbers mostly from the eastern refugee Indians and spread into Cherokee and Smith Counties. The Cherokee were different from the wild Indians in that they lived in log cabins, farmed the land and raised livestock. They sold corn to the people in Nacogdoches. They also used guns and were good marksmen. The Cherokee weren't feared until the Texas Revolution against Mexico began. At that time, Sam Houston and several other Texans made a treaty with the Cherokees which gave them an area north of the Old San Antonio Road and with the Neches River on the west and the Angelina River on the east as the boundary line. The lines extended to the Sabine River. The twelve associated tribes had been promised 1.5 million acres for their home by Texas President Sam Houston. However, after the war, the Republic of Texas Congress refused to ratify that treaty and declared it null and void. Sam Houston always maintained that the treaty was binding. Shortly after the Republic of Texas was set up, the Indians became concerned about the titles to their lands. In the 2 years of the first term of President Sam Houston, he was able to keep the Indians pacified. However, when Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar became President of the republic of Texas; he had a different attitude toward the Cherokees. President Lamar announced that he was reclaiming this land. After the Killough Massacre, President Lamar ordered two companies of soldiers to occupy the Neches Saline to keep an eye on the Cherokees. Chief Duwa'li made the mistake of forcing them to withdraw. A Mexican emissary named Flores was killed in a skirmish. He was carrying a letter to Chief Bowles that was interpreted from its contents to mean that Bowles was in league with Mexican officials. Sam Houston was not convinced that this was true. President Lamar and his advisers decided that the Cherokees should be removed from

Texas. General Albert Sidney Johnston was sent to arrange for their removal, peaceably, it was hoped. Martin Lacy, the Indian agent was sent to confer with Chief Bowles, who lived about 2.5 miles northwest of what is now Alto. Lacy arrived at Bowles' village with John H. Reagan, Dr. W. G. W. Jowers, and an interpreter named Cordra. Bowles received them politely and seated them on a log a short distance from his cabin near a spring. Lacy accused the Indians of stealing, committing certain murders and of cooperating with Mexican rebels. He also stated that Texans would pay the Indians for the relocating move and for their improvements but nothing for the land. Duwa'li denied the allegations, said the murders were committed by wild Indians. Bowles further stated that he could not give an answer until he had called a council of the Indians. Lacy granted him a week or ten days to give his answer. When Lacy returned for Bowles' reply, the old chief was very grave. The entire council, with the exception of Big Mush and himself, wanted to fight for their rights. The 83 year old chief said that in the course of nature he probably had few years to live, and he was concerned about his three wives and children. Bowles ended by saying, "If I fight, the whites will kill me. If I refuse to fight, my own people will kill me. I have led my people for a long time and I feel that it is my duty to stand by them regardless of what fate might befall me." July 16, 1839 is the date of the last battle fought between the Texas Cavalry and Cherokee in Texas. The battle began on July 15. On July 16, Chief Bowles signaled retreat, few were left to flee. Chief Bowles was shot in the leg and his horse was wounded. The Chief climbed down from his horse and started to walk from the battlefield. He was shot in the back. The 83 year old chief sat down crossing his arms and legs facing the company of militia. The captain of the militia walked to where the Chief sat, placed a pistol to his head and killed him. Cavalry members took strips of skin from his arms as souvenirs. His body was left where it lay. No burial ever took place. No funeral service was held for Chief Duwa'li Bowles until some 156 years after his death. On Sunday, July 16, 1995 descendents of the tribes and their friends met to honor Chief Duwa'li Bowles with a funeral service, and to remember the others whose lives were also lost in this battle. This funeral was held on the site of the Battle of the Neches in Van Zandt County, Texas. On November 25, 1997, the American Indian Heritage Center of Texas, Inc., a Texas nonprofit organization purchased the land where the Battle of the Neches was fought in Van Zandt County, Texas near the community of Redland.

The Story of Chief Bowles Duwa'li on the St. Francis River The Bowles (Duwa'li, or Chief Bowles), was born in North Carolina about 1756. He was an auburn haired, blue eyed, half blood Scotch Cherokee. It is said that settlers from a North Carolina

settlement killed Bowles father when Bowls was a young boy and that the vengeful fourteen year old killed his fathers murderers. After that he hated all white people. The Bowl was in the prime of manhood age, thirty two, when he became town Chief of Running Water. One of the five lower towns of Chattanooga Tennessee. This became the rendezvous for many Cherokee chiefs. Bowles being one of them and all of them hating whites. In June 1794 they attacked some emigrants who were on their way down the Tennessee River to the western settlement at Mussel Shoals. The boat was loaded with valuable merchandise. William Scott, owner of the boat, was aboard along with five other men, three women, four children, and twenty slaves. As it passed down the Tennessee, the Cherokee attacked it. One hundred and fifty Indians then gathered and pursued the boat to Mussel Shoals, where they took it over. The Reverend Cephas Washburn, an early missionary to the Cherokees, recalled that while the Indians were camped on the river, several boats came down the river and stopped at the head of the Shoals. Scott and Stewart had a supply of goods that they wanted to trade to the Indians. After hearing that the Cherokee had real money they invited them onboard the boat. They gave them as much whiskey as they could drink. The whole time they planed on taking advantage of them after they got drunk. The Indians eagerly bought items at a very high price. They did not stop trading until the money was all gone. After sobering up, Bowles and his men realized that they had been duped by the white men. Bowles then took all of the merchandise back and tried to get their money back. Bowles was ordered off the boat. The warriors wanted immediate revenge, but Bowles wanted to settle it peacefully. Taking two of his warriors he tried again, warning the traders that they would fight if the money was not returned. Stewart and Scott attacked the three Indians, killing one. Bowles escaped but soon returned and killed the remaining white men on the boat. They did not harm the women, children or the slaves. Afraid of what his tribe would think about the massacre, since the Cherokee Indians were supposed to be abiding by a treaty of amity with the whites, Bowles and his men descended down the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to the mouth of the St. Francis River in the boats. There they placed all the white women and children in one boat, gave each of the married ladies a female servant, put on board an ample stock of provisions and four strong and able black men and let them descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, the place of their destination. Bowles and his men then continued up the St. Francis to await results. The Cherokees in Tennessee went to the government and said they had nothing to do with the killings. They placed the entire blame on Bowles, and said they would help to find and arrest him. When Bowles

learned that he was in disfavor of his people, he decided to make his home in Missouri and settled on the St. Francis. In time many more Cherokees joined him. After the government investigated the whole massacre they said it was felt that the Cherokees were fully justified in what they did. Chief Bowles and his people lived in the valley of the St. Francis in southeast Missouri until 1811. During that year there was a violent earthquake. The ground shook and sank in many places. The Bowles and many of his people thought that the Great Spirit was warning them to move. Many then moved to Arkansas. Other Cherokees began to move to Arkansas and by 1813 about one third of the Eastern tribe was living west of the Mississippi.

Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees 83 year-old Cherokee Chief Bowles (Chief Duwali or Bold Hunter) and about 800 Indians (around 600 being women, children, and the elderly) from various tribes including many Cherokees were killed in the Battle of the Neches on July 15-16, 1839, less than one month after Major Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and John Ridge were murdered. Unlike Texas' first President Sam Houston, Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second president of the Republic of Texas, wanted the Indians out of East Texas and the result was a massacre near the Neches River. The historical marker erected in 1936 is 13.5 miles west of Tyler, Texas, off SH 64. Turn right on Van Zandt County Road VZ 4923 and follow the signs for 2.4 miles. Turn right just before the Tyler Fish Farm. If you are driving from Canton, Texas, it is about 21 miles east of Canton and 3 miles north of Redland, Texas. Although President Mirabeau B. Lamar was responsible for the massacre, in 1856, Cherokee Chief Major Ridge's daughter Sarah Ridge was married to her second husband Charles Pix in the home of then Texas Governor Mirabeau B.

Lamar. **BATTLE OF THE NECHES** Sam Houston and Mirabeau B. Lamar, the first two presidents of the Republic of Texas did not agree on anything, and the policy of their administrations toward Indians offers ample evidence of their differences -- Houston loved them and Lamar did not. Houston's fondness for the Cherokee grew from his boyhood experiences with them in Tennessee. Raised by a widow and often disapproving older brothers, Houston spent a large part of his younger years living among the Cherokee. After he left Tennessee late in the 1820s, he again lived with and operated a trading post for Indians in western Arkansas-eastern Oklahoma. Lamar, on the other hand, came from Georgia, where many regarded the Cherokee as enemies because they occupied land by treaties dating from colonial days. Georgians drove them out of their state, contrary to a Supreme Court decision upholding the Indian's right to the land, when President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce the Court's ruling. The Battle of the Neches, fought in Smith

and Van Zant counties on July 15-16, 1839, had similar cause. During Houston's administration, the first for the new Republic of Texas, the president tried vainly to get the Texas Congress to honor a treaty he had negotiated with Cherokees in East Texas that kept them pacified during the Revolution in exchange for title to their lands. When Lamar succeeded Houston he adopted a policy similar to that of his home state -- to chase the Indians out of Texas so their land could be occupied by white settlers. Many East Texans agreed with Lamar. The Cherokee in East Texas were led by Chief Bowl, or Duwali in the Indian tongue. His people had been forced westward before and were unwilling to abandon established homes again. And so was fought the Battle of the Neches, with the predictable outcome -- surviving Cherokee were driven north into Indian Territory, later known as Oklahoma. Quite a few prominent Texans engaged in the battle, among them Kelsey H. Douglass, former Texas secretary of war and later U.S. Senator Thomas Jefferson Rusk, former interim president of Texas David G. Burnet, later Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston, and later Confederate Postmaster John H. Reagan. The Texans brought about 500 men to the fracas, the Indians a few more with estimates ranging from 600 to 700. Even so, they were over matched. Bowl, or Duwali, was shot by Henry Conner and Robert W. Smith. Lamar and many other Texans considered this noble work. They had ended Indian difficulties forever in the eastern part of Texas and gained control of additional land for whites to settle. The Cherokee -- and Houston -- had a different view. San Saba The Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas," by John Henry Brown, L. E. Daniel Publisher, 1988, pages 69-70 (Only 750 copies printed) After the double defeat of the Cherokees in East Texas, in the battle of July 16th and 17th, the whereabouts of those Indians was unknown for a considerable time. Doubtless a considerable portion of them sought and found refuge among their kindred on the north side of the Arkansas, where Texas had long desired them to be. The death of their great chief, Col. Bowles, or "The Bowl," as his people designated him - the man who had been their Moses for many years - had divided their counsels and scattered them. But a considerable body remained intact under the lead of the younger chiefs, John Bowles, son of the deceased, and "The Egg." In the autumn of 1839, these, with their followers, undertook to pass across the country, above the settlements, into Mexico, from they could harass our Northwestern frontier with impunity and find both refuge and protection beyond the Rio Grande and among our national foes. At that time it happened that Col. Edward Burleson, then of the regular army, with a body of regulars, a few volunteers and Lipan and Toncahua Indians as scouts, was on a winter campaign against the hostile tribes in the upper

country, between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers. On the evening of December 23rd, 1839, when about twenty-five miles (easterly) from Pecan Bayou, the scouts reported the discovery of a large trail of horses and cattle, bearing south towards the Colorado River. On the following day Col. Burleson changed his course and followed the trail. On the morning of the 25th, Christmas Day, the scouts returned and reported an encampment of Indians about twelve miles distant, on the west bank of the Colorado River and about three miles below the mouth of the San Saba River (This was presumably the identical spot from which Captains Kuykendall and Henry S. Brown drove the Indians ten years before in 1829). Fearing discovery if he waited for a night attack, Col. Burleson determined to move forward as rapidly as possible, starting at 9 AM. By great caution and the cunning of his Indian guides, he succeeded in crossing the river a short distance above the encampment without being discovered. When discovered within a few hundred yards of the camp, a messenger met them and proposed a parley. Col. Burleson did not wish to fire if they would surrender; but perceiving their messenger was being detained, the Indians opened a brisk fire from a ravine in rear of their camp, which was promptly returned by Company B. under Capt. Cleindenin, which formed under cover of some trees and fallen timber; while the remainder of the command moved to the right in order to flank their left to surround them; but before this could be executed, our advance charged and the enemy gave way, and a running fight took place for two miles, our whole force pursuing. Favored by a rocky precipitous ravine, and a dense cedar break, the warriors chiefly escaped, but their loss was great. Among the seven warriors left dead on the field were the Chief John Bowles and 'The Egg.' The whole of their camp equipage, horses and cattle, one man, five women and nineteen children fell into the hands of the victors. Among the prisoners were the mother, three children and two sisters of John Bowles. Our loss was one Toncahua wounded and the brave Capt. Lynch of the volunteers killed - shot dead while charging among the foremost of the advance. The prisoners were sent under guard commanded by Lt. Moran to Austin, together with important papers found in the camp. Col. Burleson made his official report the next day to Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston, Secretary of War, from which these details are derived. He then continued his original march, scouring the country up the Pecan Bayou, then across to the Leon and then down the country. Several bodies of Indians were discovered by the scouts - one being large, but they fled and avoided the troops. Two soldiers deserted on the trip, and both were killed by the hostiles. Among others in this expedition were Col. William S. Fisher, Maj. Wyatt, the gallant Capt. Matthew Caldwell, Lt. Lewis, Dr. Booker and Dr. (then

Capt.) J.P.B. January, who died in Victoria, Texas, a worthy survivor of the men of '36. A few months later, after an amicable understanding, the prisoners were sent to their kindred in the Cherokee Nation, west of Arkansas." Note from Blackbear The pictures from this and all future issues will be uploaded to Yahoo.. This is mainly for those who get the digest version which doesn't have any pictures. Yahoo/My

Groups/TA_DreamCatcher/Photo <http://www.rootsweb.com/~txvanzan/duwali.htm> John Dunn Hunter/Fredonian Rebellion

The Texas Cherokees - A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840 by Dianna Everett Page 37- 38 All apparently misunderstood the motives of Fields and the Cherokees, and all assumed the worst. It might be appropriate to note that their judgments were based less on fact than on fear and prejudice and, perhaps, on prior experience. Nonetheless, they would continue to worry about the safety of the frontier settlers because they did not receive the truth about the Cherokee's scheme. At this juncture, an adventurer named John Dunn Hunter came into the Cherokee country. His arrival and, subsequently, his well-intentioned interference in Cherokee politics were to have unfortunate consequences. John Dunn Hunter came to Texas in 1825. Possessing a remarkable affinity for Indian life, he claimed to have been captured at infancy and raised a Cherokee. He said that he had been befriended by an Englishman and given a good education; then he lived with the Osages. It is true that Hunter had traveled widely in the United States and in England, where he had been lionized as a "white savage." Embued with a desire to "save" Native Americans, he wanted to move them out of the path of white settlement by promoting settlement west of the Mississippi River, and he intended to help them become "civilized" and able to live with a world ruled by whites. In 1825, with this goal in mind, he traveled through Missouri and Arkansas looking for a place to relocate the Quapaws and other tribes. In the autumn of 1825 he had come to Texas in search of a refuge for these peoples. Hunter was quickly accepted by the Cherokees, who saw in him a ready diplomat who might advance their interests. Attending the council of twenty tribes in November 1825, he appears to have presented himself as a representative of the Quapaws and other tribes residing north and east of the Red River. Fields and Hunter must have instantly agreed on the viability and political expediency of relocating large numbers of U.S. Indians in Mexican Texas. In December 1825 Hunter began a trip to the Mexican capital in search of both a land title for the Cherokees and a tract on which he could settle the Quapaws. The Cherokees financed the excursion, for they had found in Hunter a delegate who could obtain a passport and who, by virtue of his international reputation,

might be able to sway the Mexican government in the tribe's favor and bring the Quapaws into Texas as another barrier to American settlement. Following Hunter's departure, in December Fields, Duwali, and four other headmen visited Nacogdoches, spoke to the alcalde, Samuel Norris, and once again expressed their good intentions. Declaring their friendship for the Mexican government, the chiefs reported that several thousand Shawnees were on their way from the United States with the intention of settling in Texas. Investigating the story, the alcalde learned, no doubt by surprise, that twelve tribes of U.S. Indians were on the verge of entering Texas. Apparently, the Cherokees' resettlement efforts were about to be successful. Page 41 John Dunn Hunter returned in May [1826], perhaps in time to attend the council and impart the disappointing news that his mission had failed. In return for a grant of land in Texas, he had offered to bring thirty thousand Indians into Mexico to establish communities for border defense, British charg'e d'affaires Henry George Ward had promoted Hunter's cause and assisted him in writing a petition to present to President Guadalupe Victoria. Victoria was intrigued by the prospect of having thirty thousand border guards, but U.S. Minister Joel Poinsett, who apparently had the ear of those in power, managed to thwart the plan in order to keep Texas open for purchase by the United States. Hunter presented his petition in March; caught between two nations' maneuverings, it was rejected. Page 44 - 46 During the autumn months the Cherokees had been courted by Benjamin Edwards. The empresario's brother had been busy, trying to muster support among the Edwards colonists, but he had only been able to secure the loyalty of thirty men. With uncharacteristic perspicacity he saw an opportunity to involve the Cherokees in the controversy and thereby bolster his forces. The council allowed Fields and Hunter to open negotiations with Edwards, who was able to persuade at least some, if not most, of the Cherokees to support him. On December 21 several Indian leaders went to Nacogdoches, met with leaders of the Fredonian Republic, as Benjamin Edwards had styled it, and signed a treaty of friendship and alliance. Fields speech during the assembly gave some idea of his people's temperament in these trying times: In my old days I travelled 2000 miles to the City of Mexico to beg some lands to settle a poor orphan tribe of Red people that looked up to me for Protection. I was Promisid lands for them after staying one year in Mexico and spending all I had I then came to my people and waited two years and then sent Mr. Hunter again after selling my stock to Provide him money for his expenses when he got there he stated his mission to government they said that they knew nothing of this Richard Fields and treated him with contempt - I am a Red man and a man of honor and cant be imposed

on this way we will lift up our tomahawks and fight for land with all those friendly tribes that wishes land also If I am Beaton I then will Resign to fate and if not I will hold lands By the forse of my Red Warriors. Fields and Hunter then pledged the Cherokees to aid the Fredonians in evicting the unwelcome occupants of the grant. In return, the Cherokees were to receive title to all of Texas lying north of a line drawn from Nacogdoches westwards to the Rio Grande. Richard Fields, John Dunn Hunter, Nekolakeh, John Bags, and Cuktokeh signed for the Cherokees. The Cherokees probably held a large council to consider this important decision. Fields and Hunter, both consummate diplomats, no doubt played up the tribe's recent failures with the Mexican government and by doing so convinced many of the tribe that uniting with the seemingly powerful Fredonians would solve all difficulties. Through the joint offices of Peter Ellis Bean, acting as an agent of the Mexican government, and Jose Antonio Saucedo, most of the Cherokees were dissuaded from adhering to the treaty. While Duwali and other chiefs at first may have been persuaded by Field's demands for an alliance with the Fredonians, and the customary unanimity may have prevailed in the council autumn of 1826, by the first of the new year a factional spilt had surfaced. With the Mexican army en route to attack Fredonians, Hunter and Field's machinations no longer seemed to offer much advantage. Bean's and Austin's arguments and Saucedo's promises had the desired effect, and opponents of the Fredonians held sway in the council. In early February, as Saucedo's army approached Nacogdoches, no Cherokees appeared to reinforce Edwards' minions, and the rebels fled across the Sabine. Page 47- 48 Duwali was now left to prove to the victorious Mexican authorities that the Cherokees' momentary intransigence was not to be taken as a disloyal act. Again the elders met in council. What transpired can only be imagined, but it resulted in an order to execute Fields and Hunter. Fields headed for American territory, but was captured and executed after crossing the Sabine. Hunter escaped but was pursued by a force of Americans, including some of Austin's militia led by Bean. They failed to capture Hunter, but he was later apprehended at the Anadarko village and killed. Duwali and Gatunwali came into Nacogdoches on February 28 to report the execution to the Mexican authorities, bringing with them one of Hunter's guns and a Fredonian flag said to have been hanging in Fields' house. In April the general [Anastasio Bustamante] commended Duwali and Gatunwali ("Bowl" and "Big Mush") to the Supreme Government for their prompt action in the affair. Civil Chief Duwali and the council sent Hunter to Mexico City to be their advocate, although he, too, was unfamiliar with Mexican law and political manipulation and fell victim to international political maneuvering. After failing in his mission, Hunter persuaded

the council to ally with the Edwards brothers and their cohorts in a scheme that was bound to backfire, as Mexican authorities did not brook rebellions of this sort among resident foreigners. The only effect of Cherokees involvement in the Fredonian rebellion, if it even deserves the appellation, was that Americans in east Texas learned to distrust them. Even Austin did nothing more to help them before he died. Fields pitiful protests about "poor Indians" notwithstanding, it was evident to Mexican officials, empresarios, and settlers alike that the Cherokees were a diplomatic and military presence henceforth to be watched and feared.

I hope you have enjoyed this issue of Dream Catcher.

Dream Catcher Issue

#447 Chronicles of Oklahoma June, 1923 THE LAST OF THE

CHEROKEES IN TEXAS, By ALBERT WOLDERT, M. D. Tyler,

Texas

It was not until spring of the year 1836 that the separate political destiny of the State of Texas was decided. Mexico still laid claims to all of Texas, while a treaty made by a commission of Texans and the Cherokee Indians and their associated tribes involved a wide strip of rich territory in eastern Texas, lying north of the old San Antonio road (Camino el Real), between the Neches, and Sabine river, and in the original Spanish grant of Filisola. Historic events, occurring in the early part of the year 1836 and subsequently, came on with such rapidity that only fragmentary statements as to precise dates and places were preserved as a matter of history, thus leading to considerable confusion as to the definite localities where important battles were fought between the Texans and the Cherokees, and ending in the expulsion of the latter from Texas forever. The histories of Texas being written at the present day are entirely too silent regarding this entire matter, and some of them dismiss the subject in only a few brief lines. It has occurred to the writer that at least one of the greatest battles ever fought with the Indians in Texas, in which about 800 Indians were engaged on the one side, and about 500 Texans on the other, with many casualties, should receive greater attention by historians of the present day. The name of one Indian—Chief Bowles, of the Cherokees—stands out prominently in these historic events, and the writer has paid particular attention to him.

On account of the importance of this subject and, in order to record the events in chronologic order, the author has devoted much time in endeavoring to secure correct data from elderly persons now living and from libraries situated in the states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Texas, and from numerous histories of Texas, and such data is embodied herewith. The

Cherokees According to Starr the name "Cherokee" is derived from the word "a-che-la" meaning fire, and the word "ah-gi", he takes. The expression has its origin in the belief that the Great Spirit gave to this

tribe a sacred fire with the admonition that they were to keep it perpetually burning, and that on this fire the "kutani" or priests were to offer sacrifices. As to the origin of the Cherokees, Powell states: "That the Iroquoian stock to which the Cherokees (Chalagues) belonged had its chief home in the north, its tribes occupying a compact territory which comprised portions of Ontario, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania almost to the latitude of Washington. Another body including the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and perhaps also the Meherrin, occupied territory in northeastern North Carolina and the adjacent portion of Virginia. The Cherokees themselves constituted the third and southernmost body. They were the mountaineers of the South occupying the territory along the Alleghanies from Kanawha and the Tennessee almost to Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland range on the west, a territory upward of 40,000 square miles. Echota on the south bank of the Little Tennessee river was considered to be the capital of the Nation. Hereditary wars with the creeks, and along their boundaries with the Tuscaroras and Catawbias, kept them constantly engaged." Starr says: "That the religion of the Cherokees was an obscure polytheism. The sun, their superior diety, was called. 'The Apportioner,' dividing time into day and night, giving the four seasons, as well as the giver of the 'divine fire' of their ancestors. Ranking as their gods were the 'Long Man,' the representative of the water; the 'Red Man,' representative of the east, possibly from the rising moon. 'Little Man,' who lived in the thunder; 'Little People,' fairies in the rocks of the cliffs, etc. Conjurors were many among these aborigines and the Cherokees believed that through the mystical efforts of these persons they could cure diseases (snake bites), cause rain, produce death and harm to any one with whom they became displeased, without regard to distances." The First Cherokees to Enter Texas In the winter of 1819 and 1820 Chief Bowles (or Bowl) led sixty of his warriors, probably of the hunter class of Indians, and their families from Arkansas into Texas, these being the first civilized tribe of Indians, perhaps, to find their way into this state. According to King: "In the year 1822 a convention was made between the Cherokees and the empire of Mexico by which the Cherokees in Texas were permitted to occupy and cultivate certain lands of eastern Texas in consideration of fealty and service in case of war. Neither the empire, however, nor its successor, the Republic of Mexico, would consent to part with sovereignty in the soil, and persistently refused any other rights than those of domicile and tillage." It should be recalled to mind that until the year 1824, Texas had been a province of Mexico with a department representing its capital situated at San Antonio. In that year the State of Coahuila and Texas was created, much against the will of the citizens of Texas, but

it so remained until the year 1835. Shortly before the year 1835 important events began to occur in rapid succession in Texas. Her people had grown restless under Mexican misrule and oppression, and with a spirit of revolution began to organize and, on November 13, 1835, through their general council or consultation, created a provisional government. The day previously Henry Smith was elected governor, and James W. Robinson, lieutenant governor of Texas. At last the Mexican authorities began to realize the possible loss of sovereignty of one of its richest possessions, which it sought to fortify by calling to aid the Cherokee Indians, together with their associate tribes, also regarded as adherents of Mexico and looked upon by those in authority in Mexico as being only tenants or occupants of the soil at the will of the sovereign. The Texans, having made rapid strides in growth and development, now realizing their own power, and with the hope of achieving complete independence began to exhibit a more defiant attitude toward Mexico, at the same time endeavoring to win the favor and allegiance of the Cherokees. With the view of obtaining a better understanding between the whites and Cherokees (and with the associate bands of the latter), Governor Henry Smith on December 28, 1835, commissioned General Sam Houston, Colonel John Forbes and John Cameron, Esq., to meet and form a treaty with the Cherokees and associates for the purpose of effecting a mutual understanding with the Indians, including their rights as occupants of the soil. This commission met with the Cherokees and their associates and concluded and signed a treaty with the Cherokees and their twelve associate bands then residing in Texas. On behalf of the Texans this treaty was signed by General Sam Houston and Colonel John Forbes; while the following named represented and signed for the Indians: Colonel Bowles, Big Mush, Samuel Benge, Osoota, Corn Tasele, The Egg, John Bowl and Tenuta, this commission from the Indians representing the Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Quapaws, Bulloies, Iowanes, Al-abamas, Coshaties, Caddos of Neches, Tamocuttakes, Untangous, "By the head chiefs and head men and warriors of the Cherokees as elder brother and representation of all other bands agreeable to their last council, done at the village of Colonel Bowl on the 33rd day of February, 1836." In substance this treaty recited: That the parties declare that there should be a firm and lasting peace forever, and that friendly intercourse shall be preserved by the people belonging to both parties. Also that it was agreed and declared that the before-mentioned tribes of bands shall form one community, and that they shall have and possess the lands within the following bounds, to-wit: lying west of the San Antonio road and beginning on the west at the point where the said road crosses the river Angelina and running up said river until it reaches the first large

creek below the Great Shawnee village emptying into said river from the northeast, thence running with said creek to its main source, and from thence a due northeast course to the Sabine river, and with said river east. Then starting where the San Antonio road crosses the Angelina river, and with said road to a point where it crosses the Neches river and then running up said river in a northwesterly direction. Generally speaking, this territory granted the Indians in this treaty comprised the whole area of what is now Smith and Cherokee counties, also the western portion of Rusk and Gregg counties and the northeastern portion of Van Zandt county, Texas. In this treaty Article VI provides: "It is declared no individual person or member of the tribes before named shall have the power to sell or lease said lands to any person or persons not a member or members of this community of Indians, nor shall any citizen of Texas be allowed to lease or buy land or lands from any Indian or Indians." In part Article VII stipulates: "That the Indians shall be governed by their own regulations and laws within their own territory not contrary to the laws of Texas." The powers conferred upon General Sam Houston and Col. John Forbes in making this treaty with the Cherokees and their associates may be indicated in the following letter from Hon. Henry Smith, first temporary governor of Texas, in part as follows: "San Felipe, December 18, 1835. "Gentlemen of the Council: "I further suggest to you the propriety of appointing commissioners on the part of this government to carry into effect the Indian treaty as contemplated by the convention. I would therefore suggest the propriety of appointing General Houston of the army, and Col. John Forbest of Nacogdoches, who has been already commissioned as one of my aides. These commissioners would go specially instructed, so that no wrong could be committed either to the government, the Indians or our individual citizens. These agents going under proper instructions would be enabled to do right, but not permitted to do wrong, as their negotiations would be subject to investigation and ratification by the government before they would become a law. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant, "HENRY SMITH, Governor." This territory of about fifty miles long and about thirty miles wide, set aside by this treaty, was to be the circumscribed hunting grounds and home in Texas of that principal and formidable band of Indians who had turned their faces towards the Southwest. Here in this narrow confine of a few miles, under the shadow of the hickory, oak and pine, they might erect their wigwams and crude log huts and dream if they would of the lands left behind, of the mountains they had often climbed in search of the bear, the turkey, and the deer, of the rivers flowing swiftly over the gray flinty rocks at the foot of the Ozarks and Alleghanies; and, if they had possessed the advantages of a more

enlightened race, they might have called to their minds the days that had long gone before when their proud but savage ancestry had wandered at will over a large portion of the American continent, governed not by the pale face, but by their own peculiar customs and nature's laws. Whether or not it was at this conference (February 23, 1836) at a later date General Sam Houston, probably as a testimonial of his good will, presented to Chief Bowles a military hat, a silk vest, a handsome sash, and handsome sword. At the time this treaty was made and signed by the contracting parties (February 23, 1836) representing Texas, and the Cherokees, Texas was still a provisional government only, but assuming sovereign rights. Two months after this treaty was made with the Indians, the battle of San Jacinto was fought (April 21, 1836), Texas won its independence from Mexico and proclaimed itself a republic. On the first Monday in September, 1836, General Sam Houston was elected president of the Texas republic, receiving a total of 5,119 votes out of a total of 6,640 votes cast. The policy of President Houston towards the Cherokees was friendly, fair, and generous. In the year 1837 this treaty (of February 23, 1836), made in good faith by Houston and Forbes with the Indians, came before the senate of the republic of Texas, which rejected it. Therefore, according to King: "In 1838 President Lamar directed attention of congress to this act of the senate and to the further fact, that Mexico had never, under any form of government, either conveyed or promised to convey as allodial property any portion of the Texas territory then, or at any time occupied or claimed by the Cherokees." The Indians, therefore, though having the protection of the treaty, were still without title to the lands on which they lived.

Some Customs and Mode of Life of the Cherokees of East Texas History does not seem to give an account of the proportion of Cherokees in Texas who lived in houses such as crude log huts and those who lived in tents. On account of them living to a large extent the life of hunters, and like Indians of other tribes many of them doubtless lived in tents composed of three poles tied together at the top, and covered with hides of various animals such as buffalo, bear, and deer, and so arranged that these wigwams could be taken down, and ready to be moved within ten minutes time, according to Mr. T. H. Singletary. Mr. Bum L. Walker, an aged and estimable citizen of Tyler, informed the author that the Indians of east Texas planted and cultivated only a few acres or "patches" (of usually five or six acres) in corn which they cultivated in crude hills made with a hoe. After gathering the corn they prepared it for food by mixing it with lye to make what they called "soffica." This they would eat either hot or cold, by means of a spoon made from the horn of a cow, and eating it three times a day. The Indians seldom used salt with their food. Meats, such

as buffalo, they would cut into long strips an inch or two wide and about half an inch thick, and hang it up to dry. After drying this meat would be eaten without cooking it. While the Indians seldom used salt in their food, some of them must have regarded it as having considerable value, since Chief Bowles for a time made his headquarters near the Neches (or Hotchkiss, but now called Brook's) saline, in Smith county, apparently about the years 1837 or 1838. Their pottery (often decorated) was made of the clay obtained from the banks of creeks near their villages, which clay being baked turned it into various shades of brown or red, depending upon the percentage of iron contained in the clay. The author has found numerous specimens of this Indian pottery about one-third mile west of the Neches saline (Brook's saline) prairie; also about one mile east; and about two miles southeast of the same; also near what was once probably a Delaware Indian village about three or four miles northwest of Chandler, Henderson County, Texas. According to Mr. Ludwig Anderson, an esteemed citizen of Cherokee County, the Indians who had formerly lived near what is now his residence, about three or four miles southeast of the Neches saline, were friendly with the whites and would not tell a lie. If they borrowed a gun to go hunting, they would take good care of it and would always return it in good order. They would not wantonly kill and destroy game, and would never kill more game than was actually necessary to supply their immediate needs. Mr. J. E. Arnold stated that it was the custom of the Indians to locate their grave yards about two arrow shots down stream from their villages. Methods of Electing Their Chiefs For the purpose of holding elections, and previous to the year 1831, Starr says that "All of the voters were notified to meet at a certain place. A couple or more of their leading men would each announce in a tone that could be easily heard the name of the favorite candidate. Each nominator then stepped off a few steps from the crowd and called for those who preferred this candidate to join him. The nominators then proceeded to an audible count of their partisans. The candidates were then brought back and the election proclaimed. After 1821 the elections (in what is now Arkansas) were held on the second Monday in July. The First and Second Chiefs were to receive a salary of one hundred dollars each and the Third Chief was to have an annual salary of sixty dollars. Their tenure of office was to be for four years. The western Cherokees were in constant war with the Osages until 1821 or 1822, and for that reason it was necessary to elect three chiefs so as to preserve their executive line of succession even though the First and Second Chiefs might die or be killed." Chief Big Mush The Cherokee chief who exercised authority in civil matters during the days of Bowles was Gatun-wa-'li (bread made into little balls or lumps), or Big Mush.

History makes only brief mention of this Cherokee chief. His home was said to have been situated at one time in the northwestern part of Rusk County and perhaps later a few miles south of Rusk, Texas. From the fact that he was closely associated with Chief Bowles in the year 1827, and became the chief in civil matters, he must have had considerable influence with the Cherokees. It is known that he was one of the signers of the treaty made with General Sam Houston, John Forbes, Bowl and associates, dated at the village of Colonel Bowl, on February 23d, 1836. Powell states that Big Mush was killed in the last battle with the Cherokees, on July 16th, 1839, and on the same day Bowles was killed. Some Historic Events Occurring Previous to the Expulsion of the Cherokees from Texas In 1826 many of the white colonists who had settled in Texas under the grant issued Hayden Edwards who, taking advantage of the temporary hostile attitude of the Indians in not securing titles to the lands on which they lived, formed a mutual league with the Cherokees to act in concert with them in starting a revolt against the Mexican government, with a view of obtaining their independence. John Dunn Hunter and Richard Fields represented the Indians in this union effected with the whites at a general council lasting three days, those taking part in this league being subsequently known as the "Fredonians." But this "Fredonian" enterprise owing to the adroitness of Pedro Elias Bean (Ellis P. Bean), the loyal Indian agent of the Mexican government at that time (1826-1827), was of short duration. The Fredonians were soon conquered and disbanded. In regard to this affair, Yoakum says: "The Fredonians thereupon sent an express to Aes Bayou for assistance, but Bean had dispatched an emissary (December 26th, 1826) in advance to these people promising them pardon and lands. They also sent an express to the Indians but Bean likewise anticipated them here, and had promised the Cherokees and their associates that they should have the lands they applied for. Colonel Bean through the instrumentality of John Williams, Elliott and others succeeded in detaching the Indians from the whites. These agents for their services received each a league of land. Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter remained friendly to the whites through promises of land to be granted by Mexico, succeeded and faithful to their agreement, while it appears that Bean, in detaching from this union two principal chiefs, namely Bowles and Big Mush. Shortly after the Fredonian rebellion (1826-27) both Hunter and Fields were assassinated, and Bowles became principal chief of the Cherokees (1827)." In 1831 General Teran executed an order addressed to the proper Mexican authorities which in part read: "I pray your Excellency may be pleased to order that possession be given them (Cherokees—W) with the corresponding titles." But this order was never executed and instead of receiving

titles from Mexico to the lands on which these Indians lived, they were as usual again rewarded with only glittering hopes and gilded promises. In 1836, and apparently only a few days previous to the battle of San Jacinto, a committee representing the citizens of Nacogdoches was sent into the Cherokee country to ascertain the feeling of the Indians, and Yoakum states that "Bowles, principal chief, advised the agent to leave the country as there was danger. As to the suspicion that he (Bowles) might lend his assistance to the Mexicans, he became indignant at the suspicion of his good faith and pacific intentions and sent in his denial." Subsequent history proved that none of the Cherokees joined the Mexicans to assist Santa Anna just before the battle of San Jacinto. As to the good faith of the Cherokees towards the whites, and their fidelity to treaties made, General Sam Houston who was then (January 29th, 1855) in the United States Senate said: "The Cherokees had ever been friendly, and when Texas was in consternation, and the men and women were fugitives from the myrmidons of Santa Anna, who were sweeping over Texas like a simoon, they had aided our people, and given them succor—and this was the recompense. They were driven from their homes and were left desolate."

Bowles' Sword The tradition of Bowles' sword has been furnished me by the following citizens of Henderson, and Rusk County, Texas, namely: Mr. John Arnold, Dr. W. P. White, Prof. C. A. Lanier, and Capt. W. A. Miller. When Bowles was slain upon the battlefield of July 16th, 1836, his sword was awarded to Capt. Robert W. Smith on the same day, and Smith afterwards turned this sword over to Clinton Lodge, No. 23, A. F. and A. M., of Henderson, Texas, where it was used as the tiler's sword of that lodge. Afterwards this sword was loaned or presented to Colonel James H. Jones of Henderson, Texas, who carried it with him through the Civil War, and who later returned it to the lodge at Henderson from whom it had been obtained. About the year 1890, or 1891, this sword was presented to judge Will H. Barker of Oklahoma, to be turned over to the Cherokee Nation, the capital of which in 1890 and 1891 was Tahlequah. After receiving the sword Judge Barker who was then speaker of the lower house of the Cherokee legislative council, presented the sword to the Cherokee Nation, his eloquent oration being printed in both the English and Cherokee languages. The sword was subsequently placed in the archives of the Cherokee Nation, probably Tahlequah, Oklahoma. A description of Bowles' sword has been given me by John Arnold, Esq., and Dr. W. P. White of Henderson, Texas, as follows: The sword of Bowles was made of steel and was about three feet and two or three inches in length, the blade being dull and about one and one-quarter inches in width. It was not a double-edged sword, the back of blade being thickened. The point of the sword was dull and

had a long tapering tip or curve to it. The hilt of the sword was made of brass with a brass shield of about three inches in length, the hilt of the sword being somewhat enlarged inside the shield so the hand could grasp it the more tightly. There were no inscriptions or decorations on the sword. It was a military sword, and somewhat tarnished by age.

Death of Bowles As to the death of Bowles, the Hon. John H. Reagan possibly gives the best and most accurate account, as follows: "Chief Bowles displayed great courage in these battles. In the second engagement he remained in the field on horseback wearing a military hat, a silk vest and handsome sword and sash which had been presented to him by General Sam Houston." ("He was mounted upon a very fine sorrel horse 'paint horse' with blazed face and four white feet—" *History of Texas*, by John Henry Brown, p. 163). "He was a magnificent specimen of barbaric manhood and was very conspicuous during the whole battle, being the last to leave the field when the Indians retreated. His horse had been wounded many times and he shot through the thigh. His horse was disabled and could go no further and he dismounted and started to walk off. He walked forward a little and fell and then rose to a sitting position facing us and immediately in front of the company to which I belonged. Then as he sat up with his face toward us, I started to him, with a view to secure his surrender. At the same time my captain, Bob Smith, with a pistol in his hand, ran toward him from farther down the line. We reached him at the same instant, and realizing what was imminent, I called 'Captain, don't shoot him.' But he fired, striking Bowles in the head and killing him instantly. (Note—the pistol used was a single barrel pistol with flint-lock—W). I had been so impressed with a manliness and dignity of Chief Bowles in the Consultation which preceded the war, and with his conspicuous bravery in battle that I did not want to see him killed, and would have saved his life if I could. "It ought to be said for Captain Smith that he had known of the many murders and thefts by Indians and possibly did in the heat of battle what under other circumstances he would not have done, for he was esteemed as a worthy citizen. "That night (after the battle) we could hear the hum and bustle of their camp the greater part of the night and the next morning they were gone." Editorial Note—With reference to the finding of flint arrow points and fragments of broken pottery on certain sites supposed to have been occupied by the Cherokees in eastern Texas, it is well to bear in mind the fact that such articles may be of prehistoric origin. The Cherokee people had been in contact with traders from the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard for a full century before Bowles and his band came to the country west of the Mississippi. Among the earliest wares received in barter were knives, spear heads and arrow points made of iron or steel. Indeed, certain

Indian craftsmen in various tribes, soon became adept in the manufacture of such articles, using old hoop-iron and other castoff fragments of metal. Inasmuch as the fullblood Cherokees of the present day have lost even a tradition of the use of arrow points fashioned from flint, chert or other stone, it may well be doubted whether any of the warriors of Bowles' band made and used such points for their arrows. Moreover, it is authoritatively stated that the Cherokee people had lost or discarded the primitive art of making pottery by the time of their migration to the present Oklahoma, so it is not certain that the art was still continued by the people of Bowles' band. All of Eastern Texas was included in the habitat of the Caddoan peoples of a comparatively recent prehistoric period and these Caddoan peoples excelled in the manufacture of pottery. As the ruins and remains of Caddoan villages are very common in that part of Texas, the numerous, low, circular mounds each having been formed as the result of the collapse of a timber-framed, dome-shaped, earth-covered human habitation, it is not uncommon to find fragments of their earthenware scattered over some fields.

Note from Blackbear The pictures from this and all future issues will be uploaded to Yahoo.. This is mainly for those who get the digest version which doesn't have any pictures.

Yahoo/My Groups/TA_DreamCatcher/Photo <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v001/v001p179.html>

The Killough, Wood, and Williams Massacre In October, 1920, the author through the courtesy of Mrs. W. F. Partlow of Mt. Selman, Texas, obtained the following original account of the Killough, Wood, and Williams massacre, written by Mr. W. B. Killough (son of Mr. Samuel Killough, who was killed, together with several members of his family) and who while an infant was rescued by his mother during the massacre on October 5th, 1838. Mrs. Killough escaped with her infant son into the woods, being finally taken through the woods on foot to Ft. Lacy, near Alto, a distance of some forty miles. The account of Mr. Killough, describing the massacre, given almost verbatim and without special effort at correction, is as follows: "I was born in Mardisville, Taladoga County, Alabama, September 26th, 1837. Father moved to Texas the same year, stopping where old Larissa now stands, the 24th day of December, 1837, it being some forty miles from any white settlement—Lacy's fort being the nearest. They built houses, cleared land and made a crop. Everything went well until the fall of 1838 when the Indians began to give trouble. The Killoughs and connections left, but on making a treaty with the Indians they returned to gather their crops and stock. They had finished all except about two hours in Uncle Nathaniel Killough's corn, so, as they would not be out long, they concluded they would leave their guns at home. They had been in the

habit of taking them, and stacking them in the field. About one o'clock they started for the field. On their way the larger portion had to cross a creek. In passing through the swamp they were attacked by the Indians and all killed except Nathaniel Killough, his wife and child. He was watering his horse. He lived on that side of the creek. On hearing the firing he rode to the house and tried to get his wife and child up on the horse. But they pursued him and he had to leave the horse and take to the cane. He made his way to a friendly Indian, and got another horse and made their escape to the fort. That baby girl which was about one year old is still living. She is the wife of Doctor G. M. Mathis, of Garden Valley, Smith County. Samuel Killough, my father, lived on the northeast side of the creek. When mother Narcissa heard the firing, she taken me up and started to see who was killed. She was joined by Aunt Jane, (wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.) and her brother Williams. He took me to carry, for mother was very weakly, her standing weight being ninety-four pounds. They went but a few steps when they saw the Indians coming. Handing me to mother he said: "Here, take the baby, I must go." They swept by the man and shot him down a few yards from them. They found father in a small branch beyond the main creek, where he fell. The balance they failed to find except grandfather, Isaac Killough, Sr. He was lying in his yard and grandmother was all alone. "In this massacre there were eighteen killed and taken off. Wood, a brother-in-law of the Killough's, his wife, five children, a Miss Killough, sister to father, were all taken off and were never heard of. The girls were about seventeen years old. Williams and Miss Killough were to have been married soon. After trying to get grandfather in the house, and failing, he being a very large man, they covered him up with quilts, laying rails on the side to hold them down. They turned their steps to east, returning to father's they found everything torn up and strewn over the yard. After sometime taken up in consultation, there being three women—Mrs. Urcery Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Mrs. Jane Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.; Narcissa Killough, wife of Samuel Killough (my mother). "As the Indians sent for them while they were at the house to go to Sam Benge's, their chief, about two miles north. The first two mentioned were in favor of going—Narcissa told then they could go but she would die first. So one of them Indians sent for them—Dog Shoot by name—told them if he had a gun he would kill them. The male portion being dead they did not bring their guns. Narcissa sent them after their guns, and while they were gone she took her baby boy and started on a long journey of forty miles without anything to eat, among savages and wild beasts. "They hid in the grass near where Larissa now stands until night came. They could hear the Indians yelling and see the smoke from the house, which on returning, not

finding the women, they set on fire. When night came they started for Ft. Lacy, travelling as best they could, as they had to leave the path often as Indians were coming up all through the night. There was one serious draw-back to them—one that might have proven fatal to them at any time. They had an infant one year and eight days old, and a small fist dog along. The cry of one or the bark of the other would have been fatal, but it seems that both knew there was something wrong, for when they would stop the dog would hover under their skirts like he was trying to keep out of danger. In starting they did not know what to do with the dog. They could not leave it, and didn't have the heart to kill it, nor anything to kill it with. "The third day in the morning as they had been without anything to eat, they concluded they would travel by day. They had hid in the day-time. They had not gone far on hearing a noise behind them they looked and there stood an Indian with his gun to his shoulder ready to shoot. As some of the women screamed he ran up and showed them there was no powder in the pan—all guns were flint and steel then. The path forked at that place and he wanted them to turn to the left in a dimmer path. They refused to go at first. He could not speak English so he had to use signs. "As they would not go he got in the trail ahead of them and loaded his gun. They concluded it was death anyway so they started his way. They had not gone far before they came to an Indian hut and about 200 Indians painted. They were killing a beef. They were carried to the hut and put in—the same Indian sitting in the door with his gun. There was a negro woman came in. Mother asked her some questions. She gave no satisfaction. They then gave them something to eat—the first they had in forty-eight hours. They sent off for an interpreter and when he came he told them that they were safe. Had they gone half a mile farther we would have all been killed, as the Indians in the town were on the warpath. That's where the painted warriors were from. He also told them that the whites had a great many friends among them, and they knew there were three women trying to make their escape and they had placed guards all over the country to find them if possible, but, as they had traveled only by night, they did not find them before. They were kept there until the next morning when they were furnished with horses and sent to the fort. The Indian that captured them rolled up in his blanket with his gun laid across the door all night. "This place is about four miles west of where Rusk now stands. They came very near being shot at the fort as it was night. All excited, they were hailed three times; finally they answered: 'Women from the Saline,' just in time to save themselves. There was an amusing incident happened while we were in the fort. It was reported the Indians were coming. Mrs. Box got Johnny Box (her husband) down and commenced to beat on him, saying at the top of her voice:

'Pray, Johnny Box, do pray, if you ever did pray, pray now, for the Indians is coming.' We stayed in the fort about a month, then went to old Douglass, then mother and I soon left for Alabama. Will state that there were whites with the Indians in the killing of our family. There was one by the name of H—— from Taladega County, Alabama, that my family knew. "In about five weeks after the Killoughs were killed, General Houston sent General Rusk up and drove the Indians back, and buried our dead. Uncle Nathaniel Killough was with them. He was wounded in the Kickapoo fight being shot through the shoulder."

The following is a copy of the petition of Nathaniel Killough to the Congress of Texas, December, 1838, asking for relief for his losses: "To the Honorable House of Representatives and the Senate of This Republic, in Congress assembled: The petition of Nathaniel Killough humbly showeth unto your honorable body that he is now and has been for some time past, a citizen of Nacogdoches County; that during the past summer petitioner, together with his father, Isaac Killough; his brothers, Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, and Isaac Killough, Jr., and his brothers-in-law; George W. Wood and Owen C. Williams, resided near the Neches river in said county, and we were at that time engaged in the pursuit of agriculture; and that, at their residence, they were on the 5th of October last, attacked by Mexicans and wild Indians, and that Isaac Killough, Sr., Allen Killough, his wife and five children; Isaac Killough, Jr., George W. Wood, his wife and two children; Samuel Killough, a daughter of Owen C. Williams, and Elizabeth Rollough were killed as your petitioner believes. Your petitioner would also show unto your honorable body that at the time his relations were murdered, the Mexicans and Indians took and destroyed all the property of your petitioner and his relatives, and that the property of your petitioner so destroyed consisted of household furniture, farming utensils, and arms of the value of \$2,000; 500 bushels of corn worth \$1,000; a carriage worth \$200; a wagon worth \$250; two horses, one of great value, both worth \$700; a number of cattle worth \$150; the entire loss of your petitioner being \$4,300; that that Isaac Kollough, Sr., lost property of the same description of the value of \$2,500, and that Allen Killough lost \$3,000 worth of property; Samuel Killough lost property worth \$3,700; Isaac Killough, Jr., lost property worth \$700; George C. Wood had property destroyed worth \$2,400, and that Owen C. Williams last property worth \$2,300; and the value of the before-mentioned has been entirely lost to your petitioner and to the heirs of his relatives; and that every possible effort has been used by your petitioner to recover the property mentioned, but that your petitioner has been unable to recover any of said property. In consideration of the premises, your petitioner prays that your honorable body will grant to him and Owen

C. Williams and the heirs of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, Isaac Killough, Jr., and George C. Wood such relief as a sense of justice may dictate; and that your honorable body will duly consider the prayer of your petitioner; and that your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray."

(Signed) NATHANIEL KILLOUGH.
(Nacogdoches, Dec. 26, 1838).

"We the undersigned citizens of Nacogdoches County respectfully represent unto the honorable Congress of this Republic that we have examined the foregoing petition of Nathaniel Killough, and that we are satisfied the statements made in the foregoing petition are true, and we pray that the honorable Congress will grant the prayer of petitioner. "(Signed) R. H. Pinney, Osc. Engledow, Jas. H. Starr, Wm Hart, D. Rusk, K. H. Douglas, M. M. Cox, Henry Rogers, Jas. S. Linn, J. Smith, Chas. H. Taylor."

This massacre of the Killough, Wood, and Williams families on October 5th, 1838, occurring about one mile west of the old town of Larissa, Cherokee County, aroused the entire people of the Republic of Texas. General Rusk had shortly after this occurrence been despatched to the neighborhood where the massacre occurred to drive the Indians back and, a short while (probably a few weeks) afterward, Major Walters had been ordered with two companies to occupy the Neches saline, not only to watch the Cherokees, but as stated elsewhere, to cut off the intercourse with the Indians of the prairies on the west. Bowl, the Cherokee chief, notified Major Walters that he would repel by force such occupation of the Saline. As the major's force was too small to carry out his orders, he established his post on the west bank of the Neches out of the Cherokee territory (Yoakum).

In July, 1838, Vincente Cordova began to sow seeds of discord among the Indians and instigated them to aid the Mexicans in making war on the Texans, and shortly afterward Cordova disclaimed allegiance to Texas. Yoakum²² states that: "Cordova wrote Filisola from the headwaters of the Trinity on the 29th of August and 16th of September, 1838, giving him an account of his progress. In the spring of the following year, (1839) Flores, the Indo-Mexican agent at Matamoras, departed for Texas carrying instructions to Cordova from Canalizo (who had succeeded Filisola) and also messages to the chiefs of the Caddoes, Seminoles, Biloxis, Cherokees, Kickapoos, Brazos,

Towakonies and perhaps others, accusing these Indians that they need expect nothing from the greedy adventurers for land, who wish even to deprive the Indians of the sun that warms and vivifies them, and who would not cease to injure them while the grass grows, and water runs."

In March, 1839, Colonel Burieson endeavored to capture Cordova on the Guadalupe River, but he escaped and fled to the Rio Grande. According to Brown: "Manuel Flores, the Mexican Indian agent in Matamoras, responsive to Cordova's earnest desire for a personal conference and ignorant of the latter's disastrous defeat, set forth from Matamoras late in April (1839—W) to meet Cordova and the Indian tribes wherever they might be found. He had an escort of about thirty Indians and Mexicans, supplies of ammunition, etc., and all the official papers from Filisola and Canalizo empowering him to treat with the Indians so as to secure their united friendship for Mexico and their combined hostility to Texas. Lieutenant Rice fell upon his trail and assailed him on Brushy, in the edge of what is now Williamson County. Flores endeavored to make a stand but Rice rushed forward with such impetuosity as to throw the enemy into confusion and flight. Flores and two of his followers were left dead upon the ground, and fully one-half of those who escaped were wounded. Rice captured one hundred horses and mules, three hundred pounds of powder, a large amount of lead, shot, balls, etc., and all the correspondence in possession of Flores. This correspondence revealed in detail the whole plot that had been formed for the destruction of the frontier people of Texas."

In these papers captured from Flores were letters said to have been addressed to, Big Mush and Bowles, chiefs of the Cherokees. "It is inferred from these documents found on Flores and addressed to the Cherokee chiefs, that the latter were in correspondence with the Mexican authorities." (Yoakum).

For the Cherokees a new and very sorrowful day was about to dawn. The bright red hills of east Texas, crowned with hickory, oak and pine, were to be illumined no more by their wigwam fires at night. The land in which they had found a dwelling place for some twenty eventful years, the lands which they longed to hold through sovereign title, and so ell adapted to their nomadic

life, was to pass from them forever. At a very early day the warriors of the Cherokees with gun and bow and arrow, using them as best they could, were to measure arms with the well equipped soldiers of Texas, under the ever alert and dauntless Rusk, Burleson, Douglass and Landrum. They hoped to remain longer in the land in which they lived, but it was only a forlorn hope.

Henceforth the Cherokees were not to be persuaded, nor humored, nor treated as friends. Orders would soon be issued saying to them, "You must go peaceably if you will, forcibly if you must." For them it would be a sudden awakening as from a fitful, feverish dream. There must be no lingering by the way in the land they had inhabited and which doubtless they thought belonged to them because their homes were there. Here they had watched the full moon come and go some two hundred times or more. But the unrelenting hand of fate must guide them toward a new home and like that of the "old man" and little Nell, this resting place from unceasing wars must be a little further on, "just a little further on."

On December 9th, 1838, Mirabeau B. Lamar was inaugurated President of Texas Republic. The policy of President Lamar seemed unlike that of Ex-President Houston. Houston apparently believed that the white race and the Indians should grow and develop along the lines each desired, and that the Indians should be kept pacified, treated with friendliness and be permitted to work out their own destiny. President Lamar seemed disposed to pay the Indians for their improvements, losses, and their crops, after which they must leave.

Eventful matters in Texas history now occurred in rapid succession, some of which evidently aroused President Lamar to take summary action against the Indians. Among these might be mentioned: first, the capture of the correspondence found on Flores, showing the plot of the Mexicans to induce the Indians to join them in renewed hostility against the Texans; second, the continued Indian depredations and killing of white people in various sections of the State; and, third, the enraged feeling produced on the public mind by such massacres as that of the Killough, Wood, and Williams families.

I hope you have enjoyed this issue of Dream Catcher.

Be safe and I'll see you next time

Your editor

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